

The Role of Fashion vs. Style Orientation on Sustainable Apparel Consumption

An Update

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Proceedings of the 41st Annual Macromarketing Conference

Macromarketing and Academic Activism

Proceedings of the 41st Annual Macromarketing Conference

Dublin
13-15 July 2016

Macromarketing and Academic Activism

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Chair of the Doctoral Colloquium

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Welcome to Macromarketing 2016

The 41st Annual Macromarketing Conference takes place in Dublin on 13-15 July 2016 to explore issues of relevance to macromarketing scholars worldwide. 2016 is a significant year for Ireland, marking the centenary of the 1916 Easter Rising, an event that marked an important step towards the country's independence. This reminds us of the risks and rewards of activism. In the same spirit, the conference theme – *academic activism* – is timely and challenging.

This question of activism can also be turned inwards, and the conference theme encourages participants to think about the place of macromarketing, which is considered by our colleagues in mainstream marketing to be a niche field (as reflected by ABS and IF rankings). Do macromarketers need to become more active to make their contributions heard in the academy? And what about beyond the academy? Even within the macromarketing community, there is an important, recurring debate between 'macromarketing' and 'critical marketing' – is it the role of the critical theorist to point out the problems and the role of the macromarketer to actively seek solutions?

Participants were invited to submit competitive papers, working papers, abstracts, or proposals for special sessions to address these issues. Of particular interest is research that explores themes revealed in track titles, as they pertain to core macromarketing foci: the interactions of markets, marketing and society, and the subsequent extent to which individual, societal and global well-being are enhanced or hindered. In the rich tradition of Macromarketing conferences, multiple perspectives are encouraged.

Special thanks to track and panel chairs, authors, reviewers, and the various support teams, including Conference Partners. Their professionalism and many contributions were vital to the creation and administration of an academically exciting and professionally enriching program.

On behalf of the Track Chairs, Reviewers, Members of the Macromarketing Society, Trinity College Dublin, University College Dublin, Dublin Institute of Technology, and the fine city of Dublin, we wish you a heartfelt welcome.

Norah, Marius and Aidan

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Norah Campbell, Trinity College Dublin

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Gender, Feminism and Macromarketing

Wendy Hein, Birkbeck, University of London

Shona Rowe, University of Westminster, London

Globalisation, (Neo) Colonialism and Marketing

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Marketisation and Subalternity

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Marketing Theory: Topics and Interrelationships

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New Consumer Activisms

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Pauline Maclaran, Royal Holloway, University of London

Putting the Macro Back into Sustainability

Andy Prothero, University College Dublin

Pierre McDonagh, University of Bath

Quality of Life, Health and Well-Being

Joe Sirgy, Virginia Tech

Alexandra Ganglmair-Wooliscroft, University of Otago

Social Marketing: Time to Get Critical

Christine Domegan, University of Galway

Gerard Hastings, University of Stirling

Technology and Marketing

Detlev Zwick, York University, Toronto

Nikhilesh Dholakia, University of Rhode Island

Understanding Macromarketing Phenomena: Methods and Measurement

Ben Wooliscroft, University of Otago, New Zealand

Francisco Conejo, UC Denver

Understanding Vulnerability for Public Good

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Terri Rittenburg, University of Wyoming

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Food Marketing, Food Activism

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Shona Rowe, University of Westminster

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Cathy McGouran

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Shelia Malone, Lancaster University

Marketing Ethics in the US Macro Environment

Pat Murphy, University of Notre Dame

Marketing and Story-Telling

Finola Kerrigan, Birmingham Business School, UK

Religion and Macromarketing

Ray Benton, Loyola University, Chicago

Special Session with Roger Layton: There Might Be More to Marketing than You Thought!

Michaela Haase, Freie Universität Berlin

Keynote Address of the 41st Annual Macromarketing Conference, July 2016

Second Shift: From Crisis to Collaboration

Tomas Hult, Michigan State University

When complex challenges face communities and its diverse stakeholders, the solution requires collaboration across all layers and networks in a community. This presentation will focus on a six-dimensional framework called the “Second Shift Model.” The core dimensions of the Second Shift Model provide an integrated and elaborate direction and structure for organizing a community project with complex political and economic considerations, while centering on the macromarketing and public policy issues important to the community. The six-dimensional framework includes the dimensions of identifying, partnering, building, solving, celebrating, and persevering. Additionally, the presentation will capture the theme of the conference, “academic

activism,” by illustrating the work of the Sheth Foundation within the notion of partnering in the Second Shift Model.

Multi-Level Effects on Organizational Diffusion of Sustainability

Deborah DeLong, Chatham University, Pennsylvania, USA
Thomas Macagno, Chatham University, Pennsylvania, USA

Introduction

Sustainability is recognized as a significant issue for the 21st century and beyond. Two recent special issues of the *Journal of Macromarketing* pose the question of whether sustainability should be considered a macrotrend in terms of its present and future impacts on markets, marketing and society. Whether one adheres to the Developmental or Critical school of macromarketing (Mittelstaedt et al. 2014), the insights presented in these issues and other sources support sustainability as a robust analytical paradigm for assessing and developing tools to counteract the adverse effects of human activity on the environment. Substantial progress has been made to better understand the critical role that sustainability could play in the years ahead to meet the 2°C limitation of global warming goal set by the COP21. However, a great deal more work is needed to explore how best to leverage sustainability principles for the greater good from a macro- and micro-marketing perspective.

Of the many streams of sustainability research identified by McDonagh and Prothero (2014), surprisingly little attention has focused on “organizational sustainability strategies.” Increased consumer awareness of environmental trends has encouraged many businesses to make extra

efforts to “go green” in words and/or deeds. This transformation is evident in expanded mission statement language, brand communications, reporting tools, and new product development priorities. Much of the research in this domain is focused on customer response to brand and product enhancements. Research findings in this vein suggest that sustainability-oriented product design and communication efforts are associated with improved product perceptions (Connolly and Shaw 2006) and product involvement (Cummins et al. 2014). However commensurate sales of green products fall short, demonstrating the notorious “attitude-behavior gap” (Kilbourne and Pickett 2008; Moisander 2007; Thøgersen and Ölander 2003). These findings are explored in more detail within a second stream of research whereby “individual consumer concerns, behavior and practices” as well as traits, attitudes, values, and preferences lend themselves to certain consumption styles and patterns. Research findings in this stream are often geared toward identifying segments of green consumers who are predisposed to respond to certain kinds of messaging and offerings as a function of their individual differences (e.g., McDonald et al. 2012). This paper explores sustainability adoption at the intersection of these two sustainability research streams. Its premise is that external acceptance of an organization’s sustainability-oriented strategy requires acceptance within the organization’s internal constituencies as well, that internal performance is a “prerequisite” for successful external marketing interactions (George 1990). As such, themes related to “individual concerns, behavior and practices” are considered within the organizational context to reveal factors influencing employee propensity to accept and embrace the organization’s sustainability strategy.

Literature Review

The concept of “internal sustainability marketing” is a useful paradigm for investigating how an

organization that adopts a pro-environmental stance can promote a commensurate increase in pro-environmental attitudes and behaviors among employees. Internal sustainability marketing is a variation on the term “organization-based social marketing,” defined by Papakosmas, Nobel and Glynn (2012) as a powerful management tool for promoting social change within an organization. Simply telling employees to change is not sufficient; organizations need effective tools and strategies for implementing and maintaining this type of cultural shift among internal stakeholders in a manner that is constructive and enduring. Perceptions of conflicting or missing pieces of an organization’s sustainability strategy may result in failure to adequately engage employees with possible negative internal and external implications.

Previous research conducted by DeLong and Mehalik (2013) assessed the benefits and barriers associated with successful adoption and implementation of sustainability strategy from the macro-level vantage point of two national samples of corporate executives (MIT Sloan School of Business/Boston Consulting Group annual survey and McKinsey & Company annual survey) and a meso-level perspective of a regional sample of sustainability managers. Factors revealed in this study expand on previous findings. Specifically, some factors highlighted external conditions, e.g., the degree to which a company operates within a resource-intensive industry (Hult 2010) and customer demand for sustainable products and practices (Hillman and Keim 2001), while other factors pertained to internal conditions, e.g., the company’s ability to integrate a sustainability focus within its existing strategy (Kuosmanen and Kuosmanen 2009), the company’s ability to measure tangible and intangible value added to the bottom line (Barnett 2007), employee knowledge, skills and abilities related to sustainability (Gullo and Haygood 2010), an

organizational culture conducive to sustainability (Werbach 2009), and internal coordination of activities across departments or functional areas (Banerjee 2001; Darnell 2008).

Notable discrepancies were found between macro- and meso- level perceptions of the organizational benefits, priorities and challenges of implementing a sustainability strategy. Executives were more likely to cite intangible, difficult to measure growth and reputation-oriented benefits of sustainability such as brand reputation, employee hiring, retention and productivity, while managers operating on the front lines of implementing sustainability initiatives were more likely to value cost savings derived from improved energy, materials and waste efficiencies. A similar pattern was found when assessing sustainability investment priorities. At the meso-level, managers report their priorities as reducing energy use, emissions, and waste, operational improvements that directly tie to tangible measurable cost savings. In contrast, executives reported a balance between reputational and operational investment allocation.

These results suggest that the intangible benefits valued at the macro-level are not similarly prioritized at the meso-level, or at least are not reported as such. This disconnect could simply be due to the nature of a manager's job which requires tangible measurable performance dimensions that can be quantitatively captured and easily communicated. It could also be a reflection of how managers read the organization, despite what they see and hear from senior management, and judge the credibility of preached versus expected outcomes of sustainability performance accordingly. This latter interpretation is consistent with the most significant barriers of sustainability adoption reported at both levels of analysis. All agree that "reconciling competing priorities" and "difficulty with capturing comprehensive metrics about sustainability impact of

operations” pose the greatest challenges, suggesting that quantifiable measures of sustainability are of the utmost concern regardless of stated ideals.

This Project

Internal and external forces driving adoption of a sustainability strategy may be grounded in solid business principles but may not be successfully implemented due to poorly articulated or demonstrated priorities when translated through organizational ranks. Incomplete or misaligned understanding of sustainability’s role in the organization’s mission and operations can disrupt and complicate implementation of a sustainable agenda. The proposed project tests this premise further by including micro-level employee perceptions of the organization’s commitment to sustainability. These results elaborate upon differing interpretations and expectations associated with sustainability priorities and commitment. Results are intended to explore and better understand sources of influence driving the intra-organizational form of the “sustainability attitude-behavior gap” found within consumer markets.

Macro-level corporate executive priorities, meso-level sustainability manager objectives, and micro-level employee perceptions are explored in relation to diffusion of sustainability within a corporate setting. The following model is proposed containing a priori factors derived from the management and marketing literatures as well as insights gleaned from in-depth employee interviews (see Figure 1).

(Insert Figure 1 about here)

Factors influencing diffusion of sustainability principles are comprised of top down and bottom up determinants. Top down factors pertain to “perceived organizational support for sustainability

behaviors” (v11; Eisenberger et al. 1986) and include such influences as “direct supervisor support for sustainability initiatives” (v1; Susskind et al. 2003), “training on sustainability initiatives” (v2; Cantor 2012), “rewards/codification of sustainability initiatives” (v3; Boyt et al. 2001), and top management support for sustainability initiatives (v4; Bingham et al. 2013). Individual values orientation toward sustainability (v5) is captured by Schwartz and Boehnke (2004) structure of human values which contains a subtype for unity with nature and protecting the environment within the higher order value type of “self transcendence.” The combined effect of top-down influences and individual differences determine the the employee’s Sustainability Intentions (v13) to actively support the organization’s sustainability mission and objectives (Lo, Peters, and Kok, 2012). The model then depicts linkages from sustainability intentions to behaviors (v14). Improved employee attitudes, intentions and behaviors related to sustainability initiatives is associated with greater organizational commitment and job satisfaction although the directional nature of these effects requires further exploration (Paillé and Boiral 2014). The theoretical framework depicts a moderated relationship between sustainability intentions and behavior by “Enablers” (v12) that capture core motivational concepts such as self-efficacy (v6; Bandura 1977), empowerment (v7; Adams 1965), expectancy (v8; Vroom 1964), theory of planned behavior (v9; Ajzen 1991) and equity theory (v10; Locke and Latham 1990). Each of these conditional effects help to explain why pro-environmental attitudes all too often fail to produce active participation.

Preliminary Results

Structured interviews with employees in a large healthcare services company were conducted and content coded to assess perceptions of organizational commitment to sustainability. Responses to

open-ended questions pertaining broadly to each factor provided insights into the perceived importance of sustainability within the organization, benefits, barriers to adoption, personal and job-related relevance, and sources for these impressions. The following excerpts illustrate the importance of certain factors in the model for explaining perceived organizational support for sustainability, employee engagement and moderating motivational effects. Other factors received little support and may drop out in future iterations of data collection and coding before developing a projectable quantifiable survey. A very small sampling of comments includes:

V1 Supervisor Support:

- We do have messages at employee meetings about saving paper, so it's some commitment, but it's a commitment to saving costs and saving resources.

V2 Sustainability Training

- We found that people get more engaged at an event. It may only a smaller group. It would only be the people that came to the cafeteria, but a lot of people ask me, "What's this all about?"

V3 Codification of Initiatives

- Like, for instance, the bike racks. We were pushing from our side for so long, and it didn't go through until one VP mentioned it. Then all of a sudden our president was like, "Oh, we should put this in." It's sporadic. At least that's how I feel.

V4 Top Management Support

- They mention it, but I think that's more for PR than for real reasons.
- The cost and the savings of resource message is there, but in terms of the connection to the environment, that might be missing, or that might just be, "Oh, and it's good for the ..." Like an afterthought thing.
- I'd like to know how many senior executives are on Green Ambassadors. If it's not a culture thing, I'd be shocked.

V5 Individual Values

- (not assessed in the interview, will be inventory-based)

V6 Efficacy

- There's certain projects I think that there is a lot of engagement, and it doesn't even have to be formal. It's probably better if it's not.
- I was told that there's a cost associated with all the shred barrels so there was an issue at one point of them not wanting you to put all your paper in the shred, even though it's being recycled, because then there was a cost to it. Well there's a cost to the trash as well so I don't know what the difference is but again, putting the paper where it was being recycled, they were turning it into a cost issue again, instead of being green.

V7 Empowerment

- I've always encouraged people in the paper newsletter to go online and become someone that gets it via email. That's one of the reasons that we're moving to e-newsletter, it's more about financials.

V8 Instrumentality

- At meetings, if we have coffee in the morning, they always offer the to-go cups instead of just a mug. We're here, we're not going anywhere, it's being catered. I wasn't trying to say anything but that's every single meeting there's water bottles.
- I work in the production area and we throw away a lot of paper. They'll just print random amounts of magazines or brochures without having a really good reason and then six months down the line, there's still ten thousand. Does the warehouse recycle? I don't know. I think that happens a lot.

V9 Habits (practices outside of work)

- I was going to say for me it trying to reduce my waste. For example, I own a corner store. We offer bulk items and a lot of our customers come in with their own containers. That, to me, is a cornerstone of sustainability. At xxx, they offer reusable containers for lunch instead of taking the plastic or paper ones every single day. I utilize those. That's the actions I take.

V10 Co-Worker Norms

- I have issues with post-meeting lights being left on. I shut my conference room light off at least four times a day. People just do not shut off lights when they leave conference rooms. It can just sit there empty for the rest of the day, just lit up, and there's just no reason. I used to put a sign and it got taken down. It was like, "Turn off lights, please." Someone took it down.

Discussion and Conclusions

Several themes are apparent from the preceding limited sample of verbatim comments. The disconnect between the professed sincere commitment to sustainability by senior management is questioned by employees due to their walk not matching their talk. Direct supervisors are similarly accused of valuing sustainable actions in terms of their cost savings but this approach is not criticized as much as senior management's perceived "internal greenwashing." Employees expect executives to set a higher bar for sustainability outcomes than is being demonstrated; the absence of this consistency discredits the message and, according to the data and subsequent proposed model, is less likely to foster engagement in sustainability. On the other hand, strong values oriented toward protection of the environment and self transcendence are proposed to

override shortcomings in perceived organizational support. Positive and engaging sustainability attitudes and subsequent behavioral intentions are enhanced by the presence of predisposition or contextual cues, but may not translate to behavior given motivational hindrances that undermine the individual's sense of self-efficacy, empowerment, instrumentality, or social equity. Successful navigation around these hurdles is needed to close the sustainability intention-behavior gap at the individual level and, collectively, to translate high-level strategic intentions into positive organizational outcomes.

In conclusion, adoption of sustainability principles is an imperative taking a decisive hold on business practices in the 21st century and beyond. The challenges must be confronted on a personal and collective level to curtail further irreparable harm to the environment. Industry plays a leading role in making the transition to a more ecologically sustainable quality of life, starting with enhancing engagement and participation within its own ranks. This research identifies significant hurdles that must be overcome by business leaders to recognize economic, social and political forces that call for adoption of sustainability strategy and tactics. However, the decision to adopt sustainable principles is not sufficient in its own right; this strategic shift required careful attention to meso- and micro-level considerations for successfully communicating and demonstrating commitment throughout all levels of the organization. The implications of this research are intended to shed light on the factors perpetuating the "sustainability attitude-behavior gap" within organizations similar to the observed gap within green markets. Two additional macromarketing implications are suggested by this investigation. First, in the management literature, employee attitudes are correlated with customer perceptions, raising the possibility that negative employee response to internal greenwashing could diffuse to

external parties. Second, internal greenwashing effects could increase suspicion of other companies' sustainability claims, making it increasingly difficult to achieve credibility within consumer audiences overall as more employees/consumers experience firsthand the disconnects between aspirational corporate communications and the realities of sustainability practices.

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Impact of WWoofing as an Alternative Tourism on Sustainability: Implications for Sustainability Education

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Abstract

This research draws attention to WWOOFing as an alternative tourism practice and its macro implications on sustainability. Through analyses of netnographic data from online WWOOF platforms and interviews from field studies in three WWOOF farms, we develop a taxonomy of WWOOFer profiles based on their motivations, and explore how this form of tourism influences WWOOFer attitudes and practices towards sustainability. We argue that each WWOOF experience is a unique combination of learning and practicing sustainability. From a macro perspective, this form of alternative tourism has more potential to initiate awareness and reinforce existing sustainable practices compared to other sites of sustainability such as ecovillages. We discuss these macro implications of WWOOFing on sustainability education.

Introduction

Alternative tourism has emerged as a means to avoid the harmful consequences of mainstream tourism practices, such as environmental degradations and economic downturns (Dorin 2013). However, research on how these alternative forms of tourism impact sustainable tourist practices remains scant. McIntosh and Bonnemann (2006) suggest that WWOOFing has an educational aspect related to both organic farming and leading an alternative lifestyle, and contributes to overall learning that includes self-development. However, contributions of WWOOFing to

attitudinal and practical change towards sustainability is relatively unknown. Furthermore, comparison of different sites for sustainable lifestyles is deemed necessary for the improved efforts (upstream and downstream) on sustainability education. We explore WWOOFing as an alternative form of tourism, identify different WWOOFer profiles based on their motivations, and how it influences WWOOFers' attitudes and practices towards sustainable lifestyles. WWOOFing is regarded as a cheap accommodation on travel blogs, and definitions and experiences of WWOOFing vary as well as prejudices concerning its exploitation of unpaid work or travel for hippies prevail. While WWOOF movement strives to fight these assumptions, WWOOF experience remains a black box, and questions remain with regard to what really motivates people to start WWOOFing, what changes they experience during and after WWOOFing, and whether they become more aware of sustainability issues and adopt sustainable practices as a result. While it seems evident that practicing or learning about organic farming increases sustainability awareness, the transition from non-awareness to thoughtful action is not as simple when it comes to sustainability. Indeed, positive attitudes toward sustainability have not been accompanied by commensurate action (Barr et al. 2001), hence leading to attitude–behavior gap (Prothero et al. 2011).

WWOOF movement emerged in London in 1971, and was initially called *Working Weekends on Organic Farms*, for city-dwellers who did not have the means to have short stays close to home but on the countryside and to support the organic movement (www.woof.net/history-of-woof). Today WWOOF is known as *World Wide Opportunities on Organic Farms*, and has become a global federation that connects organic farmers (hosts) with voluntary workers (WWOOFers) in more than sixty countries. WWOOFers are provided with free accommodation and meals, gain

knowledge in exchange of their help at the farm, and stay for a few days to several months. The Federation of WWOOF Organizations (FOWO) is an umbrella organization created in 2004 to “unite, promote, protect and support the WWOOF movement around the world” (www.woof.net/fowo). The WWOOF regulation requires hosts to be actively involved in organic farming to welcome WWOOFers, and allows hosts to be engaged into other types of sustainable activities (<https://www.woof.org.uk/>), such as gardens, woodland, livestock, alternative technology and green building. Hence, WWOOF is not only about organic farming but also about experiencing a sustainable lifestyle and self-sufficiency through a combination of activities, such as growing one’s own food, using green energies, living in a green-building or eventually building one.

Alternative Tourism and Wwoofing at a Glance

Alternative and sustainable tourism include many forms of travel, such as agritourism, ecotourism, backpacking and volunteer tourism. Nonetheless, boundaries between them remain blurred. Agritourism is a combination of tourism and agriculture, involving farms that engage in agricultural production and commercial tourism (Weaver and Fennell 1997). These farms are considered as intrinsically sustainable because of their small size (Pearce 1992), and they contribute to the conservation of communities, landscapes and ecosystems (McGehee 2014). However, agritourism does not necessarily employ sustainable farming methods (Choo and Jamal 2009). Ecotourism is a form of responsible travel that is not limited to farms. Yet, it is stricter in defining the ecological component, as tourist stays must be in “natural areas that conserve the environment, sustain the well-being of the local people, and involve interpretation and education” (<http://www.ecotourism.org>). Choo and Jamal (2009) position eco-organic farm tourism at the

crossroads of agritourism, sustainable tourism, and ecotourism. Apart from the monetary aspect, eco-organic farm tourism is similar to WWOOFing, in terms of their small scale farming in urban or rural settings and the use of traditional and local knowledge, and sustainable practices.

Backpacking has also become a mainstream form of travel (Ooi and Laing 2010). Although it is not necessarily considered sustainable, it remains an alternative experience with overlaps between motivations to backpack and to participate in volunteer tourism (Pearce 1990), especially for individuals who start WWOOFing as part of their backpacking. Backpackers may also volunteer or use other alternative networks such as HelpX and Workaway that offer accommodation and/or food in exchange of help. Comparable to WWOOF, these networks form open communities with emphasis on social considerations and participation, and promote cultural exchange and experiences of other lifestyles; yet concern for sustainability is not necessarily present.

WWOOFing can be considered as a sub-segment of volunteer tourism involving individuals going on a working holiday and volunteering their labor for worthy causes (Tomazos 2009). Volunteer tourism does not exclude tourism activities, and both are recognized to contribute equally to the experience (McGehee 2014). Moreover, volunteer tourism fosters transformative learning that involves changes in understanding the self, revision of beliefs, and changes in lifestyle (Clark 1991). Yet, desire for such learning and expectations differ among volunteer tourism participants (McGehee 20014). Similarly, it appears that WWOOFers who expect an agritourism experience are less likely to adopt a more sustainable lifestyle. With this research, we aim to clarify assumptions regarding alternative tourism and better understand different types of WWOOFers and their commitment to sustainability.

Methodology

First, we conduct netnographic research (Kozinets 2010) through an investigation of online WWOOF networks (e.g., wwoof.fr, wwoof.org.uk, imeceevi.org) and their Facebook groups. We observed online behavior and virtually interacted with WWOOFers and hosts. We aimed to better understand the motivations and values of WWOOFers, and how their attitudes and practices transform towards sustainability. Interviews with WWOOFers were conducted to better understand their motivations for WWOOFing and how they experienced their stays and how the actual experiences changed their lifestyle as a result. Furthermore, three WWOOF farms were visited (Le Jardin Comestible, Le Jardin Fertile, and Imeceevi), and the investigation consisted of field observations, field notes, and in-depth interviews with hosts and WWOOFers. In total, we conducted 31 interviews and generated 285 pages of transcribed data.

Findings

Motivational taxonomy of WWOOFers:

The dimensions used for this taxonomy are: self-centered motivations to WWOOF, motivations to WWOOF for general purposes, as well as specific agricultural, social and spiritual expectations of the WWOOF experience.

Apprentice farmer. People in this group are willing to practice organic farming in order to learn to grow their own vegetables and start their own farming. WWOOF is a means to learn from experienced farmers and to further define their specialization and mindset. While some are already convinced defendants of organic farming, others perceive it as agriculture in general. This type of WWOOFer will emphasize the farm's activity when looking for a host.

Sovereign experimenter. They want to experience self-sufficiency to be less dependent on others and technology, become more resourceful, and eventually gain practical knowledge and skills for organic farming and life in general. They are also interested in learning about other cultures and lifestyles. When choosing to WWOOF, they can become sensitive to environmental and social issues (self-sufficiency, organic food, respect the planet) because they envision a wilder context – where food, water, shelter are not as easy to provide – and wish to escape social stratification by experiencing a simpler life. However, they do not necessarily act sustainably in everyday life but experience an alternative lifestyle and explore practices such as chopping wood, doing construction work, growing vegetable and making cheese.

Adventurous explorer. They want to discover new places and cultures, meet local people and live new affordable experiences. For some, traveling is one in a lifetime adventure, and for others who quit “normal life”, it is a new way of life that might never end. When starting to WWOOF, organic farming is not their primary interest. WWOOFing also enables participants to learn or improve a foreign language while traveling. These WWOOFers are more likely to contact hosts based on their location, the required length of stay, and leisure activities.

Transformation seeker. They are also curious about discovering new lifestyles and exchanging with individuals. However, experience is more of a means to an end in order to find new meaning in life. This quest can be linked to some dissatisfaction with current work/life or society in general. As a reaction, they look for self-transformation towards a sustainable lifestyle.

Impact of WWOOFing on changes in practice towards sustainability

We find that WWOOFer motivations change with time and experience, resulting in change in motivation from cheap traveling to living sustainable. The hosts' motivations also reveal that WWOOFing is an interactive process with complex motivations and various expectations from both sides. Individuals can better understand what sustainability is through witnessing a sustainable lifestyle and having the opportunity to ask questions and obtain explanations by involved individuals. WWOOFers learn to differentiate sustainable processes from non-sustainable techniques and build up new knowledge that will enable them to make sustainable choices.

WWOOFers also practice sustainability through growing their own food, cooking and processing the excess of the production for future consumption. Composting and recycling are common sustainable practices in most farms (e.g., dry toilets, retrieving and filtering rain and used water). Some learn how to produce zero waste and build a house from recycled materials. In self-sufficient farms, WWOOFers learn basic skills such as chopping wood for fire, practicing natural medicine, and avoiding technology. Some farms are very creative on lowering the carbon footprint, and WWOOFers also contribute to the sustainability of the farm by constructing new devices and building low energy properties. WWOOFers also learn sustainable agriculture practices (permaculture and biodynamic agriculture, use of natural fertilizers made of plants), and traditional farming activities such as beekeeping, cheese making, and growing ancient vegetables. WWOOFers also acquire specific skills, such as gardening in Mediterranean instead of wet climate or processing wool, restoring natural areas that have been destroyed, or using animal traction instead of gasoline dependent tractors.

Each WWOOF experience is a unique combination of learning and practicing sustainability. Although these farms' activities may not often be replicable in the everyday life, implementing and experiencing such sustainable practices is an imperative to understand the concept and the magnitude of sustainability, and to experiment whether such a lifestyle can be pursued in everyday life. WWOOFers become more realistic both in terms of estimating the limits of practicing sustainable living in their daily lives. They do not idealize sustainability, but instead consider the small changes that can possibly contribute more to sustainable living. Moreover, WWOOFers learn to better interact with the people of their community and become more altruistic and giving, modeling after their hosts. Respect for nature and human being, and willingness to share are the principles of permaculture, which lead to better understanding and practice of sustainability. Community consciousness is closely linked to change in consumption practices, such as clothing (buying less and buying vintage clothes) and food (adopting vegetarianism).

Changes in attitudes and practice towards sustainability through WWOOFing can be explained by "Stages of change model" (aka The Transtheoretical Model [TTM] – Prochaska 1979), which helps categorize individuals based on their sustainability awareness (attitudinal) and involvement (practical). Both downstream and upstream interventions (Verplanken and Wood 2006) trigger various processes of change that enable a move forward or backward between the different stages (DiClemente 2007). According to TTM, individuals first need to change their attitude. They need to be aware of the sustainability issues, and that their personal change can have a positive impact on society in order to move from the pre-contemplation to the contemplation stage. Once individuals are contemplators, they also need to be aware that their change in practice has a positive

influence on their identity (self re-evaluation) in order to move to the preparation stage. Finally, they need to believe that they can succeed in adopting sustainable practices and decide to take action.

[Insert Table 1 about here]

Prior research suggests that sustainability events (Maire and Laing 2013) and life in ecovillages (Hong and Vicdan 2016) appeal to individuals that have sustainability awareness as a precedent (they are already in contemplation, action and sometimes maintenance stages), reaffirming their values and reinforcing their sustainable lifestyles, but failing to convince new individuals (pre-contemplation) towards sustainable lifestyles. WWOOFing, however, is perceived as a site for experimentation both for WWOOFers and hosts, and appeals to individuals at all stages, and can initiate awareness and reinforce existing sustainable practices.

Macro Implications of Alternative Tourism on Sustainability Education

Sustainable communities such as ecovillages, where residents explore more sustainable ways of living, unfortunately have limited contributions to sustainability education on a meaningful scale (Litfin 2009). The limitation includes insufficient cooperation with local and macro institutions, lack of inclusivity, which results in the consequent elitist and utopian image perceived by the outsiders, and enduring conflicts among residents due to increasing normative expectations to live sustainably in the community (Hong and Vicdan 2016). Consequently, such issues prevent these sustainable communities from progressing as an alternative lifestyle (Press and Arnould 2011; Visconti, Minowa, and Maclaran 2014). In contrast, WWOOFing sites provide increased opportunities and improved communications for sustainability education, and raise awareness for the constituents of sustainability (Prothero, McDonagh, and Dobscha 2010). WWOOF sites are also

more inclusive and easier to join, and the stays are temporary and yet more focused. We observe the gradual implementation of a sustainable lifestyle in these sites of experimentation. Consequently, we argue that WWOOFing might be more effective in sustainability education. In this research we aimed to explore how the sustainability education process takes place both in attitudinal and practical terms, and how WWOOFing raises sustainability awareness and develops sustainable production and consumption habits among WWOOFers. WWOOF sites as alternative tourism venues may contribute substantially to sustainability awareness and education at the individual and community level for the next generations to come through their educational agenda (Prothero et al. 2011). Regardless of the level of individual awareness, WWOOF sites allow for experimentation with such lifestyles and incremental modifications of sustainable practices. Hence, reformist transformation of lives towards sustainability is enabled. Most importantly, encouraging pragmatic learning of sustainability in these sites for experimentation of alternative lifestyles cultivates a culture where consumers increasingly become *consumer-citizens* (Prothero et al. 2011). Responsible tourism can only be achieved through capabilization (Giesler and Veresiu 2014) of people, which entails macro efforts that enable people to perform their roles as consumer-citizens and to allocate those efforts to the sustainability education. Hands-on experiences of sustainability in WWOOF farms and modeling after the hosts' altruistic behaviors can be considered a part of this capabilization process. In addition, the sincerity and the entrepreneurial spirit of the hosts enable WWOOFers to observe them and understand the meaning of practicing sustainability. WWOOFers also gain cognitive knowledge about organic farming, environmental and social issues. Therefore, WWOOFing is a holistic pedagogy that integrates an emotional, cognitive, physical, spiritual, and experiential learning process to pass on sustainability awareness and behavior (Shrivastava 2010).

Our findings also inform farm hosts in order to better attract WWOOFers and accommodate their needs as well as provide education for them to promote more sustainable lifestyles. In addition, when promoting WWOOFing, involved individuals and farms should not present utopian vision of sustainability but communicate WWOOFing as alternative and complementary modes of travel to the dominant mass tourism lifestyles (Visconti et al. 2014). Such efforts should also emphasize a shared understanding of what constitutes sustainable practices, and how they extend these practices beyond the immediate community (Humphreys 2014). Furthermore, social media technologies and mobile applications may help improve and create new WWOOF experiences for matching volunteers and hosts based on their motivations and expectations (McGehee 2014). Crowdfunding initiatives may also help support volunteer tourism and better recruit individuals towards sustainability education.

Moving from downstream to upstream approach on sustainability education, we suggest that WWOOF builds up partnerships with existing networks in order to bundle knowledge and resources, and gain further legitimacy among organic and sustainability-friendly organizations. For instance, WWOOF could reach out to urban communities such as communal gardens or AMAPs (associations supporting small farming), which might also gather likeminded people. Consumers with an initial interest for healthy food and small farmers are likely to engage in WWOOFing. They could be interested in WWOOFing and long for further education about sustainable agriculture and consumption.

Another potential track to reach out to unaware individuals is the collaboration between WWOOF and schools in order to include organic farming activities. WWOOF would be the ideal partner for similar partnerships with schools or universities in order to engage in organic farming or food related activities. In fact, we found that WWOOF appeals to younger generations and has a great steering mechanism, which is efficient in initiating awareness and positive attitude towards sustainability. Schools and universities would complement the WWOOF organization as a steering media (Broadbent, Laughlin and Alwani-Starr 2010) that gives voice to the mission of the organization.

Meek (2014) explains how politics and economic processes shape sustainable agriculture education. He brings the example of the Brazilians' landless workers' movement (aka MST in Portuguese), which succeeded in implementing sustainable agricultural systems through the implementation of agro-ecological education, which yielded better food autonomy and land restoration. The MST particularly pressured the Brazilian government in reforming agriculture education to teach sustainable ideals and practices. The efforts and financial means are reflected on new school programs in some regions that now convey a new political and normative message to criticize industrial agriculture and promote small-scale farming. In this regard, WWOOF experience can create positive, participatory and creative learning environments through which genuine sustainability motivations in educational practices are enacted. This ultimately motivates WWOOFers in creating societal change (Owens 2013). Consequently, sustainability education may serve a vehicle for economic and political change. MST's achievements highlight the interdependence between sustainability and political and economical systems (McKenzie 2012). Participation in a social dialogue with macro institutions in order to share their practices and

experiences may enable national WWOOF organizations develop new and more efficient sustainability education processes.

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Table 1: Change in sustainability through WWOOFing (adapted from Maire and Laing 2013)

	Stage of change	Process of change	Description
Attitudinal dimension	Precontemplation to contemplation	Consciousness raising	WWOOFers discover what daily practices are unsustainable and how hosts remedy it (self-sufficiency, recycling, composting).
		Dramatic relief	WWOOFers are either afraid of or inspired (or both) by the gap between their representation of the world and their lifestyle, and the lifestyles of the hosts. WWOOFers become aware of the difficulties of being and acting sustainable.
		Environmental re-evaluation	WWOOFers realize organic farming is an eco-friendly alternative that benefits the environment, animal species and society. Permaculture and biodynamic pillars also help them understand to what extent humans are nature-dependent and connected.
	Contemplation to preparation	Self re-evaluation	WWOOFers connect pride and self-fulfillment feelings to sustainable practices; they feel better through adopting a sustainable lifestyle and care less about external judgments.
	Preparation to action	Self-liberation	WWOOFers decide that personal choices matter (e.g, avoid mass-consumption)
Practice dimension	Action to maintenance	Helping-relationships	WWOOFers find other individuals that share the same beliefs: they become friends with their hosts, find further support through the hosts’ network.
		Reinforcement management	WWOOFing confirms sustainable beliefs or reinforces the benefits of a sustainable lifestyle: healthier, more pleasant, and simpler lifestyle with less impact on the environment.
		Counter conditioning	After WWOOFing, individuals replace normal life practices with new ones: e.g., new diet (e.g, organic, veganism), making new use of ones’ garden.
		Stimulus control	After WWOOFing, individuals change shopping habits (e.g., from the supermarket to the local market), install compost. Some quit their former job to find a more purposeful vocation.
	Supporting maintenance	Social liberation	After WWOOFing, individuals recommend WWOOF to their relatives (WOM) and others on social networks, and they engage in volunteering or having their own farm and becoming hosts.

Application of Layton's Mechanism, Action, and Structure Theory for Sustainability Purposes

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Abstract

Layton's Mechanism, Action, and Structure (MAS) theory has been employed as a holistic tool for addressing sustainability-related issues and developing a set of sustainability indicators. The article provides a method for using the macromarketing theory to model primarily processes and relationships between elements of the system to find its bottlenecks and leverage points. It unpacks the MAS theory by applying to it a series of system modelling techniques. This helps to define useful problem-addressing pathways, feedback relations and vital leverage points that may be used in the sustainability field. As this article is mostly an illustration of a method or approach, rather than analysis of specific sustainability issues, we model the issue of sustainability in a broader macro-social marketing context.

Introduction

Sustainability has become an important theme in macromarketing literature (Mittelstaedt et al. 2014). This fact may be attributable to several exogenous and endogenous factors. The first factor arises from the concept of sustainability itself. Sustainability and sustainable development include economic development, an important construct in economics, business and marketing, though

economists should not substitute this sustainability pillar with the controversial notion of sustainable growth or something similar to a Kuznets curve (Peattie and Peattie 2012). The second factor comes from the ontological character of macromarketing with its central focus on marketing systems and their interaction with society and environment (Hunt 1981). Marketing systems and its subsystems develop as a provisioning mechanism of society (Dixon 1984; Fisk 1967). In this role, they are critical for sustainability. Besides a positive side advocated by the developmental macromarketing school, marketing systems with all their excesses are able to demonstrate a darker side, giving rise to critical macromarketing school (Hastings and Domegan 2014; Mittelstaedt et al. 2014). Understanding and trying to mitigate this dark side of marketing and business are among the main roots of sustainability with origins in technology critique, eco-development and limits-to-growth literature (Bell and Morse 2008; Du Pisani 2006; Kidd 1992). Another factor is connected with the intrinsic nature of sustainability and macromarketing. Both of them share the common platforms of holistic thinking and systems perspective. Sustainability links environmental, socio-political, economic and human development issues and calls for holistic resolution of problems in a mutually reinforcing way (Robinson 2004). These three factors that bridge sustainability and macromarketing may be considered endogenous. The fourth factor driving their mutual interest is exogenous, though closely related to the former. The scope of mankind-facing issues and the necessity to foster sustainability provide a driving need for marketing to think critically on the level of systems and macro framework. As Hastings and Domegan (2014) put it, the need for systems thinking becomes even more apparent when we move from small decisions to large-scale problems.

This article works on the premise of the above-mentioned importance of holistic thinking and systems perspective in macromarketing and sustainability, where the macro holistic component of both will be used and strengthened for mutual benefit. Its main focus is to use the Mechanism, Action, and Structure (MAS) theory (Layton 2015), systems science principles and other related holistic approaches (e.g. Community-Based Social Marketing) to model and analyze sustainability-related issues.

Methodology

The MAS theory is a truly systemic interdisciplinary approach to understanding social systems. It pays major attention to unravelling relationships between different elements of the system and explicates mechanisms of system origination, growth, development and operation. This theory is also instrumental in finding the bottlenecks and limitations in system formation and functioning, and as such it could be extended to provide a theoretical framework for addressing, via dynamic modelling and systems analysis, various complex sustainability issues, which in turn represent complex systems. By addressing system bottlenecks, this model can be used to define leverage points and sustainability indicators that can help in monitoring and correcting system operation. The methodology for selecting such indicators is based on a framework developed by Lazarsfeld (1958), who identified four stages of indicator construction process: (1) an initial imagery of the concept, (2) specification of its dimensions, (3) selection of observable indicators, and (4) the combination of indicators into indices. The initial imagery of the concept and the specification of its dimensions (concept delineation), two stages preceding the selection of indicators, are closely related to modelling. Modelling methodology is based on the modelling process steps developed by Sterman (2000). They include problem articulation and dynamic hypothesis with the help of

drawing causal loop diagrams. A full modelling process is a lengthy operation which is out of the scope of this article, so the general idea and method are presented here. Space constraints permit only a very sketchy outline of the issue articulation process, which in its classical form can feature multiple techniques, including team discussions, archival research, reference mode development, data collection, interviews, direct observation and participation (Sterman 2000).

Building the MAS-Based Model for Sustainability Purposes

The MAS theory holistically merges the armamentarium of systems science and social sciences by blending them in a coherent way to primarily model processes and relationships between elements of the system, thus becoming the key theory which explains the evolution and operation of the marketing system (Layton 2015). A marketing system is defined as

“a network of individuals, groups and/or entities, embedded in a social matrix, linked directly or indirectly through sequential or shared participation in economic exchange, which jointly and/or collectively creates economic value with and for customers, through the offer of assortments of goods, services, experiences and ideas, that emerge in response to or anticipation of customer demand” (Layton 2007, p. 230).

Simplistically, the structural components of the MAS theory include a set of four primary social mechanisms (co-evolution, cooperation, scale, and emergence), operating between structured marketing system elements united in competitive relationship networks (strategic action fields) to perform certain function (generation of economic and social value) within a contextualized marketing system (Layton 2015). Figure 1 illustrates the MAS theory within

the four-dimensional structure-processes-function-environment continuum of systems thinking (Gharajedaghi 2011).

[Insert Figure 1 here]

It is considered of interest to unpack this formula-like representation of the MAS theory by applying to it a series of system modelling techniques. This helps to define useful problem-addressing pathways, feedback relations and vital leverage points that may be used for sustainability purposes. For that, Sterman (2000) proposed a viable modelling strategy by suggesting the following steps of the modelling process:

1. problem articulation (boundary selection);
2. formulation of dynamic hypothesis;
3. formulation of a simulation model;
4. testing;
5. policy design and evaluation;

We focus at the initial stages of this process due to space constraints.

Problem Articulation

Sterman (2000) defines problem articulation as “the most important step in modelling”, since “for a model to be useful, it must address a specific problem and must simplify rather than attempt to mirror an entire system in detail” (p. 89). Systems science with its openness principle also advocates the contextualization of the system behaviour analysis, saying that meaningful enquiries into system nature could not be separated from context (Gharajedaghi 2011). As this article is mostly an illustration of the method rather than the analysis of specific sustainability issues, we model the issue of sustainability in a broader macro-social marketing context, though some specific sustainability-related issues are also addressed.

To start with, we used another truly holistic approach applicable for sustainability purposes – Community-Based Social Marketing (CBSM), developed by McKenzie-Mohr (2011). Specifically, we employed two principles that CBSM uses in order to select target behaviours in sustainable interventions. The first principle is called “behaviour divisibility”, and it helps to divide a broader behavioural category to smaller chunks of more specific behaviours (McKenzie-Mohr 2011, pp. 13-14). The second principle, called “end-state behaviours,” helps to address an issue rather than its symptoms (McKenzie-Mohr 2011, p. 15). With a holistic attitude in mind and by analogy with these two principles, we applied the MAS theory to the sustainability issue in order to *divide* it to a set of related sub-issues and further analyze each sub-issue from the point of what may produce the desired sustainable outcome (McKenzie-Mohr 2011). This is an approach similar to analytical sociology of dissecting a complex problem and bringing into focus its constituent components (Hedström 2006). So, the first modelling step includes looking at the issue through the lenses of the MAS theory, CBSM, general theory of Strategic Action Fields and systems science by making a number of logical assumptions about the drivers of sustainability system behaviour. The results of this and the list of these drivers are shown in Table 1.

[Insert Table 1 here]

This list of sustainability-related sub-issues from Table 1 confirms that the issue of sustainability and its manifestation can have a deeply intrinsic nature and are rooted to the origination of the whole system of sustainability-related components akin to the components of the marketing system. These sub-issues specify how the general problem is structured and show the rules of interaction within the problem as a system. As Sterman (2000) correctly argued, “System dynamics seeks endogenous explanations for phenomena” (p. 95). Without addressing each and every fragment of this system in a systemic way, the progress of sustainability will be implausible.

At the level of sustainability indicators, we must stress that indicators that are based only on the external manifestation or performance of the system, no matter how influential they are, will be of little help in building the sustainability system. The analysis of the sub-issues listed in Table 1, (they may serve as a basis for working out sustainability-related indicators or leverage points), reveals that few of them intersect with the well-known indicator systems like UN's Human Development Index, Economist's Quality-of-Life Index, the Legatum Institute's Prosperity Index or Mercer Quality of Living Survey. The level of community cohesion (the quality of interactions among community members), governance quality, public participation in green policy, or various community-based indicators (Communities Count: The LITMUS Test, Sustainable Seattle Project, etc.) are rare exclusions (Lingayah and Sommer 2001; Litman 2015). Current sustainability-monitoring variables show mostly a performance-oriented picture with respect to sustainability with an over-reliance on perception of performance (Moonen and Clark 2013). Linking indicators to actual intrinsic system-related issues is vital, because they ensure that we do not lose sight of the ultimate goal of monitoring ("what we want to be") and instead become wrapped up with "what we want to measure and how" (Bell and Morse 2003, p. 49). The indicators that are able to monitor the internal progress to sustainability are left mostly unattended and unrecorded. In order to change this situation, we are best to treat the sustainability issues in a systemic way. The MAS theory offers such a possibility of looking at the system in a holistic manner in order to find its bottlenecks and leverage points. The range of sub-issues in Table 1 can provide us with a set of broad variables (some of them are further divisible composite indices), which endogenously characterize system behaviour (Table 2). These variables can be used to formulate dynamic hypothesis regarding the issue.

[Insert Table 2 here]

Dynamic Hypothesis and an Example of Modelling Causal Relationships

A dynamic hypothesis is a working theory of how the problem arose (Sterman 2000). The list of sub-issues indicated in Table 1 leads us to the fact that our general sustainability problem consists of a number of sub-problems which are instrumental in predicating the behaviour of the whole system. More precisely, the behaviour of the whole system involves multiple complex feedback networks of influences. To unravel these influences we might use a method of causal maps or causal loop diagrams (CLDs). In system dynamics, informal causal maps are used to improve our mental models and test hypotheses about the logical implications of our assumptions of system behaviour (Hovmand 2014). Below is an effort of modelling one of the recorded sub-issues (Table 1) via indicating hypothesized causal relationships and pinpointing some leverage points, affecting the sub-issue. These leverage points are also variables that can be used as indicators of system behaviour. The choice of a sub-issue for CLD-empowered analysis has been totally arbitrary. Our sub-issue of choice has been the iteration and replication of unsustainability patterns (see Table 1). The purpose of this modelling exercise is to define the factors which enhance the replication of the unsustainability patterns in society. Here we talk about a capacity of any system to replicate its structure or characteristic trends over certain period of time until a fracture or other system shock punctuates this state. This is what Gleick (1987) called by the process of nature forming orderly patterns in time or space. It is similar to a steady-state which means the maintenance of entropic randomization – being the most stable and statistically probable state (Skyttner 2005).

Unsustainability might be expressed by direct and indirect ways. The first way means direct confrontation with sustainability via continuous support of environmentally damaging industries, that are viewed as economic keystones, or denialism activities and acrimonious debate on behalf of conservative governments, corporations and lobby groups, that consider growth as a main business of political economy and create the atmosphere of uncertainty with respect to environmental policies especially in the area of sustainability. The second way is indirect and more subtle, but ruinous in equal degree. It is based on reluctance to foster sustainability at scale; an unwillingness to make large-scale investments in the green and blue economy and sustainability projects, thus turning them into episodic quasi-experiments; adherence to simple greener and more efficient technologies within the consumerist society; the attitude towards environmental and other issues as calculable risks; consumerism-centred behaviour; prevalence of one-shot and non-systemic solutions that maintain business-as-usual attitudes; temporal, spatial and institutional mismatch between decision-making and global environmental concerns; scientism and silo mentality of multiple actors (Crocker and Lehmann 2014; Dixon 2010; Newton and Bai 2008; Robinson 2004). When these unsustainable patterns are replicated over and over again, it might be extremely difficult to intermit this dangerous trend.

The recurrent patterns of system behaviour have been in the focus of several theories, including systems science (the principle of counterintuitive behaviour of systems; Gharajedaghi 2011), the general theory of Strategic Action Fields (Fligstein and McAdam 2011), chaos theory (Gleick 1987) and structuration theory (Giddens 1977). While the existence of such repetitive patterns is consistent with systems science, it is considered of interest to look at the drivers which foster

recurrent unsustainable behaviour patterns. Figure 2 shows variables which affect the sub-issue of recurrent unsustainability patterns.

[Insert Figure 2 here]

The causal loop diagram scheme on Figure 2 illustrates the complex interplay of system-embedded endogenous factors influencing the process of replication of unsustainable attitudes, practices and moods. Some variables have been omitted in order to avoid overcomplicating the scheme, while the impact rank of each variable might be the subject of separate analysis (such ranking may allow further simplification of the scheme). For instance, variables 1-3 are manifestations of factors that determine the nature of patterns in systems theory (Gharajedaghi, 2011). These factors can determine the stability of the unsustainability pattern, if sustainable activity (no. 2) is not strong enough and resultant oscillations between sustainable and unsustainable activity (no. 3) solidify general unsustainable trend. Factors 4-7, arising from Social Mechanisms of the MAS theory, can act either in a reinforcing or balancing way in relation to the replication of unsustainability patterns. The same relates to other variables, which create an intricate web of attenuating or strengthening relations. Since the possibility of being affected by factors reinforcing this process is real, it is clear that unsustainability solidification could become a problem which will be extremely difficult to overcome. The improvement in such variables as governance quality, social space organization, resource distribution justice and the level of understanding exchange benefits may mitigate this problem. In general, the use of the MAS theory and systems science leads to uncovering a set of system-affecting endogenous variables that could be holistically applied to evaluate and address sustainability-related issues. In this role, these variables act as leverage points for improving the performance of the whole system.

Conclusion

Marketing systems do not epitomize sustainability. They could be hardly viewed within the dichotomy of normative vs. positive opposing trends, since the multidimensionality principle of systems thinking negates the vision of the world as a dichotomy of conflicting trends, favouring rather complimentary character of such interactions (Gharajedaghi 2011). Moreover, the critical school in macromarketing, which may be regarded as the most sustainable branch of marketing discipline, is very sceptical of the normative role of marketing systems and is quite vocalic on their pernicious influences (Mittelstaedt et al. 2014). However, the use of the theory highlighting the process of marketing system growth and evolution is helpful in finding bottlenecks and leverage points of any system, as well as in defining indicators for guiding sustainability in a systemic manner. It is a manifestation of the approach which puts macro considerations back into sustainability. Such approach is supported by those scholars who advocate the development of sustainability indicators in a system-based way (Bell and Morse 2003; Bossel 1999). Within the framework of this approach, we use macromarketing capacity for system analysis in order to holistically address sustainability problems.

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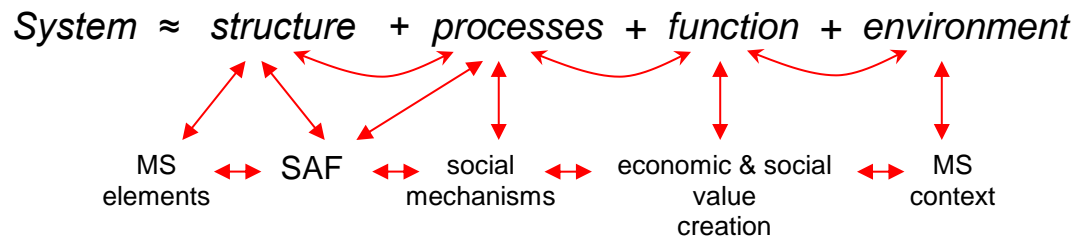


Figure 1. Juxtaposition of MAS and systems theories. MS stands for ‘marketing system’, SAFs – ‘strategic action fields’.

Table 1. Sustainability Viewed Through the Lens of the MAS Theory.

Relevance to general issue	Ensuing sustainability-related sub-issues
1) System science: processes / MAS theory: social mechanisms	
✓ (deactivation or malfunctioning of social mechanisms) (Layton 2015, 307-310)	<p><i>Endowments</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - excessive level of differentiation in endowments of community members and other system participants; <p><i>Co-evolution</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - slow, shallow and unsteady level of evolution and growth of sustainability-related beliefs, ideas, memes, social practices and norms; <p><i>Exchange</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - deficiencies in exchange mechanism, in understanding its benefits and in forming lasting relationships; - unfilled specialized roles; <p><i>Cooperation</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - lack of shared values, understanding, cooperation and trust; <p><i>Emergence</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - iteration and replication of unsustainability patterns; - failed capacity for system transition due to deficiencies in connectivity, growth potential and resilience; <p>(source: Layton 2015, 307-310)</p>
2) System science: structure + processes / MAS theory: strategic action fields	
✓ (anti-sustainability-oriented SAFs)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - poor characterization of the composition of SAFs, including incumbents, challengers, and governance units; - no common understandings about actors' identities, the purposes of the field, the relationships in the field (including who has power and why), and the field's rules; - large inequality of resource distribution; - disproportionate influence of incumbents within a field; - lack of strategic action to form coalitions and organise cooperation; - deficient social skills in the area of collective action to engage others; <p>(sources: Fligstein and McAdam 2011; Layton 2015, 309, 311)</p>
3) System science: structure / MAS theory: marketing system structure	
✓ (underdeveloped system and	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - poor nature of exchanges (inadequate understanding of exchange benefits by each system participant); - poor understanding of externalities;

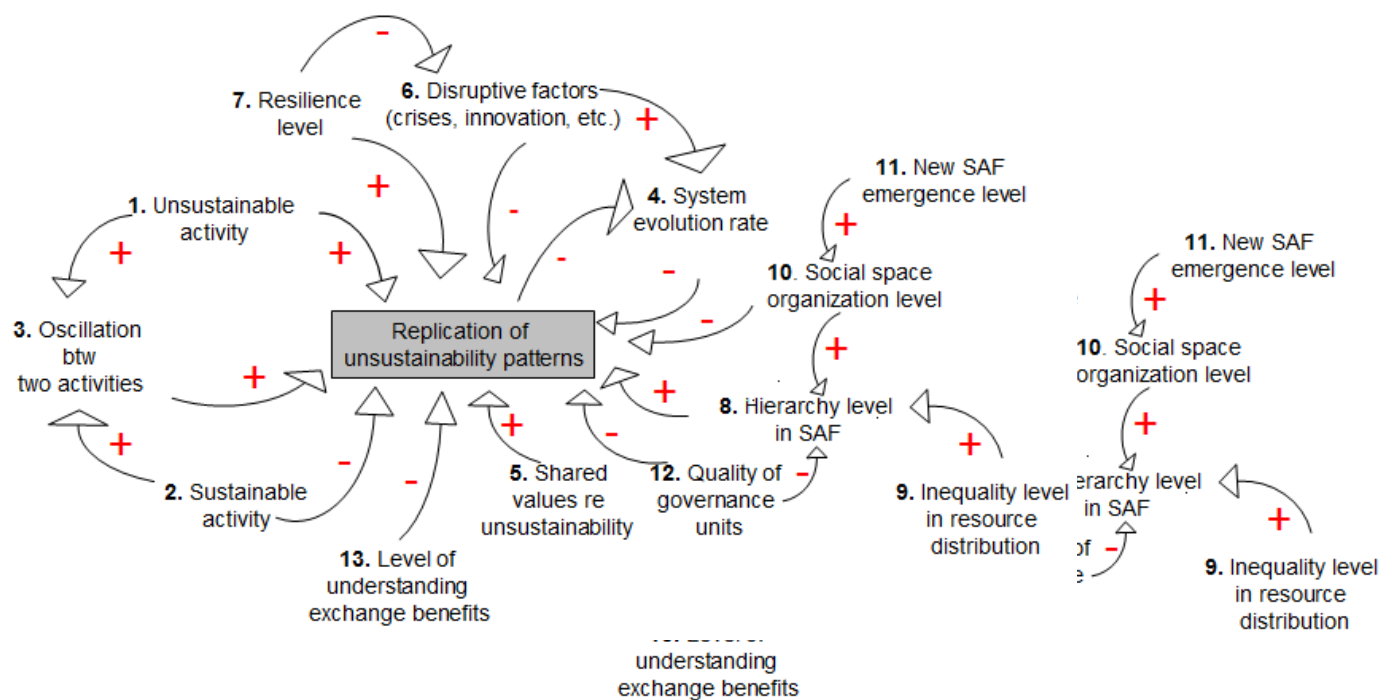
unavailability or	- undefined and unsettled role of agents and controllers;
underdevelopment	- detrimental level of contradiction between system participants
of a common set of	(ruinous tug-of-war);
system's structural	- low quality of governance, poor systemic vision and system
elements and	management;
modules)	- non-stimulation of collective action;
(Layton 2015, 311-	- insufficient diversity of assortments and other system 'products';
312)	- small numbers of linking networks and failed networked relations;
	- one-way and incoherent information flows;
	- poor match between assortments and 'customer' desires;
	- low level of resilience to external change;
	- poor achievement of distributive justice;
	- lack of audience segmentation analysis and formative research;
	(source: Layton 2015, 311-312)

Table 2. Some Key Variables Vital for System Growth and Operation

System elements	Indicators
I) Social Mechanisms	
1) Endowments	a) system participant differentiation level;
2) Co-evolution	a) system evolution rate; - belief evolution rate; - behaviour evolution rate;
3) Exchange	a) exchange mechanism quality (index); - assortment diversity level; - intra-exchange party satisfaction level; b) number of filled specialized roles;
4) Cooperation	a) spread of shared values; b) depth of shared values; c) level of trust;
5) Emergence	a) self-organization capacity; b) system behaviour pattern cyclicity; c) system behaviour pattern reproduction level; d) connectivity level; e) growth potential level; f) resilience level;
II) Strategic Action Fields	1) social space organization level; 2) hierarchy level in SAF; 3) inequality level in resource distribution; 4) level of understanding of SAF-related principles (purposes, participants, relationships, rules); 5) new SAF emergence level; 6) quality of government units (index);
III) System structure	1) quality of governance (index); 2) level of understanding externalities; 3) level of contradiction between system participants; 4) level of collective action; 5) number of linking actions; 6) quality of assortments;

-
- 7) quality of information flows;
 - 8) level of match between assortments and system participants' desires;
 - 9) level of distributive justice;
 - 10) level of audience analysis;
-

Figure 2. Factors affecting replication of unsustainability patterns.



Moving the Sustainability Agenda Forward: The Green-Schools Programme

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Sustainability has gone “mainstream”. Firms develop sustainability strategies, create sustainable products and operations, produce sustainability reports, and appoint “chief sustainability officers” who espouse sustainability to be their core mission. University administrators promote sustainability as central to their curricula. Scholars pursue sustainability as a field of research inquiry. Consumers buy sustainable products, drive sustainable cars, stay at sustainable hotels, and are seemingly bombarded with sustainability marketing campaigns. Indeed, sustainability has reached into all areas of business, politics, and society. The world, it would seem, is on the road to a sustainable future. Or is it?

Ehrenfeld and Hoffman (2013, 1)

This quote by Ehrenfeld and Hoffman (2013) alludes to an interesting point about sustainability, one which, although not initially obvious, is similar to Koolhaas’ metaphor of sustainability as an ‘ornament’ – in our progress of moving the sustainability agenda forward, has there been any real impact? This paper presents research on the role of the Green-Schools Programme on progressing sustainability. The Green-Schools Programme (known internationally as Eco-Schools) is a Foundation for Environmental Education (FEE) programme, which promotes and acknowledges

long-term, whole school action for the environment. The programme is a voluntary participatory initiative that aims to introduce schoolchildren to environmental issues and concerns through education, active learning and participation in the school, and in the local community. The need for such a programme is set within the context of our increasing concern for not only the physical environment but the overall welfare of its inhabitants. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) (2014) claims that the Earth's average surface temperature is steadily increasing and will continue to do so if substantial change from business, consumers, and governments does not occur. The concept of sustainability seeks to rectify the issues that the industrialised, consumer society has created. However, moving towards a more sustainable future is not straight-forward, and may require a combination of technological innovation, regulation, investment, financial incentives, organisational change, and education (Wells, Ponting, and Peattie 2011).

Much of the responsibility in this area has been ascribed to consumers and their behaviours in their assumed ability to change the dominant social paradigm (DSP) (Kilbourne and Beckmann 1998; Jackson 2005; Ehrenfeld and Hoffman 2013). Milbrath (1984, 7) defined the DSP as consisting of '*...the metaphysical beliefs, institutions, habits, etc. that collectively provide social lenses through which individuals and groups interpret their social world*'. The DSP serves to legitimize and justify prevailing institutions that serve the interests of these dominant groups and consequently, serves as a mechanism through which specific social or political strategies may be justified. Climate change, caused by a change in the composition of the atmosphere, has occurred due to carbon emissions, in the most part from human activities and ultimately this '*enormous wall of consumption lies at the heart of the climate change problem*' (Helm in O'Hear 2011, 238).

Ehrenfeld and Hoffman (2013) argue that the reason the world is in such bad shape is because the DSP no longer fits the world and as long as we continue to operate according to its structure, we will continue to yield consequences that threaten sustainability.

The consumer society of our modern-day world is socially constructed to consume (Baudrillard 1998; Peattie 2009) and relies on the dominant social paradigm (DSP) to support rationalized consumption (Carrigan and Attalla 2001; Ehrenfeld and Hoffman 2013). Kilbourne (1998) argues that the DSP approach to solving the environmental problems will '*consistently fail from a global perspective*' and as such, economic growth, political reformism, and technological rationality are lacking the capability of alleviating the problems that they have created (Kilbourne 1998, 652). It is argued that the '*shallow*' approach to achieving sustainable consumption, such as public awareness campaigns, will not suffice in motivating behaviour change as it does not account for the entrenched nature of everyday practices which are situated '*within contexts and infrastructures not conducive to living sustainably*' (Hobson 2002, 103).

Efforts to motivate sustainable consumption have been extensive and to some degree successful (Jackson 2005; Freestone and McGoldrick 2008; Adams and Raisborough 2010). In so far as remedying the environmental damage the industrialized world has created, Kilbourne (1998) argues that economic, political or technological fixes, constructed within the DSP, will not suffice and what is needed, if green marketing and pro-environmental policies are to succeed in changing behaviours, is to reconcile the DSP with the New Environmental Paradigm (NEP) (Kilbourne 1998). Progressive steps on this front are reported by Prothero, McDonagh, and Dobscha (2010) as they contend that consumers are changing the DSP, either consciously or unconsciously; their

profile of consumer-citizens suggests that individuals are, on various levels and through various belief systems, beginning to change the DSP through their everyday practices.

In line with this, Prothero et al. (2011) and Pape et al. (2011) called for an exploration of how education initiatives, such as the Green-Schools programme, affect the way children (and their family and friends) think and act from a consumption perspective and whether their behaviour is representative of an acceptance of the NEP. Environmental education programmes that expose children to environmental issues at a young age, encouraging them to learn and become informed about the environment as well as teaching them practical skills in behaving sustainably may *'empower them to act as catalysts of environmental influence in their homes and communities'* (Ballantyne, Connell, and Fien 1998, 421). The findings of this research suggests that the Green-Schools programme is currently having a positive impact on the environment. Well-informed schoolchildren are having a positive impact on current behaviours both in their school and in the home, and their environmental awareness and ability to practice sustainable behaviours seems to indicate that their pro-environmental behaviours have the potential to continue over-time. However, whether this pro-environmental behaviour is sustained over time is unclear. Indications from the research suggest that teenagers in the home are not as concerned or proactive as the primary school-children in adhering to sustainability principles.

Therefore, while the programme introduces children at a young age to the principles of the NEP (Prothero *et al.*, 2011) crucially, if we are to continue to move the sustainability agenda forward, their enthusiasm for pro-environmental behaviours must transition to second- and third-level education, and beyond. In negotiating sustainable change in society, a focus on environmental

education, such as the Green-Schools Programme, may go a long way in ensuring current and future generations are both informed in, and engaged with, sustainability issues. However, it is the continuance of these well-formed behaviours over time that will insure that sustainability does not become merely the 'ornament' that Koolhaas speaks of.

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Advertising to Children: Implications for Policy and Research on Advertising Ethics

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Extended Abstract

Whether children are unfairly influenced by advertising has been a central topic in marketing ethics (Wright, Friestad, and Boush 2005; Bonifield, and Cole 2007). Bronfenbrenner's much cited *The Ecology of Human Development* (1979) highlights the impact of socio-cultural macro systems on childhood development. One such system is the economic one, which today is a consumption based society. Adverts are an innate aspect of this cultural macro system and are "carriers of information and ideology" which ultimately shape the institutions and environment in which children develop (Bronfenbrenner 1977, 515; also see Kilbourne et al. 2009).

Children are particularly sensitive to environmental stimuli, leading to many social and ethical implications of advertising for society (Carter et al. 2011). Both the US Institute of Medicine (2006) and World Health Organization (2011) commissioned reviews of research into marketing to children with both concluding that advertisements for food and beverages are strongly associated with obesity and adverse health in children. Kasser, and Linn (2016) in particular provide a very compelling exploration of how advertising is embedding itself in US child development, from

school funding to adverts as TV programming. In particular they explore five trends in changing child psychology: materialistic values, unhealthy eating, distorted body image, aggression and substance abuse. In each of these areas the weight of both experimental and longitudinal studies highlight that childhood exposure to advertising has a direct causal link in increased incidents of these worrying trends in child development.

Existing advertising literature generally assumes the impact of advertising on children depends on their cognitive development stage. Children in the perceptual stage (3-7 years) are egocentric and mainly focus on the immediate and readily observable perceptual features of objects to reach a decision (John 1999). They can differentiate advertising from regular TV programs based on its physical features (e.g. advertising is shorter than TV programs) but they fail to understand its persuasive intents (Wilcox et al. 2004). When children move to the analytical stage (7-11 years), they are able to think from others' perspectives and can go beyond the physical features to focus on the functional or underlying dimensions of the information (Chan, and McNeal 2006; John 1999). John (1999) proposes that children in this stage begin to understand advertising's pervasive intent, although Carter et al. (2011) suggests otherwise with many of their 10-11 year old participants still not understanding persuasive intent. John (1999) further argues children at this stage of development still rely on physical cues to activate their ability to cope with advertising influence (John 1999). Finally, similar to adults, children in the reflective stage (11-16 years) develop critical thinking about the marketplace and how it works (John 1999). In short, although the word "children" are used to describe any consumers under 16, they cannot be considered as a homogenous group due to differences in their cognitive abilities.

In addition, most current regulatory environment on advertising to children, and most extant literature, is developed in relation to a marketplace dominated by traditional TV adverts. However, the rapid diffusion of new media such as the Internet has fundamentally changed the media landscape children face. For example, through national surveys, both Gentile (2009) in the US, and Mintel (2015) in the UK suggest children are now spending more time playing online and video games than watching TV. Similarly in terms of advertising spend the UK spent more on digital advertising than TV advertising for the first time in 2009 and the US is expected to follow suit in 2017 (Statista 2016a; 2016b). Consequently, the past two decades have witnessed a revolution in accessibility to children for advertising purposes, with limited regulatory response.

Regulatory responses to advertising to children

In 2010 the World Health Organization (WHO) highlighted the need for society to protect vulnerable age groups as they cannot understand or interpret the intentions of advertising. The WHO focused on the need for governments to take action to ensure children's environments should be free from all marketing of high fat, salt and free sugars. However in our modern deregulated global markets, with political regimes democratising power and the increased role for civil society (Habermas 1997), how realistic, or effective, is it for WHO to expect governments to take the lead on advertising regulation?

Countries such as Norway and Sweden have had regulations prohibiting advertising to children for decades, whereas the UK instituted regulation in 2008 and 2009 restricting specific foods and beverages high in fat, sugar or salt during children's television (Hawkes, and Lobstein 2011). However there is very little regulations covering online advertising beyond the CAP Code 2.1 which

states that advertising must be “obviously identifiable as such”, but there are no guidelines for advertisers as to how this should be achieved or efforts to police it.

Comparatively the US started a system of pledges in 2006 when 10 leading food and beverage companies instituted the Children’s Food and Beverage Advertising Initiative (CFBAI) promising to restrict the type of products advertised during particular types of programming (e.g. where 50% of more of the audience are under 12) (Kolish, and Enright 2012). The number of signatories has since risen to 18 (CFBAI 2016), and the pledge commits companies to the inclusion of healthy lifestyle messages, ad breaks in online adverts, reduction in the use of licensed characters, elimination of paid product placement and the requirement that online games should only feature “better for you” products. An EU corporate pledge signed in 2007 with 19 current signatories followed in similar suit and is thought to represent 80% of food and beverage advertising spend in the EU (EU Pledge 2014). Pledges have therefore become the favoured method of consumer protection in this space with The Rudd Centre in 2013 reported that there are 22 national or regional pledges involving over 90 countries. However consistency in the level of pledge, media formats covered and monitoring of compliance is so inconsistent, and lacking in transparency, that the ability to compare corporate commitment to these initiatives is limited.

In the case of TV advertising, Galbraith-Emami, and Lobstein’s (2013) extensive review of research into children’s exposure to advertisements for unhealthy foods, both before and after regulation or pledges, provides a very interesting insights. They found pledges to have “only a small or no impact” (p.14) on childhood exposure levels in academic and independent research, although industry sponsored reports suggest high levels of corporate compliance to pledges. Conversely

they found relatively substantial improvements (up to 51% reduction) in exposure in regulated countries such as the UK and South Korea for specified children's programming. However, advertising for these same regulated products in UK non-regulated programming (but still substantially watched by children) more than doubled from pre-regulation levels. This suggests that regulation has been effective in reducing advertisements in the specific areas outlined, but advertisers are investing in reaching the same audience in different channels.

When we take this into an online environment these issues only get worse. As outlined above digital advertising is becoming the main route to advertising, through social media, pop-ups, banner ads, video messaging and advergames. Moore (2004), and Moore, and Rideout (2007) have cogently pointed out one key feature of these new advertising formats is the blurring lines between advertisement and entertainment. This makes them different from traditional TV advertising on several fronts. First, these new advertising formats embed their commercial messages into entertainment content. This is different from the traditional 30-second TV advert which is separate from regular TV programs and thus more apparent to John's (1999) younger child demographic. Similarly, their persuasive intent may not be apparent to older children as they are less physically obvious. A typical example of this is online game advertising which embeds its commercial messages in fun and interactive games. Previous research has repeatedly suggested children do not understand online games' advertising intent, believing it was for fun or information (Owen et al. 2013; Mallinckrodt, and Mizerski 2007; An, and Stern 2011).

Second, unlike TV advertising, these new advertising formats may completely bypass children's cognitive defences and make them unable to resist their persuasive intent (Nairn, and Fine 2008).

This is because when children are exposed to these new advertising formats embedded in various programs/games, their focus is on the entertainment content. As a result, they may not process advertising messages that are secondary to the main content. This is particularly evident in online game advertising. Research has recently demonstrated that playing an engaging game occupies the majority of children's cognitive resources, leaving little resources for them to process advertising messages embedded in the games (Hang 2012; 2014; Hang, and Auty 2011; Van Reijmersdal, Rozendaal, and Buijzen 2012). As a result, children may not recall seeing the brand placed in a game but yet their opinions and behaviour are affected (Hang 2012; 2014; Hang, and Auty 2011). In other words, the effectiveness of new advertising formats such as online game advertising can be based on subtle, implicit rather than explicit persuasion processes (Mallinckrodt, and Mizerski 2007; Narin, and Fine 2008; Verhellen et al. 2014).

Third, by embedding into fun and entertaining programs, new advertising formats can influence children through emotional appeals via establishing associations between a product/brand and rewarding stimuli. This is different from the traditional TV advertising which tends to focus on factual or propositional content to persuade (Moore 2004; Moore, and Rideout 2007).

Thus, different advertising formats influence children in different ways. However, both regulation and previous research on advertising to children focuses on one type of advertising format: TV (for reviews see Young 2003; Livingstone, and Helsper 2006; Hang, and Nairn 2015). Thus, it fails to provide a complete picture on how children at different development stages respond to various advertising formats in the current marketplace. Only a limited number of studies have explored the way in which regulation is implemented in online environments. Quilliam et al., (2011) examined compliance levels to the US pledge through an analysis of child-targeted interactive games. Pledge

signatories were much more likely to adhere to the requirement to use an ad break (61%) than non-signatories (36%). However only 33% included healthy lifestyle information and only 13% advertised healthy foods. Similarly An and Stern (2011) found that even when companies complied with pledges, the lack of specificity regarding size, formats, wording and positioning of advertising labelling causes them to be largely ineffective in highlighting to children that they were engaging with an advert. So it is not just that the child fails to identify the persuasive intent, but fail to recognise new media as an advert. Raine et al. (2013) therefore suggests that pledges are insufficient in online environments and calls for stricter standards and enforcement to deal with the adverse effects of advertising on children in all forms of media.

A way forwards through New Governance

As we see above regulation in TV advertising to children appears to have a better track record than pledge systems in protecting the essence of the WHO's principles. However translating these same principles into an online environment does not appear to have the same protective impact as we see from the emerging research on advergaming. The rate of change in practices online make a legislative approach impractical (similar to Driscoll's (2001) review of financial service compliance). Similarly the changing and complex nature of children and their development makes creating universal standards problematic.

An alternative option to traditional legislative regulation, or self-regulation is the emerging field of New Governance (Lobel 2004). New Governance advocates an approach to regulation which is grounded in flexible legislature, operationalised through governance regimes based on networks of private and public institutions (Rhodes 2002). These independent networks are self-governing, but

underpinned by legislative principles allowing for enforcement of principles (Scott, and Trubek 2002). Grounded in a background of legal and public policy studies (Hess 2008), New Governance has seen recent applications in both human rights (Ruggie 2014) and environmental policies in the EU (Pesendorfer 2014). New Governance is an emerging system which prioritises participation and experimentation by being flexible in the pursuit of legally defined principles, rather than prescriptive law (Lobel 2004). Dorf, and Sabel (1998, 350) describe this system as “rolling best-practice”, where baseline standards are able to rise overtime as governance becomes better understood and what is possible to enforce becomes apparent.

The costs of policing online environments, or even understanding jurisdiction, are fraught with complexity. The advantage here for New Governance is that standards and principles are purposive, not prescriptive, which can overcome the issue of advertisers moving to unregulated media to target the same audiences. Furthermore local implementation is enforceable through stakeholder engagement and public-private networks. There are obviously negative experiences for organisations implementing New Governance such as Baccaro, and Mele’s (2012) analysis of the International Labor Organization, where corporate structures prevented actualisation of principles and standards. Similarly power imbalances between partners are also often a hindrance to New Governance approaches (Hess 2007), however if the multiple parties involved have aligned interests, new governance can function very effectively.

In the case of advertising to children, even the development of so many regional associations such as CFBAI show at least some aligned intent on the behalf of brand owners to level the playing field in advertising. The fly in the ointment are those organisations which do not sign up to pledges, or

fail to comply despite joining (Galbraith-Emami, and Lobstien 2013) which is where the legislative part of New Governance comes to the fore.

What is particularly interesting about the current pledges however is that is the powerful brands which are engaging most (Coke, Unilever etc.) in changing practices (Quilliam et al. 2011). When it comes to enforcing New Governance it would be those that have the power and resources to influence the rest of the market to adhere to the legislature that would be able to drive enforcement in a way regulators find difficult to do. Similarly the rolling best-practice allows for regulation to improve over time rather than stay rigid to a single set of principles which need to be agreed in advance (Hess 2007). Thus allowing for the movement of the field as it progresses into new channels, media and approaches.

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Consumers with Non-Mainstream Bodies: The Interaction of Market Forces, Social Trends and Firm Goals

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Abstract

This paper advances the discussion of the vulnerability consumer experience associated with a non-mainstream body. These consumers need products/services for activities of daily life living, but they are often faced with fewer choices, higher prices and a more difficult search process. The research applies an approach termed chrematistics to analyze the how the interplay of these forces makes the current situation almost inevitable and particularly difficult to change. Through the use of examples and research from an array of disciplines the research focuses on the types of market, social or corporate forces that increase or decrease experiences of vulnerability for these consumers. Some options that could fundamentally change the experience of consumers with non-mainstream bodies is part of the concluding comments.

Introduction

Consumers live in bodies. The consumer is bounded by and experiences the market through his or her body; as Peuravaara (2013, p 212) notes, “The body is both an instrument and an object of consumerism.” This paper is concerned with bodies that falls outside the norm, how these consumer experience vulnerability and why this type of vulnerability persists in the face of predictable, ongoing demand. The issue of non-mainstream bodies becomes entangled quickly with

issues related to disability. Disability is usually understood to be a body that has some sort of impairment that prevents it functioning in the same manner as other bodies. The intent here is to explore the products that are not purchased by a third party, but to look at clothing, food, autos, furnishings, health and beauty products/services that the consumer (or his/her social group) buys. Various forms of disability, such as allergies, asthma, and missing limbs will be part of this paper's discussion of products and services consumers need for daily life, but consumer access to medical devices and services for complex disabilities are not part of this paper (e.g., access to drug and alcohol treatment, toys that are robust enough for adults with the mental capacity of children, in-home hoists for the motor impaired). The reason for this lacuna is that these products blur the line between consumer goods and medical goods and the purchase of these goods is part of a joint negotiation between the consumer and the health care system or exclusively the responsibility of a third party.

This research asks, if all prejudice against non-mainstream bodies disappeared overnight, would market forces still place these individuals in a vulnerable position? Various scholars, have argued that disability is more than just a social construct (Anastasiou and Kauffman 2013; Barns et al. 2015, Gottlieb 2002; Reindal 2010; Ware 2002). That is, these authors contend that bodies with disability make an array of activities of daily life harder, more expensive and more time consuming for the individuals living with bodily difference. The proposal developed here is that, in most markets, from the perspective of products and services needed for everyday activities, this argument can be extended to anyone with a non-mainstream body. Marketing forces unintentionally add to the burden that people with non-mainstream bodies face, adding financial and time demands that others do not have.

While the term vulnerability can have a variety of meanings in a marketing context, the definition articulated by Baker, Gentry, and Rittenburg (2005) and Baker and Mason (2012) has gained ascendancy. This perspective considers the relationship between the consumer (or consumption group) relative to the market system he/she/they face. Broadly speaking, vulnerability is situational; that is one may be vulnerable in certain contexts or at certain times, but may not always or permanently be vulnerable. Vulnerability is experienced when one is powerless, isolated or has reduced choices in the market. In policy discussions, vulnerability is often associated with limited resources, such as money or time (Schultz and Holbrook 2009). Vulnerability can be tied to infrastructure, for example residents after a natural disaster who need delivery and distribution of food, shelter and clothing (Baker, Hunt and Rittenburg 2007). Vulnerability may also be associated with the body the consumer lives with, for example mobility impairments, leading him or her to be vulnerable in market settings that are normative to others (Pavia and Mason 2014). This paper advances the discussion of the vulnerability associated with a need for rare, unusual or niche products/services because the consumer's body differs in some way from the majority of consumers' bodies (Pavia 2014, Valtonen 2013). The goal of this paper is to unpack the market forces that leave consumers who require a niche product for the activities of daily living with reduced choices and higher prices. This paper inquires how and why living in a non-mainstream body leads to vulnerable situations and the types of market, social or industry forces that increase or decrease this experience.

As a mental exercise to clarify the situation of needing a product/service that is rare or unusual, consider two situations. In the first, one requires specialized fixtures to renovate a museum

artifact; in the second one lives in a body that is outside the norm and needs food, shelter, clothing, or transportation that differs from that widely available for mainstream consumers. The curator who seeks authentic antique fixtures is looking for a product in a thin market and will pay a high price. The position of this paper is that the curator is not a vulnerable consumer even though he or she has reduced choices and little market power. The curator is seeking a rare product for a specialized need, but the need is not essential to survival (although one could argue it increases society's cultural well-being). When the need is filled, the artifact becomes more valuable itself because its rarity and the challenges to maintain it as an artifact add allure and cachet.

In contrast, the individual who resides in a body that is non-mainstream (e.g., skin or hair type unlike others in the local region, requiring specialized foods, unusually tall, short or heavy, missing a limb, or unable to lift a shopping bag), is at a disadvantage to other consumers for the basic activities of daily living. The products he/she needs are produced in low numbers and are often out of stock (products) or unavailable/overbooked (services). Because there are few sellers, comparison may be difficult and there may be little price competition. When the consumer with a non-mainstream body finds the right products/services to meet basic needs he or she often remains in a marginalized or even stigmatized position. Compounding the problem, most of these products/services are not a one-time purchase.

Chrematistics and the Non-Mainstream Body

Kadirov, Varey and Wolfenden (2015) suggested macromarketers could use chrematistics as a means for understanding the “regulative influences on a marketing system’s structure and operations of market action perpetuated by actors with dominance/power” (p. 55). Following Daly and Cobb (1994), the term chrematistics refers to system features that are opportunistic, short-

term profit oriented, exploitative of market inefficiencies and interested in customer satisfaction only within the range that also meets shareholder objectives. In short, chrematistics points towards many market behaviors that are dysfunction from a societal level, but that are often accepted with a sigh saying, well that's the way things are. Chrematistics calls this resignation into question and asks what dominant forces and actors benefit from this status quo. Chrematistics can be used on a large scale to explore how markets and dominant players subvert a broad goal of optimizing overall social welfare; this research will apply some of the same techniques to consider the predicament of consumers in non-mainstream bodies.

Few marketers on an individual level would say that people with non-normative bodies should pay more, or have a smaller product set to choose from, or have to drive for hours to find a service provider, or should have to purchase clothing and shoes without the ability to try them on. Individually, one would wish that the market should afford the same opportunities for exchange for everyone, especially because, from a self-serving perspective, almost everyone knows someone with a non-mainstream body. Yet, whatever individual aspiration individual players may have, businesses work in a larger system and this system operates in a manner to subvert these aspirations.

Chrematistics has seven steps in the analysis process and this research focuses most intently on the third step. The third step of the chrematistics approach asks researchers to investigate the how particular consumers or communities are being overlooked or underserved by the market and then asks researchers to explore the incidence of demand engineering for products that are harmful overall to society. As this research shows, consumers with non-mainstream bodies are at a

perpetual and predictable economic, choice and power disadvantage relative to their mainstream colleagues. Even those who are fortunate enough to need a product that has crossed from niche to more mainstream, (e.g., soymilk, gluten-free foods, fragrance free detergent) still pay a price premium because either, i) the buyer has no choice, or ii) the buyer is willing to pay more because it is part of an identity project. After this analysis, the paper concludes by continuing with the final four steps of the chrematistics approach, in which the researcher is asked to consider the alternatives that have been foregone by the current system, the extent to which society as whole has allowed itself to be swept up in self-deceiving assumptions, how current systems undermine humanity/human focus and how market behaviors and public agencies become complicit in stabilizing systems that benefit profit-making over social welfare.

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Informational Capitalism & Zero-rated Facebook: Perspectives from Uganda

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Abstract

In this paper, we address some of the challenges associated with zero-rated Facebook in a developing context. The insights are based on a five-month field study of Ugandan internet consumers. We first introduce Castell's notion of informational capitalism and then discuss various dimensions of it seen from a labor perspective, before concluding with some notes on the specificities of these insights in a developing context. Secondly, we unfold some more detailed aspects of the Ugandan context and in particular its internet and telecommunications market. This is followed by an analysis of exchange processes in this market as a tri-partite relationship between consumers, internet service providers and Facebook. We round off our paper with a discussion on the valuation of free labor/data and the political and social consequences of these market relations. Our concluding thoughts reflect on notions of power and exploitation in the "Realpolitik" of developing contexts.

Authenticity and Aboriginal Cultural Expressions

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Abstract

Authenticity of products is an important determinant of value for some products where consumers desire a connection to the genuine—with respect to history, people, place and/or culture. Consumers seek authenticity through the acquisition of objects and these provide consumers with identity benefits including feelings of control, connection, and virtue (Beverland and Farrelly 2010). How consumers assess and value authenticity has important implications for marketing systems and the “the economic, social, cultural and physical characteristics of the social matrix in which the marketing system is embedded” (Layton 2011, p. 269). This paper reports results of an experimental study investigating consumers’ motivations and valuation of authenticity in the context of Aboriginal artistic cultural expressions, providing insights into the dimensions that underlie consumer valuation of authenticity of artistic expressions. These findings are discussed in relation to the marketing system for Aboriginal cultural expressions including issues of appropriation.

Paradoxes of responsible consumption: The case of volunteer tourism

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In the age of neoliberalism, the rise of social inequalities and global ecological problems, many voices were raised to denounce the limits of the current system and the necessity to develop an alternative system that is more ethical which addresses these problems. Hence, the ethical market is expanding very fast and this growing interest drives to the emergence of new business. The tourism industry was strongly affected by this shift and many forms of alternative tourism appeared. This project concerns the volunteer tourism market.

One of the most significant current discourses in volunteer tourism literature is whether this new form of tourism could be beneficial for all actors (volunteers, host community and providers) involved. On one hand, an important number of authors advocate for volunteer tourism and claim its numerous advantages (Broad 2003; Brown and Morrison 2003; McGehee 2002). On the other hand, some scholars point at the potential risk of exploiting the host community (Palacios 2010; Raymond and Hall 2008) and risks in the form of neo-colonization. (McGehee 2012; Conran 2011; Guttentag 2009; Palacios 2010; Sin 2009).

Although, all these studies provide important insights to the volunteer tourism literature, they have mostly been limited in studying one single actor. Drawing on post-colonial theory, this paper seeks to have a holistic and critical approach by analyzing the interaction between the main actors.

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Redneck Planet: A Marketing Perspective

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Extended abstract

In keeping with the conference theme of academic activism, this paper introduces the concept of societal redneckism (SR) and explores its effect on consumer behavior and firm marketing communications. The notions of jingoism, tribalism and otherness have long been the purview of sociological and anthropological studies. While these ideas and their practice have been part of the human experience for millennia, the information age, technology and globalization have conspired to bring them to the forefront of consciousness among consumers the world over. Studies have developed multiple streams of research to refine these ideas into constructs that can be studied by business scholars. Bundling the most relevant ideas together with the notions of ignorance and ethnocentrism, this paper introduces the phenomenon of “redneckism” to the marketing literature. It is particularly timely given recent, well-publicized statements and actions around the world (including, but not limited to, those made in the ongoing U.S. presidential race as well as prominent political races around Europe). A visceral reaction against “otherness” (for example, perceived “Islamization”, migrants and refugees, or perceived “foreign” political ideas) in particular has struck a shocking chord throughout developed Western countries.

This paper studies how a major societal phenomenon (in this case, SR) affects consumers and marketers, thus grounding this study within the macromarketing construct of the “aggregate

marketing system” (see Wilkie and Moore, 2006). Engaging with and extending the literature stream under what Layton and Grossbart (2006) compartmentalize as “marketing ethics and distributive justice”, the paper presents a theoretical framework comprised of three major sections as follows: A) explaining the conceptualization of societal redneckism (SR) and exploring major ways such tendencies are transmitted through society, particularly as it relates to anti-other sentiment; B) how such SR may affect consumer behavior and C) how SR and resulting consumer behavior may play a direct and/or mediating role to multinational corporations’ (MNC) own marketing communications.

The study initially draws on the sociological and anthropological literature in order to explain the conceptualization of SR. Argyrou’s (2015) critical assessment of Beck’s (2000) thesis on cosmopolitanism and modernity, together with normative cues that the term “redneck” has historically evolved (Jarosz & Lawson, 2002) serves as a foundation for the introduction of the SR concept. The concept is able to describe a societal phenomenon that encompasses multiple, related tendencies simultaneously – jingoism, anti-other sentiment, ethnocentrism and ignorance. Whereas much has been written in the popular and academic literature regarding constructs that adversely affect societal perceptions (for example, education effects, otherness, anti-intellectualism, cosmopolitan vs. nationalism, and country-of-origin effects), the paper introduces the concept of societal redneckism (SR) as an overarching societal phenomenon that is comprised of the most related of these constructs simultaneously. Within this conceptual development of SR, the damaging effect of under-education and what I refer to as the “death of nuance” is also discussed. This phenomenon of SR, accelerated by widening income gaps, may partly explain the remarkable political polarization within developed countries worldwide.

Having developed the concept of SR, I then link it to the burgeoning international marketing literature stream of consumer animosity (see Fong, Lee and Du, 2014). The fundamental thesis is that the SR tendencies have a direct relationship with consumer animosity (CA), through “cognitive appraisals” by consumers of the other (Harmeling, Magnusson and Singh, 2015), and also a direct relationship with the firms’ marketing communications (FMC), reflecting the descriptive approach of stakeholder theory (Donaldson and Preston, 1995) and self-reference criterion. The paper also postulates the extent to which such relationships may be mutually reciprocal. Finally, the ethical responsibility of marketers and public policy makers is brought into sharp focus, utilizing the deontological dimensions of the Hunt-Vitell model of marketing ethics (Hunt and Vitell, 2006).

Thus, this boundary-spanning paper brings together several literature streams in marketing, sociology, anthropology, management and international business in order to develop a propositional framework of societal redneckism - along with its consequences on consumer animosity and firm marketing communications. Through the conceptual framework thus developed, the paper draws implications on how societal redneckism itself, along with its effects on consumer and firm behavior, may be mitigated – thus facilitating, to a degree, the development of more civil, tolerant and pluralistic societies.

Little exists in the extant literature regarding the third section of this paper’s discourse and even less exploration has been done on the three sections simultaneously - and therein lies this study’s larger contribution. Utilizing the accepted understanding of aggregate marketing system (Wilkie

and Moore, 2006), the paper directly engages with the debate on “ethics and distributive justice” (Layton and Grossbart, 2006), in particular when an ethically problematic but widely disseminated societal phenomenon exists. The conceptual framework developed aims to provide a foundation from which further confirmatory studies may be initiated. It will also provide a perspective for managerial and public-policy prescription in order to further advance the cause of more inclusive societies and ethical marketing communications.

Methodology

The paper uses the grounded theory approach postulated by Glaser and Strauss (1967), and further refined by Gibson and Hartman (2014), in order to present a set of propositions that build a conceptualization of SR along with its attendant transmission through society, and also proposes its effect on CA. The effects of SR and CA on FMC are also constructed into this conceptual framework.

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Conflict and Constructive Engagement I

Conflict and Constructive Engagement

Clifford J. Shultz, II, Loyola University Chicago, USA

Mark Peterson, University of Wyoming, USA

Andrés Barrios, Universidad de los Andes, Colombia

The world is a conflicted place, which has implications for individuals, societies, and of course societal institutions, including markets and marketing. Conflict may result from scarce resources, avarice, ignorance, intolerance, aggression, honor, pride, or reasonable disagreement, to name but a few causes. Some conflicts are redressed pro-socially, equitably and in ways that ensure win-win outcomes, and sustainable peace and prosperity. Other conflicts spiral into hostility and violence; in the worst cases, violence escalates to war and wide-scale systemic destruction, with unthinkable devastation and casualties. Still other conflicts are only partially resolved, which results in a perpetually simmering stalemate of enduring, suboptimal outcomes for some stakeholders, and perhaps desirable outcomes for others.

The extent to which conflict is prevented, mediated, managed, intractable or destructive, is closely connected to the extent to which markets, marketing, social norms and/or policy exist, are considered and are (or are not) managed. Some observers contend markets and marketing foment conflict, other observers contend markets and marketing prevent, ameliorate or resolve conflict, and still other observers maintain that markets and marketing affect both conflict and its resolution. The purpose of this track is to assemble scholars interested in the causes of, and

possible market(ing) and policy solutions to social conflict that affects markets, marketing, society and marketing systems, locally and/or globally.

The purpose of this track is to assemble scholars for 2-3 special sessions that explore ways that the interactions of markets, marketing and society can facilitate win-win outcomes, and sustainable peace and prosperity. That is, conflict can be averted, mediated or perhaps eliminated between/among adversarial or potentially adversarial groups via constructive engagement that affects win-win outcomes through pro-social policy, markets, marketing systems, marketing activities and consumer behavior. Abstracts for the specific presentations and the scholars making them are shared below.

Syria: Another Thirty Years' War?

Mark Peterson, University of Wyoming, USA

Macromarketers interested in conflict can now turn their attention to the civil war in Syria (BBC 2016)—although macromarketers interested in constructive engagement and post-conflict market formation might have to wait years to apply their research and activism interests in Syria (Erich 2014; Sahner 2014). This is the assessment of war correspondents and one macromarketer—Mark Peterson—who had the privilege of visiting Syria in 2006 and 2008. The first trip was as an invited speaker for the US State Department—which suspended its embassy operations in Damascus in February 2012 (US State Dept. 2016). In 2008, Peterson returned to Damascus and Kalamoon University (about an hour's drive north of Damascus) and served as an outside evaluator of senior undergraduate business student projects. Kalamoon University is featured in a short video of a clash between Syrian government and ISIS forces in 2013 (YouTube 2016).

While on sabbatical at Wake Forest University in 2015, Peterson realized the co-director of the Center for Leadership and Character in the School of Business, Pat Sweeney, had served in the same US Army community as he had in then West Germany in the 1980's. When Peterson asked Sweeney about his tours of duty in Iraq, Sweeney said that once there on the ground in Iraq, he realized that a successful transition for Iraq would take 30 years to accomplish. Which raises the question—which states would have the commitment to devote 30 years to the remaking of a country such as Iraq? The idea that Iraq would take a 30-year transition suggests that Syria might also take 30 years to transition, as well.

In the macromarketing tradition, history offers scholars valuable perspective on the evolution of markets and societies (Jones and Shaw 2006). After the US Civil War ended in 1865, some scholars assert that the reconstruction period extended into the 1890s (Burton 2007). This would be a thirty-year transition for the southern states of the US—although some would say the Civil Rights Movement culminated a transition of more than 100 years (McFeely 2002).

Macromarketers have noted how civil wars can be endemic to some developing countries with upheaval and societal discord spilling into neighboring countries, too (Peterson 2013).

In the formation of Europe after the Middle Ages, the Thirty Years War proved to be complex and to be costly for the seventeen states that played a role in the war from 1618 to 1648. What started as a war between Protestant and Catholic states in the dissolving Holy Roman Empire gradually became a wider conflict featuring most of the great powers of Europe (Helfferich 2009). Although its roots were religious, the Thirty Years' War became more about the rivalry between France and the Habsburg Empire for pre-eminence in Europe.

From a societal perspective, the toll of the Thirty Years' War saw the devastation of wide swaths of Europe, with famine and pestilence markedly reducing the population of the German and Italian states, Bohemia and the Low Countries. Germany lost more than a quarter of its population and in 1960 many Germans rated the Thirty Years' War as Germany's biggest tragedy—greater than the two world wars of the 20th century. From a fiscal perspective for the contending states, the war drove most of the warring powers into insolvency. For the inhabitants of the contested territories, the experience was severe. The hired mercenaries and soldiers in the warring armies funded themselves by pillaging or extorting fees from the inhabitants of occupied lands.

In addition to mapping similarities between Europe's Thirty Years' War and what might be unfolding in Syria, Peterson will also discuss the prospects for personal diplomacy, for businesses, and for macromarketing scholars and activists in Syria (and outside of Syria) in the future.

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Post-Capitalism, Greece, and Academic Activism

Eve Geroulis, Loyola University Chicago, USA

Raymond Benton, Jr., Loyola University Chicago, USA

The convergence of the fourth industrial revolution and neoliberalism's causal erosion of the values and institutions of global capitalism is replete with conflict, and has reached a tipping point in "systems thinking" for academics, governments, business and individuals. Greece is a multivariate case, where the euphoria of a historic 2015 election referendum decrying austerity turned to anguish when the democratic will of voters clashed with global institutions protecting neoliberal interests. Reversal of the Greek vote symbolically reinforced the central message that *there is no alternative*, weakening European federalism while intensifying social and economic inequality across Europe. Germany's "neo-mercantilist" manipulation of their trade, investment and currency positions enabled it to amass enormous cash reserves. Such power means Europe now answers to Germany, which continues to dictate terms of the Greek bailout. Compounding cataclysmic conditions in Greece, the unprecedented Middle Eastern migrant crisis has transformed the Aegean island of Lesbos into a twenty-first century Ellis Island threatening European unity and identity. As academic stewards of macromarketing, we must challenge conventional strategies for interpreting the social, political, ideological and mercantile realities these events introduce through intellectual activism and some form of constructive engagement that empowers students and all stakeholders to ask questions important to humanity and not merely the corporate bottom line. There is no better laboratory for such exploration than the Academy.

Conflict and Constructive Engagement at the Base of the Pyramid: An integrative Justice Approach

Nicholas Santos, Marquette University, USA

Tina Facca-Miess, John Carroll University, USA

The integrative justice model (IJM) has been presented in the Marketing, Macromarketing and Public Policy literature as a normative ethical model for fair and just marketing to the base of the pyramid. Recent work, in a step towards operationalizing the model, has assessed perceptions of managers with regard to the tenets of the model. However, previous work with regard to the IJM has given minimal attention, if at all, to the situation of conflict that often characterizes the context in which most of those at the base of the pyramid reside. This presentation discusses the IJM elements with special focus to the issue of conflict and from the perspective of constructive engagement at the BoP.

Marketing Systems for Peace

Andres Barrios, Universidad de los Andes, Colombia
Clifford J. Shultz, II, Shultz, Loyola University Chicago, USA

Marketplaces have been seen as spaces with the power to catalyze prosperity and peace in devastated, impoverished, and conflicted zones (Shultz 1997, 2007). However, to achieve these positive results requires a systemic view and constructive engagement among many stakeholders often deeply enmeshed in seemingly intractable conflict (Coleman 2011). This presentation discusses research that takes a macromarketing approach to analyze the relationship between marketing systems and social conflicts. Using Colombia as context, we examine how the coffee marketing system has either aggravated or appeased social tensions. Preliminary results illustrate the way in which a “fair” marketing system enables conflicted parties to engage constructively, and suggests efficacious public policy and marketing initiatives to promote such fair systems.

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Panel I: Marketing and Story-Telling

Panel Chair: Finola Kerrigan, University of Birmingham, UK

This session brings together different perspectives on storytelling in marketing to illustrate the pervasive nature of stories deployed by marketers, used in marketing practice and how we as researchers translate our work through stories. This session has three contributions which will look at different aspects of storytelling in order to offer the opportunity to discuss the power and use of stories in macromarketing.

Stories and representation

Finola Kerrigan, University of Birmingham

This contribution will look at how we are perceived as individuals and collectives through our stories selves. Drawing on research conducted regarding our use of social media and also the role of film policy in presenting collective stories about nations and groups of people, I will pose questions about who narrates a story and how this story may be used by others.

Visualizing narratives: The case of the celebrity CEO

Alex Reppel, Royal Holloway University of London, UK

Olga Kravets, Royal Holloway University of London, UK

This research aims to explore how biographical storytelling is implicated in cultivating the popular reverence for tech-entrepreneurs and faith in their abilities to “make the world a better

place” (e.g., Schmidt cited in Church 2011). We use the case of Steve Jobs to glean the anecdotes and episodes about his life that illustrate his status as a *cultural icon* (e.g., Healy 2011, Austen 2012). We believe that such analytical engagement with the biographical storytelling of “the computer industry’s most visible representative” (Ensmenger 2011, 88) is of interest to scholars working at the intersection of marketing and society, where a successful business personality is often closely associated with an ongoing or potential advancement in a given industry, market, or even society. This contribution will focus on biographies of Steve Jobs in order to explore the constructed nature of these biographical stories.

Marketing of War

Hilary Downey, Queen’s University Belfast

As 1916 marks the centenary of commemorations, this session will examine the marketing of war through storytelling. The contribution will reflect on the Somme directly and look at storytelling from 2 perspectives (UK/Ireland) from traditional recruitment posters through to the use by both communities of poetry to recruit young men and finally letters used to communicate personal stories. The perspectives of the British and Irish will be explored through this range of storytelling in order to understand the complexity of the marketing of war and the importance of stories in offering understanding.

The session will end with the opportunity for discussion of the role of storytelling within the macromarketing context.

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Theorizing what's good for the goose: Consumers' tactical appropriation of well-being in the medicalized food marketplace

James Martin Cronin, Lancaster University, UK
Sheila Malone, Lancaster University, UK

Framing

The plethora of food fads, cooking trends and diet cults including “flexitarianism”, “locavorism”, the “Shangri-la diet”, the “caveman diet”, and “raw foodism” in today’s consumer culture could be summarized as having more to do with personal experimentation, social display, bodywork, eco-consciousness and primitivism than with the medically-oriented, nutritional optimization that many Western dietary-health policies are based upon. While such consumption pursuits loosely align with the self-responsibilization of public-healthism (see Crawford, 1980), the specifics of these approaches deviate noticeably from most normative guidelines promoted by institutionally authorized experts. Drawing on Eeva Sointu’s (2005, 2006) “tactics of well-being” and stressing the central role of reflexivity in consumers’ construction of an overall relationship with the marketplace (see Giddens, 1991; Ozanne and Murray, 1996), this working paper explores how individuals rationalize alternative approaches to food consumption as conducive to a subjectively-assessed sense of “well-being”. Specifically we are concerned with how aspects of consumption which provide a sense of authenticity, freedom, proactive agency or emotional wellness can enable consumers to diverge away from public health recommendations and dietary

health policies.

We introduce the concept of “personal food-related projects”, which we define as the reflexive and identity-motivated practices that steer individuals’ day-to-day relationships within the institutional realities of their food environment. Based on a study-in-progress which entails in-depth interviews with consumers about their food consumption, we map out the approaches by which people articulate and craft what well-being means to them in their lives. In doing so, we position well-being as a fluid, ambiguous and elastic concept that, in contrast to the scientific measurability and objectivity of *health* (see also Sointu, 2005, 2006), authorizes consumers to pursue alternative approaches to managing their quality of life. By taking this perspective, we acknowledge that “health identities” (see Fox and Ward, 2006) cannot be neatly uncoupled from “consumer identity projects” (Arnould and Thompson, 2005); that both are interrelated and dietary health reforms need to be considered in recognition that the boundaries between institutionalized, medicalized environments and the more creative, ambiguous realm of consumers are porous.

Theoretical Background

Consumers are often subject to the influence and power of various “governors” who shape, mold, direct and assist their self-regarding actions in the marketplace and wider society (Cronin *et al.*, 2015). The alignment of consumer behavior with the structural imperatives of a governor-driven environment, and consumers’ tacit acceptance that such imperatives determine correct or ideal ways of approaching and engaging with opportunities or problems, are characterized by Foucault (1980) as a “regime of truth”. Governors of biomedicine, for example, and their “medicalization of

the marketplace” possess disciplinary power and authority to articulate truths about what it means to be a healthy individual (see Thompson, 2003, p.83). Thompson’s (2005) work on the natural childbirth community is particularly useful in illustrating this phenomenon, as he explores how mothers’ experiences and expectations of both themselves and their pregnancies are shaped “within the taken-for-granted ideological frame of the medicalized childbirth model, whose parameters are not overtly questioned” (Thompson, 2005, p.236).

As such, health policy and its influence on the marketplace can be conceptualized as what de Certeau (1984) refers to as a “strategy”; a top-down, broad-sweep and usually expertly developed but coldly clinical guide for how to live, how to behave or how to consume. According to de Certeau, strategies are taken for granted by people *en masse* as the authoritative order or orthodox *plan*, however he envisages people’s innate capability to adapt, amend and rework the recommended, standardized and hegemonized definitions, advice and instructions imposed on them through their own resources, circumstances and creativity; or what he considers “antidiscipline”. Strategies are thus the institutionalized, legitimate and normalizing regimes of truth, while people can express their own “tactics” to modify, appropriate and circumnavigate these regimes.

Elsewhere health sociologist Eeva Sointu (2005, 2006) has drawn upon de Certeau to discuss how adaptive tactics can be found in the ways that users and practitioners of alternative and complementary medicines utilize the notion of “well-being”. For Sointu, the idea of well-being problematizes and defies institutionalized biomedical definitions of health as it is “a term that encapsulates and enforces the significance of personal experience and knowledge in a social

climate that emphasizes self-discovery and self-actualization as both normal and morally correct” (2006, p.341). Well-being permits the reflexive and self-fulfilling individual to query, challenge and manipulate healthist expectations for self-regarding actions in his or her personal projects. As such, what Sointu (2006) refers to as “tactics of wellbeing” create room for a more expressive, experiential, authentic and empowered identity orientation towards life than what is currently allowed for by many health policies. Importantly, it is the absence of a concrete definition surrounding “well-being” that makes these tactics possible.

This study aims to investigate individuals’ experiences of well-being as defined by them in their own words and how they work towards achieving it through their personal food-related projects. By considering how consumers maneuver within the imposed ideologies of healthism, our findings should provide insight into the details by which prevailing power structures are not simply resisted but can be appropriated as a *palimpsest* to develop and communicate new consumption ideologies.

Methods

Given the focus on personal tactics of well-being by individual subjects, a hermeneutic phenomenological approach, which focusses on the exploration and understanding of participants’ lived experiences and perceptions, was adopted. The data collection and analyses are currently a work in progress. Participants were recruited via a call for participation at various locations in the UK. The call emphasized interest in those who would be comfortable to speak about personal approaches to food and how these approaches relate to their well-being. The call was further facilitated by a snowball sampling approach. Using a semi-structured guide, a total of

22 interviews to date have been carried out. Following transcription, the textual data is currently undergoing an iterative back and forth process, which allows for a considered and in-depth interrogation of the data and its subsequent organization into meaningful themes and categories (Goulding, 2005).

Preliminary Findings

In the working study, our analysis reveals that food is situated within much broader narratives of participants' consuming lifestyles than the recommendations of the bio-medical health model such as: remaining vigilant of a balanced diet and corresponding with programmatic guides such as the "food pyramid" or "food traffic light system". The tactics we have analyzed to date elucidate *not* how people practice restraint or asceticism through their consumption choices, but rather how they try to cultivate their capacity for the construction of identity, pleasure and experience. By their very nature "tactics", in terms of both Sointu's and de Certeau's conceptualizations, are defensive and opportunistic which enable consumers to create freedom for themselves within the dominant parameters of the healthist marketplace. Tactics must depend on "clever tricks, knowing how to get away with things" (De Certeau, 1984, p. xix), or in this case: framing alternative consumption behaviors as beneficial for well-being. A number of interesting first-round themes in this respect surfaced – the first being *"reclamation of known transgressions as beneficial"*. For many participants the notion of an energy-demanding lifestyle provided the license to eat food products that would otherwise be disallowed by paternalistic nutrition-driven health policies. Here, participants – particularly young adults attending university – who actively participate in sport and self-identify as athletes justify junk food consumption as cheap and convenient calories that are important for functioning. They define their sense of well-being as

stemming from the social and physical demands of their active lives and appropriate junk food products as an ideal and necessary fuel in terms of their low-income status.

A separate but related theme was found to be a state of what we tentatively have labelled the “*mitigating effects of mindfulness*” whereby participants justified their personal food-related projects – however unhealthy they may in fact be – as conducive to personal well-being by committing themselves to a mindful, reflexive appreciation of the politics surrounding what they ate. Some participants did not speak in terms of such behaviors as calorie restriction, fat monitoring or sugar avoidance, rather they spoke of making *informed purchases* based on awareness of who the producers of their food may be and how responsible these firms are in terms of treating consumers and the environment (see also Thompson, 2004). This sense of political sensitivity was leveraged as beneficial for one’s well-being as without it, participants felt they would stagnate, become exploited by the marketplace and ultimately become victims to the “poisons” inherent in mindless, unreflexive consumption. Keeping abreast of controversies in the marketplace and maintaining a level of keen awareness provides a positive sense of self-worth for participants. Another related and emergent theme highlighted participants’ “*decoupling of the hedonic value of food from its more cultured representations*” by emphasizing the symbolic, productive or creative features of their diet. Participants situated their approaches to eating for personal wellness not simply in terms of nutritional best practice but within discussions of *gastronomy* and the sacred nature of the mealtime. Knowing how to cook, being able to recognize authentic recipes while being adept at deciphering and dismissing false marketing claims and possessing a keen taste all provide positive mental and social rewards conducive to well-being.

Tentative Contributions

The research advances a burgeoning stream of work which focuses on the specific intersections of the marketplace with consumers' idiosyncratic approaches to optimizing their quality of life (Thompson, 2003, 2005; Cronin *et al.*, 2015). In particular, our work in progress adds some texture to our understanding of how the marketplace mediates the relationship between food and the consumer while enabling a reality that consumption itself is the malleable, distinctive and eccentric playground of the consumer. Our work borrows from recent thoughts in the sociology of health and illness literatures to suggest consumers are leveraging the idea of well-being as a rationalization of their own personal identity and sensation driven pursuits (Sointu, 2006). Our findings signal to policy that there are many different and ambiguous perceptions of well-being which grant people latitude in however they seek to achieve it. In this sense our work conforms to the frustrated assertions of scholars writing in the areas of well-being and quality of life which imply wellbeing is "a complex, multi-faceted construct that has continued to elude researchers' attempts to define and measure it" (Pollard and Lee, 2003, pp.60-61) and such complexity "has given rise to blurred and overly broad definitions of wellbeing" (Forgeard *et al.*, 2011, p. 81). What we suggest is that however uncertain well-being is as a concept for use in analysis, it is at least equally uncertain within real everyday lived experience. It is this lack of clarity and absence of reductionist reasoning that grants well-being legitimacy in the eyes of those seeking more freedom in an increasingly prescriptive and governed marketplace.

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The Stigma of Obesity: Additional Evidence

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As the prevalence of overweight rose over the last few decades, so too have the levels of attention it has received from the media, policymakers, and researchers. While the increased attention may be helping to curb the rate of increase, there are also individuals who are increasingly plagued by an obesity stigma. Throughout history, stigma has imposed suffering on vulnerable groups and impaired efforts to thwart the progression of those diseases (Puhl and Heuer 2010). Unlike many chronic conditions, the stigmatisation of obesity impairs quality of life (QOL), in addition to its health burden (Wee, et al. 2012). In fact, for an overweight individual, the inability to live as fully and actively as he or she desires may be as detrimental as the physical health consequences of obesity (Fontaine and Bartlett 1998). There are, however, no well-established programs to decrease weight stigma or increase quality of life for obese individuals (Lillis, et al. 2009). Studies reveal that QOL is most significantly lowered by the presence of perceived stigma (Tsutsumi and Izutsu 2010). Therefore, the purpose of this article is to more closely look at the stigma of obesity. In particular, the objective is to provide evidence regarding a few of the currently assumed correlations with obesity that may, alternatively, be interpreted as evidence of stigma. The goal is to prompt further research regarding those who are stigmatised by overweight because a better understanding of its derivation may help address it.

Research shows that obese individuals face multiple forms of bias and discrimination because of their weight (Puhl and Brownell 2001). Widespread negative stereotypes of overweight and obese persons include characteristics such as lazy, weak-willed, unsuccessful, unintelligent, unmotivated, lacking in self-discipline, less competent, non-compliant, limited willpower, and sloppy (Puhl and Heuer 2009; Teachman and Brownell 2001). Flint (2015) argues that these inferences evolve from the perception that the condition stems from controllable causes. The perceived controllability of weight is prevalent (Allon 1982; Quinn and Crocker 1999; Tiggemann and Anesbury 2000), and makes it different from other stigmatized traits such as race and gender (Wang, et al. 2004). In fact, the more a disease is perceived as under volitional control, the more it is stigmatising (Crandell 1994; Puhl and Brownell 2003). Individuals with stigmatising conditions (e.g., obesity and drug addiction) are disliked, evoke anger and little pity, and receive little help in coping with or treating their condition (Weiner, et al. 1988).

The prevalence of weight discrimination in the United States has increased by 66% over the past decade (Andreyeva, et al. 2008) and the existence of an anti-fat attitude was demonstrated more than 45 years ago (Allon 1982; Cahnman 1968). Surprisingly, fat and lean people are equally likely to be anti-fat and overweight people do not show in-group bias, possibly because identification with similar (overweight) others does not improve their self-image (Crandall 1994).

Although this prejudice regarding excess weight is not new, what is new is the nature of the bias; unlike biases against other groups, negative attitudes toward overweight individuals are accepted and even encouraged (Wang, et al 2004). The bias is overt, expressible, widely held (Crandell 1994) and justifiable because it is believed that such attitudes may serve the positive function of

motivating healthy behaviours (Averett and Korenman 1999; Crister 2004; Hebl and Heatherton 1998). However, Hunger and Tomiyama (2014) found that being exposed to weight stigma causes increased eating, predicts exercise avoidance, depletes the very mental resources needed to control one's behaviour, and is linked to an increased (not decreased) risk of becoming obese over time. Therefore, threats to emotional and physical health caused by such bias may actually impair efforts to engage in healthy eating patterns and lifestyle behaviours through negative emotional distress (Puhl and Heuer 2009).

Unfortunately, a return to normal weight is improbable for most obese individuals since most weight-loss interventions only yield a weight loss of about 10 per cent (Puhl and Heuer 2010). Stigma and attitude modification therefore may play an important role in preventing negative outcomes for overweight individuals and should target all individuals, including those who are overweight (Wang, et al. 2004).

The analysis provided will address three research questions. The first question is whether the evidence used to analyse the prevalence of obesity could also be interpreted as evidence of prejudice or bias. In this section associations between obesity and several factors from previous research will be replicated to see whether they could, if interpreted differently, show stigma rather than the assumed correlations.

Second, there is a constant message in a society suggesting that body fatness is controllable (i.e. energy intake vs. energy expenditure) and can be modified relatively easily (Flint 2015).

Therefore, the second research area is whether data support the assertions that weight is truly

controllable. Finally, the emotional toll on overweight individuals will be measured and compared to non-overweight individuals to see if this group carries a differential burden.

Literature Review

Research on overweight and obesity indicates that these conditions are more prevalent among certain segments of the population, leading to certain inferences. However, since correlations do not indicate causation, the inferences made may be in the opposite direction. For example, there are significant relationships between the prevalence of overweight and gender, education, income, and race / ethnicity.

First, there is a significant positive relationship between income levels and educational attainment (US Census Bureau 2011). We also see a relationship between these two variables with overweight. Among those with a college degree, the prevalence of obesity is lower than among those with only some college education; and, college educated women are less likely to be obese compared with those with less than a high school diploma (Ogden, et al 2010). Further, among women obesity prevalence increases as income decreases, while among non-Hispanic black and Mexican-American men, obesity prevalence decreases as income decreases (Ogden et al 2010). The correlation between income and obesity may lead to the inference that reduced income limits the options on where to live and, consequently, the availability of healthier food. Another inference from these relationships is that overweight and obesity may be a result of less education, generally, or nutrition knowledge, specifically. In the US, a major initiative to address obesity is an emphasis on nutrition education, which reflects assumptions that the rates of obesity

have risen because Americans lack sufficient knowledge of the personal behaviours that lead to weight gain (Puhl and Heuer 2010).

Meanwhile, weight bias remains persistent in numerous settings, including of employment and education (Puhl and Heuer 2009). Therefore, it might be that weight discrimination in education leads to lower attainment, which is then revealed in lower income. Therefore, correlations between education and income with overweight status may be driven by weight discrimination during education.

Similarly for employment, weight discrimination in the workplace includes not being hired for a job, not receiving a promotion, and wrongful termination (Puhl, et al. 2008). Consequently, it could be that higher weight leads to un- or under-employment, leading to lower income, which is revealed in the correlation between income and the prevalence overweight. Therefore, the relationships between gender, income, and obesity may be driven by biases in education or employment.

The second research question pertains to the ability to lose weight, since the existence of the obesity stigma is largely due to the belief that weight is controllable. However, limited evidence exists that this is the case, even among those who attempted weight loss (Puhl and Heuer 2010).

In a study of overweight and obese individuals, Pearl and Lebowitz (2014) investigate three sources of weight-related self-efficacy: biological attributions, environmental attributions, and personal responsibility. The researchers found that to the extent the individuals make biological attributions, people tend to believe they are incapable of controlling or changing their weight; in addition, environmental attributions yielded only a marginal association with perceived odds of

weight loss. The third source, personal responsibility, was not associated with weight self-efficacy, and, instead, was associated with higher self-blame, fat phobia, and internalization of weight bias. Therefore, among the overweight and obese, there is little support for the assumption that weight is controllable.

Among those who attempt weight loss, there are four main sources of failure, each of which is correlated with an unrealistic expectation about self-change: amount, speed, ease, and effects on other aspects of one's life (Polivy and Herman 2002). Buehler, et al. (1994) demonstrated that there is an optimistic bias in people's anticipated speed and success at achieving desired goals. Taken together, people often believe that they can lose more weight than is feasible and that they will lose weight more quickly and with much less effort than is realistic (Brownell, 1991b; Heatherton et al., 1991).

The third research question pertains to the consequences of being overweight, whether due to the stigma and/or the pressures to lose weight. People often believe that making a change will improve their lives more than can reasonably be expected. Research shows that people believe that dieting will result in weight loss and, consequently that the weight loss will in turn get them a job promotion or a romantic partner (Polivy and Herman, 1992; Striegel-Moore, et al. 1986). Are those who are overweight under more physical or emotional strain than others? Do the data reveal that those who lost weight are actually in better mental or physical health than those who did not?

Data

This investigation is based on United States data from the 2011 – 12 National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey (NHANES). This is a major program of the National Center for Health Statistics, which is part of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), and has the responsibility for producing vital and health statistics for the United States (CDC 2014). The 2011 – 12 data contains information from 9,756 individuals of all ages, and were collected between January 2011 and December 2012 (CDC 2014). Using the sampling weights that reflect the complex probability sample design used to collect the NHANES data, analyses can produce unbiased national prevalence estimates for the US.

The data collection process has two components, an interview at the respondent's home, followed by an examination at a mobile medical center. The NHANES interview includes demographic, socioeconomic, and health and weight related questions; while the examination component consists of medical, dental, and physiological measurements, as well as laboratory tests administered by highly trained medical personnel (CDC 2014). From the demographic data, the variables of interest are age, gender, education level, and ratio of income to the poverty level. From the medical examination, the actual BMI is provided for each respondent.

From the questionnaire, each respondent provides a perception of his or her weight, either overweight, underweight, or about the right weight, whether he or she would like to gain, lose, or stay at the same weight, self-reports of current weight and weight one year ago, which are used to determine the change in weight, whether the respondent had been told by a doctor that he or she was overweight, and general health and well-being perceptions. For purposes of this study, individuals for whom no BMI data are available (no actual weight status), those under age 20 (to

investigate adults only), and women who were pregnant (as is the process for CDC estimates, see Ogden, et al. 2012) are deleted, leaving a sample of 5,191 individuals.

In this analysis, the definitions of weight status are defined by the CDC (2008).¹ For adults, if the individual has a BMI less than 18.5, he or she is considered underweight, and is of a healthy weight when the BMI is between 18.5 and 24.9. However, if the BMI is between 25 and 29.9 he or she is considered overweight and an adult who has a BMI of 30 or higher is considered obese.

Results

As shown in the top section of Table 1, 69% of the adult population in the US is overweight or obese, and less than $\frac{3}{4}$ (72.2% = 49.8 / 69.0) of this group perceives themselves as overweight, and 1.2% of the group actually perceives themselves as underweight. The relationship between the actual and perceived weight statuses is significant ($\chi^2_4=763.3$, p-value = <.01) as shown by the fact that there is a greater percentage of respondents who underestimate their weight status (22.4% below the diagonal) versus the small percentage (4.6%) who overestimate their weight status.

The second section of Table 1 shows the relationship between the respondent's perceived weight status and his or her desired weight change. This relationship is also significant, ($\chi^2_4=2253.6$, p-value = <.01), since there is a strong preference toward losing weight, which is felt by 64.4% of the population and 97.8% (=52.4 / 64.4) of those who perceive themselves as overweight want to

¹ Many people argue that BMI is not a good indicator of overweight and obesity. While there may be exceptions for an individual, according to the CDC (2011), in the aggregate, the correlation between the BMI number and body fatness is fairly strong; this is despite the fact that at the same BMI, women tend to have more body fat than men; at the same BMI, older people, on average, tend to have more body fat than younger adults; highly trained athletes may have a high BMI because of increased muscularity rather than increased body fatness.

weigh less. The table also shows that 27.4% of those who perceive themselves as about the right weight and 13.3% of those who perceive themselves as underweight also want to weigh less. Finally, the last section of Table 1 shows the relationship between the respondent's perceived weight status and whether or not he or she actually tried to lose weight. This relationship is also significant ($\chi^2=288.2$, p-value = $<.01$), since the majority of those who attempted to lose weight perceive themselves as overweight. However, despite the fact that 97.8% of the population who perceives themselves as overweight wanted to weigh less, only 56.7% (29.0 / 51.1) actually tried to lose weight over the last year. Of those who attempted weight loss, 78.2% (29 / 37.1) perceive themselves as overweight, while 20.7% (7.7 / 37.1) perceive themselves as about the right weight. The success of these attempts will be investigated further with the second research question.

RQ1: Is there evidence of prejudice?

Among men, obesity prevalence is generally similar at all income levels, with a tendency to be slightly higher at higher income levels, while for women, obesity prevalence increases as income decreases (Ogden, et al 2010). When investigating poverty income ratio and overweight status, the relationship is not significant ($\chi^2=2.97$, p-value = $.40$). However, Figure 1, Panel a, shows the relationship between overweight status and poverty income ratio by gender. Among women the relationship is significant ($\chi^2=17.2$, p-value = $<.01$) and skewed toward overweight and obesity at lower income levels and, for men, it is also significant ($\chi^2=11.6$, p-value = $.01$) but skewed toward overweight status at higher income levels.

For women, could this be evidence of the obesity stigma in the workplace? Research shows that obese applicants are less likely to be hired and have been fired or suspended from their jobs,

despite good performance reviews (Puhl, n.d.). Workplace prejudice could mean that overweight women are being held back, leaving them at the lower levels of income.

Another claim is that education may assist in tackling overweight and obesity (Devaux, et al. 2011). Alternatively, Puhl (n.d.) notes that obese individuals face numerous obstacles in school, ranging from harassment and rejection from peers to biased attitudes from teachers. This implies that overweight status could precede educational attainment, rather than a limited education leading to overweight status.

The relationship between education and weight status is significant ($\chi^2_4=15.5$, p-value = <.01), as shown in Figure 1, Panel b. The data show that the prevalence of obesity is almost 2% lower than would be expected among those with the highest level of education. While many have interpreted this pattern as an indication that those with highest level of education are less vulnerable to obesity, particularly with respect to nutrition knowledge, this could be due to the prejudices experienced by the overweight, which limited their education attainment.

Puhl (n.d.) also states that prejudice exists in the healthcare system such that negative attitudes towards obese individuals exist among physicians, nurses, dieticians, psychologists and medical students. Several studies report that physicians view obese patients as less self-disciplined, less compliant, and more annoying than other patients (Flint 2015). While estimates indicate that \$190 billion was spent in the U.S. on obesity-related health care expenses in 2005 (Cawley and Meyerhoefer 2012), the relationship between obesity and access to medical care has not been determined (Fontaine and Bartlett 2003).

Figure 1, Panel c, shows the relationship between weight status and being told by a doctor that the respondent is overweight ($\chi^2_1=3405.5$, p-value = <.01). While less than 3% of those who are underweight or healthy weight have been told they are overweight, only 46.4% of those who are overweight have been told this is the case. Why it is that such a large proportion of overweight individuals have not been told of their weight status? Is this a lack of confidence that these individuals have the disposition to control their weight?

Finally, Panel d of Figure 1 shows the relationship between weight status and general health condition, which is also significant ($\chi^2_4=64.4$, p-value = <.01). As the chart shows, the underweight and healthy weight population is skewed towards better overall health, while the overweight population is skewed towards poorer health.

RQ2: Is weight truly controllable?

As noted previously with the last section of Table 1, 56.7% of individuals who perceive themselves as overweight tried to lose weight. While this is more than $\frac{3}{4}$ (78.2%) of those who tried to lose weight, a large proportion of those who perceive themselves as overweight did not make the same attempt.

The weight change data used to prepare Table 2 are based on the respondent's self-reported weight from one year ago compared to his or her self-reported weight at the time of completing the questionnaire. The estimates in the top portion of Table 2 investigate an association between the individual's desired weight change and his or her actual weight change. As the table shows, only 36.7% of the population changed their weight in accordance with their desired change, while

50% are heavier than they desire and 13.3% are lighter. This is significant ($\chi^2_4=80.6$, p-value = <.01).

The middle portion of Table 2 shows that of those who tried to lose weight over the last year, only 22.4% (8.3 / 37.1) were successful, 32.9% (12.1 / 37.1) didn't experience any weight change, and 44.7% (16.7 / 37.1) actually gained weight over the year. Among those who didn't try to lose weight, 31.8% (25.0 / 79.5) actually gained weight. This relationship is also significant ($\chi^2_2=61.6$, p-value = <.01).

The last portion of Table 2 reflects the weight changes only among those who did not try to lose weight over the last year, and this relationship is not significant ($\chi^2_2=4.4$, p-value = .11). As the table shows, of those who tried not to gain weight, 66.7% either lost weight or their weight was unchanged, and for those who did not try to avoid gaining weight (as well as not trying to lose weight) 47.5% were successful in keeping their weight unchanged.

RQ3: What are the consequences of the pressure to lose weight?

Stigmatization of obese individuals poses serious risks to their psychological and physical health (Puhl and Heuer 2009), which plays a strong role in the QOL. As noted earlier in Figure 1, Panel d, there is a significant difference in perceptions of general health between overweight individuals and those who are not. Another issue to consider, however, is whether or not this situation is exacerbated by the pressure to lose weight.

Table 3 provides population estimates based on the number of days the respondent was worried, tense or anxious, over the last 30 days. There is no significant relationship between days feeling

anxious and the actual weight status, or the perceived weight status. However, there is a significant difference in days of anxiety and the desired weight change ($\chi^2=17.5$, p-value = .03). As the table shows, more than 65% of those who felt anxious for 1 to 21 days last month, wanted to weigh less. A significant pattern also holds for being told by a doctor that the respondent is overweight. This relationship is also significant ($\chi^2=19.9$, p-value = <.01). As the number of days increases, a relatively higher proportion of the population were told they are overweight. The other relationships are not significant.

In Table 4 the population estimates are based on the number of days the respondent was prevented from engaging in his or her usual activities due to poor mental or physical health, during the last 30 days. Based on actual weight status, there is a significant difference in days of inactivity ($\chi^2=11.5$, p-value = .02) such that the overweight or obese represents the majority in these categories. A significant pattern also holds for being told by a doctor that the respondent is overweight ($\chi^2=23.7$, p-value = <.01). As the number of days increase, those who were told they are overweight represent more than 34%. The other relationships are not significant.

Finally, there is a comparison between those who lost weight over the last year to those who did not on several variables: the number of days of anxiety, inactivity, or overall general health.

Among those who lost weight, they rate their overall general health higher than those who did not lose weight (2.64 versus 2.58). However, the difference is not significant ($t = 1.37$, $df = 17$, p-value = 0.19). With regard to the days of anxiety over the last 30, those who lost weight were anxious 6.82 days, while those who did not lose weight were anxious 5.19 days. This difference is significant ($t = 5.18$, $df = 17$, p-value = < 0.01). With regard to the days of inactivity over the last

30, those who lost weight were inactive 2.41 days, while those who did not lose weight were inactive 1.36 days. This difference is also significant ($t = 3.35$, $df = 17$, $p\text{-value} = 0.00$). While those who lost weight feel their overall health is better, they still experience significantly more days of anxiety and inactivity than those who did not lose weight.

Discussion

The goal of this research is to prompt further research in the area of the overweight stigma due to its influence on QOL. In light of these findings, one issue may be to reassess data on obesity prevalence and correlations as these may be (mis)guiding interventions. Although the data confirm previously noted correlations, the root of some of these findings may be biases in education. If this is confirmed, then this should be addressed, in addition to the consequences. It is also interesting to note the misconceptions of potential weight loss and the lack of successes in this venture. Further, not only are many unsuccessful at their attempts to lose weight, but among those who do lose weight, the change is not entirely good as evidenced by their days of anxiety and inactivity. This may be a vicious circle for some individuals since poor health related QOL may prevent overweight individuals from succeeding in weight management (Seppala, et al. 2014).

One of the major reasons obesity individuals seek help is the reduction in their QOL (LePen, et al. 1998). However, these data imply that being labelled as overweight by a physician causes anxiety and inactivity among some overweight people. Since this seems inconsistent with the goal of helping people achieve better health, more research is needed to find out what problems exist. For example, is it a matter of bias by some healthcare professionals, or is it a self-imposed distress due

the anti-fat attitude that is held by some overweight people, or is it a combination of these with the evidence that weight loss is harder to achieve than expected?

In addition to the analyses addressing the research questions, another finding may warrant further investigation. Specifically, the results show that obesity is still an undesired condition within society. First, 30.8% of those who perceive themselves as underweight tried to lose weight, 12.7% of those who tried to lose weight perceived themselves as about right or underweight and, finally, 18.6% of those of who want to weigh less perceive themselves as about the right weight or underweight. Is this may be evidence that the anti-obesity message is resonating with those who are not at risk?

Finally, although not covered here specifically, research is urgently needed to capture society's awareness of the overweight stigma (Sikorski, et al. 2011) and reduce its presence since this is counter-productive in reducing the overweight problem.

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Table 1: Population Estimates Based on Perceived Weight Status

		Perceived Weight Status			Total
		Underweight	About Right	Overweight	
Actual Weight Status	Underweight	0.8	0.8	0.1	1.7
	Healthy Weight	3.2	22.4	3.7	29.3
	Overweight or Obese	0.8	18.4	49.8	69.0
	Total	4.8	41.6	53.6	100.0
p-value = <.01					
Desired Weight Change	Weigh less	0.6	11.4	52.4	64.4
	Weigh the same	0.7	27.3	1.1	29.1
	Weigh more	3.5	2.9	0.1	6.5
	Total	4.8	41.6	53.6	100.0
, p-value = <.01					
Tried to Lose Weight ²	Yes	0.4	7.7	29.0	37.1
	No	4.9	35.9	22.1	62.9
	Total	5.3	43.6	51.1	100.0
$\chi^2_2 = 230.0$, p-value = <.01					

Table 2: Population Estimates Based on Reported Weight Change over the Last Year

		Change in Weight			Total
		Lost weight	Same weight	Gained weight	
Desired Weight Change	Weigh less	21.0	20.3	23.1	64.4
	Weigh the same	8.6	13.9	6.6	29.1
	Weigh more	2.4	2.3	1.8	6.5
	Total	32.0	36.5	31.5	100.0
$\chi^2_4 = 80.6$, p-value = <.01					
Tried to Lose Weight ²	Yes	8.3	12.1	16.7	37.1
	No	12.6	30.3	20.0	62.9
	Total	20.9	42.4	36.7	100.0
$\chi^2_2 = 61.6$, p-value = <.01					
Tried Not to Gain Weight ³	Yes	3.3	10.4	6.8	20.5
	No	16.7	37.8	25.0	79.5
	Total	20.0	48.2	31.8	100.0
$\chi^2_2 = 4.3$, p-value = .11					

² Totals are slightly different because 634 respondents did not answer the question on whether or not he or she tried to lose weight.

³ Only those who answered 'No' to the question about trying to lose weight over the last year were asked this question.

Table 3: Days of Anxiety over Last 30 Days⁴

		Days Feeling Anxious					Total
		Never	1 – 7	8 – 14	15 - 21	2 – 30	
Actual Weight Status	Underweight or Healthy Weight	13.3	10.4	2.1	1.9	2.9	30.6
	Overweight or Obese	31.3	22.5	4.5	4.1	7.0	69.4
	Total	44.6	32.9	6.6	6.0	9.9	100.0
		$\chi^2_4=1.01$, p-value = .91					
Perception of Own Weight	Underweight	1.6	1.8	0.4	0.3	0.6	4.6
	About the right weight	19.6	13.0	2.5	2.4	3.7	41.1
	Overweight	28.5	18.2	3.8	3.3	5.6	54.3
	Total	44.6	32.9	6.6	5.9	9.9	100.0
Desired Weight Change	Weigh less	28.4	21.9	4.9	4.0	6.2	65.3
	Weigh the same	13.7	8.8	1.2	1.6	3.0	28.3
	Weigh more	2.5	2.3	0.6	0.3	0.7	6.4
	Total	44.6	32.9	6.6	5.9	9.9	100.0
Doctor Said Overweight	Yes	13.5	11.6	2.6	2.3	3.9	34.0
	No	31.1	21.3	4.0	3.6	6.0	66.0
	Total	44.6	32.9	6.6	5.9	9.9	100.0
		$\chi^2_4=19.94$, p-value = <.01					

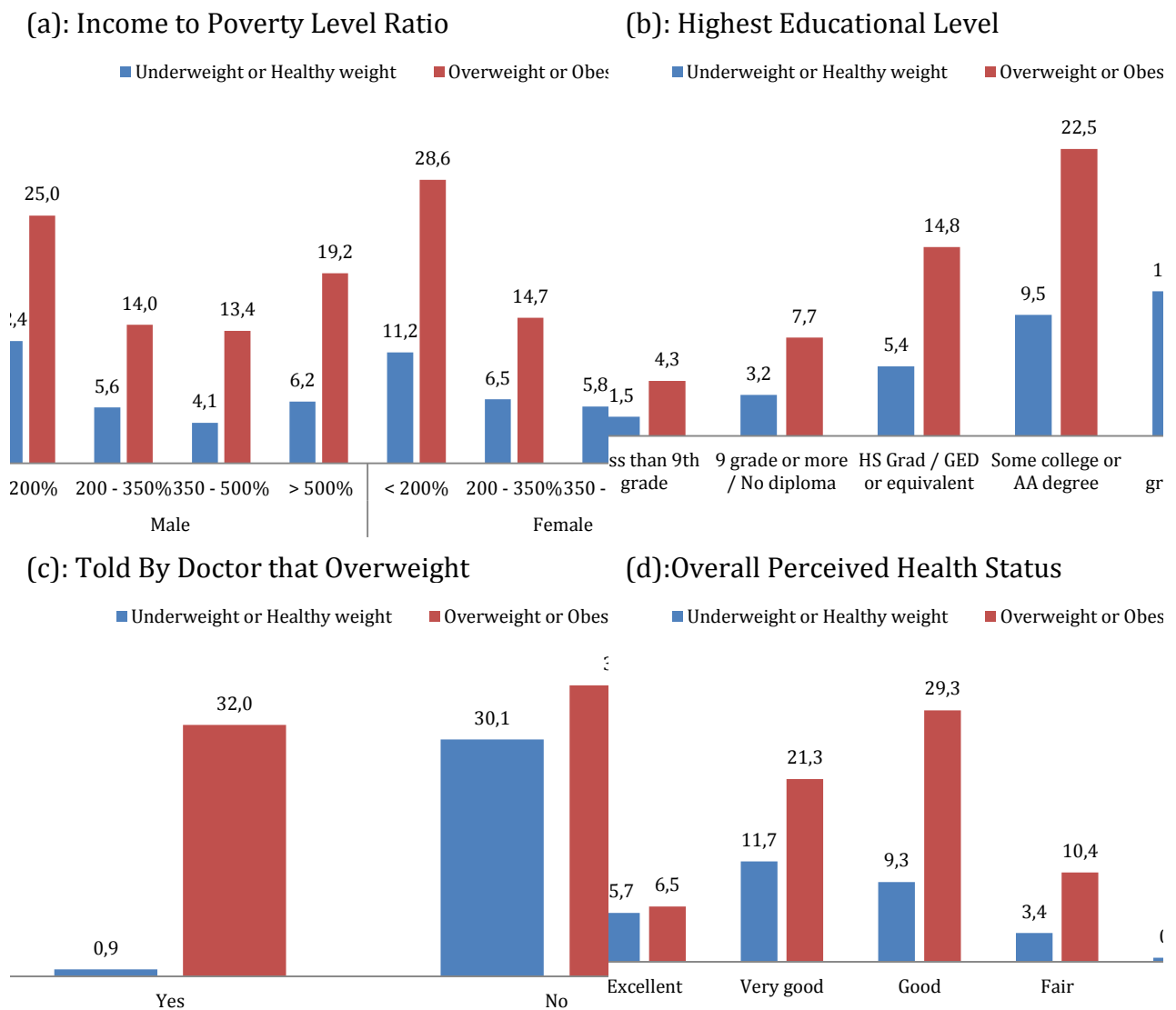
⁴ Percentages are slightly different than previous tables because of fewer responses to both of these questions.

Table 4: Days of Inactivity due to Mental or Physical Health over Last 30 Days⁵

		Days of Inactivity					Total
		Never	1 – 7	3 – 14	.5 - 21	2 – 30	
Actual Weight Status	Underweight or Healthy Weight	24.9	4.1	0.6	0.5	0.6	30.6
	Overweight or Obese	57.0	6.8	1.9	1.5	2.2	69.4
	Total	82.0	10.8	2.5	1.9	2.8	100.0
$\chi^2_4=11.54$, p-value = .02							
Doctor Said Overweight	Yes	26.7	3.7	1.1	1.1	1.3	33.9
	No	55.3	7.1	1.3	0.9	1.5	66.1
	Total	82.0	10.8	2.5	1.9	2.8	100.0
$\chi^2_4=23.67$, p-value = <.01							
Desired Weight Change	Weigh less	53.7	6.8	1.8	1.2	1.8	65.3
	Weigh the same	23.4	3.0	0.5	0.6	0.8	28.3
	Weigh more	4.9	1.0	0.2	0.1	0.2	6.4
	Total	82.0	10.8	2.5	1.9	2.8	100.0
$\chi^2_8=5.46$, p-value = .71							
Perception of Own Weight	Underweight	3.7	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.2	4.6
	About the right weight	34.1	4.7	0.8	0.7	0.8	41.1
	Overweight	44.1	5.6	1.6	1.1	1.8	54.2
	Total	82.0	10.8	2.5	1.9	2.8	100.0
$\chi^2_8=10.92$, p-value = .21							

⁵ Percentages are slightly different than previous tables because of fewer responses to both of these questions.

Figure 1: Population Estimates of Actual Weight Status versus Various Characteristics



Critical Life Event, Leisure Consumption and Psychological Well-being

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Life events and its potential impact have received substantial academic attention in disciplines such as health and psychology; however, the marketing field has yet to examine the relationship between life events, leisure consumption and psychological well-being. In this research, we focus on immigration as a life event since moving to and settling down in a new country bring stress into the lives of immigrants. While some studies view immigration as a positive life event (e.g. Lara 2014; Phinney and Ong 2002; Walsh, Shulman, and Maurer 2008), other scholars consider immigration as a stressful experience that may negatively affect the psychological well-being of immigrants. The mental stress following the act of immigration can be due to financial difficulties, language and culture gaps, discrimination and lack of social support (Abdolvahab 2015), which ultimately result in the loss of sense of belonging and competence as they immigrate to a new country (Walsh, Shulman, and Maurer 2008). The symptoms associated with post-immigration psychological stress include depression, anxiety, and interpersonal sensitivity (Ritsner and Ponizovksy 1999) deserve concerted attention.

Leisure participation helps immigrants to understand a new culture faster (Choi et al. 2008; Kim 2012) and provides opportunity for transcending negative life circumstances by restoring a sense of well-being and social connectedness (Kleiber, Hutchinson, and Williams 2002). The complexities of how leisure consumption may contribute to the enhancement of psychological well-being of individuals who have gone through a critical life event such as immigration is the

one explored here. This stream of research has strong implications from a macromarketing perspective given its significant social and economic ramifications (Malhotra 2006; Loane, Webster, and D'Alessandro 2015).

The primary research question of our study is: How does leisure consumption influence the psychological well-being of people after they immigrate to a new country? Particularly, we seek to develop and empirically test a conceptual framework that integrates *leisure participation* (dining out, travelling and cultural entertainment engagement), *leisure motivation* (including four subscales i.e. motivation for learning something new; motivation for competence; motivation to form social connections; and motivation for relaxation), *intrapersonal outcomes* (i.e. self-efficacy, continuity and engagement) and *social support* (i.e. leisure companionship, esteem and emotional support) in predicting psychological well-being. Our research is underpinned by three theoretical streams including life event, psychological well-being and leisure participation and motivation theories.

Our study was conducted in Auckland, New Zealand using a cross-sectional survey approach. All the items used to measure the constructs were adapted from previously published work and have proven satisfactory psychometric quality. A five-point Likert-type scale anchored questions with *strongly disagree/strongly agree* was employed. The research instrument was pre-tested among university students (n=50) in order to improve its readability, consistency and clarity. Slight modifications were made prior to actual field work based on the pre-test outcomes. Respondents were immigrants aged between 20 to 55 years old recruited via a snowball sampling method. Invitations for online survey participation were first forwarded to a group of qualified respondents through the authors' personal networks. They were then asked to disseminate the invitation to their own contacts for further data collection. A total of 280

final samples were usable for further analyses using ordinary least squares regression and Hayes's (2013) multilevel sequential mediation analyses.

Our preliminary analyses suggest that the relationship between leisure motivation and leisure participation indicates that immigrants choose different activities for different motivations. Overall, leisure participation influences the psychological well-being of people who immigrate to a new country in a positive way and is mediated by self-efficacy, esteem and companionship. The present findings enriches health and marketing literature by providing new theoretical insights into how leisure consumption relates to psychological well-being of immigrants. The empirically tested conceptual framework may serve as a springboard for future research in this area of research. On the practical side, the outcomes of this study are beneficial to various stakeholders including marketers, practitioners of recreational programs and immigrant settlement services. For example, immigration settlement office may use the insights from this study to enhance the settlement experience of immigrants. Our findings also have potential to assist health practitioners in their future planning and development of mental health interventions. Lastly, immigrants themselves may apply the knowledge to achieve a healthier settlement experience.

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Growing your own food – analysis of urban gardening practices and characteristics

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Abstract

Now more than ever, in pursuit of the augmentation of urban living many individuals and organized groups try to improve the quality of living, health, environment and nutrition in the experience of growing food in urban areas. Contemporary understanding of motives and practices of urban gardening is both deficient and lacks marketing perspective due to prevalent social or medical approach. The main objectives of this paper are to provide a clear overview of the state of published research in the field of urban agriculture, to identify motives and practices of urban gardening as well as to highlight important future outlooks in the field.

The survey originates from the project whose aim was to understand better the urban gardening phenomenon and research was conducted personally on population of individuals (both gardeners and non-gardeners) from 20-70 years of age living in Zagreb, Croatia. The total sample comprises of 1204 respondents, out of which 59,6% are gardeners, all relatively evenly distributed relative to their age from 20 to 70 years of age. Results indicate that aging positively influences on urban gardening and that females and people living in houses, consuming and having positive attitudes towards organic food are more prone to urban gardening. Income did not present to be a significant contributor, but all else being equal, people who are urban gardeners report being happier and have better quality of life.

Introduction

Now more than ever, in pursuit of the augmentation of urban living many individuals and organized groups try to improve the quality of living, health, environment and nutrition in the experience of growing food in urban areas. The contribution of such practices to the individual well-being is predictably positive, however, in order for it to be possible one must have both motivation and appropriate conditions and general public support. It is essential to better understand the characteristics of urban food producers in order to comprehensively portray that uprising macromarketing trend. The main objectives of this paper are to provide a clear overview of the state of published research in the field of urban agriculture, and to establish the connection with the attitudes and consumption of organic food.

Avoiding a strictly functionalist approach to urban gardening benefits this paper seeks to develop a research framework directed towards specific characteristics of urban gardeners as well as the actual contribution of the urban gardening to the perceived well-being. After that we continue with methodological overview as well as with the detailed sample description and the results discussion. The paper concludes with a discussion of further research guidelines in the field of urban agricultural trends from the macromarketing perspective.

Literature review

Interest in urban agriculture is radically emerging both in the developed and developing world (Taylor & Lovell, 2014). It was estimated that 800 million people are practicing urban agriculture and about 15-20% of world's food supply may be produced by it (Smit et al., 1996). Moreover, the published reports claim the significant rise in personal food growing in the UK and the US, where according to the National Gardening Association in 2009 31% of American

households identified themselves as individuals who grow their own food (Church et al., 2015). It represents a very intriguing alternative food source that has many positive results. However, it has to be noted that despite being captivating it has very valid and vivid limitations. Limited access to cultivable soil or local seeds and lack of experience stand for valid limitations even to those cherishing positive attitudes towards gardening (Marsh, 1998). There is a clear and vivid animosity of the agricultural practices in the urban environment, due to the idea that it should stay where it belongs to – rural areas due to negative environmental consequences and other effects of rural mitigation (Mougeot, 2000). Urban gardening can be perceived as a threat to the public health to the individuals close to the gardens in terms of possibly by-products of the gardening such as insects, irritants or safety hazards as a result of wrongful practices rather than the innate negativity of the gardening itself (Mougeot, 2000). Consequently, despite being intriguing urban gardening limitations have to be considered while interpreting and envisioning current and future evolution of this macromarketing trend.

Definition and types of urban gardens

“Home food garden” is identified as a fruit or vegetable garden that is leased, owned or borrowed but is directly adjacent to the gardener’s residence and is managed by a single household (Kortright and Wakefield, 2011; Taylor & Lovell, 2014). Generally, it denotes cultivation of vegetables, fruits, plantation crops, spices, herbs, ornamental and medicinal plants as well as livestock that can serve as a supplementary source of food and income with the low engagement of capital and relatively simple technology (Galhena, Freed & Maredia, 2013).

Community garden stands for an unambiguous type of garden that is either managed collaboratively by a group of gardeners or is divided into individual plots but managed by an

independent party (Taylor & Lovell, 2014). Not only that they have food security dimension, they are also characterized by large social interaction leading to inclusive and health positive communities that fight urban isolation at the same time representing certain types of ecological threats (Beilin & Hunter, 2011). Home gardens have great diversity in location, form, size, and function; apart from being in the back yard urban gardens can be places on rooftops, on vacant lots, front-yards, parkways, or even on balconies or terraces (Taylor & Lovell, 2012).

In terms of scaling green roofs, backyards and street verges are considered microform of urban gardening where as community gardens or urban parks have meso size opposite to the macro format of professional urban farms (Pearson, Pearson & Pearson, 2010). Urban gardens are set up to grow fruits, vegetables, herbs and other plant cultures.

Urban gardeners' characteristics

Gardens are referred to as places for innovation of numerous benefits among which the key are: superior food security, improved nutrition and food accessibility, environmental benefits and economic benefits (Galhena, Freed & Maredia, 2013) and household budget (Armstrong 2000; Brown, 2000). Kabisch, Queshi & Haase (2015) have offered first structured review of published literature in the field of benefits of the urban green spaces interaction through the lens of urban planning and they have identified four predominant areas of its benefits: Mental and physical health, economic, social benefits such as supporting social interaction and integration and environmental such as climate mitigation.

Income

It is largely assumed that gardening is for “poorer” people (Schupp and Sharp, 2012) as it provides access to food and gives provisional food security; however, in urban areas due to the assumed limitation of garden sizes and profitability it is questionable if people can grow

substantial amount of food (Kortright and Wakefield, 2011). Such conclusions may lead to the hypothesis that income is negatively correlated with the practice of urban gardening.

Organic food attitudes and consumption

Urban gardens are also seen as agents of broader social change in terms of increased physical activity and mental health (Armstrong, 2000; Kortright and Wakefield 2011) and as a possible resistance to standard supply of food (Shupp and Sharp, 2012). Considering the agricultural formats home gardens have been present for centuries as a domestic food production source (Marsh, 1998). Food that is produced in home and community gardens is more often than not grown in an organic manner and is always under less influence of toxic influences than the one available in the supermarket (Flacks, 2010).

It has been proven that gardeners report larger intake of fruit and vegetables than non-gardeners (Alaimo et al., 2008) pointing towards possible relationship with the food that “we grow ourselves”. It was also shown that larger knowledge of fruits and vegetables has significant positive influence on its consumption (Morris & ZIndenberg-Cherr, 2002). Own production of food assumes larger knowledge of fruits and vegetables, therefore it could be inferred that people who have preferable attitudes towards it will be more inclined towards urban gardening. We also have to take into consideration that organic market is on the rise; the retails sales value reports indicate that Croatian market is relatively large at 16th place in Europe of 104 million Euros of value and 2,2% of total market, thereby being in the EU top ten (Willer & Schack, 2015).

Quality of life

Not only that home gardens represent easy access to fresh and healthy food, but also they add diversity to nutrition and improve food intake especially to the underprivileged ones (Marsh, 1998). Gardening represents a possible access for to better quality of life especially for the low-income households as it is calculated that by gardening a family can save up to 475\$ on food spending (Milburn & Vail, 2010). Moreover, due to contact with nature and participation in food growing gardening also positively influences personal advancement (Podup, 2008) and enhance the environmental quality of the community (Altieri et al.1999).

Published research and the research gap

This paper addresses the research knowledge gap addressed by Pearson, Pearson & Pearson (2010) in the field of social aspects of sustainable urban agriculture, mainly covering the characteristics and the conditions of urban gardeners. Moreover, relatively little research has been done on home gardening in developed countries (Gray et al., 2014), Especially in the new EU member countries. Most of the published literature so far has mainly qualitative case study methodology or cross country comparison (Church et al., 2015) or done generically as a part of the European quality of life survey (Church et al., 2015) that lacks an in depth understanding of urban gardening movement. There are studies such as the one done by Schupp & Sharp (2012) on the home gardening that has a valid approach but investigates home gardening in both urban and rural areas. Identifying the clear research gap and the need to fill the non-existent, thrall investigation gap in the field of urban food production we have developed four broad research questions:

- What are the demographic and social characteristics that have significant influence on the probability of own food growing in urban areas?

- How do personal values of organic food and organic food consumption relate to the practice of gardening in urban areas?
- What do urban gardeners predominantly grow and where?
- Do urban gardeners report larger levels of perceived health and quality of life?

Research methodology

In order to answer the proposed research question we have developed the questionnaire comprising of items that derived from the published literature. Means-end organic food value attributes were taken from the Padel & Foster (2005) study and were tested with the Likert scale of 7 points, as well as organic food consumption. Perceived health and perceived well-being were structured as self reported measure examined on the Likert 7 points scale sourced from Dagger, Sweeney and Johnson (2007). All of the other questions are very intuitive and are portrayed in detail in the sample composition Table 1. The central dependent variable of this paper is the gardening activity that split the sample into the “gardeners” and the “non-gardeners” that was respectively coded with 0 and 1.

The survey originates from the project of the Faculty of Economics and Business whose aim was to understand better the urban gardening phenomenon and was done in collaboration with the 4th year undergraduate students. The research was conducted from October 15 until December 20, 2015 in Croatia on population of individuals (both gardeners and non-gardeners) from 20-70 years of age living in Zagreb. The questionnaires were collected personally by carefully coached individuals at the location of their choice in Zagreb.

Table 1. Sample composition

	All			Gardeners		Non gardeners	
	n	%	Missing	n	%	n	%
Sample size	1204			718		486	
Food growing			0				
Yes	718	59,6%					
No	486	40,4%					
Age			48				
25-34	474	39,4%		223	31,1%	251	51,6%
35-44	215	17,9%		115	16,0%	100	20,6%
45-54	246	20,4%		163	22,7%	83	17,1%
55-70	221	18,4%		171	23,8%	50	10,3%
Sex			0				
Female	810	67,3%		513	71,4%	297	61,1%
Male	394	32,7%		207	28,8%	187	38,5%
Education			0				
Primary	37	3,1%		31	4,3%	6	1,2%
High school	529	43,9%		344	47,9%	185	38,1%
University	484	40,2%		267	37,2%	217	44,7%
Masters	120	10,0%		59	8,2%	61	12,6%
PhD	34	2,8%		17	2,4%	17	3,5%
Employment			20				
Yes	860	71,4%		500	69,6%	360	74,1%
No	324	26,9%		207	28,8%	117	24,1%
Household size			14				
1	108	9,0%		52	7,2%	56	11,5%
2	275	22,8%		165	23,0%	110	22,6%
3	220	18,3%		129	18,0%	91	18,7%
4	341	28,3%		204	28,4%	137	28,2%
5 and more	246	20,4%		160	22,3%	86	17,7%
Household income			365				
1 - 5000 kn	130	10,8%		77	10,7%	53	10,9%
5001 - 10000 kn	345	28,7%		214	29,8%	131	27,0%
10001 - 15000 kn	218	18,1%		131	18,2%	87	17,9%
15001 - 20000 kn	86	7,1%		55	7,7%	31	6,4%
20001 kn -	60	5,0%		36	5,0%	24	4,9%
House type			9				
House	488	40,5%		348	48,5%	140	28,8%
Flat	707	58,7%		364	50,7%	343	70,6%
Ownership			28				
Owner	983	81,6%		610	85,0%	373	76,7%
Renter	193	16,0%		91	12,7%	102	21,0%

The total sample comprises of 1204 respondents, out of which 59,6% are gardeners, all relatively evenly distributed relative to their age from 20 to 70 years of age. The proportion of respondents that are employed is 71,4%, and the sample is comprised of 43,2% holding a high school diploma and 40,2% a university degree. Women are predominantly present in the total sample (67,3%) as well as home-owners (81,6%) as opposed to renters (16%). As for the household income the dominant bracket is the one from 5001 – 15000 Croatian Kunas (cca. 800-2000 Euros) that contribute to the 46,8% of the total sample that is inline to the average values of income in Croatia's capital. Data analysis was conducted using statistical software SPSS 23.

Findings

To determine the relationships of the urban gardening occurrence relative to selected demographic and social characteristics we have conducted logistic regression. Correlations between variables revealed sufficient amount of distinction between them as they ranged from 0,002 (between household size and organic food values) to 0,348 (between household size and house type).

The results are presented in the Table 2 with respective odds ratios and p values. Odds ratio bellow 1 suggests a lower likelihood of urban gardening, while larger than 1 refers to the larger likelihood of such practice. The model fit suggests good fit with Chisquare value of the proposed model of 0,24 (above 0,05).

Table 2. Logistics regression model for the likelihood of urban gardening

Parametars	Gardening	
	Exp (B)	Sig.
Age	1.037	.000**
Sex	1.445	.030*
Household size	.981	.747
Income	1000	.479
House type	0.400	.000**
Organic food values	1.452	.000**
Organic food consumption	1.321	.000**
Intercept	0.190	.000**
Model fit:		
-2 Log likelihood	922.83**	
Nagelkerke R Square	0.240	

Note **p<0.01, *p<0,05, 'p<0,1

Analyzing the results we can conclude for age, being a continuous variable, to present a statistically significant variable for the probability of urban gardening. More accurately, aging positively influences the propensity for urban gardening; suggesting that maturity is valid contributor to gardening. In terms of sex, as female was coded 1 and male 0, the results indicate that woman are more likely to be urban gardeners. As for house type, people living in houses as opposed to flats are more prone to be gardeners in the cities; which is very much connected with having less logistics obstacles in such endeavors.

Interestingly and in line with expectations organic food intake and consumption as well as organic food perceived values and attitudes have a very large influence on the possibility of gardening. Such conclusion points towards the fact that people that care about healthy food consumption and know about it a lot seek to grow that same food on their own.

The model did not support the relationship between income and gardening that is inline with the previously published research done on the topic of home gardening (Schupp & Sharp, 2012). Similarly, the number of people in the household does not influence the odds of gardening practice in urban areas.

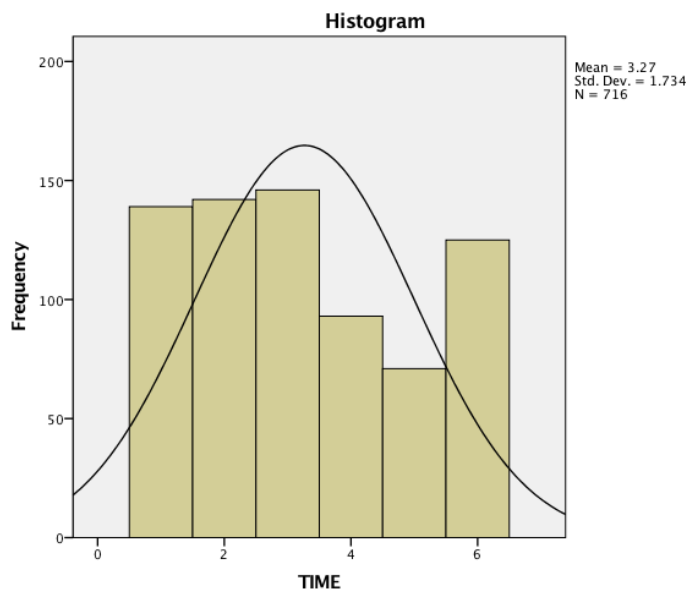
Table 3. Frequencies of urban garden type and gardening substance

	Frequency	Percent		Frequency	Percent
Balcony	139	19,41%	Vegetables	532	74,30%
Back-yard	420	58,66%	Fruit	306	42,74%
Other's garden	26	3,63%	Seasons	401	56,01%
Community garden	75	10,47%	Total	716	
Terrace	56	7,82%			
Total	716				

The table 3 portrays the predominant urban garden type. Most of the gardeners in the sample grow food in their own back-yards, 58,66% of them. Apart from that people nurture their plants on balconies (19,41%), on their terraces (7,82%), in community gardens (10,47,2%) and in other peoples' gardens. In terms of plants most of the people grow vegetables (74%), 43% grow fruit and 56% seasoning.

On average people spend 3,27 hours a week in their urban garden, as it is vivid in the graph 1. In connection to that, amount of time spent in the garden was proven to be positively associated with nature connectedness and well-being (Weber, Hinds & Camic, 2015).

Graph 1. Histogram of weekly time spent in the urban garden



In order to reach conclusion on the question if urban gardening predicts health and well-being we have ran a simple linear regression model. According to the theoretical framework it could be inferred that such positive relationship exist. The regression model suggested that growing own food in urban areas positively influences health ($B=0,077$, $p=0,007$) as well as quality of life ($B=0,127$, $p=0,000$).

It is important to note that both models have very low variance explained but that is expected, as it is not reasonable that having a garden presents a major contribution to both health and quality of life.

Discussion and conclusion

The purpose of this study was to address the overarching characteristics and facets of urban gardening trend. Urban gardening is a multidisciplinary contemporary behavioral phenomenon that is driven by numerous stakeholders, the most important being the urban gardeners.

In previous research it was shown that growing food is associated with the need (Church et al., 2015), however in this study it income levels did not show statistically significant contribution to gardening. Furthermore, it has been confirmed that having the place for such endeavors (e.g. living in a house rather than the flat) largely influences growing own food in urban areas, as it was indicated in formerly done studies (Kortright and Wakefield, 2011). Gardening is also strongly related to the perceived values and the consumption of organic, locally produced food, as it was the case in the other studies (Church et al., 2015), here we can rise the question of causation therefore this particular matter would need to be further investigated. As proven beforehand (Church et al., 2015) it is further confirmed that all else being equal people who are urban gardeners report being happier and have better quality of life. Despite the fact that there is a confirmed “financially forced” motivation and urban gardening (Mougeot, 2008) such activity contributes to the overall happiness and well-being regardless of the motivation.

It is essential to understand the broader implications of movements’ characteristics as well as gardeners’ motives from the perspective of public policy makers and NGOs oriented towards social change. Retailers can insist on the connection of organic food attitudes intake and the urban gardening practices thereby inducing the ones that see them self as limited to grow food in urban areas to embark into that endeavor. Especially, it would be plausible to portray the practice of urban gardening from the micro scale perspective; doable on the balcony and even on the window thereby crashing the myth of logistics limitations of urban areas. NGO’s that are directed towards the rise of QoL in urban areas should embrace and spread the idea of urban gardening practicing by sharing experience and testimonials. The interest of policy creators, especially the local ones, should be seen through the lens of creating the positive political image as urban gardening is becoming very vivid and of rising interest through the smart cities movement in the media, among various opinion makers, in the science community etc. The

connection between the urban gardening practice and the QoL is the “green card” for the investments into local policies regarding the setup of urban gardens in the cities that strive for better quality of life.

Strengths of the study include a very comprehensive elaboration of urban gardening characteristics and motives for unveiling the trend’s true nature. The large sample size and high quality information gathering is ensuring the validity of the results. In order to further explore this topic future research should orient towards this study’s limitation; in investigating how many household members are participating in gardening, how large are the gardens and what proportion of food intake actually comes from the households’ urban garden. Further research plans should also be oriented towards longitudinal data gathering as urban gardening is becoming significantly popular and fashionable.

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Marketing Systems and Market Failure: A Consideration of Inequality

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Some three decades ago, Jim Carman and Robert Harris developed a three-part analysis of the interaction between exchange (ie markets) and authority (ie regulation) in the organization of economic activity. The premise is that voluntary exchange is the preferred mode, except in cases of market failure. Carman and Harris developed their failures framework in the 1980's, based partly on economic theory and partly on a pragmatic understanding of market behaviors. While it continues to be a powerful tool for understanding markets, developments since that time indicate that the framework might benefit from renewed attention. There are several types of market failure, including externalities, imperfect information, (de)merit goods, and imperfect competition, as well as inequality (Harris and Carman 1983). While not all economists include inequality in their lists of market failures, many do (eg. Dolfsma 2013). Marketing systems play an increasingly prominent role in economic activity and, correspondingly, in academic research. In this light Layton (2007) argues that marketing systems are a central concept in the field of macromarketing. The notion of marketing *systems* draws attention to relational aspects of market exchange, implying shared participation and predictability of exchange partners. This stands in contrast to the neoclassical assumption of markets characterized by atomistic, one-off, arms-length, transactions. In contrast, the concept (and practice) of networked marketing systems emphasizes a stable network of actors,

resulting in a “domesticated” market (Arndt 1979). Domesticated markets are an example of coordinated systems (Layton and Grossbart 2006).

If the systems approach is increasingly displacing the transactional approach to marketing, what are macro-level effects of this shift? This area has been the subject of broad-scale assessments (eg Layton and Grossbart 2006; Layton 2007). The present paper is focused more narrowly on the issue of market failures, specifically with one type of market failure: inequality. There has been an “explosion” in US income and wealth inequality since 1980 (Piketty 2014). The question is whether networked marketing systems, *qua* systems, are more prone to this type of market failure than are transactional markets. That is, do the properties which characterize closely-coupled systems make inequality more or less common, more or less severe?

In this evaluation of networked systems the key property of interest is planned and coordinated interrelationships, that is, the condition of non-armslengthness in exchanges. Non-armslengthness violates the neoclassical assumption of one-off transactions between faceless economic agents. Harris and Carman did not address systems or channels in their discussion, referring only to buyers and sellers. The central question of this paper is whether the patterning and planning of exchange relations in a marketing system exacerbates inequality, as compared with the neoclassical notion of arms-length, transactional exchange?

Inequality as Failure

Harris and Carman (1983) did not use the term *inequality* but instead referred to *maldistribution* of income and wealth, which corresponds to the same meaning. The notion of distribution remains a current usage: as Piketty (2014) puts it, inequality centers around “...the distribution

question...” Harris and Carman define the market failure issue as follows: “In a market system, society believes that income....ought to be a function of the individual’s economic contribution to society. But our ethical system also believes that each person has an inherent value, quite apart from his or her economic worth. Thus, markets fail when there is an incongruence between economic and social value.” (1983, 57).

Distributive Justice

The distribution of economic resources is primarily a social phenomenon (Atkinson and Bourguignon 2000). That is, there are alternative mechanisms within social groupings which may receive approval for allocating or re-allocating economic resources, and these may change from one era to another. The connection between economic outcomes and social values is particularly close in this type of market failure as compared with, say, imperfect competition which falls more clearly in the economic dimension.

Marketing systems sometimes develop in ways which disadvantage those at the bottom levels of income and wealth while simultaneously benefitting those at the top. For instance, the subprime mortgage crisis in the US involved networked systems of mortgage brokers, investment banks, rating agencies and institutional investors, among others (Redmond 2013). These network actors benefitted financially while many subprime mortgage holders lost their homes. Less prominent, although quite substantial, networks include payday loans, auto title loans, check cashing agencies and for-profit education (Redmond 2015). All of these have bankers or other financial intermediaries as partners. These networks can be as sophisticated as more high profile industries. For instance, the Financial Service Centers of America (FiSCA) is a trade organization which lobbies on behalf of more than 1300 firms with 7,000 locations, mainly in the check-cashing and payday loan businesses (FiSCA 2014).

Consequences of the inequality market failure are broad in impact. Financial and healthcare systems are becoming more demanding in terms of consumer knowledge---and become increasingly challenging for the marginalized (Saatcioglu and Corus 2014). Saatcioglu and Corus (2014, 125) also note: “Structural inequalities are linked to institutional, systemic factors that sustain marginalization of disadvantaged groups”. As the rich get richer, those at the bottom are loath to appear to be falling behind. Thus, economic inequality renders the economy more dependent on consumer credit expansion for growth (Brown 2008). Consequences range well beyond the economic. Scott and Pressman (2013) note that countries with higher income inequality have higher crime rates, lower charitable giving, lower life expectancy and worse school performance.

Thus financial devices such as payday loans do not simply make the poor poorer, they make the rich richer. It is a case of moving money from the bottom of the pyramid to the top (Stiglitz 2012). In such instances, networked marketing systems would appear to exacerbate the problem of inequality. The economic outcome is re-distribution. As Carman and Harris note, “...one person’s failure is another person’s success,” (1986, 54).

Social values also play a role, especially in the regulation of these networks. In the event of market failure social values may be expressed through mechanisms of *political authority*, that is, market regulation (Harris and Carman 1984). In the case of payday loans, several states banned them (*proscribing exchange*) while others attempted to cap interest rates (*price controls*). While Carman and Harris (1986) could not have foreseen this at the time, payday loan firms in restricted states simply switched to internet operations (*jurisdictional failure*). While the social values of the electorate, as interpreted by their representatives, was clear

enough, the market failure in terms of inequality remains and the system functions much as before.

Market Failure by Definition

The term *definition* is important in this context because definitions act as a frame with which to judge whether something is failing or not. Any coherent definition of how markets ought to work may be used but, as noted above, the neoclassical ideal of a perfectly functioning market often serves as this benchmark. Few, if any, markets meet the strict neoclassical criteria of a perfectly functioning market, so the question may be reduced to a relative one: is inequality within tolerable limits? What is tolerable involves social and political values, of course, but inequality is indisputably growing in the US.

A Political Concept

Networks fall between markets and hierarchies (Thorelli 1986; Layton 2007). Systems vary in terms of being closely or loosely coupled but are not armslength transactions between faceless actors, and so may be said to represent a market failure, at least with reference to the neoclassical ideal. In addition to the neoclassical ideal there are many other theories of the market, so that the same market conditions could be seen as failing by some observers and as functioning properly by others (Hirshman 1982).

Ideology, or politics, frames the judgment of market failure: change the definition and the failure goes away. Regarding the fact that firms even exist, "...where neoclassical economists see a 'market failure', institutional economists may see an 'organizational success'" (Chang 2002, 546). What of marketing systems--- the arrangement that is between markets and hierarchies? Certainly planning, coordination and cooperation take place, but does that mean

that a marketing system is more like a hierarchy than a market? Certainly a well-functioning networked marketing system seems to be an organizational success.

Some researchers look beyond the dichotomy between markets and hierarchies. Systems involve relationships of trust and mutual dependency, suggesting the need for a third type of decision structure (Zukin and DiMaggio 1990). Political economy is such a framework. Thus the interorganizational network may be seen as a political economy (Thorelli 1986). Political economy embodies an original institutional economics (OIE) approach, including notions of coordination, bargaining and power (Arndt 1981). Marketing systems involve economic activities and parallel political processes, as well as extensive relationships with external actors (Hutt, Mokwa and Shapiro 1986; Redmond 2009). Such a system succeeds when provisioning is guided by appropriate political means and is well coordinated with external institutions. Indeed, it may not be just marketing *systems* which are best described in political terms, but markets themselves. Chang (2002) argues as follows: “Markets are in the end political constructs in the sense that they are defined by a range of formal and informal institutions that embody certain rights and obligations, whose legitimacy (and therefore whose contestability) is ultimately determined in the realm of politics,” (p553). The concept of “political embeddedness” reflects an inequality of power in economic relationships (Zukin and DiMaggio). Stiglitz notes: “Given a political system that is so sensitive to moneyed interests, growing economic inequality leads to a growing imbalance of political power, a vicious nexus between politics and economics,” (2012, xx). In a similar vein Piketty (2014) observes: “The history of the distribution of wealth has always been deeply political, and it cannot be reduced to purely economic mechanisms.”

Conclusion

There are clear benefits to system members from joint planning and cooperation. Evaluated from a neoclassical perspective, marketing systems are a form of organization. From this perspective, they are classified as market failures. Regarding market failure, and from a pragmatic---perhaps political---perspective, there is the question of who is supposed to benefit from organization. Do consumers benefit?

Whereas more traditional aspects of market failure such as lack of competition or lack of information offer a relatively straightforward field for analysis, inequality is less so. In the above finance-related examples, systems did exacerbate inequality. Consumers may well have been better off under armslength transacting. To the extent that networked systems may increase inequality, the presence of market failure is to be considered. However, the economic benefits to consumers of the efficiency of other types of systems may more than offset the market failure. The *realpolitik* of inequality engages ethical, social and political calculations as well as the economic. Much is left to the eye of the beholder.

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Toward a Frame for Marketing as an (Environmental Responsible) Social Science

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The Challenge

The understanding of Marketing as an Environmentally Responsible Social Science (MERSS) is a critical endeavor particularly for what it excludes. It first and foremost excludes marketing as being only a tool for managing and fostering economic growth or economic profit. In this sense MERSS is neither a tool for academics nor a tool for practitioners or managers. The only goal MERSS is pledged to is gaining insights, awareness and/or knowledge in its field. What can and should the field of MERSS be? The field of MERSS cannot be restricted to the “sunny side of life” which is value co-creation. All the environmental and social externalities and inequalities, which are a result of greed, markets and private equity (among others), are in the center of MERSS. MERSS is the study of prerequisites, processes and consequences of markets (and other forms of exchange), its institutions, behaviors, cultures, values and their impact on society and nature. The following is an outline of frame for MERSS from the basis to some important questions and conclusions. It starts with a short description of the basis for marketing, coexistence. Without coexistence, there would not be marketing and it would not be necessary. In the next section we discuss what keeps the coexistence together. What are the ties of coexistence? We propose that servicing is one important if not the most important tie of coexistence. Servicing understood as an ongoing process not only of exchange but also of change. Hereafter, a servicing and marketing system and a marketing ecosystem is laid out. Finally, we discuss selected consequences.

The Basis

We all coexist. Not only as humans but also as part of nature; we coexist with our social and natural environment. Moreover, our social and natural environment coexists with us. The marketing community is aware of their environmental responsibility. Hence, we have to include the environment into marketing concerns more fundamentally. We take and use resources from society (individuals, organizations, institutions, formal and informal 'rules' etc.) and from nature. In addition, we give back resources to society and to nature.

In short: we serve each other. The planet is a huge network of servicing each other. Hence, serving is a form of coexistence. This is the 'sunny side' of coexistence. However, where there is sun, there is also shadow. Coexistence is accompanied by war, aggression against each other, by extinction, exploitation of exhaustible resources and other harming and violating activities or effects of activities. Harming effects are not necessarily intended, they occur sometimes unintended and they occur by nature's activities like sunder storms or hurricanes. Probably we would like to enhance the positively servicing ties in the world and to avoid the harming connections. Let's look at the positively serving side first.

How we are intertwined - Servicing in a coexisting world

Denoting the part of the world as nature, one can imagine without people, one can contrast people and nature, without neglecting that humans are also nature. By doing so four realms of service can be distinguished: Service transferred between non-human beings (nature to nature); service provides by nature to humans (e.g. ecosystem service) and service exchanged between humans and finally service from humans for nature (see figure 1).

Here insert Figure 1

The first realm of Service contains all services transferred by non-humans; this service is provided by nature for nature and often discussed under the term symbiosis (Lewis 1985; Janzen 1985; Boucher 1985). Different categorical systems have been used to describe different kinds of symbiosis (Starr 1975; Lewis 1985; Connor 1995). Authors agree that in these kinds of interactions, “one of the species provide some kind of ‘service’ that its partner species cannot provide for itself” (Yamamura et al. 2004, p. 421). This kind of service is often a prerequisite of the next type of service.

The second realm of service is all service provided by nature for humans; these are ecosystem services (not to be confused with service ecosystems). Ecosystems also provide service such as storm protection and pollination. Pollination of crops by bees is required for 15-30% of U.S. food production; most large-scale farmers import non-native honey bees to provide this service. (Kremen 2005). “Ignoring these services in public and private decision making threatens our ways of living and impedes our ability to achieve our aspirations for the future.” (Ranganathan et al. 2008, p. 2). Humans benefit from a manifold of resources and processes that are offered by natural ecosystems. While environmentalists have discussed ecosystem services for decades, these services were popularized and their definitions formalized by the United Nations 2004 Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (Ecosystems and human well-being 2005), a four-year study involving more than 1,300 scientists worldwide.

The third realm is not described here because it is the best known realm for humans.

The fourth realm is not only covering preservation of natural heritage it also covers natural service which is now to be substituted by human’s work. In Europe for example, already 40

percent of the bee colonies have disappeared. In China, there are only 10 percent left. Nevertheless, the Chinese take this threat for man and nature and have started trials for artificial pollination. What are the common denominators of all these different kinds of servicing between humans and nature?

Common Denominators of serviceing

(The following section will be much more extended in the full paper) An extended review of different streams of literature served for identifying four joint denominators for human and non human service (e.g. (Douglas 2010) for Symbiosis; e.g. (Boyd, Banzhaf 2007) for Ecosystems and e.g. (Vargo, Lusch 2004, 2008) and (Maglio, Spohrer 2008) for Human service):

1. *Use or integration of resources.* All service can only be performed by use of some kind of resource whether these resources are material (land, seeds, food, etc.) or immaterial (sunlight, information, wind, etc.).
2. *Exchange/Transfer of resources.* To get these resources an entity has to exchange them with other entities or with its environment.
3. *Transformation (change) of the receiver's state by use of resources.* Resources are not integrated (used, consumed) for their own sake but for a change in a service receiver's state whereby the receiver usually also changes (consumes or wear down) the resources.
4. *Contextuality of value (benefit) of service.* Value or survival is not inherently a service characteristic. Value can emerge via resource integration depending on the relationship between service receiver and its environment hence value as well as survival is contextual. (e.g. (Blaser, Atherton 2004) for Symbiosis; e.g. (Turner, Daily 2008) for Ecosystems and e.g. (Chandler, Vargo 2011) for human service).

From these common denominators of the intertwined world we now can look at the Marketing System and the Marketing Ecosystem

The ties of coexistence

If we follow the above perspective we should agree that humans and their activities are embedded in a natural environment (hereby I assume that marketing has accepted that we live in social, cultural and technological environments as well; the technological environment may also be understood as part of the cultural environment). We have to understand what we get from and how we get it and we have to understand what we give to the environment and how. Even more important is what we do with what we get from nature and others and what nature does with what it gets from us. It is not simply consumption. What we get or take from the natural environment is usually called resources and what we give is very often but not always waste. We transform natural resources into resources usable by other humans or into waste. Fortunately, nature often transforms our waste back into resources, unfortunately not always.

There is an ongoing process of exchanges between humans and between humans and nature. We have to understand the ties between the activities carrying entities. I use the term 'activity carrying entities' because not only people are executing activities but also animals and plants and also the physical part of nature for example wind and rain. The ongoing process of transfer or exchange is complemented a process which happens between exchanges or between transformations. It is the third denominator of servicing: Transformation or change.

Riddle in explaining Hill's definition of service (Hill 1977, 1999) clearly identifies service as activities for change: "Service are activities that produce changes in persons or the goods they possess (1986). The integration or use of resources "produces" changes in the state of the

receiver of these resources when used. This concept of service goes back to Hill "The service may be defined as a change in the condition of a person or other goods belonging to the same economic unit, which is brought about is the result of the activity of some other economic unit, with the prior agreement of the formal person or economic unit." (Hill 1977, p. 318). Although 'change' or 'transformation' is mentioned incidentally in service-dominant logic and service science, there is a reference neither to Hill nor to Riddle let alone a discussion of this concept as being central to the understanding of service or servicing. Examples are: Resources are an "ability to cause desired change" (Vargo, Lusch 2008, p. 7). Or: "Service systems are value-creation networks composed of people, technology, and organizations. Interventions taken **to transform** (emphasis by the author) state and coproduce value constitute services." (Maglio et al. 2006, p. 81). However, this concept goes back to Hill and that is not taken into account by service dominant logic. Service dominant logic defines service "as the application of skills and knowledge for the benefit of another party". That the benefit may be caused by a change in the status of the service recipient is not mentioned let alone discussed in service dominant logic. Transformations are realized by integrating resources gotten from another party or from the environment. Resources are used to transform the state of the receiver compared to the state without integrating or using those resources. Value may or may not emerge if a transformation is realized depending on context. A third mutual characteristic of manmade and non-manmade service is that resources are integrated for a specific transformation. Whether or not and for whom the transformation is beneficial is determined by context, neither by the resources nor by the transformation. It is important to be aware that transformation or change is always defined in relation to a situation without the service in question. Hence if for example a service is a maintenance service maintenance is a transformation/change compared to the situation without the maintenance service. A second point is important to be mentioned: One might think that innovation has no place in this frame however innovation can be simply conceptualized as

second order change hence a change of change or transformation of a transformation. When typewriting was invented it was a change of the way in which ideas were transformed into letters. Hence, it was a second order change. A second order change in nature is mutation. Mutation is the innovation of nature.

One has to be aware that change is never absolute, but always relative. If a condition of a service receiver is getting worse and worse without a service than a service keeping the condition the same would be of value, because keeping the condition is better than letting them get worse and worse and therefore is a change. It is usually done in small steps like indicated in figure 2

Figure 2 about here

In general, whenever one wants to identify or measure change one needs a dimension of description or a scale which remains unchanged.

So far, we have condensed the ingredients from social sciences' literature, marketing and IT in particular for a service definition to "exchange" and "change". Thereby, we have neither limited exchange to goods, activities or rights, nor have we limited change to persons or things. It may be helpful to think of different kinds of service in day to day life.

- Haircut: The hairdresser exchanges the application of her skills and knowledge for her client's money and changes the appearance of the client.
- Software: Buying the software is exchanging a right (and perhaps some materiel stuff) for money and working with the software changes the process of a user's work.

- Transportation: (a bus ride) one buys the transportation, exchange of a right for money, and the transportation changes the place of people.
- Car: Buying a car is exchanging a car for money, and driving the car, talking about the car looking at the car changes the owner's situation. Here we see how the indirect service (masked by goods) works.
- Renting a flat: Exchanging the right to use the flat for money, change of life conditions.
- Consulting: exchanging the right of using information or getting information for money, changing the way of thinking or deciding.

The ongoing process of exchange and change ties the world together and can be understood as a servicing process.

Servicing, understood as this ongoing process, is the fundamental basis for all relationships it is the fundament for coexistence. Without the ongoing process of exchange and change there is neither relationship nor coexistence. However not all exchange change relationships are supporting coexistence. There are many cycles of exchange-change Relationships and usually they are all intertwined. For example the carbondioxide-oxygen exchange-change cycle is general knowledge: CO_2 (carbon dioxide), H_2O (water) and energy (sunlight) are changed into O_2 (Oxygen) and $\text{C}_6\text{H}_{12}\text{O}_6$ (Glucose) (see figure 3). Oxygen and glucose are main resources for humans and animals. By using these resources humans and animals change it back into carbondioxide and energy (work). This is one of the fundamental exchange-change relationships between humans, animals and nature. These are all examples for the ties of coexistence.

Figure 3 about here

Marketing System and Marketing Ecosystem

This ongoing process can now be used to define a Marketing system and a Marketing Ecosystem following a Luhmannian systems perspective.

“Usually, systems are described through a plurality of terms. For example, systems are relations between elements; or a system is the relation of structure and process, a unit that directs itself structurally in and through its own processes. Here you have unit, boundary, process, structure, element, relation—a whole bunch of terms—and if you ask what the unity of all these terms is, you end up with the word ‘and’. A system then is an ‘andness’. Unity is provided by the ‘and’ but not by any one element, structure or relation.” (Luhmann 2006, p. 46). In a very condensed version describing a system and simultaneously avoiding “andness” we find three important properties of the system (Luhmann 2006, p. 37):

1. The system is the difference between system and environment
2. A system can be defined through a single mode of operation
3. Every system observes internally its own system/environment distinction Only for social systems)
- 4.

Applying this to service and referring to the common denominators a servicing system can be defined by the single mode of operation of an ongoing process of exchange and change of resources. Figure 2a shows the ongoing process of exchange and change in nature. Figure2b shows how the natural process is interrupted by humans “creating” waste where waste in this

systems theoretical terminology can simply be understood as resources which cannot be integrated in the process of exchange and change (change in particular; and with this becoming part of the ongoing process) in a specific time frame. Since resources are not but become the service system is open to everything becoming resources in the service system however the system is closed with respect of the operational mode the ongoing process of exchange and change. In a Luhmannian perspective, the servicing system is embedded in an environment of other systems as shown in Figure 4. Figure 4 shows how the service system is integrated in Luhmann's systems (the living system, the social system and the psychic system). What the social system is for the psychic system the servicing system is for the living system and for the social and psychic system. Each system serves as an environment for the other systems.

Figure 4 about here

Whereas the social and the psychic system are meaning oriented the living and service system is entropy oriented. Both system are "entropy avoiding" systems (Löbner 2016). The service system as proposed here is explicitly bases on system theory and furthermore integrates exchange with change. It goes beyond the idea of input is output and output is input as it focuses on the whole process between input and output as well as between output and input. It also looks on value creating exchanges and changes as contextual. Now the marketing system and with it the field of study of Marketing as an environmentally responsible social science is the service system, the social system and the psychic system. All three systems define the marketing system and with it the field of study of marketing. *It is the study of prerequisites, processes and consequences of markets and other forms of exchange (together with their interfaces: change and transformation respectively), its institutions, behaviors, cultures, values and their impact on society and nature.*

To define the Marketing ecosystem we borrow from biological literature: The meaning of the term ecosystem in biology is both clear and relatively uncontroversial. The term goes back to Tansley, who coined the term in 1935 to describe the biological system together with its with its relevant non-biological environment (Tansley 1935, p. 299).

Thus, the term is used to take biological complexes with their relevant environment together today. An ecosystem is a "dynamic complex of communities of plants, animals and micro-organisms and their non-living environment interacting as a functional unit in interaction" (United Nations accessed 2016). Similarly, defines Schaefer: "of relationships of living beings among themselves (biological community) and with their habitat (habitat) (1992, p. 231) or the definition by Chapin:" An ecosystem consist of all the organisms and the abiotic pools with which they interact " (Chapin et al. 2002, p. 4). And last but not least: "Bundling of organisms of different categories (styles or forms of life), together with their non-living environment in space and time" (Jax 2006, p. 240).

Following this idea, the Marketing Ecosystem is the Marketing System with its relevant environment. Hence, the Marketing Ecosystem is the living system, the service system, the social system and the psychic system. Thereby we have to be aware that the social system is differentiated in subsystems like the economic system, the scientific system, the law system and so forth (Luhmann 1995, 2008).

Implications

The above is only a rough outlay of Marketing as an environmentally responsible social science and of course has to be worked out in much more detail. However, it is on the one hand open

enough to reflect the variety of interests in the field and on the other hand, it reflects the new roles of marketing in society with its responsibility for the environment.

The above conceptualization of servicing as an ongoing process of exchange and change is – as typical for Luhmannian systems – a very abstract one. It is an explication of the ties of coexistence. Marketing has to take into account all these ties to be a responsible discipline. To above frame allows to integrate natural service and man-made service for a re-embedding of human service back into a general activity which is performed as well by nature and by humans. It further focuses beside exchange on the phenomenon between exchanges which is change. Economics and other disciplines (e.g. Marketing) have very elaborated understanding of exchange but a huge lack in understanding change as a second part of the coin of an ongoing process. It is important for politicians and managers to understand this under researched part of the ongoing process: changes between exchanges. Service in this sense is to avoid or to limit expiration by a change of resources which are exchanged.

What the social system is for the psychic system the service system is for the living system and for the social and psychic system. Whereas the social and the psychic system are meaning oriented the living and service system is entropy oriented. Both system are “entropy avoiding” systems (Löbner 2016). The service system as proposed here is explicitly bases on system theory and furthermore integrates exchange with change. It goes beyond the idea of input is output and output is input as it focuses on the whole process between input and output as well as between output and input. The servicing and marketing system as proposed here is in line with the modern sustainability concepts like the cradle-to-cradle approach (McDonough, Braungart 2002) which goes firstly beyond a sustainability concept of the Brundtland-

Commission (Hauff 1987) and secondly goes beyond a cradle to grave approach. It also looks on value creating exchanges and changes as contextual.

Sustainability can be understood in this terminology as keeping the ongoing process of exchange and change uninterrupted in a specific time frame.

As a first approach to specify the timeframe for resources to be changeable can be found by taking into account the life time of exchanging entities. A second approach to specify the timeframe for resources to be changeable can be seen in the growth rate of the amount of a specific resource in relation to its declining rate.

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Figure 1. Realms of Service

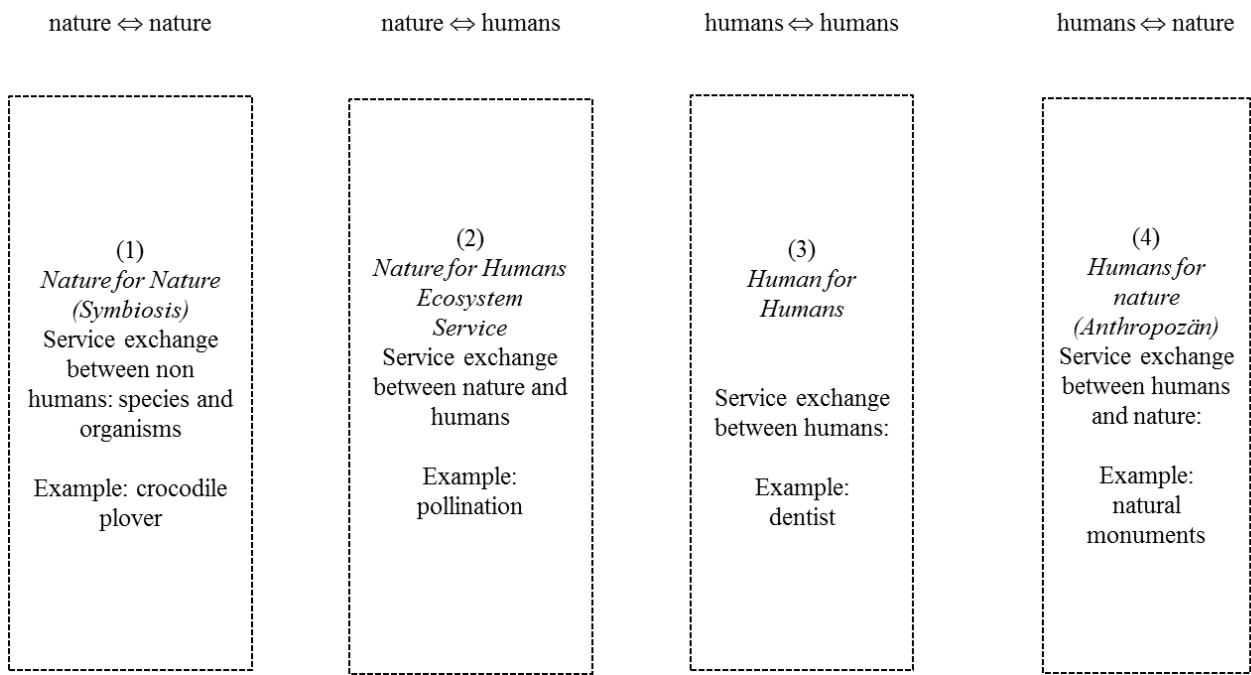


Figure 2: Relative notion of change

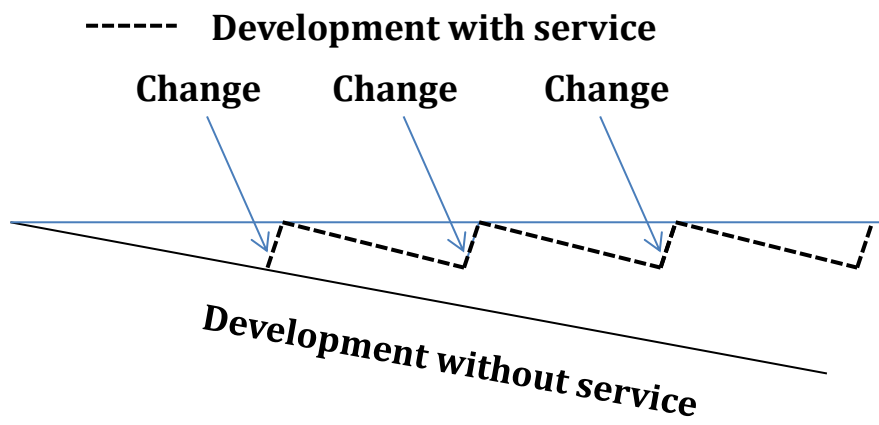
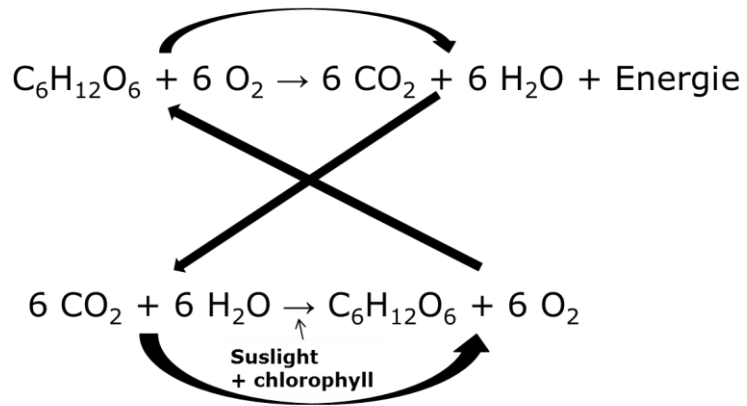


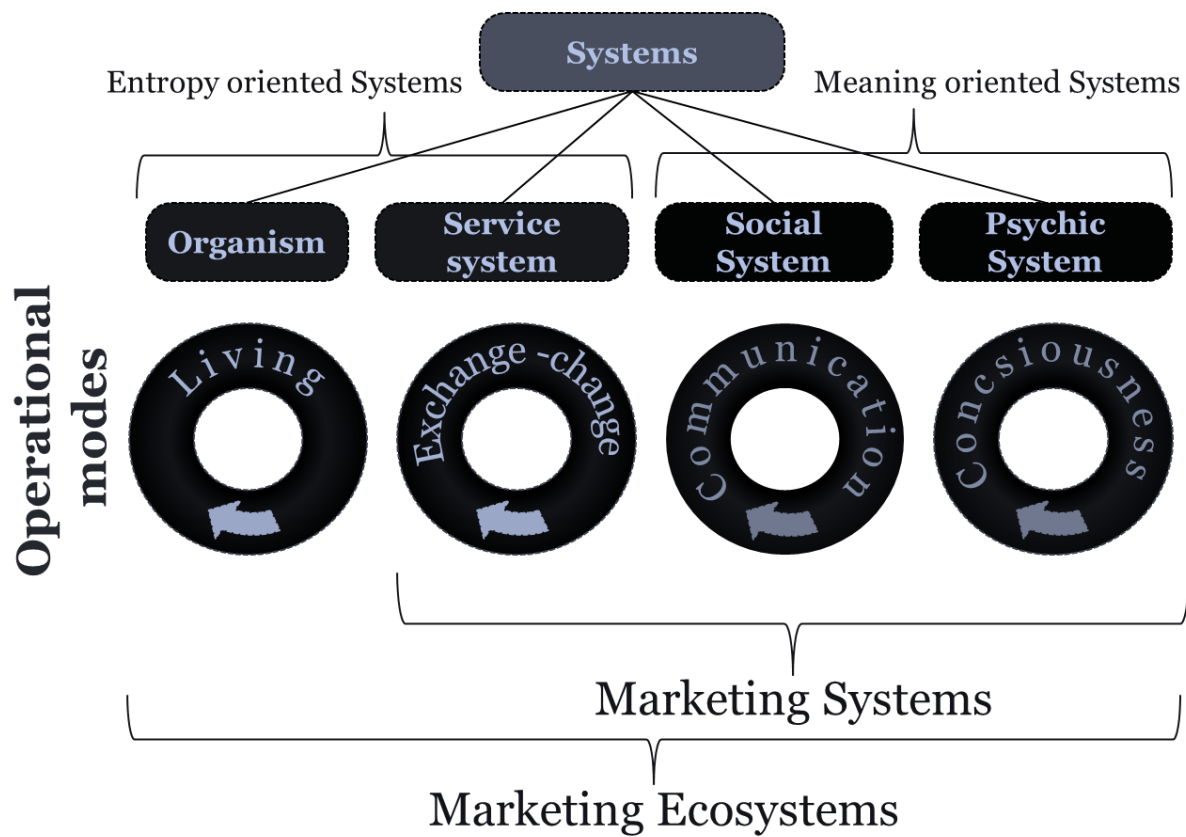
Figure 3: Exchange-change cycle

Transformation in the body



Photosynthesis

Figure 4: Systems



The Significance of Frontiers in Marketing: Re-examining Frederick Jackson Turner's "Frontier Thesis" in the Context of Markets

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Oftentimes those who most need to increase their understanding of marketing are the marketers themselves, and the usage of metaphors have been very powerful tools in shaping the discipline of marketing's self-concept and understanding (Arndt 1985). Marketing has utilized metaphors related to drama (Fisk and Grove 1996), magic (Miles 2013), and relationships (O'Malley, Patterson, and Kelly-Holmes 2008). Additional examples include how innovation and brand positioning has been compared to Jazz music (Holbrook 2008), and how Macromarketing has been compared to the agora (Mittelstaedt, Kilbourne, and Mittelstaedt 2006). This literature has allowed marketing to re-examine itself and better understand certain processes through new and innovative lenses. However, there exists a term thrown around in regards to marketing's relationship to markets which has not received a proper unpacking, and when analyzed allows for some fascinating insights. This term is "frontier."

We use the term frontier often within marketing, but what truly is a frontier and what are the implications of this term? This paper seeks to understand the meaning of frontiers and their implications for understanding the folding and unfolding of markets. To accomplish this, I apply a

reading of historian Frederick Jackson Turner's "Frontier Thesis" in order to decompose the idea of frontiers down to ten essential elements. It is my belief that using the frontier as a guiding metaphor and understanding the elements of frontier as I have laid out allows for a deeper understanding for the operations of markets and, thereby, marketing's role within.

What do we know about frontier? The term frontier is often used in the business world as a synonym for a new venture. The Internet was (is?) the "new frontier," open source is the "new frontier" of intellectual property, or The Cloud is the "new frontier" of ownership. One way to look at this is that each instance of a "new frontier" in business the subject being discussed is just a new forum or method to continue on the practices of the established realms of what we already do and do well. However, if we truly look at what frontier means, as established through Turner's Frontier Thesis, what we find is that every new frontier we endeavor into has the ability to fundamentally change the way we do everything else. In the realm of frontier, it is not always the subject that is changed by becoming frontier, but the actors who change by creating frontier.

The life of historian Frederick Jackson Turner began on the edges of the reach of the United States, along the banks of the Wisconsin River in Portage, Wisconsin, in 1861. At the age of 30, Turner held the professorship of history at the University of Wisconsin and had received much acclaim throughout the field of professional historians; however, it was his invitation to present at the American Historical Association in Chicago at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 that would make him famous. What he presented that day and which would go on to take a life of its own and ultimately define Turner's career for better and for worse, was "The Significance of the Frontier in American History."

Turner's talk at the 1893 meeting began with an observation. "In a recent bulletin of the superintendent of the census for 1890 appear these significant words: 'Up to and including 1880 the country had a frontier of settlement, but at present the unsettled area has been so broken into by isolated bodies of settlement that there can hardly be said to be a frontier line'" (Ridge 1986, 26). What this meant for the census, and thereby the United States was that the frontier had vanished. This sudden absence of a frontier, to Turner, called attention to the significance that such an element had played in the history and formation of the United States.

The operations of the frontier, as described by Turner, can best be summarized as progressive waves. Following the game trails, scouts and pioneers move into areas and stake claims where game is abundant and waterways are not far off so as to establish trade routes. The motivation for these individuals tended to be an attempt to escape civilization and to have more autonomy. However, if the pioneers' trading was successful, the success meant that more individuals moved into the area. The more developed it became, the more individuals who would end up traveling out to these once isolated outposts in order to find economic opportunity. This wave is the immigrant and the homesteader, the communities that move into the frontier so as to oftentimes establish familial prosperity rather than individual prosperity. The effect of this wave is that loose knit communities begin to become established and more defined infrastructure takes hold so as to facilitate the needs of this wave. The final wave is when the persons of capital and enterprise make their way to the frontier to provide the needs of the growing and more tightly knit communities. Bankers, corporations, and railroads become entrenched and it is at this point that the moving line of the frontier retreats. The frontier closes and those original scouts and pioneers must again move outward in an attempt to find space and individual opportunity away from

civilization. The elimination of the frontier was a way of elucidating and demonstrating, as Turner himself pointed out, the necessity of economic opportunities in order to ensure the continuation of democratic principles. But more so, this way of seeing a market helps us understand why some markets fail and what is needed for a successful market to develop. The key to the frontier was the opportunities it provided, and this is the key paradigm we must apply to looking at markets as frontiers, as well.

As discussed above, we have used many metaphors, similes, analogies, and stories in an attempt to understand the ways in which markets work throughout our discipline's relatively short history. There is significance in frontier just as there is significance in history. A frontier, like all those tricks of language and art, is a way of seeing. How we see the new effects how we interact with the new. One application of this idea of frontier is that it becomes a way of understanding a new market as it evolves. Just as there were waves of western migration that defined the frontier experience, so to do we see that waves of frontier at play in markets.

In the context of markets, the waves of pioneers, immigrants, and persons of capital take a similar form. For the purposes of example, let's delve into the Internet as a frontier market, as it is—and has been for quite a while now—referred to as a new frontier. The first wave in this example is the wonky tinkerers, those who first ventured into the space as a new opportunity to explore and create. The objective of these first Internet pioneers was a love of it for what it was, a space with little oversight and great opportunity. After this first wave came those who saw the Internet more as a potential tool than a space of play and tinkering. These Internet immigrants were those who communicated and shared information via e-mail clients or databases. At this

point there were more individuals utilizing the Internet, but there were no defined rules or boundaries yet and the tool aspect was only yet being understood. These immigrants led to the final wave of the Internet frontier: the capitalist. The capitalists are the entities that monetize and delineate what can and cannot be done through the frontier. Laws and regulations follow the advent of the capitalist and the potential for open exploration has been diminished if not entirely, then greatly. Once this third wave comes, the frontier can no longer be considered the frontier. If the Internet is a closed frontier, what does that mean? Just as in Turner's interpretation of history, in markets at some point the frontier is no longer the frontier and this has potentially fascinating implications for approaching and monetizing markets. Currently, our models for explaining why markets emerge are better than our models for why they lose that or close.

The Frontier Metaphor, as I am proposing, has the potential to give us a tool for understanding these processes. In utilizing the Frontier Metaphor, we should think of applying Turner's usage of frontier in the spirit of his speech, in that frontier means a new structure negotiated with a previous structure. At the heart of what frontier means is the interplay of the new and the established outside of the systems that control the established, and in this regard it becomes invaluable as a means of understanding market processes and interconnectedness. The known carries with it a way of knowing that has worked before.

Performing an analysis of Turner's Frontier Thesis, I've isolated ten elements that are key to frontier and the ways in which they manifest in the historical landscape of frontier as well as in the operations of markets.

[Insert Table 1 about here]

The recurring and retreating nature of the frontier process can be fraught with dangers, but it is also heavy with promise. Therefore we must conclude that the value, or rather the significance, of frontier in consumption comes from our mere interactions with new frontiers. Monetization and reaching new markets, these are secondary to the fact that new frontiers improve and change our interactions within established consumption practices. The systems within consumption are not isolated and stagnant, but rather fluid and dynamic, and new frontiers allow for us to be reminded of this, whether we're conscious of this action or not. The most powerful element of the proposed Frontier Metaphor understands the process of leeching new ways into old, the osmosis of a blank slate interacting with the seemingly immutable force of tradition.

By understanding markets through the lens of frontier, we are able to understand and appreciate better that a failed market is not always a failed market. Indeed perhaps a failed market is sometimes a successful market in that the closing of a frontier creates opportunities for a new one. Closure itself is a pre-frontier, in many respects. If we take a macro view of market nature, sometimes the success of one market depends upon the failure of another. In this way, the interplay between failure and success is much more fluid and forgiving—though the rewards are not as evenly spread. As far as future research demands, by focusing on the closures, there is an opportunity to understand how closure creates the next pre-frontier. Perhaps the nature of frontier then is not circular in nature, but rather a spiral.

As this paper develops and grows, I hope to develop more contextual examples wherein the demonstration of the Frontier Metaphor can illustrate the power within the metaphor's application to practice. The usefulness of this work lies within its elegance. Whereas the Bass

Model of Diffusion (Bass 1969) only utilizes two coefficients, future developments to this model could work to isolate certain coefficients to recognize and predict a market's operations in relation to frontier stages.

Table 1. The ten elements comprising the metaphor of a frontier.

Elements of Frontier	Turner's Examples	Market Examples
Pre-frontier	Indigenous civilizations	Black markets, barter systems
It evolves	Scouts to Ranchers to Homesteaders to Towns to Civilization	Tinkerers to Entrepreneurs to Ad Hoc Communities to Banking and Corporations
Public Policy	Large Federal estate to carve out land, Homestead Act	(De)Regulations, Tax Incentives
Requires New Intelligence	New surroundings and different geology required new ways	Internet requires computers and computer literacy
Changes the Individual	Pioneers develop means of survival and interacting with others	A consumer thinks of consumption in new ways
Changes the System	The government must find ways to govern where no oversight exists	Marketers must make systems more efficient to meet new consumer demands
Egalitarian/Democratic Implications	Land available to almost anyone allows for more stakeholders	New markets create more stakeholders with the power to shape a nascent field
Promotes Upward Mobility	Landowners can control livelihood and gain capital	New markets allow for new leaders
Retreating	Frontier is a liminal space, more people arriving push it away	Once established, new markets and old markets become symbiotic
Recurring	People will want more opportunities for space and land and will move on	The market thrives on establishing new markets so as to stay dynamic

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Introspection and its application to Macromarketing issues

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Introduction

New research methodologies and an evaluation of thinking and writing within marketing and the social sciences are critical for a successful and relevant future for the discipline. Calls have been made for researchers to embrace a wider range of methods and re-evaluate how they both think and write in order to generate new theories and produce a more compelling and engaging method of qualitative research (Bryman and Bell 2007, Hunt 1994). Such dialogues are also taking place in Macromarketing (Samuel and Peattie 2015, Dholakia and Nason 1984) and these issues have been instrumental in the establishment and growth of new genres such as researcher introspection, which is the focus of this paper.

The aim of this piece is to introduce Researcher Introspection and describe its process and various uses as a method. The paper will then discuss a number of applications of introspection to Macromarketing research and highlight some studies that have successfully utilised this method. Finally, the essay will conclude with some thoughts on future research and how introspection can enrich the field and the interplay of markets, marketing and society.

What is Researcher Introspection?

Researcher Introspection, in its simplest form, is akin to a self reflective case-study (Gould 1991) or participant observation of one's own life (Belk 2006). Researchers write about themselves while living and participating in the social world in which they are situated (Liamputtong 2009). In acting simultaneously as both subject and researcher, the researcher is thus able to obtain an insider's perspective on a certain phenomena (Gould 1995).

Introspection addresses how a researcher's own experience of a culture connects (or influences) with the subject matter. It generates insights about that culture, a situation, event or way of life (Patton 2002, McGouran and Prothero 2016). Holbrook (2005) refers to it as "subjective personal introspection (SPI) and subsequently describes it as when the "researcher engages in a sort of participant observation of his or her own consumption experiences, and the relevant meanings or emotions that they evoke" (2006, p716).

Although a fledgling member of the qualitative tradition, researcher introspection is a tool that varies in form and type and is sometimes labelled autoethnography. There are some minor differences between these terms (that will be discussed later in this paper), but at their core, they share many characteristics and the terms are often used interchangeably.

The process of Introspection

Introspection (or Autoethnography) traditionally begins with the researcher's own personal story (Liamputtong 2009). It focuses on her lived experience so is very much seen as an ego

involving, reflective process with a focus on the researcher's self-perception and awareness (Banbury et al. 2012). It is incumbent on the researcher while engaging in such introspection to pay attention to her experiences, feelings, thoughts, attitudes and emotions. She must then look inward to assess her impressions and assumptions about them (Gould 1995). Systematic sociological introspection and emotional recall are used to try to understand the experiences that she has lived through.

The data that is gleaned from such a study tends to be very rich and deep in nature precisely because the researcher is focusing on her own unique, personal experience. She has access to huge amounts of data related to her own thoughts, perceptions and senses that would be unobtainable from other research participants and over time, can utilise this data to identify emergent patterns (Gould 1995, Gould 1991). In writing about these experiences, she must exhibit a certain perceptual awareness, in order that she may produce a narrative that not only shares insights from her own personal experiences but that also more generally enlightens us to some mirrored characteristic of society (Holbrook 2005, Gould 1995).

Given the nature of introspective research and the heavy involvement of the researcher-subject, it is important that this is reflected in the narrative. The degree to which the researcher makes herself the focus of the analysis and how personal the writing is can vary, but at its heart, it concerns the self awareness of the researcher that is brought about by introspection and presenting an honest account of her own journey (Patton 2002).

In introspective writing, the researcher is often a very visible participant, writing with what Brown (1998: p785) describes as a “confessional, autobiographical, anecdotal, aphoristic, conversational, storytelling turn”. In this way, introspection differs from some more traditional forms of research. Instead of presenting the researched world from the perspective of an outsider, or ‘others’, it is more personal, and instead asks others to view the world from the perspective of the researcher (Syrjälä 2016, Valtonen 2013).

Varieties of Introspection

Wallendorf and Brucks (1993) explain that, aside from the researcher there should be no other informants included in introspective research. This is because the subject and informant are the same person. Ellis (1991) and Banbury et al. (2012) differed in their research somewhat by engaging in what they term “interactive introspection”, whereby a number of authors act as subject informants for the same piece of research. Brown (1998) also employed a similar technique, when he requested a group of 103 final year marketing students to write autobiographical introspective essays about their shopping experience.

Syrjälä (2016) engaged in what is termed analytic autoethnography. This form of research aims to highlight and broaden the social and cultural meanings of a phenomenon and not simply the researcher’s own experiences (Anderson 2006).

Introspection has also been employed as a tool used prior to engaging in additional research, thus contributing to further data gathering and study design (de Coverly et al. 2008). This may help negate the risk of the researcher commencing interviews with a limited understanding of

the subject and its participants. Introspection can therefore be used alongside other methods, such as depth interviews, where participants and researchers are deemed to be connected by their lived experiences (Liamputtong 2009).

Gustavsson (2007) explained that the quality of introspective research is improved when respondents outside the researcher are included in the study. This is called syncretic introspection, in that both the researcher and informants are included in the sample and there is little distinction made between the two in the data analysis stage (Wallendorf and Brucks 1993). The role of the researcher is not considered separate from that of the other participants and in the analysis stage all researcher/participant experiences are similarly examined. This approach is comparable to the work of Wertz and Greenhut (1985) and McGouran and Prothero (2016) where they included themselves in the gathered descriptions of buying situations with their other participants.

Justifying Introspection

There is some debate as to how, or whether, introspection warrants justification as a method. Those researching within the interpretivist tradition often have more difficulty defending the contribution of their findings compared to those of a more positivist orientation (Hogg and Maclaran 2008). In addition, it is a highly subjective method, though it has been argued that all research is fundamentally subjective in nature because it is informed by our beliefs and experiences (Stewart Loane et al. 2014).

Gould (2012) is of the opinion that were introspection a more longstanding and accepted research tool, that discussion would be reserved more for the application of introspection, over a scientific debate about its justification. To his mind, there are two conditions needed for the use of introspection. That the researcher must possess sufficient knowledge about the area of study and introspection as a method, and that the topic itself is one that is suitable for introspection (Gould 1995). Holbrook (2005) asserts that a “serious scholar” should be trusted when utilising SPI because he has been socialised within the society he is observing and consequently society itself has constructed the research instrument. He also takes the “either you get it or you don’t approach” when discussing introspection, feeling that a person could labour over the scientific justification of the method ad nauseam, but that those who don’t understand it never will and those who do, feel that such overzealous efforts at justification are tantamount to overkill.

Gould (1995, 1991) however, suggests a number of ways in which introspection can be validated. The first is by the researcher and is labeled self-evaluation. Here, the researcher attempts to be as honest with herself as possible and must examine her research with respect to anything she may be concealing or overlooking.

In addition, “other-evaluation” is put forward as a second method of validation. This occurs when external readers and reviewers evaluate a piece of research. Gould highlights three kinds of “readers’ insight gestalts” (1995 p721) that should be considered:

1. Conceptual: a reader may not directly relate to the findings in a piece of research, but he recognizes patterns in the study and grasps the other person’s experience conceptually.
2. Phenomenological: when the reader can directly relate to the findings in a meaningful manner.

3. Paradigmatic: when the reader's world-view is thoroughly altered.

At the very least, the other-evaluator should be able to identify patterns in the study and satisfy consideration number one: conceptual insights.

In addition, Gould (1995) also suggests that the other-evaluator may choose to conduct his own introspective evaluation and comparison of certain aspects of the study. In doing so, he would directly evaluate some examples by trying them. Wallendorf and Brucks (1993) disagree with the concept of other-evaluation because they don't believe that an other-evaluator is capable of examining internal data the same way they can assess diary and artifactual data. One possible way to overcome this criticism is for the researcher to keep an introspective diary (similar to McGouran and Prothero (2016) and Syrjälä (2016)) in order to record her thoughts and feelings throughout the introspective process.

Additionally, in response to the subjective critique of introspection, Anderson (2006) and Syrjälä (2016) highlight a key aspect of Analytic Autoethnography: the analysis and a commitment to gain insight into a broader social phenomenon. The contention being that in the analysis stage, the author is better able to distance herself from the field and achieve an etic view of the research.

Introspection and Macromarketing

It has been suggested in the Macromarketing sphere, that consumer behaviour research is too narrow, limited and individualistic in focus and is more concerned with micro contexts (Sinclair 2015). In order to be applicable to markets, marketing and society, it is important to incorporate

both a micro and macro research outlook so that a phenomenon can be understood from different perspectives.

Introspective research tends towards the micro, however, it can be used very effectively as a precursor to more macro research. For example, de Coverly et al. (2008) successfully employed introspection in their study of waste and rubbish. Subjective Personal Introspection was used by one of the researchers in order to confront and engage with their own personal experiences about waste. Introspection helped the authors consider and identify the key emergent issues after reflecting on their experiences. These insights then contributed to, and fed into the subsequent study design. This process is quite common in introspection and it is often used as a prelude to further data gathering on a broader scale. Hence, the micro nature of introspection can be successfully utilized as a introduction for research on a more macro scale. Indeed, the depth and richness of the data obtained in this way provide a vital background and understanding of a specific research topic.

In order to evaluate the suitability of introspection to other Macromarketing concerns and topics, and the editorial interests of the Macromarketing society and Journal of Macromarketing, Shapiro's (2007) "master-list" of readings that define the scope of Macromarketing has been consulted in order to identify potential themes that could be suitable to introspective research. Indeed, a number of authors have introspective works previously published that closely mirror the topics identified by Shapiro, for example:

1. How individuals are effected by market transactions (Brown 1998, Holbrook 1999). Brown's 1998 piece focuses on the sensuality and carnality of shopping experiences of his final year

marketing students. Holbrook (1999) engaged an introspective stance when reviewing some recent macromarketing literature and laments the McDonaldisation and mass customisation of society.

2. The assessment of quality of life, well-being and happiness (Seabrook 2000 in Holbrook 2000). In his essay concerning the more hedonic aspects of consumption Holbrook (2000) highlights a piece by Seabrook on the culture of Marketing where he employs introspection to make sense of his own high-brow, low-brow and no-brow place within marketing culture.
3. The role of consumption in contemporary society (Syrjälä 2016, Gould 1991, Holbrook 2005). Syrjälä (2016) focussed her research on consumer communities, specifically in the sphere of dog training and hobbyists. Gould (1991) analysed the effects of product use on his vital energy and Holbrook (2005) conducted a personal introspection of a photograph collection in reference to customer value.
4. The sustainability challenge to the consumption ethos (McGouran and Prothero 2016, de Coverly et al. 2008, Banbury et al. 2012). Banbury et al. (2012) engaged in interactive introspection whereby the three authors acted as subject informants for the same piece of research that focussed on sustainable consumption. Their research aimed to form a comprehensive explanation of why some people have difficulty succeeding in their attempts at sustainable consumption. Similarly, McGouran and Prothero (2016) used syncretic introspection to understand the difficulties some consumers face when trying to engage in a lifestyle of Voluntary Simplicity.

In assessing whether introspection (in one of its various forms) could be a suitable method for future macromarketing research, we must understand how it can be best utilised. Ultimately, one

of the most important benefits of introspection is the detail and depth a study can achieve, in addition to a heightened empathic understanding and mindful observation of the self (Gustavsson 2007, Gould 1991). If we are to consider the importance of Macromarketing to public policy and decision makers and to how we represent impacted publics such as consumerists and environmentalists, it is vital that we obtain as rich and deep and understanding of a phenomenon as possible so that we fully grasp the intricate interactions of markets, marketing and society.

Conclusion

The preceding paper has introduced researcher introspection as a methodological tool and highlighted how it has been applied to various macromarketing issues over time. As a method, it is very versatile in that it can be utilised as a single self-reflective case study or expanded to incorporate potentially hundreds of introspective pieces to gain a fuller understanding of a particular macromarketing problem. It is hoped therefore that in the future, Macromarketers will utilise this form of research more fully so that a greater richness of a phenomenon can be understood and utilised to effect change for the betterment of society.

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What do you mean Consumption Ethics? Synthesising Divergent and Interdisciplinary Meanings and Terminology

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The terminology and meanings employed to explore consumption ethics is increasingly varied, not least because consumption has become a central discourse and area of investigation across disciplines (e.g. Graeber, 2011). The development of separate bodies of knowledge within bounded disciplinary silos has resulted in a multiplicity of terminology and varied tacit meanings of consumption ethics. We contend that this plurality and isolation of labels and meanings is working to further strengthen the barriers between disciplines. Indeed, in the absence of a common language to enable communication across the disciplines and to develop common and meaningful understandings of consumption ethics, a 'tower of babel' scenario results that hampers the very efforts of these scholars to develop a more equitable and sustainable world.

Thus, the purpose of this study is to advance consumer ethics scholarship through the development of an interdisciplinary theoretical framework that encapsulates the complexity and contextual nature of consumption ethics. To do this, we systematically interrogate and synthesise perspectives, terminology and language employed to explore consumer ethics across disciplines

by asking: what is ethics in consumption; who is the ethical consumer; and what do ethical consumers do?

In this study, we review, compare and synthesise the terminology and meanings associated with consumption ethics in consumer studies as well as the major humanities that consumer research draws insights from, including: philosophy, theology, economics, psychology, history, geography, sociology, anthropology, political studies and cultural studies. We undertook a three-step approach to systematically obtain a comprehensive overview of the consumer ethics papers published across and within each of these disciplines (Schlegelmilch and Obersder, 2009), and to rigorously analyse this body of papers.

First, we identified the top five journals for each discipline and sub-discipline included in the review based on the Scopus SCImago journal ranking system. This journal ranking indicator draws upon the Scopus database - currently the largest scientific database that also best represents global literature coverage, and provides a meaningful journal ranking within disciplines based by up-weighting within-discipline citations as an indication of subject area expertise (Guerrero-Bole and Moya-Aneón, 2012). The top five journals were separately identified for each discipline to ensure equitable disciplinary representation and to minimize disciplinary bias due to disparities in citation rates and conventions between research fields (Guerrero-Bole and Moya-Aneón, 2012), such as some disciplines citing more heavily than others. This resulted in the identification of 60 journals from across 12 academic disciplines to form the basis of the review.

Second, we mined these journals for relevant journal articles using a consistent list of search terms, such as: consum* ethics; ethical consum*; green consum*; pro-environmental consum*.

This list of search terms was common across all of the journals sourced for the review, and was systematically expanded across all of the journals to capture new and emerging terminologies and meanings.

Third, we systematically employed content and thematic (e.g. Braun and Clarke, 2006) analysis techniques to identify, categorise, analyse, synthesise, and contrast the multiplicity of consumption ethics terminology. The focus of this analysis was on the three key lines of inquiry: what is ethics in consumption; who is the ethical consumer; and, what do ethical consumers do? To ensure the credibility of our review and analysis, methods to improve inter-coder and intra-coder reliability were employed, such as the use of multiple researchers to code and classify the text, and the use of a consistent coding frame (Neuendorf, 2002).

Findings and Contributions

First, our review analyses and syntheses work across multiple and delineated disciplines to develop an interdisciplinary understanding of consumer ethics that encapsulates key dimensions and the complex relationships between them, such as: what constitutes ethics in consumption; motives and identities of ethical consumers; and the role of context in consumption ethics. In doing so, this analysis reveals the genealogical threads that underpin the evolution of the dominant framing of consumption ethics; identifying the terms, language and understandings of consumption ethics that have grown in prominence, versus those that have fallen out of use or failed to take hold, and the implications of this for understandings of consumer ethics.

Second, we build on current interdisciplinary frameworks such as du Gay et al.'s (1997, 2010) "circuit of culture" to identify the distinct stages through which the consumption of ethical objects

is produced, represented, identified, consumed and regulated.. We distinguish between disciplines on the basis of their emphasis on different processes. For example, we find that while sociological and anthropological approaches often emphasise the technical and symbolic production of “ethical objects”, psychological approaches tend to focus on their consumption, assuming that the meaning and scope of consumer ethics is pre-determined. In doing so, we highlight the complementarity of seemingly distinct approaches, ultimately providing scholars who have an interest in consumption ethics with a highly valuable tool to facilitate cross-disciplinary dialogue, understanding, and research collaboration.

Finally, taking a longer term perspective, the cross-disciplinary understandings that arise from building a common language and system of meaning for consumer ethics scholars and practitioners alike, may provide a significant platform from which to tackle some of the key social and environmental challenges of this age.

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Blockadia – New Social Movement or new form of Social Production?

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The manner in which grassroots citizen-consumer activists connect with one another via social media and collaborate in resisting the unsustainable practices of global corporations takes multiple forms (Kozinets and Handelman 2004; Larsen and Lawson 2013). The focus of this paper is the Blockadia movement, a form of social movement that apparently has begun to combine practices of ‘direct action’ environmental activism with emergent support for what has been termed democratic socialist politics. Some members of the Blockadia movement have begun to adopt Bernie Sanders as their candidate of choice in the 2016 US Presidential election campaign; this connection is of interest when we consider the grassroots, marketing-as-social-movement nature of both the Blockadia movement and the Bernie Sanders campaign. Hence the question arises as to how these links might be conceptualized and indeed how the Blockadia movement, which has also manifested in related movements in Europe (Klein 2015) itself ought to be conceptualized. If it is a form of New Social Movement, what can be learned about New Social Movements from a study of Blockadia? Does Blockadia constitute a form of social production, as conceptualized by Arvidsson (2008), for example? Should it be understood as part of what Arvidsson terms the new ‘ethical economy’ (Arvidsson 2008)? What are we to make of the linkages and nascent collaborations between citizen-consumer activists in different parts of the world who together are regarded as part of the wider Blockadia movement (Klein 2015), and the movement’s nascent ties to democratic socialism; are similar ties to grassroots, popular

political movements present among European members of the movement? Also, what, if anything, may be learned about the respective roles of so-called strong ties versus weak ties (Gladwell 2010; Lee, Cherrier, and Belk, 2013) from a study of these linkages and collaborations? Finally, in advocating for an exploratory approach to the study of the Blockadia phenomenon, the question arises as to the role of the academic in such an investigation. Should it be a detached role, concerned solely with conceptualization, or is it feasible to envisage some form of participatory role, via an action research approach (Ozanne and Saatcioglu 2008), for example? This paper will thus seek to explore these questions in an emergent manner prior to the development of a more narrowly defined agenda for empirical, and, if possible, participatory, research.

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Counter-hegemony in the marketplace: oppositional ideologies and resistant voices of economically constrained women

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Abstract

Counter-hegemony involves advancing alternatives to dominant ideals of what is normal and legitimated in society. Ideology therefore plays an important role in providing individuals with a way of pursuing counter-hegemonic efforts. Drawing on insights from Antonio Gramsci's framework of counter-hegemony, the subaltern and the organic intellectual, this empirical paper examines the oppositional ideologies and resistant voices of economically constrained women. The paper disentangles ideological values from tactical forms of defiance and furthermore, identifies how radical and moderate forms of resistance are imported into the marketplace by women as a legitimate response to experiences of austerity and impoverishment in their everyday lives. Debates on what constitutes new consumer activism(s) should expand to recognise how the oppositional ideologies of marginalised individuals operate as both a political resource of critique against a dominant "consumer" structure, and as a conduit for solidarity with others experiencing similar circumstances.

Keywords: counter-hegemony, oppositional ideologies, economic constraint, radical/moderate resistance, informal solidarity

Extended Abstract

Hegemony is a set of ideological practices that maintains the status quo and produces subaltern individuals, that is, individuals who are excluded from any such dominant relations. Counter-hegemony is therefore the process that challenges the status quo and the normative arrangement of political and economic relations, aiming ultimately at human liberation. A key component in the process of counter-hegemony is the role of organic intellectuals, organisers from the ranks of the subaltern groups who aim to change the status quo by suggesting new ways of conceptualising the world (Aronowitz 2009; Zembylas 2013). Gramsci's concepts of counter-hegemony, the subaltern and the organic intellectual (1971; 1981; 1991) highlight how ideology and counter-hegemony are embodied, felt and lived (Fischman and McLaren 2005), with resistance a sign of discontent and discomfort among marginalised people. Drawing on these theoretical perspectives, this paper offers a point of departure for new consumer activism(s), by introducing how the oppositional ideologies of economically constrained women operate as a political resource of critique against a dominant "consumer" structure and as a conduit for solidarity with others experiencing similar circumstances.

Consumer research has been instrumental in highlighting the complexities of consumer resistance and for recognising the power imbalances and social constraints in consumer research (Murray and Ozanne 1991; Ozanne and Murray 1995, Varman and Vikas 2007). However consumer activism(s) remain underexplored at the nexus of economic disadvantage and marketplace resistance, in the form of individual ideological opposition to consumerism.

Conceptualisations such as, product subversion and reflexive defiance (Ozanne and Murray 1995; Penaloza and Price 1993), hyper-community opposition (Kozinets 2002), collective activism (Kozinets and Handleman 2004) and eco-feminist practices (Dobscha and Ozanne 2001), have highlighted the imaginative ways consumers take-up, negotiate and tailor resistant discourses at an individual and collective level. Yet often the defiant strategies identified in the marketing and consumer research literatures pertain to more affluent consumers. Analysing resistance through a predominantly middle-class, economically powerful, able-bodied, collective lens fails to recognise the creative potential and unpredictability of the consumer in their ability to challenge poverty and its representations (Hamilton et al. 2014). Within poverty literature, resistance is widely acknowledged as hidden and largely concerned with immediate gains associated with survival (Scott 1985). Low-income women engage in individual, everyday acts of resistance in the form of, overt defiance such as challenging welfare authorities and covert resistance such as, economic disobedience by engaging in unrecorded work (c.f. Dodson, 1998, 2007, 2009; Edin and Lein 1997, Hamilton 2012; Lister 2004; Luna 2009), as a means of surviving unjust, authoritarian systems.

Although ideologies are certainly affected, but not determined by economic means (Althusser 1971; Gramsci 1971), less is known about the ideological foundation(s) which support the tactical resistance of low-income people both within consumer research and poverty scholarship. Several scholars have drawn attention to the collective organising of consumers as a way of strengthening their position against the hegemony of marketers (Kozinets and Handleman 2004; Ozanne and Murray 1995; Pautz and Kominou 2013). However, often the oppositional “talk” of vulnerable people uses such ordinary language that the quiet chord of resistance can go unheard (Dodson 2009). Furthermore, women’s expression and authority is often repressed through traditional

means of knowledge production, with women's roles in general, tending to involve expressing interest in others and facilitating speech, rather than voicing their own understandings and views (Foster 2009, p. 234). In Gramscian terms, these forms of representation would count as hegemonic apparatuses, binding individuals to the ruling power. This paper therefore applies a feminist participatory approach through the use of vignettes as a narrative strategy, to sketch more authentic representations of women's ideologically resistant voices.

Ideology and tactics go together, and encourage the development of a critical orientation towards one's social reality, allowing for certain aspects of lived experience, to be viewed as having special effects (Harding and Pribram 2002). So how do we differentiate radical ideology from more moderate values? In addition, how are these enacted in the marketplace by those who are often deemed to lack the necessary economic resources to engage with the marketplace in a more meaningful way? This paper disentangles ideological from tactical resistance from the perspective of economic constraint and furthermore, identifies how radical and moderate forms of resistance are imported into the marketplace by women experiencing chronic economic difficulty. Opposition to consumer-led ideology therefore occurs not just among affluent people or among those located within organised collectives, but among individuals who are often deemed less valuable and less informed within marketplace settings. Progressive shifts have been made to highlight the empowering efforts and resources of vulnerable consumers in the marketplace (Adkins and Ozanne 2005; Hamilton 2012; Hill 1991; Hirschman and Hill 2000; Hutton 2016; Mason and Pavia 2006; Piacentini, Hibbert and Hogg 2014). However it is important to extend beyond the narrative of positive adaptation to marketplace constraint, and recognise how those, experiencing continued marginalisation through austerity and the feminisation of

poverty (MacLaran 2015), hold deeply personal and profound oppositional values, thus allowing them to pursue counter-hegemonic efforts in their everyday consuming lives.

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Shared Offline and Online Spaces of Ethical Consumption Communities

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Introduction

This paper explores both the offline and online spaces shared by three ethical consumption communities located in London's Camden: a local environmental action group, a community

association as well as an eco-squat. Centring on space as an affectively charged concept, it researches the importance shared space has on the formation, proliferation and networking of and between ethical consumption communities. While physical space is argued to be pivotal for how individuals relate to one another and create their identities, attention is paid to the considerable relevance digital space has gained as a destination through which to connect and gain advice. This encompasses a critical look at the qualitative differences between shared physical and digital spaces. Empirical evidence was gained in an ethnography involving participant observation, 44 semi-structured interviews as well as visual data.

Literature

Contemporary urban life is a continuous intersection between physical and digital spaces: The physical world around us is mapped using Geospatial Information Systems (GIS), which allow us to navigate spaces digitally and share our experiences within them (Graham, Zook, and Boulton 2012). Online communities create digital spaces facilitating meetings in real life (Castells 2012; Rheingold 1994). While this intersection is ever growing, research in Consumer Culture Theory has focused on the impact of either shared physical (Chatzidakis, Maclaran, and Bradshaw 2012; Kozinets 2002; Maclaran and Brown 2005) or shared digital spaces (Chatzidakis and Mitussis 2007; Bakardjieva, Svensson, and Skoric 2012). Studies exploring the intersection remain few (Kamio 2013; Nip 2004). Yet, I deem that this intersection between shared physical and digital space is vital for our understanding of how present day communities form, operate, and network.

This particularly applies to ethical consumption communities as a phenomenon growing in size and research interest (Bekin, Carrigan, and Szmigin 2005, 2007; Moraes, Szmigin, and Carrigan 2010a). These communities do not only form in shared offline space (Altieri et al. 1999; Kingsley and Townsend 2006), but also create communities online (Bay 2013; Merritt and Stubbs 2012). My aim is therefore to research the impact sharing space can have on ethical consumption communities considering both the physical and digital realm. The digital as a layer that is added to our physical spaces has become so intertwined with them that talking about one without honouring the importance of the other seems incomplete. Digital space, just like physical space, may become a destination, *a place*, for individuals to seek advice and solace (Rheingold 1994) or company (Petróczi, Nepusz, and Bazsó 2007).

Key to this journey will be laying the groundwork of what is understood as space and how we can interact within it. Rather than seeing space as an absolute coordinate system of mutually exclusive points (Gregory 2009), we may open our eyes for a more equal and inclusive concept that sees space as the meeting up of histories (Massey 2005): all of the people as well as objects finding themselves within a space arrive with their own histories, which together inform a new discourse. In further deepening our understanding of space, we have to recognise that space is affectively charged for the subjects finding themselves within it. Tuan's (1977) *topophilia*, standing for love of space, reminds us that there is an intimate bond between people and the space they inhabit. This can provide us with multiple realities all inherent in one and the same space as innumerable projects may be realised within it (Howarth 2001). In considering the scale of these project sites, we will find that there is a distinction between space and place that needs to be drawn (Lefebvre 1974; Tuan 1977): while space refers to a vastness allowing

freedom for our thoughts, place alludes to our loci of belonging. This, however, results in a distancing at which we care for our fellow human beings. Where place calls for ethical commitments, space does not necessitate this and hence leaves ethics in a more abstract continuum (Barnett 2005). Space is therefore relational. This does not only refer to the relation of physical sites of human interaction, but also their online counterpart and the storage of code in digital spaces (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986).

Findings

Where space was intensively shared, greater emphasis was placed on the importance of physical space. While the importance of shared digital space was acknowledged for acting as a “*catalyst*” for the actions and initiatives in offline space as well as membership recruitment, the main emphasis was for “*people to get their hands dirty*” out at projects. Furthermore, trust was a main issue cited to explain why community members prefer to make contact offline: “*you don’t get their vibe*”. Research participants, however, cited project members, who were severely shy in offline encounters and only able to flourish online where the intimacy of conversations would quickly intensify. Similarly, some project members were said to display a different personality online from offline. One seemingly sweet online member was subsequently described as “*quite vicious*”.

Due to sharing physical space, a recurrent theme of fierce localism and sense of community was underlined by research participants. Project members were acutely aware of the varied socio-economic situations found in the physical space around them. Often, a socio-economic disparity within as little as a few hundred yards was cited as shaping membership and interactions within

shared spaces. While ownership of space was claimed by actively contributing members, this was subverted through constant vandalism by those on the outside.

Looking at the networks formed within shared digital and physical spaces of ethical consumption communities, vast differences in ideology and community governance became apparent. While the ecosquatters described the members of the local environmental action group as *“do gooders”* with *“not enough anarchy”*, inversely this group described the ecosquatters as *“balmy”* and not trustworthy enough for co-operation. Contrastingly, the local environmental action group and community association used shared physical and digital space to exchange volunteers and *“connect, connect, connect”*.

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Elephant Ivory and the Ethics of Consumption, Market Regulation, and Social Marketing Interventions

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Extended Abstract

If the slaughter of African elephants for their ivory continues at present levels, many local populations of the species may become extinct. Counting animals in the wild is challenging, but a recent estimate reveals that the world elephant population has declined from 1.2 million in 1980 to under 500,000 today. In 2010-2012 alone, around 100,000 elephants were killed for their tusks (*Economist* 2015a). Despite a global effort since 1989 to ban the international sale of ivory, both licit and illicit markets endure and poaching and trafficking continue. Raw African ivory is sourced from export nations (Kenya, South Africa, Tanzania), moves through transit nations (Hong Kong, Malaysia, Philippines, Vietnam), and ultimately arrives in destination nations (China, Thailand, United States) for processing and purchase (Nellemann et al. 2013). Seizures of illegal shipments are an indicator of the size of this trade. The Elephant Trade Information System (ETIS), which monitors illegal trade in ivory via data collected by law enforcement and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), indicates a sharp upturn in seizures since 2006 (Nellemann et al. 2013). This suggests more trafficking, although higher rates of interdiction may also explain data trends.

To protect elephants, national governments, international bodies, and NGOs are coordinating efforts to stop poaching at its source, to interdict ivory in transit, and increasingly to shut down traditional retail and online marketplaces. Ultimately, however, consumer demand needs to be addressed. The consumption of ivory has significant ethical implications. It most likely encourages poaching and trafficking activities that have dire consequences for humans everywhere who appreciate this iconic species and want to see it survive in the wild. The disappearance of the wild elephants may reduce tourist interest in visiting several African countries, which would constitute a financial loss for local peoples. Moreover, removing a creature of this size reduces biodiversity and thus transforms natural ecologies in the region, possibly with deleterious consequences. From an animal rights perspective, consumer demand for ivory causes pain and suffering for the elephants and arguably violates utilitarian principles that take into consideration the interests of other species (Singer 2009).

However, the moral duty of ivory consumers is complex and problematic, and policy analyses should be nuanced and take into account different situations and stakeholders. For example, not all commerce in ivory, such as the purchase and collecting of antiques made in whole or in part from ivory, or new objects made from salvaged mammoth ivory, may directly threaten the survival of elephants in the wild. Some critics of the dominant consensus believe market regulation is counterproductive and may harm the interests of local people and even the welfare of elephants themselves. The moral posturing of advocates for elephants, who largely hail from rich nations, potentially raises concerns about hypocrisy and cultural overreach. With such concerns in mind, this study 1) examines the ethics of consumer demand for ivory historically and across present-day country markets, 2) analyzes the ethics of market regulation, and 3) assesses

ethically grounded social marketing action strategies for reducing demand for and the consumption of elephant ivory. The overall purpose is to apply ethical analysis to the very real problem of a destructive marketing system.

Knowledge obtained from the research will contribute to three different fields. First, it will advance understanding of consumer ethics and the ethical consumption of animals, both historically and cross-culturally. As used herein, the term “ethical consumption” has a double meaning as consumer decision-making that takes into account the provenance (origin) of ivory and consequences of purchasing it, and as a moral assessment of the decision in terms of right and wrong. Second, the study is relevant to the macromarketing field because it examines the ethics of market governance upon stakeholders. Ethics and distributive justice are core topics in macromarketing, while dark markets are also significant macro phenomena deserving of further study for policy reasons and for theoretical development. Illicit markets have dynamics (e.g. fragmented distribution channels, less emphasis on brand names) that distinguish them from conventional marketing systems. Third, the research will expand knowledge of macro-social marketing, the analysis and amelioration of large and complex social issues, sometimes known as “wicked problems” (Kennedy 2016; Kennedy and Parsons 2012). Macro-social marketing deploys combinations of upstream (producer markets) and downstream (retail and consumer markets) interventions. The marketing objective is systemic change, not just individual change. So it is with elephant ivory. Yet, strategic actions of this sort require their own ethical assessments since the relevant stakeholders hold diverse interests and thus may be impacted differently (Brenkert 2002).

The full paper is available upon request from the author. Please email: witko@csulb.edu.

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Proactive Awareness and Education for the Elimination of Sex-Trafficking Markets

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Introduction

Markets exist when an individual or firm offer something of value for which a group of potential buyers are willing to exchange their resources. Without sufficient consumer demand for the given offering, the market would fail and cease to exist. While a great deal of marketing research examines more socially approved markets such as electronics or fast moving consumer goods, undesirable and detrimental markets exist in society as well. Sex trafficking is one such market. Sex trafficking is the acquisition, handling, and transferring of human beings for sexual exploitation. Sex trafficking is a global epidemic that must be remedied.

The existence of sex trafficking is not a new phenomenon and a range of research has been completed in this area. Sex trafficking has been studied as a marketing system in attempts to clarify societal effects of such systems and provide estimations of the extent of trafficking that occurs in countries where it is believed to be a significant problem (Pennington et al. 2008). Internationally, sex trafficking has been examined in terms of the impact on victims, current responses, and policy implications (Roby 2005). Additionally, when researching individual transitions away from the sex trade, a study on the sex worker community in India found that vocational training programs can positively impact future employability (Umashankar and Srinivasan 2013).

A great deal of research has also focused on sex trafficking within the United States specifically. For example, researchers have examined the scope, operations, overall impact, and legislative responses to sex trafficking within the United States (e.g., Hodge 2008; Schauer and Wheaton 2006). When examining legislation aimed at preventing sex trafficking, Rieger (2007) concluded that such laws fall short of producing the protection they are designed to provide. The critical importance of aftercare services and the role they play in helping survivors of sex trafficking recover and regain their independence has also been reviewed on a national level (Macy and Johns 2010).

Lastly, some research has looked at the origins and destinations of sex slaves. Data suggests that many victims of sex trafficking within the United States are forced into sexual slavery as minors (Kotrla 2010), thus further contributing to the tragedy of this problem. Females that become trapped into sex slavery are both trafficked internationally (Hodge 2008; Macy and Johns 2010) and captured domestically (Hampton and Ball 2015). In just Nebraska, a small Midwestern state, it is estimated that at least 47 school age girls become victims of sex trafficking every year (Hampton and Ball 2015).

Though a lot of critically important research has been completed on the topic of sex trafficking, much more can still be accomplished. The authors seek to build on previous work by creating greater awareness through: a) informing people about what to look for in order to help sex slaves and assist in reducing sex trafficking, b) knowing how to help and what specific steps everyday people can take to help, and c) sharing this information in academic forums and, in doing so,

encourage professors to share this information with their students in order to reach a critical mass with the message and create a generation of advocates. Knowing what to look for and how to help can save lives. Creating awareness of the issue and spreading accurate information through academia could help save the most lives and potentially reduce sex trafficking markets as a whole. Depth interviews have been completed with two former victims, three truckers, and two FBI agents. These interviews are referenced throughout the paper.

Propositions

The U.S. Department of State's (2007) definition of sex trafficking is "the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for the purpose of a commercial sex act, in which the commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, coercion, or in which the survivors induced to perform such an act has not attained 18 years of age." Sex trafficking has been reported in all 50 states and the FBI estimates that thousands of slaves are brought into the United States each year from other countries, specifically for the purpose of being bought and sold in the sex trade. By providing accurate details to an entire generation of students, the public will start to become more aware of the issue and be better able to fight against sex trafficking.

P1) By providing accurate details about sex trafficking to a critical mass, more advocates are created to help reduce sex trafficking markets.

Knowing what signs to watch for as a normal citizen is important in the fight against sex trafficking. Many factors lead to girls becoming victims. The FBI states that some girls are kidnapped and others, who run away from home, become easy targets for pimps traveling through an area. Traffickers recruit out of schools, shopping malls, concerts, and sporting events.

Recruiters are often other sex slaves who promise pay and expensive items such as purses, clothing, jewelry, and shoes to lure potential victims. Jane, a woman formerly trapped in the sex trade, said her pimp approached her while she was working at a restaurant and it all started with a compliment. Jane said her pimp held onto all of her personal information including her identification, passport, and money. The FBI suggests people should take note if they see a group of girls with someone who is carrying their ID's or controlling their purchases.

P2) If every citizen knows accurate signs of sex slavery to watch for then exponentially more advocates are able to help reduce sex trafficking markets.

Jane also said the sex trade is a violent business. Many girls have to have facial reconstruction and false teeth put in from being beat up or held hostage by their pimps. Pimps also often lie to children and manipulate them using psychological tactics. Children are usually held where they are not publicly visible. They are often guarded by their pimps and locked inside. Jane said that when it comes to helping these girls, you never know who is watching. Many slaves, without the proper help and treatment after being 'freed', return to the sex trade. Amanda, an FBI agent, suggests that the best thing people can do is give victims a word of encouragement, hand them a phone number they can call for help, or call local law enforcement. The best phone number to provide is the national human trafficking resource center hotline at 888-373-7888.

P3) If people are equipped to take action, they can help save the lives of sex slaves and thus reduce sex trafficking markets.

Sharing information about sex trafficking at academic forums has the potential to create the greatest reach and thus could help save the most lives. If each professor tells their students about what to look for and how to help, that information could reach tens of thousands of students each year. If those students then tell their peers about the information they have learned, effectively creating a viral network, then even more people will be helping to stop sex trafficking. This consistent and widespread dissemination of information would create generations of advocates to help end this terrible epidemic.

P4) If professors inform their students, and encourage students to inform their peers, then an entire generation of advocates can be formed to help pass laws that eliminate sex trafficking markets and otherwise enact global change.

Methodology

Sex trafficking does not just occur in bad parts of town or dark alleyways in crowded cities. The authors interviewed three different categories of people about sex trafficking that is occurring at truck stops on a major U.S. interstate. In order to investigate this phenomenon, two former sex slaves, three truckers, and two FBI agents were interviewed. Additional details about participants can be found in Table 1.

Table 1 – Interview Participants

Alias	Role	Description
Jane	Victim	Former sex slave
Ashley	Victim	Former sex slave
Tony	Trucker	ghting sex trafficking
Kyle	Trucker	ghting sex trafficking
Derek	Trucker	ghting sex trafficking
Christy	FBI Agent	rcover agent fighting sex trafficking
Amanda	FBI Agent	ates public about sex trafficking

Included below is a sample of quotes from the interviews:

Tony said, "it's just horrible, any number is horrible, small number or large, especially if it's younger girls." He said girls approach him often at rest stops. "Just knock on your truck door and ask if you want some company or at you in passing if you're walking by. I mean, they know what they're doing, you know what they're doing, they don't have to ask you straight out. They'll ask you if you want some company or if you need your truck cleaned."

Kyle, disgusted by what he has seen, says if he came across a pimp he would not hesitate to confront them. "Personally, I'd like to find out who they are and take justice into my own hands."

Derek, another driver, says he believes pimps have no moral compass. "As far as I'm concerned if they can do that to a child or anybody, they're not human."

Jane, one of the former victims, was approached by a pimp while she was a hostess at a restaurant and he flirted with her, making her believe she was entering into a relationship. "Oh my god your eyes are so beautiful, you're this, you're that and it was nothing that happened in one occurrence. So it was every time he came in, there was something to be said. From there he kept doing that until I began to open up and once I began to open up, you know the tactics that he used were no different than any other guy trying to get a girl out for a date." Jane said he promised her the moon. Everything a young girl could want, from designer purses to jewelry. "Everything that glitters ain't gold as they say you know, you never know how someone's gotten what they've gotten and you know there's nothing that's free. There's no such thing as a free lunch. There's nothing that's free and it all comes at a cost." "He was physically abusive, he was emotionally abusive, he isolated me from my family so there was no contacting anyone, he threatened to harm my family if I were to walk away. He had all of my personal information so you know it wasn't very easy for me to just walk away." Her pimp also forced her to get gas. "You know quite often and legally you have to be 16 to pump gas. Anything outside of that is a problem, you know? If you see a young girl, quite often, homes aren't near truck stops. So the likelihood of someone just walking to the store or the likelihood of them just pumping their parents' gas is little to none. So quite often if you see someone that's under age that are in those places...that should be a red flag that something's going on."

Ashley, another former victim said, "It's never going to stop until people are going to step forward, take an active stand against it." She says she is taking a stand. She's raising awareness of human trafficking in the Midwest and she wants baseball fans to be on the lookout. "During large events there's a lot more opportunity for trafficking to occur and so the World Series being one of those really large events in our state, we definitely decided we wanted to get involved and do something specifically to raise awareness." "If you need a face or a name to remember that this is something that is real, that is happening here in this state, look at me. Look at me and just remember that it's not going away just because I got out of the life. It's not going away just because you don't hear about it every day. It's there, it's here, it's real and it's very much underground." "If you hear somebody 'looking for a good time' and those kinds of things are buzz words."

Discussion

Sex trafficking is too large and too horrendous of a problem to assume enough is already being done. While academic work is critically important, it is equally vital to provide information to everyday people. After all, information is power. By utilizing academic forums to spread accurate and actionable information to a much broader range of individuals, it might be possible to fight sex trafficking in a way that has not been previously realized.

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Issues in the Private Provisioning of Public Goods: The Case of Free Basics in India

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Introduction

One of the basic responsibilities of states and governments is the provisioning of “public goods”. Public goods are societal resources that arise out of the contributions of the society – either through the directing of common resources by the state or through voluntary individual/collective contributions – and the use of which purportedly benefits the entire society. Members of the society may use these resources irrespective of their individual contribution to the development of the resource (Parks, Joireman and Van Lange 2013). While the provisioning of public goods has historically been financed out of public resources and to a limited extent through philanthropy, there is increasing inclusion of the private sector in developing and provisioning public goods. Such investments by the private sector are made with an expectation of a return thereon, either directly through revenue sharing from the public goods, or through secondary but anticipated overflows from the investment. Termed *philanthocapitalism* (Bishop 2008), and PPP (public-private partnerships), this trend has been recognized and encouraged by developmental agencies (e.g., OECD 2011) and has been advocated for the creation of public goods in diverse areas such as healthcare (Holden et al. 2015), infrastructure (Guevara 2015), education (Levy 2014), innovation (Kappos 2013), and digital infrastructure (Hammond, Allen 2001). A rise in the incidence of such

partnerships has been concomitant with cuts in public funding, and with politicians, especially in developing countries, seeking the involvement of the private sector in shoring up their countries' development performance. The trend, though, is not without controversy and discontent (Bishop and Green 2015). While PPPs have been critically assessed with respect to issues such as state-private partner relationships (e.g., Zhang 2015), success and failure (e.g., Meng, Zhao and Shen 2011) and control (e.g., Dimartino 2014), there appears to have been little attention on the effects of such partnerships on the functioning of markets impacted by the public goods. Issues such as optimality of the public goods, distributive justice, consumer choice and welfare, and the impact on associated markets and non-participating private business entities have not received much attention in extant research. The objective of this paper is to bring these issues to the fore and focus research, managerial and policy attention on such issues. Using the case of Facebook Corporation's Free Basic initiative in India and multiple philosophical and theoretical frameworks such as paternalism, market structures and stakeholder theory, we seek to raise market related concerns with the private provisioning of public goods.

Facebook's Free Basics

In 2013, an initiative labeled *internet.org* was launched by Mark Zuckerberg, founder and CEO of Facebook Inc. The initiative sought to provide internet connectivity to four billion people in developing countries, in the belief that access to the internet was to be construed as a basic human right (*Washington Post*, 2016). As of January 2016, it was estimated that 15 million people in 37 countries were using Free Basics, a mobile app that provided a stripped down version of Facebook and access to a limited number of web-sites selected by Facebook; however, the launch of Free Basics in India in late 2015 was met with resistance, with the Telecom Regulatory Authority of

India (TRAI) inviting public comment and eventually ordering the shutdown of Free Basics in February 2016. In a developing country with a recent history of openness to foreign market entrants and with the efforts of the current Prime Minister to effect a quantum leap in improving the physical and digital infrastructure of the country, this setback was unexpected, and has been designated a cautionary example of overreach by a global giant. The burgeoning Indian market with an estimated 684 million mobile phone users in 2016 (Statista 2015) is important to Facebook, especially with the government in China prohibiting Facebook from operating there. In the 4th quarter of 2015, Facebook sought to influence public opinion in its favor, by running an advertising campaign estimated to cost \$ 100 million. In opposition were arrayed a set of entities that opposed Free Basics on diverse grounds. Our preliminary analysis of sentiments in public pronouncements through the press and social media gleaned major arguments against Free Basics, including:

- Restriction of consumer choice: Once subscribed, consumers' access to the web would be restricted to internet sources of information and e-commerce selected by Facebook. Consumer choice would therefore be dictated by Facebook.
- Anticompetitive to non-Free Basics approved entities: Net neutrality advocates argued that information content and e-commerce providers not within Facebook's fold would be denied access to consumers. Over 700 internet startups in India petitioned the Prime Minister, objecting to Free Basics on the grounds that the restriction on access to internet users brought about by Free Basics would endanger e-commerce enterprise and kill innovation in India.
- Privacy rights and civil liberties advocates claimed that the stripped down versions of Facebook and websites lacked privacy and security; also, data on usage of Free Basics and users would be collected and sold by Facebook at its discretion (Nowak 2016).

- Predation: nationalist sentiment was stirred, portraying Facebook as a predatory foreign corporation out to exploit the Indian consumer and diminish domestic enterprise. Facebook's attempts at generating support among its users by underhanded methods and its massive ad spending were seen as dishonest and high-handed, and an affront to Indians.

Lessons from the Free Basics Episode

Free Basics in India was projected as an altruistic exercise, especially with Mark Zuckerberg's December 1 announcement of donation of 99% of his stock in Facebook to charity (*New York Times* 2015). The projection of Facebook as a benevolent philanthrocapitalist took a beating in India over Free Basics. The episode, seen in the light of various theoretical frameworks, provides the following lessons on public-private partnerships and the private provisioning of public goods:

- Consumer choice decisions made by influential (especially foreign) private corporations and the state create an impression of market paternalism – an interference in personal liberty of individuals with the justification that such interference is in the best interests of the individuals (Ebejer and Morden 1988).
- An informed analysis informed by stakeholder theory from a societal perspective (Laczniak and Murphy 2012) needs to be conducted by the state, and by the private partnership to ameliorate potentially negative effects on stakeholders, allay suspicion and fears, and forestall hostility.
- The provisioning of admittedly sub-par public goods is likely to engender in inequality (in this case, of information access and privacy protection) and be perceived as such. Thus, provisioning of such public goods results in the provisioning of inequality (Redmond 2015), which may perpetuate itself and create related social inequalities.

Conclusion

This paper considered the private provisioning of public goods, especially in the digital economy, from macro-marketing and societal perspectives. The paper discusses implications from the application of various theoretical framework, and provide an agenda for research as well as implications for managerial and policy thinking.

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Engineering Crises to Activate Societal Transformation: A Moral Question and Answer

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Abstract

We propose taking a macro-marketing approach to traditionally social marketing issues to activate progressive social transformation. Our premise is that by elevating, through the use of marketing, the perception of a social issue to that of a perceived crisis, Government and society are able to effectively, decisively and definitively deal with social problems. We present a moral/ethical debate around the engineering of a crisis when one is not currently perceived by society, suggest rules for who is to decide a social marketing issue is a (potential) crisis, and identify the processes marketers need consider in engineering a crisis.

Introduction

We examine the idea of using marketing to promote a crisis perception amongst the population in situations where progressive societal change is preferable, but not gaining momentum. We do so using a framework of social engineering (Kennedy and Parsons 2012; 2014), by elevating social issues to a macro-level. Crises can be considered important and unexpected ethical situations (Hagan and Jo Long 2005), categorised as either human-induced or natural disasters (Smith, North, and Price 1988). Central to our discussion is our view of a crisis as more of a decisive moment rather than a time of danger.

The idea of crisis as a catalyst for change is not new (e.g. Adelman 2013). At the individual level we know that faced with a personal crisis a person will most likely gain greater focus on the issue and be able to react quickly and decisively, or will panic and be unable to react coherently. At a societal level, however, while individual members of the society may react either way, generally there is cohesion imposed by a Government-level drive to react appropriately. We see this most dramatically in times of conflict, or local/national emergency commonly caused by natural disaster; e.g. extreme weather-related destruction, earthquake, bush fire. However, these tend to be reactions to unexpected, though perhaps planned for events (e.g. disasters), or responses to actions from agents *external* to the society (e.g. conflicts). Members of society immediately recognise the crisis because of familiarity, experience, media coverage, and Government information, and buy in to the need to respond immediately and decisively.

Our framework is the *internal* societal perspective, where unwanted effects are present due to actions taken by members of the society, particularly where the effects are more insidious so the society does not recognise the crisis for what it is. Our premise is that in these cases, unless Government can convince society that there is a crisis (or that a crisis point will be reached soon), the effects will take hold to a point where there is no remedy, or the cost to society of rectifying the situation and the effects will be beyond the capacity of the society. Thus we define this type of crisis as the point of no return (decisive moment), where unless a comprehensive remedy or preventative action is undertaken immediately, there will be long term (generational) effects, whether direct or indirect, to society, from which the society either may not recover, or may be required to redirect resources to an extent that other progress is moderated. As well, all crises

have a triggering event / seminal occurrence that engenders a series of reactions (Pauchant and Mitroff 1995; Charlebois and Elliott 2009) which indefinitely changes and/or disrupts elements of society.

We suggest the use of (macro)marketing by Government or agencies to engineer a perception of crisis, when members of society have failed to recognise that one exists, and then the use of marketing in this macro approach to address the issue. Essentially, elevate social marketing to a social engineering level (Kennedy and Parsons 2012; 2014) and thus take a macro-marketing approach to systematically solve social issues, but do so in anticipation of the risk of escalation of a social problem, because the threat level of a (impending) crisis is often perceived as low in the onset stage (Fink 1984).

In terms of the use of marketing, propaganda immediately springs to mind, but the connotations of propaganda derived from mostly negative societal change are problematic. More importantly, propaganda has been used to engineer a crisis perception where in reality one does not necessarily exist, whereas this premise lies on the need to deal with a very real crisis, but one that has not been recognised and is not being handled in a timely manner. Similarly, social marketing, whether at the micro-, meso-, or macro-level makes use of communications and other marketing techniques but has not shown success in gaining immediate traction; for example drink-driving campaigns and anti-smoking campaigns, have been around in various forms for many years, and while they have alleviated problems it has taken an extended period, at great societal cost (in terms of the negative effects that exist as long as the behaviour continues) to achieve a degree of behaviour change, but still not eliminate the anti-social activity entirely.

We also present a counter-argument or moral debate around the use of marketing to engineer a crisis perception when one doesn't exist. There is an ethical dilemma based on the "...for the greater good" debate, as to whether it is morally corrupt to convince a society a crisis exists, if it is not recognised as one yet. There is also the question of 'who decides' what should constitute a crisis? The global warming debate raged for many years with numerous respected experts arguing we were in or approaching a crisis for society, yet it took a long time before Government took the advice and has begun to respond to the crisis. In part this was due to the population (and in particular, the voters) not being convinced so not pressuring the Governments of the day to act decisively.

The argument (and counter-argument) for making it a crisis

The rationale for our premise that Government and agencies need to market social issues as crises is twofold. The first tenet is that since the late 1970's much of the world has reached a comfort level in which step-change progress in society is no longer seen as necessary to achieve a societal level of comfort (Hanlon 2014). Despite the global crises that have unquestionably arisen in the past three to four decades, two key elements have been present; (1) we have been able to respond and correct many crises such as conflicts or natural disasters relatively easily, compared with the past where the after-effect has been generational, and/or (2) our day-to-day lives have not been filled with the historically common crises of famine, disease, or the constant threat of conflict, or more critically, the effects of common crises have been isolated or removed from our day-to-day existence. Even the recent upsurge in terrorism in Europe, South East Asia, and North America has not significantly altered our comfort level as societies, in terms of day-to-day life.

We have in these past three or four decades been more concerned with innovation and incremental change to 'tweak' our comfort levels. As such, the social marketing foci, while often abhorrent, are not seen as generational threats to comfort, but rather as isolated to individuals and groups within society. And, therefore, while it is behaviour seen by society as something that should be resolved, the impetus is not there to do so quickly and decisively. Somewhat cruelly, in countries and regions where generational crises are still occurring and the comfort levels of the first world have not yet been attained, the resources are not available to respond effectively, and, due to the comfort level elsewhere, there is not the societal will in those societies able to cope to contribute meaningfully to resolve these crises for others.

The second tenet is that by actively using marketing to engineer the perception of a crisis for a societal progression, Governments and agencies can be proactive in solving social issues by motivating society to cohesively and collectively respond to something that they fundamentally agree to, but are not motivated enough to do anything about. In other-words, Government can, through marketers, become the activists for society, adapting disruption, disequilibrium, and difficulty as spurs for innovation and progressive change (Hirschman 1991; Nasir and Turner 2014).

Certainly government could simply legislate, but we know that even with corroborating social marketing, that this is not fully effective – we only have to look at the endemic drug trade, the continuance of child and spousal abuse, the still too high level of drink-driving, and the trafficking of humans and wildlife. Even the positively legislated or policy-enshrined societal issues that exist

in many societies, such as equal access to quality education, universal healthcare, and social safety nets for unemployed or the incapacitated, are tolerated when they fail to work.

The Ethical Dilemma

We need to consider the counter-argument around risk perception and associated fallout, however. Many crisis studies highlight the importance of communicating risk and generating the right perceptions of risk (e.g. Elliott and Charlebois 2007; Charlebois and Elliott 2009).

Communication of risk is used to guide reactions, behaviours and actions to crises. In turn this affects individual and population levels of anxiety, fear, worry, concern, hostility, anger and outrage (Covello 2003; Fischhoff 1995; Fischhoff, Lichtenstein, and Slovic 1981; Slovic 1987).

Similarly, social marketing has traditionally used negative emotional appeals to encourage behaviours that are thought to be individually and collectively beneficial (e.g. Stainback and Rogers, 1983; Dillard and Peck 2000; Andrews et al. 2014). Such appeals used include fear, guilt and shame (Brennan and Binney 2010). Promoting perceptions of threat explicitly uses the force of negative emotions to manipulate behaviour. Even in acknowledging good intentions, it is still possible that engineering crises may have deleterious individual and societal effects. Psychological perspectives suggest that such 'manipulation' diminishes the ability for society's members to have free choice, rational choice, and potentially exploits vulnerability (Hastings, Stead, and Webb 2004).

This can have damaging consequences to those who are already the most vulnerable or at risk.

Encouraging negative emotions can have adverse effects on psychologically and socially less-

resourced individuals by inducing maladaptive responses (Hastings et al 2004). Negative emotional appeals are effective when individuals have high self-efficacy, and are less effective when individuals have low self-efficacy (deTurck et al. 1992; Snipes et al. 1999; Witte and Allen 2000). Arousal of negative emotions is most persuasive to society's members who are psychologically and socially capable to act and benefit from the message.

Deontological theory argues that regardless of the ultimate outcome (positive) it is wrong to engender anxiety and distress (Duke, Pickett, and Grove 1993; Snipes, LaTour, and Bliss 1999). In contrast, utilitarian theory would argue that by engineering the perception of a crisis to produce a net balance of 'good' over 'bad' would be ethical, and thus would support the use of fear if the resolution to the crisis is beneficial to society and if other approaches are less effective.

Even the connotations with the term crisis may be negative and, even in acknowledging good intentions, may have deleterious individual and societal effects. This, of course, evokes the Machiavellian (1532; 2007) model of the malleability of consciousness, which relies heavily on the ability of government to take advantage of such vulnerabilities. Social marketing does not *have* to rely on such principles, with positive processes being shown to be effective ways to engage active behaviour change, and so while taking a crisis approach may be considered unethical because of the negative connotations, this is not the only way a crisis can be marketed.

Thus, the notion of raising a social issue to crisis level through macro-marketing by a Government raises an ethical debate. Ross (1930) argued that a moral duty (in this case to mitigate the fear of a crisis) could be overridden by a superior moral duty (in this case the social problem). If it is in our

power to prevent something bad from happening, for example, without thereby sacrificing anything of comparable moral significance or importance, we ought to do it, morally (Singer 1972). The difficulty, of course, is the tension in determining how to reconcile this if we consider rule deontological systems where there are universal principles like truth-telling, which imply any exaggeration of the crisis may be immoral. While natural law theory (Shafer-Landau 2012) would argue that it is reasoning that determines the morality of an act, Hume (1738) would argue that reason without passion – the ‘care’ which comes from the concept of macro-marketing – is idle. In other words, a Government has to be capable of rejecting psychological egoism (the motivation of self-interest; Shafer-Landau, 2012) and consider only the true benefit to society. In doing so, the Government must be very clear in reflecting the true desire of society when choosing to utilise marketing approaches to raise a social issue to a crisis. This returns us to Hume’s (1738) further point, which is that people are unequal in their abilities, and so while it is ideal to have equality – in this case, in taking into account their views, vulnerability, and risk – Hume (1738) accepts that it is impractical. How does this fit with Kantian thinking on grounding moral judgements in categorical imperatives? Mill’s (1863) utilitarianism proposed that the desire you have (in his argument, happiness) is the end, and all else that you desire is a means to that end. Foot (1972) argues that if the act is good as a means to something else then the imperative is hypothetical, but if the act is good in its own right, then it is categorical (c.f. Kant, 1959).

In Hume’s (1738) writings, three ideas are apparent. First, actions are only right if they are able to achieve a certain result, often referred to as the ‘teleological’ or ‘consequentialist’ assumption. This is similar to that of utilitarians in relation to the concept of general happiness. Second, the result is only considered good if it is natural, or if people would aim to achieve it based on human

nature. Third, to be considered good, one must be motivated by natural dispositions (e.g. benevolence, sympathy). Kant (1785) challenges each of these ideas. It is argued that if the basis of morality is natural, it must then be contingent and uncertain. Morality must, then, have a stronger foundation in order to exclude the possibility of moral collapse. Kant (1785) constructed his argument based on the concept of duty, with the only intrinsic good coming from good will, or a resolve to act for the sake of duty and for the moral law, independent of other motives. Thus, good will is good not because of what it effects or the achievement of the proposed result. Good will is unique in that it is the virtue of volition, or the good itself, that maintains moral value even if it doesn't achieve its moral intentions. This lends to Kant's (1785) categorical imperative. It is important to note a distinction between the categorical imperative, which is equivalent to the demand to treat others as ends, never as means only, and hypothetical imperatives, or what one ought to do to satisfy desires, or a means to an end. Categorical imperatives are morally binding regardless of desires because they are rational and based on reason. Actions can only be good if the maxim (principle behind it) should become the universal law (Arrington and Rachels 1998).

The key premise is that there must always be respect for persons and respect for moral law. We argue that the macro perspective – respect for society – answers any criticism from Kantian ethics that may be levelled at using a crisis approach to achieving a social good, because the maxim of respect through looking out for the good of society is a universal law.

An illustration of the failing by individuals to collectively treat an adverse behaviour as inhibiting positive societal progress is the continued allowance of smoking. While there have been countless anti-smoking social marketing campaigns, and fiscal penalties imposed (Hay 1996; Kennedy and Parsons 2012), there has continued to be unwillingness for a Government to resolve the issue

decisively and quickly, despite the common acceptance that smoking has adverse impact on individuals. We contend that one of the primary reasons for this state is the lack of clear recognition of societal impact, and the generational impact, and the resulting comfort level of non-smokers. Yes, there are those who are aware of the direct health costs borne by society, those aware that children seeing parents or elders smoking are more likely to begin themselves, and those aware of the health effects that can be passed on to next generations. But, this is not widely considered, it does not have top-of-mind awareness, it is not seen as a 'problem' to then be solved by the individuals collectively. This is akin to Machiavelli's (1532; 1961) mediated experience where the participant is spatially and temporally distant (as opposed to the lived experience).

More worrying is that the counter-marketing is already in place, not directly from the manufacturers, but in terms of word-of-mouth and perception created – e.g. many people say that Governments do not want to ban smoking because they raise tax revenue from tobacco, the tobacco industry employs people who would be impacted, and that it is up to the individual to make poor choices. Thus, attitudes have already been formed that ordinary (social) marketing finds hard to overcome. By raising the issue to the status of a crisis, and showing through marketing processes (e.g. social engineering or an integrated marketing approach employing everything in the Government's arsenal from communications to legislation, education through to incentives) that allowing smoking to occur in society has generational impact and widespread impact on all members of society, frees a Government to make the decision, gain the buy-in of society and thus create a cohesive response, quickly.

It is our view that to engineer a crisis the maxim must be based on duty and good will, and be

independent of other motives (i.e. the Kantian approach). For example, the engineering of a crisis from the Government in terms of tobacco, alcohol, food (obesity), gambling etc. may have ulterior motives such as distraction from political issues, revenue gathering through taxation, or even the excuse to nationalise industry. For such engineering to be morally acceptable, the motives and decisions must be pure in terms of the end desired.

Who Decides?

The ethical dilemma discussed above leads to what can be seen as a ‘who decides?’ dilemma, because the problem at present is the Government will not institute a crisis perception unless the populace say to, and the populace will not say to unless they are motivated to by the crisis perception. The circuit breaker on this loop may have to be the answer to “who has control of the resources?”. The onus has to be on the actor who has the capacity to react by instigating the solution, with the moral obligation to do so being the imperative. In most instances this is likely to be the Government. Thus, the “who decides?” argument is resolved and therefore the start point has to be the use of marketing to instil a perception of crisis. However, the imposition of the onus to act, does not resolve the question of “when is the right time to act?”. In other words, if the Government is no longer awaiting the populace to tell the to act, then it must have other rules or criteria to determine when a crisis needs to be recognised by society.

Recent research suggests three distinctive premises that would allow a Government or agent to identify a crisis. First, the system of society must be affected (e.g. Roux-Dufort 2007). Second, the fundamental principles of implicated subjects are questioned, altered, or even protected by newly created responses (e.g. Pauchant and Mitroff 1995). Third, no active mechanisms within society

can be employed to regain its' former state; they must be activated as part of the response (e.g. Lagadec 1991). In other words, if a responsible Government can identify that society is being adversely affected, current measures cannot cope or prevent further adverse effects, and by acting through elevating the issue to a crisis level marketing can be used to protect society from those adverse effects, then a crisis does indeed exist.

We also point out that social contract theory, first espoused by Thomas Hobbes (Dunfee, Smith, and Ross, 1999), which is the foundation of much Western political philosophy, argues for both representative governance and the acceptance by society of 'sovereignty' in terms of Government determining rules, laws, and order. Through being elected or put in power to represent the people, a Government has a social contract with the society to respect and protect it, while society has a social contract to follow the order created by Government. Without such a social contract, society returns to a state of nature, where problems can turn into crises easily and unchecked. This reciprocity embodied in society lends itself well to the argument for engineering a crisis by a Government so that it might 'further the peace of the community and thereby promote the preservation and comforts of its citizens' (Dunfee, Smith, and Ross, 1999), with individuals placing themselves under the direction of a general will.

Using Marketing To Respond

The final question then becomes, how can a Government actually (practically) utilise a macro-marketing approach to respond? The impact of marketing as a system on society (and the natural world) is replete with problems. Baudrillard (1983) has proposed we now live in a hyper-reality where the real and the simulated have become so confused that images are indistinguishable from

reality, and in fact have become more real than real (Elliot 2000). Which actually means that marketing can be used to solve a societal issue identified as a crisis because of the following argument.

Elliot's (2000) interpretation of Baudrillard (1983) is that the individual in postmodernity is a powerless victim of an hallucination of reality, where the aestheticisation of everyday life has led to a symbolic overload as the individual is bombarded with floating signifiers and is unable to resist the hegemonic power of the mass media (Elliott 2000, 55 in Harris, Lock, and Rees 2000). Taking this in a positive light, it suggests that the use of marketing can be a powerful tool for constructing a reality that has social good as the end.

However, there is definitely desensitisation to, and detachment from social issues, perhaps because of the over-commercialisation of social issues. Furthermore, fatigue may lead to the loss of the 'shock value' of multiple crises over a period of time. Therefore would a crisis even have the intended impact? This links back to the earlier point around Machiavelli's (1532; 1961) lived versus mediated experience, and suggests a call for a new approach in the marketing of a crisis. Possibly there is a need to personalise the social issue crisis, or perhaps the advantages demonstrated in positive marketing with social marketing could be employed. The scope of this discussion goes beyond the purpose of this paper, but could include measures like collaboration, engaging in peoples' / societies' lived experiences, participation, co-creation, and interactive feedback. A way to think of this is the extension of societal boundaries regarding what is acceptable, to mitigate the fatigue factor (Parsons and Schumacher 2012).

Finally, marketing of a crisis will have to consider trust and legitimacy. This takes us back to our 'who decides?' question, and creates an imperative not only for the Government to adhere to the moral laws determining that there is a crisis and that they have no other end as the reason for using the means, but to also transparently show through marketing efforts that this is indeed the case.

Conclusion

We are proposing that at the macro-level society is adversely affected by social issues that current social marketing actions are failing to fully address. Our definition of a crisis suggests that societies are facing social crises, but are not necessarily aware of this state. We further propose that if a Government can identify, using clear rules for doing so, that the onset of a social crisis is occurring, that they have a moral obligation to act decisively, as long as the end sought is beneficial to society, and the means used are not so negative that the adverse effect does not outweigh the end. There is also the corollary that Governments cannot use means for any other purpose than to gain the societally beneficial end. We know that when a crisis is perceived by the populace that society can collectively act in a cohesive and effective manner, so it is with this in mind that we propose that Governments actively utilise marketing to elevate a social problem that has not yet been recognised by the society as a crisis, to the level of crisis in the perception of the populace. We then propose that through the use of marketing techniques, the Government socially engineer the resolution to the social problem (crisis).

This macro-level approach brings society to an important fork in the road. Throughout this discussion we have used the term Government as a catch-all for any deciding body. In fact we are

talking about the moral agent taking the role of patron, overseeing the well-being of society. While raising the imagery of Orwellian totalitarianism if viewed negatively, it would probably be more akin to the divine sovereign approach, where the intelligentsia determine the best course for the ordinary, less able members of society. As long as the determination follows the moral codes and rules enunciated previously, the use of crisis engineering could be beneficial to all society. But, there is always going to be the potential for abuse of power, conceding the end to the means and allowing the manipulation of society's populace for self-interest.

The alternative path could be the intersection of positive marketing and macro-marketing (Mittelstaedt, Kilbourne, and Shultz 2015). Following the principle of positive marketing – in which consumers, marketers, and society as a whole exchange value such that individually and collectively they are better off than they were prior to exchange – embodies the moral conclusion and inclusiveness discussed previously as the ethically best answer. As Mittelstaedt et al, (2015) point out, the positive marketing and macro-marketing worldview is that marketing's purpose is to improve the assortment of goods and services that solve human problems. Taken with macro-marketing's focus on how marketing systems (can) raise our general welfare, this pathway provides a clear means (macro-marketing solving societal problems) – end (societal welfare) chain that fits the moral imperatives discussed previously.

Future research into how the application of our “elevation of social problems to a perception of crisis” could practically work through macro-marketing, is thus called for, as is study of the practicalities of “who decides and how”.

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Panel II: Religion and Macromarketing

Religion and Macromarketing Thought: One More Time

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In part, I suppose, because I organized a session on “Religion and Marketing” for the 39th Macromarketing Conference at Royal Holloway University of London (2014) I was asked to organize a panel on Religion and Macromarketing Thought for this, the 41st Macromarketing Conference. After agreeing to do so I began thinking about how this panel might differ from the 2014 panel.

I was drawn to a short paper by Nik Dholakia, Fuat Firat and Richard Bagozzi, “The De-Americanization of Marketing Thought” (1980), to Olga Kravet’s Plenary Talk in Chicago last year, “Writing on the Margins: Ordinary Othering in Macromarketing” (Kravets 2015), and to my own plenary comments at the 36th Macromarketing Conference (Benton 2011).

Nick Dholakia, Fuat Firat and Richard Bagozzi wrote about marketing, not necessarily macromarketing. They suggested the field was striving “for theoretical depth and autonomy” but felt “the theoretical movement in marketing is bereft of any significant examination of the contextual character of marketing concepts” (1980, p. 25; see also Cochoy 1998). They went on to argue, citing a long line of scholarship, that marketing concepts “are a product of, and contextually bound to, the American industrial system,” by which they meant “monopoly capitalism” (1980, p.

25). They then pleaded for efforts to “de-contextualize, reconceptualize and ... universalize the analytical categories of marketing” (1980, p. 25).

Olga Kravets noted recent efforts to expand macromarketing by inviting geographic, national, and ethnic diversity. She lamented that this was a thin veil for reinforcing the geopolitics of knowledge that positions Western thought as “point zero” and relegates other places, countries, and contexts to serving as laboratories for applying traditional macromarketing concepts. The net result, she argued, is that locally situated scholars work to apply the ready-made theoretical frames that reproduce the meta-narratives of the West. We need, she argued, to begin decolonizing macromarketing knowledge by seeking out and inviting other knowledges and other forms of understanding, rather than simply bring other countries and national ethnic groups into the macromarketing fold, subjecting them to standard, traditional macromarketing treatment.

In 2011 I was arguing that the politics of conventional (neoclassical) economic theory (which I take to be similar to if not the same as Olga’s concern with Western thought) slips into macromarketing discourse, often for no other reason than that we rely so heavily on *the market* both *as an institution* and *as vocabulary* (it is, after all, macro-*market*-ing). The market is a metaphor, and like all metaphors (models, schemata, paradigms) it lets us see and preference some things yet prevents us from seeing and permits us to disadvantage other things. My point was that if macromarketers want to set out on an analysis of their own, unshackled by the embedded politics of microeconomics and micromarketing (which many seem to want to do) they may want to define macromarketing, following in the footsteps of George Fisk, as the discipline concerned with “the provisioning system of society,” without privileging any one provisioning

system over another. We need to realize, as macromarketer, that there is more than one way to “provision” a society. Macromarketers need to find a new metaphor and, until we do, we need to stop using the dead metaphor of “the market” as our central organizing metaphor.⁶

I reflected on the Dholakia *et al.* paper, on Kravet’s comments, and on my own 2011 comments and decided that since macromarketing cannot stand alone, but must be embedded in something larger than itself, then *this* panel, *this* year, could discuss what macromarketing research and teaching could be if it were embedded not in conventional economics but in another religious tradition? That is, since macromarketing cannot be de-contextualized, but only re-contextualized, then let’s think about how it might be re-contextualized in different religious traditions.

Running with the conference theme of “academic activism,” and accepting that macromarketing thought remains ideologically embedded in neoclassical economics (Eckhardt, Dholakia, and Varman 2012)⁷, doing the handiwork of neoliberals, I asked for contributors who could wonder how macromarketing might be different if embedded in another religious orientation. That is, what would Christian Macromarketing, Buddhist Macromarketing, Hindu Macromarketing, Islamic Macromarketing, Anarchist Macromarketing, Animistic Macromarketing, or any other macromarketing, based on another belief system, its values, orientations and worldview, be like? What would macromarketing be if it were de-Americanized, de-Westernized, and de-Neoliberalized?

⁶ There are living metaphors and there are dead metaphors. Living metaphors are “offered and accepted with a consciousness of their nature as substitutes for their literal equivalents” while dead metaphors “have been so often used that speaker and hearer have ceased to be aware that the words used are not literal” (Nicholson, 1957, p. 340).

⁷ Or, as I prefer to emphasize, is, itself, a religious belief (Benton 1990, Beckerman 1956, Cox 1999, Graham 1982, Loy 1997, Nelson 2004).

We have six people, including me, that are willing to grapple with this issue: Mark Speece (Buddhism), Mark Peterson (Christianity), Eve Geroulis (anarchism), Pauline Maclaran, Diego Rinallo and Lorna Stevens (paganism), and Jonathan A. J. Wilson (Islam).

I will open the floodgates.

The absolute fundamental starting point for all of economics, and by extension all marketing, especially micromarketing but macromarketing as well, is that, as Adam Smith put it, “Consumption is the sole end and purpose of all production” (1776/1937, p. 625). As John Maynard Keynes put it, “the sole end and object of all economic activity” is consumption (1936, p. 162).

In *Capitalism and Freedom* Milton Friedman wrote, “Each of us is a producer and also a consumer” (1962, p. 143). As you and I know, the liberal tradition has always held that we should not care much about what people do at work (Schwartz 1982). It is important only that there is a constant stream of goods and services available for consumption. In 1776 there was good reason for this concern. In some places, today, there is still good reason for it. But it is perhaps time to consider other aspects of our humanity as being as important or *more* important.

What if macromarketing broke from the liberal tradition and replaced *consumption* with *work* as the all-important aspect in human life? That is, what would macromarketing be if we cared, and

cared very much about what people do at work. What would macromarketing be if we cared more about what people do at work than we care about how much or what people consume?⁸

Consider, for a moment, Pope John Paul II's 1981 encyclical, *Laborem Exercens* (On Human Work).⁹ I once summarized a part of that encyclical (Benton 1987), and while I will admit my summary may have been poorly done, I still won't repeat it here. I will point out, however, that, according to Pope John Paul II (and, hence, Roman Catholicism) *work* is a fundamental aspect of human existence.¹⁰ He also insisted that the *subject* of work is the human person. The primary value of work lies with people, themselves, as the *subjects* of work and not with, or at least not only with, the object of it, which is the production of things to be used or consumed. "In the final analysis," the encyclical says, "it is man who is *the purpose of the work*" because "through work man . . . achieves fulfillment as a human being and indeed, in a sense, becomes 'more of a human being'." The Pope was unequivocal: "The church's teaching has always expressed the strong and deep conviction that man's work concerns not only the economy but also, and especially, personal values." Human beings, themselves, are apart of the production process; *human beings are part of what is produced*. That is why *work* must have the priority: "work is 'for man' and not man 'for work'."

So what would become of macromarketing if it parted with the classical liberal and conventional economic tradition, the tradition that holds that we "should not care about what persons do at

⁸ If we are unable to make that switch then we are more embedded and imprisoned in the liberal traditional that we had thought.

⁹ And also consider that no Pope has put forth an encyclical entitled *On Human Consumption*.

¹⁰ That metabolic articulation with the natural environment, what we call "consumption", is also a fundamental aspect of living; after all, we do have to eat.

work” (Schwartz 1982, p. 635). What would become of macromarketing if it put *work* ahead of consumption?

It is appropriate to be asking this question today. In *Why We Work* (2015) Barry Schwartz cites a recent Gallup survey that reports almost 90 percent of workers (in the United States) were either “not engaged” with or “actively disengaged” from their jobs. Nine out of ten workers report spending half their waking lives doing things they do not really want to do, in places they do not particularly want to be. Only one out of ten report being happy, or at least content, with their job. As my colleague Al Gini recently suggested, “These numbers are both staggering and unacceptable.” But such figures are not enough to make us switch faiths.

Add to the mix that there is an alarming rise in suicides among middle-aged white Americans. “When you actually see them killing themselves,” Princeton professor Angus Deaton has recently said, “and the mortality rates are going up, then you think something really, really seriously has gone wrong” (quoted in Falk 2016). The spike in deaths among middle-age white Americans is especially shocking because mortality rates for all other ethnic groups is declining.

The suicide data is now being scrutinized, as is likely the Gallup data. What is probably not being scrutinized is the relative importance of consumption over work, however trivial that consumption may be. Paraphrasing Adam Smith’s comment (from 240 years ago), consumption remains the sole end and purpose of all production.

Perhaps a new trajectory for both research and teaching might be in order for macromarketing, one that demotes consumption and elevates work. We would switch allegiances from the liberal tradition to, say, the Catholic tradition (and, by my guess, all religious traditions save – economics).

I don't have an answer to the question of what macromarketing might be; I don't know what it would become. I only pose the question. If macromarketers are unable to break with the liberal tradition, which places pride of place on consumption, then it will remain embedded in that tradition. All the hoping, wishing, and pleading to the contrary will make no difference.

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Anarchism in Greece: A Blueprint for Anti-Consumer Resistance

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The rejection of authority is not new to Greece, dating back to third and fourth century BC Stoics and Cynics. Anarchy – from the Greek “an archos” or without a rule – can be traced back to Homer’s Iliad and Herodotus’s Histories. As an organized movement, Greek anarchy first appeared in the early nineteenth century, coinciding with the 1821 revolution against the Ottoman Empire. The dynamism, working ethos and distrust of autocratic hierarchies characteristic of early anarchist institutions, engagement and press remain strong in the movement – among the largest of its kind – to this day.

Reinvigorated by the crisis in Greece, the failures of both state socialism in 1989 and global capitalism in 2008, the anarchist movement is assuaging its violent firebrand origins to redress social problems through activism seeking economic alternatives more suited to our individualistic era. While dormant between World War II and 1967, the movement grew into a radical yet resilient social justice subculture after the Technical University of Athens (Polytechnio) student uprisings of November 17, 1973 ultimately overthrew the military junta in 1974. The post World War II rise of a global middle-class was driven largely by finance-dominated capitalism. In late-twentieth century Greece, middle-class ascendancy can be correlated to the 1974 constitutional law universalizing free university education for all citizens. The revolutionary ethos of “The Generation of the Polytechnio,” a more educated society, extreme delegitimation of the entire political class and quasi-pathological adherence to “free” markets now converge to create a

Cambrian activism of alternative economics for marketers to consider. Exposing a key weapon in the ideological arsenal of neoliberal advocates: the minimization of any critique of capitalism as a subversive, naïve and dangerous “brand” that cannot work.

As George Fisk reminds us, the market mechanism is only one of many institutions for raising standards of living, promoting economic stability, providing sources of income, and improving the “quality of life.” The anti-consumerism and activist symbolism of young anarchists in Greece affords macromarketers an alternative model to traditional managerial capitalism. Concurrently, it is an opportunity to advocate on behalf of credible efforts for anti-consumerism, consumer resistance and symbolic consumerism. This working article draws upon the literature of contemporary scholars (including Benton, Chatzidakis, Fisk, Kokkinidis, Mittelstaedt, Pessoa), the work of anarchist founders (Bakunin, Kropotkin and Proudhon) and my own interviews with anarchists in the Exarchia community of Athens. Exploring how both the material and discursive effects of anti-consumption and alternative economies may indeed translate into a dynamic new expression of Fisk’s definition of marcomarketing: to save the world.

Speculating on a Neopagan Influence for Macromarketing

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A Neopagan influence on macromarketing thought would displace the market as the central focus and foreground instead the sense-making processes the market generates. That is to say, rather than regarding the market as a provisioning system encompassing various economic activities and transactions, a Neopaganist worldview would emphasize the meanings created by individuals as they engage in marketing activities. In particular, it would focus on how these can remain moral and authentic, as well as spiritual, in the face of macro level factors such as globalization and heightened consumerism.

There are a few doctrinal differences that set Neopaganism in sharp contrast with traditional Abrahamic faiths, differences that also impact on how its followers view markets. First, Neopagans conceive Divinity as immanent in nature, in contrast with the idea of a transcendent creator separated from creation (York 2001). This means that the divine is manifested through the individual self and the material world. Neopagans thus have a reverence for nature, which is considered inherently sacred, and share positive attitudes towards the body, which is not considered sinful or a distraction to spiritual achievements. Similarly, the market and consumerism are not seen as inherently profane but rather a means to an end – it is the intentions behind engagement with the market and wanting and having possessions that are all important.

Second, most Neopagans perceive the Divine, however defined, as both masculine and feminine. Particularly in North America, Neopaganism has become linked to the women's spirituality movement as feminist exponents (e.g. Starhawk 1982) popularized the emancipating idea of the Goddess as an empowering figure for women in their fight against oppressive patriarchal forces limiting their potential. A Neopagan worldview would thus support and seek to extend existing feminist research that critiques the underpinning masculinist ideology of marketing (i.e. Fischer and Bristor, 1994; Hirschman, 1999) and how its androcentric nature contributes to the destruction of the environment (Dobscha, 1993).

Third, central to the religious practice of many Neopagans is ritual, which is re-enacted from ancient or traditional sources, or eclectically created from a variety of inspirations. Neopagan rituals often celebrate the so-called "wheel of the year" (i.e., key moments in the solar cycle, such as equinoxes and solstices), the lunar phases (in particular, the full moon) and various rites of passage (Magliocco 2004). A Neopagan approach to macromarketing would place emphasis on how globalization brings new forms of ritual or reenacts ancient ones, seeking to build on much existing work in interpretivist consumer research that looks at the sacred and profane in contemporary consumerism (see Rinallo, Scott and Maclaran, 2013).

Finally, in terms of religious organization, Neopaganism is often described as eschewing hierarchical authority, organization and structure, and resisting institutionalization. Thus, Neopagan-influenced macromarketing would seek to understand more about the role of alternative markets and new forms of exchange that by-pass the conventional monetary systems, and how these can facilitate more meaningful human interactions.

To further illustrate these points we will draw on a study of Wiccan entrepreneurs that explores the boundary work carried out by them as they engage in the market and attempt to legitimize their activities while protecting themselves from the typically unfair accusations of commercial motivations (Rinallo, Maclaran and Stevens, 2016).

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Could the Cultural Adoption of Different Worldviews Lead to Different Kinds of Macromarketing?

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The existence of different worldviews implies that a different kind of macromarketing has existed or might exist someday. Despite the difficulty of imaging such a world (Fournier 2002), a scan of history and current cultures suggests what these different forms of macromarketing might look like. Considering religious worldviews, Bhutan (which is regularly cited for having a government focus on “gross national happiness”, rather than GDP per capita) has Buddhism as its national religion (Brooks 2008). One could go there to observe how Buddhist macromarketing might work. Likewise, the Iranian theocracy or Saudi Arabia kingdom offers researchers glimpses into what shape Islamic Macromarketing might take (Shultz et al 2013).

In history, one can observe elements of Animistic Macromarketing in the tribal practices of North American native peoples, such as the Sioux or Iroquois. Notably, the Iroquois Confederation’s leadership adopted a stakeholder view in decision making as leaders considered how the decision would affect seven generations of the Iroquois nation which spanned what is now New York and Canada (Hollender and Breen 2010). By comparison, the Sioux tribe of the Great Plains were nomadic and had no concept of land ownership which might be tied to not having a written language (to record such transactions) or pre-existing political norms that would lead to effective government for the entire tribe (Cornell and Kalt 1995). Like the Iroquois, the Apaches had political norms that have contributed to their more effective governance today when compared with the Sioux.

Glimpses into Anarchist Macromarketing can be seen in the anarcho-syndicalist movement in Spain in the 1930's (Darlington 2013). While syndicalists viewed the state's role as defending private property, they emphasized worker cooperatives as an alternative economic system characterized by democratic values—as opposed to the wage slavery of a capitalist system. Unlike Marxist-Leninists, syndicalists deny there can be any state which acts in the interest of workers, instead of the powerful.

Returning to religious worldviews and how these might alter macromarketing, one can consider Hindu and Christian worldviews. Hindu Macromarketing – by definition—could only be observed in India as this religion is an ethnic one (Chakraborty and Chakraborty 2007). However, Hindu Macromarketing like Christian Macromarketing for a nation could be said to elude implementation because it lacks the lever of the state to implement such macromarketing. In India or modern states that have their traditions rooted in Christianity, such as the UK, France or the US and Canada, there is a separation of church and state. However, utopian movements have appeared in Hindu culture (as Ghandian Utopianism Fox 1989), as well as Western societies (Fournier 2002).

Utopian movements have consistently failed because of disagreements among individuals comprising these movements. In this way, one can see the outline of the “fallen nature of humans” which sets the stage for religious explanations for such aspects of the human condition. Humans cannot avoid bringing their shortcomings to institutional activities, such as markets. However, humans do bring themselves to markets – or form them—when they can (Boettke et al 2005). In sum, there could be a different kind of macromarketing, but it is hard to imagine such a different kind of macromarketing come into being without the coercive assistance of the state. Even if such

a different macromarketing did come into being, much exchange will likely take place in black markets, as it always has (Simon et al 1982).

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Urban Middle-Class Buddhist Reform Movements in Thailand: Economic Systems and Business Ethics

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Economic justice is a critical concern for many societies, frequently fostering debate on the nature of economic systems. Often religious revival contributes substantially to this discussion, because religion is a major source of ethics. This paper examines 'Buddhist economics' in modern urban reform Buddhism in Thailand. The three movements discussed here all seek high ethical standards, and stress ethical responsibility, but differ substantially in how much they feel behavior is conditioned by context, and thus, in how much the system needs to change to achieve a more moral society.

Buddhist economics

'Buddhist economics' is the part of the Buddhist reform agenda that aims to deal with economic issues. The Buddha himself was not primarily interested in teaching economic theory or economic systems, but he often put lessons into a context that was easily understandable to his listeners (e.g., Harvey 1990, p. 29), so he sometimes mentioned economic issues. The economic 'system' behind such examples is somewhat ambiguous, not necessarily constituting a complete set of organizing principles for the modern economy.

Thus, there is ample room for debate. Phra Payutto, a leading scholar-monk in Thailand, says

“It is often asked which economic or political system is most compatible with Buddhism. ... One might say Buddhism would endorse whatever system is most compatible with it, but economic and political systems are a question of method, and methods, according to Buddhism, should be attuned to time and place” (Payutto 1994, p 48).

In the modern West, Schumacher (1966) may have done the most to popularize concepts about Buddhist economics. According to several prominent Thai writers (e.g., Payutto 1994; Puntasen 2009, p. 145), Schumacher probably coined the term ‘Buddhist economics’. In his version, it is closely related to Western ideas about economic sustainability, especially in the ‘small is beautiful’ movement (e.g., Hopwood et al 2005, p. 45). However, his ‘small is beautiful’ Buddhist economics actually represents only one of many versions in the modern debate.

Whether or not they used the term, Buddhist societies have long debated how Buddhism should interact with or shape the economy. No agreement has yet been reached. We examine the debate in three of Thailand’s main urban middle class Buddhist reform movements, each of which has its own version of Buddhist economics (from Speece 2010). All strongly stress individual morality as the foundation of Buddhist economics, but this does not necessarily imply a specific macro-economic system, and the three movements propose very different systems. These three movements, and their versions of Buddhist economics, may be Thai, but they all have counterparts in many other Buddhist societies, so the debate is illustrative of the wider Buddhist world.

Wat Dhammakāya seems to feel that individual behavior can improve within the current capitalist system, so that major systemic changes to Thailand’s capitalist economy are not needed. Santi Asoke is explicitly anti-capitalist. Its more serious adherents live simple lifestyles in agricultural

communities which are largely collectivist in economic organization. The 'reform from within' movement is 'middle way' between these two, somewhat more diverse, but generally seeks a mixed economy containing both capitalist and socialist elements. This current is somewhat similar to Schumacher's version of 'Buddhist economics', and also largely the foundation for the wider discussion of sufficiency economy in Thailand (Piboolsravut 2004; not to be confused with subsistence economy).

All versions of Buddhist economics agree on 'interconnectedness,' a fundamental doctrinal point. The Thai 'reform from within' viewpoint is not substantially different from others in maintaining that:

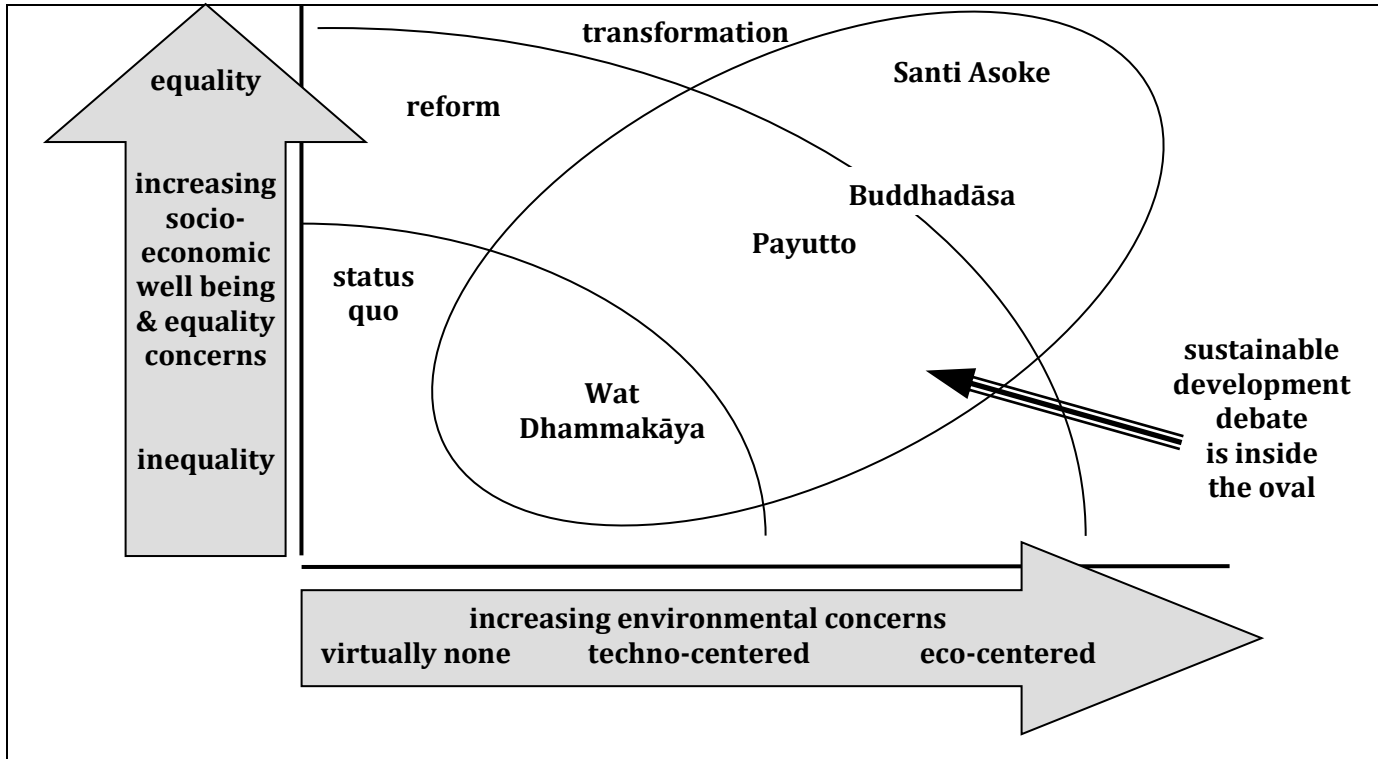
"Unfortunately, as it stands, economics is grossly out of touch with the whole stream of causes and conditions that constitute reality. ... Focused as they are on the linear progression of the economic events that concern them, economists forget that nature unfolds in all directions. ... Buddhist economics would investigate how a given economic activity affects the three interconnected spheres of human existence: the individual, society, and nature or the environment" (Payutto 1994, Chapter 1).

Categorizing the versions

Society and nature in Payutto's three interconnected spheres are key issues in the broader debate on sustainable development. For example, Hopwood et al (2005) show that most definitions of 'sustainable development' include equity as an important element, and most include recognition that resources, including the environment itself, will be depleted and/or severely damaged without some limits. They summarize their review in a useful graph (2005, p. 41), estimating

where various authors fall on the dimensions of socioeconomic concern vs. environmental concern. We adapt their framework here (Figure 1) for assessing the three Thai versions of Buddhist economics. Hopwood et al (2005) don't actually mention 'Buddhist economics', but they do place Schumacher in their schema near the reform-transformation boundary, roughly between where we put Payutto and Buddhādāsa.

Figure 1: Thai Buddhist economics in the sustainability debate



Source: dimensions and categories based on Hopwood et al (2005, p. 41); placement of Thai Buddhist reform movements from Speece (2010)

By this schema, Wat Dhammakāya aims to deal with problems of modern society with little change in the status quo. The movement is explicitly capitalist (e.g., Parnwell & Seeger 2008). Some observers view it as elite-led reform which aims to use Buddhism to legitimize the state and economic system (e.g., Swearer 1995, Chapter 3). Ip (2007) notes that it is quite favorable toward wealth accumulation. Economic equity problems can be handled with (substantially) improved personal ethics. Because of interconnectedness, stronger ethics will also translate into more concern to avoid harm to the environment, and modern technology can fix most problems without requiring much change in how people relate to the environment (Speece 2010).

Santi Asoke aims for radical transformation of both the economic system and man's relationship with the environment. The movement is vehemently anti-capitalist; some observers call it utopian (e.g., Taylor 1999; Parnwell & Seeger 2008). Santi Asoke's *bun-niyom* philosophy aims to make merit by taking as little profit as possible (while remaining viable), thus transferring to society most of the value-added in production and trade. Santi Asoke views on the environment are essentially a form of 'deep ecology' (Fuengfusakul 1993; Heikkilä-Horn & Krisanamis 2002). The 'deep ecology' concept states essentially that the environment and non-human life has inherent value "independent of their usefulness for human purposes ... The ideas of Deep Ecology and Buddhist Economics are strongly correlated" (Zsolnai & Ims 2006, pp. vii-viii).

The 'reform-from-within' movement is represented in Figure 1 by Buddhadāsa and Payutto, two of the diverse movement's most prominent thinkers. Buddhadāsa often called for 'Dhammic socialism,' (e.g., Buddhadāsa 1989; Changkhwanyuen 2003; Puntarigvivat 2003), but in places recognized that capitalists might follow Buddhist principles. Payutto generally assumes private ownership, of the 'small is beautiful' version in Schumacher. However, most writers in this movement are clear that property rights are not absolute. Using property to harm others can cause forfeiture (Payutto 1994, 2007; Piboolsravut 1997; Puntasen 2009). Given the principle of interconnectedness, 'others' not only includes society, but also the environment. Thus, this movement approaches a deep ecology worldview (Swearer 1997).

Ethics and context

Ornatowski says that Buddhist economic ethics is about “Buddhist values with regard to wealth and economic activity” (1966, p. 200). Fundamentally, Buddhist economics is about adherence to the Eightfold path, particularly the elements of *sīla*, ethics.

“An economics inspired by the Dhamma would be both attuned to the grand sphere of causes and conditions and, at the same time, guided by the specific ethical teachings based on natural reality” (Payutto 1994, Chapter 1, ‘The Two Meanings of Dhamma’).

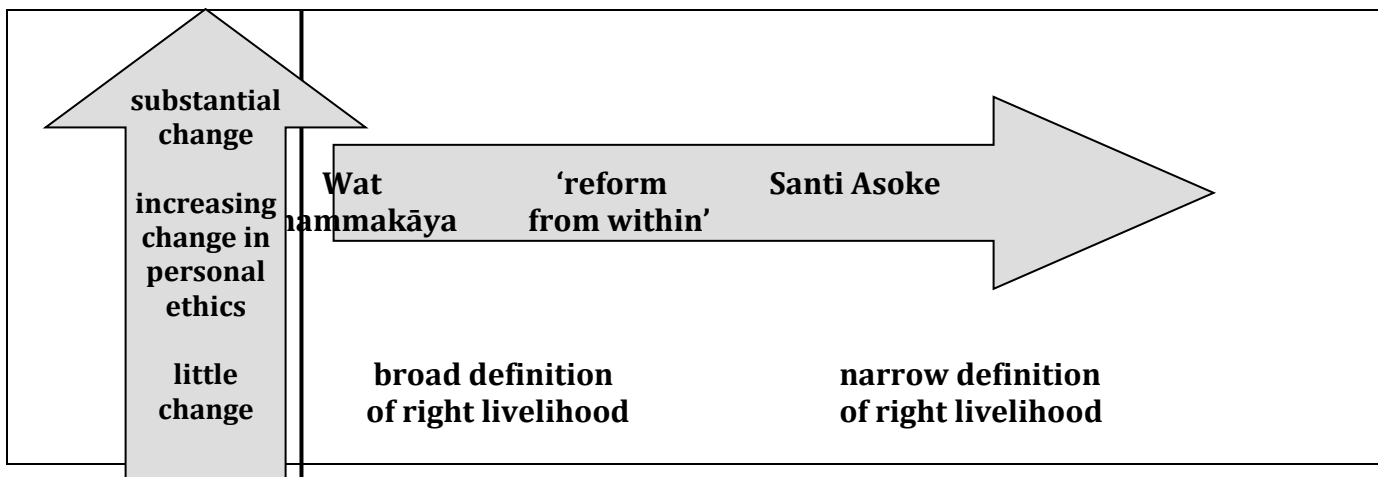
All three movements examined here agree that the essence of Buddhist economics is this individual-level ‘microeconomics.’ Most modern economic and environmental problems ultimately stem from mental defilements, which condition individual actions having economic and environmental impact. Much of Payutto’s *Buddhist Economics* (1994) discusses motivation and state of mind. Dattajeevo of Wat Dhammakāya does not sound much different in his own *Buddhist Economics* (Phrabhavanaviriyakhun 2001?). Santi Asoke’s Buddhist economics may be somewhat more explicit in calling for “a return to a simple way of life and strongly criticizes both Thai monks and the laity for indulging in secular wealth” (Satha-Anand 1990, p. 395). However, “like other Buddhist approaches to development, the Asoke movement asserts that development must begin with the individual” (Essen 2004, p. 9).

All three movements aim for drastic improvement of individual morality. Staunchly pro-capitalist, status quo Wat Dhammakāya, the small-is beautiful, mixed-economy, reform-minded movement represented by Buddhādāsa and Payutto, and fiercely anti-capitalist, radical transformation Santi

Asoke sound virtually identical on this issue (Speece 2010). What they differ on, as is clear from their categorization in the sustainable development debate, is the role of context and how it affects individual thinking and behavior. The different views on context translate into the different economic systems and into how they define Buddhism’s ‘right livelihood’ element of the Eightfold Path.

Research in business ethics has shown that organizational context can have an impact on ethical behavior of managers (e.g., Treviño et al 2006; Reynolds et al 2010). In the Thai debate on Buddhist economics, this context issue extends to the level of economic systems. Definition of economic systems and right livelihood depends on the extent to which the movements feel that individual behavior is determined by context, as well as how strongly they believe individuals can resist the distractions of modern consumerism. Figure 2 illustrates where the three movements stand. On the vertical axis of individual level change, there is little disagreement about the need to substantially improve personal ethics, thus the movements are all at a high level. The horizontal axis is about views on context, and corresponding definitions of ‘right livelihood’.

Figure 2: Change in personal behavior



Source: Speece 201



increasing restriction of context
status quo reform transformation

Wat Dhammakāya essentially sees things mostly in terms of individual responsibility, with very little contextual impact on the individual.

“[Wat Dhammakāya’s] individualistic notion of merit is further enhanced by Thammakaay’s conventional individualistic social outlook. Every social and political problem is believed to have its root at the individual level” (Fuengfusakul 1993, p. 173).

Dattajeevo of Wat Dhammakāya says that one must aim for a certain level of material comfort and economic security, “standing on our own two feet instead of being a burden on society – achieving by scrupulous means a moderate degree of material comfort and economic security for oneself and one’s family” (Phrabhavanaviriyakhun 2001?, beginning of section 6). Right livelihood is essentially non-harm:

The most important guiding principle in accumulating wealth for oneself is to avoid the bad karma of taking advantage of others (section 6). As Buddhists we would say that taking advantage of others economically, in whatever form, is *unethical* acquisition of wealth (section 3).

The ‘reform from within’ movement is ‘middle way’ in terms of seeing impact from context. Interconnectedness implies that society (and environment) will have some impact on individual ethics, but individual responsibility is still the key issue. Thus, the system needs to be

substantially reformed, not necessarily overthrown. Regarding 'right livelihood', Payutto goes somewhat beyond simple 'non-harm', looking for some benefit, however small:

Right Livelihood ... is not determined by the amount of material wealth it produces, but rather by the well-being it generates. Many livelihoods which produce a surplus of wealth simply cater to desires rather than providing for any true need (Payutto 1994, Chapter 4, 'Right livelihood', and *passim*).

Horayangura (2007) conducted qualitative research among middle class professionals and business people who have become more involved mostly with the 'reform from within' movement, showing that they do indeed change. "For the spiritually inclined, the most salient consideration is not monetary remuneration, but whether a job allows for or even directly supports their spiritual practice" (p. 283). Horayangura talks about moving "from 'not wrong' to 'right' livelihood" (2007, p. 288).

Santi Asoke feels that context is very important for serious spiritual progress, and aims to eliminate most of the distractions of modern consumerist society. In a sense, their agricultural communities emulate the more restricted, simpler environment of the monastery. "While Asok's prime concern is still with individual morality, it insists that an individual's progress and success in the practice of Thamma practice hinges on social conditions and the environment" (Fuengfusakul 1993, p. 171)

Santi Asoke is even narrower in definition of 'right livelihood'; emphasizing "a return to a very simple way of life, with agriculture as the basis for livelihood" (Satha-Anand 1990, p. 404). This can be seen both in terms of its rigorous interpretation of the 'small-is-beautiful' concept, as well as an attempt to move closer to the simplicity of the monastic economy as an aid in reducing attachment, thus fostering more rapid spiritual progress.

Conclusion

The three movements discussed here all aim for similarly high ethical standards in individual economic behavior, which has a dual purpose. First, if people behave more morally, society will be much better off and suffering in the material world would be greatly reduced. But at least as important, high ethical standards are a necessary part of the spiritual path toward *nibbāna*. For whatever reason, though, there seems to be evidence that business ethics are beginning to shift slightly toward higher standards based on Buddhist precepts.

The movements differ in the degree to which they see a need for systemic change, and in what they regard as 'right livelihood'. Wat Dhammakāya can be characterized as comfortable with the current capitalistic system, aiming to change individual behavior within it, rather than to make major changes to the system. The other two feel that economic context helps determine individual behavior, and want some change in the system. Santi Asoke is most extreme in this, and is explicitly anti-capitalist. Its more serious adherents live simple lifestyles in agricultural communities which are largely collectivist in economic organization. The Buddhadāsa-type movement is 'middle way' between these two, and seems to seek a mixed economy containing

both capitalist and socialist elements – perhaps somewhat similar to some version of Western European social democracy.

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Reflections on the Business or Risk and Pleasure within Islam

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With the recent emergence of a 'branded' Islamic macromarketing paradigm: at a conceptual level (1) Muslims and non-Muslims from diverse geographies, ethnicities, cultures and value systems; (2) who are engaged in what have been classified into seven key industry silos, are attempting to ascertain in what way Islamic texts and schools of thought provide a basis for affecting consumption patterns and strategic marketing approaches.

Central to these patterns are methods by which what is *Halal* [Arabic for permissibility in Islam] is classified, produced, certified, and propagated. The pull to explicitly label products, services and activities is a new phenomenon, which in part has become a modern necessity. However at the same time, a by-product of this suggests a shifting of the fulcrum for Halal's basic premise, which generates debates concerning opportunities, challenges, authenticity, and acceptable innovation.

This paper will focus on examining two guiding principles that affect involvement intentions and motivations from an Islamic perspective: 'risk' and 'pleasure'. The intention is to raise understanding and encourage debates as to how these concepts influence the way in which marketers and consumers think, feel, and act. This is especially held to be crucial in the current climate where Islam has become politicized and is causing social tensions that are impacting lives and businesses – both in a positive and unfortunately disturbing manner.

From an Islamic standpoint, risk is a term that originates from the Arabic word *rizq*. However, the passage from *rizq* to 'risk' has lost something in translation. Similarly, pleasure in Islam occupies three interconnected levels, which offer an alternative perspective: physical, intellectual, and spiritual.

Furthermore, a unique contribution by the author through this approach is to reject both: (1) often held notions that frame Islam as a form of conservatism from inside and outside of the faith, and (2) Orientalist and Western arguments often used in the social sciences to interpret Islamic principles and Muslim lifestyles.

Hedonizing Sustainability: Selfish Means Toward a Selfless End?

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Abstract

The concept of sustainability is here to stay in marketing discourse. Its relevance to the field of macromarketing in particular originates from the far-reaching effects which incorporating sustainability has across the multiple levels of a present-day market system. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to propose a new, and somewhat counter-intuitive, approach to pursuing sustainability as a macro-level goal. Specifically, we propose that melding the concepts of hedonistic consumption and sustainability can actually provide a positive frame of reference that paves a potential way forward in terms of consumer adoption of sustainable consumption practices. As academic macromarketers, it is our mission not only to contribute to the theoretical field of sustainability and consumption but to also make an active contribution to society.

Introduction

Given its recent classification by the *Journal of Macromarketing* as a “megatrend” (McDonagh and Prothero 2014a; Mittelstaedt et al. 2014; Prothero and McDonagh 2015) there is little doubt that the concept of sustainability is here to stay in marketing discourse. Its relevance to the field of macromarketing in particular originates from the far-reaching effects which incorporating

sustainability has across the multiple levels of a present-day market system. If we begin with the consumer as the focal unit, then there is equal merit in looking at sustainable behaviors pursued at an individual level, such as Brosius, Fernandez, and Cherrier's (2013) account of consumers finding "treasures in the trash" to reduce consumer waste, a collective level (illustrated in Hutter and Hoffman's (2013) discussion on the pro-environmental group consumption practice of "carrotmobbing") and finally, at a macro, societal level (captured to some extent in the cross-cultural research work by Minton et al. 2012). Indeed, in outlining the research opportunities regarding sustainable consumption, Prothero et al. (2011) clearly articulate how "macroinstitutional approaches to sustainability, both in research and in policy, are vital" (p. 35). Given this background, the purpose of this paper is to propose a new, and somewhat counter-intuitive, approach to pursuing sustainability as a macro-level goal. This paper attempts to advocate new discussion on how we view sustainability, sustainable behavior, and sustainable consumption. Specifically, we propose that melding the concepts of hedonistic consumption and sustainability can actually provide a positive frame of reference that paves a potential way forward in terms of consumer adoption of sustainable consumption practices. As academic macromarketers, it is our mission not only to contribute to the theoretical field of sustainability and consumption but to also make an active contribution to society.

Sustainability: A Brief Overview

Nearly three decades ago the concept of sustainability became a forefront issue, with both scholars and practitioners, when the Brundtland Commission formally defined sustainability as "meeting the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (World Commission on Environment and Development,

1987). While this paper will not provide a detailed literature review of sustainability, Kilbourne and Beckmann (1998), Leonidou and Leonidou (2011), and McDonagh and Prothero (2014b) offer a comprehensive overview. In addition, the *Journal of Macromarketing* has published two special issues devoted to sustainability in 2014 and 2015. In their critical synthesis of literature within the marketing discipline on sustainability marketing research, McDonagh and Prothero (2014b) essentially classify extant research under four broad aspects– 1) examining sustainability from an individual consumer level, 2) from the organizational standpoint, 3) looking at environmental laws and policies, and finally, 4) reframing the concept of sustainability itself. It is this last aspect, also called out as the one with “the most promise for critical research” (McDonagh and Prothero 2014b, p. 1199), that this paper will try to incorporate.

One of the key points that emerges from several discussions surrounding sustainability relates to the seeming tussle which any move toward sustainable production and consumption might entail in a modern-day market society. For an average consumer, it is akin to an unspoken directive of sacrifice, boycott, and foregone consumption hiding just out of sight behind the more visible percept of sustainability. It is of little surprise that researchers deem micromarketing insufficient to study the relationship between sustainable consumption and quality of life fairly. Therefore, scholars call on macromarketing to handle this challenge, through the consumption-oriented Dominant Social Paradigm (DSP) (Kilbourne, McDonagh, and Prothero 1997).

While some work re-conceptualizes sustainability from a macro-perspective by looking at the economic, ethical, political, and technological dimensions of the DSP (Kilbourne, McDonagh, and Prothero 1997), or in using “neomaterialism” to recast the historically strained relationship

between materialism and sustainability (Scott, Martin, and Schouten 2014), there are still other avenues which to view this relationship, one of them involving two seemingly opposed ideas: hedonistic consumption and sustainability.

Hedonizing Sustainability: Opposed in Theory, Coming Together in Practice

In their seminal pieces arguing in favor of expanding the prevailing view of consumption from being mainly an information processing activity to what has come to be known as the “experiential view”, Holbrook and Hirschman (1982) (also see: Hirschman and Holbrook 1982) essentially laid the foundation for a much richer understanding of consumer behavior by incorporating the “multisensory, fantasy, and emotive aspects” of consumption (Hirschman and Holbrook 1982, p. 92) to bring to light “the symbolic, hedonic, and esthetic nature of consumption” (Holbrook and Hirschman 1982, p. 132). Simply stated, the scholars proposed a more comprehensive framework of consumer behavior which recognized the often-affect-laden nature of consumption decisions in contrast to the purely logical and boundedly rational consumer that was embodied in the information-processing view (Bettman 1979).

Interestingly, this idea also emerges from several studied facets of sustainability. For instance, this is evident when we look at the work done around re-orienting lifestyles and preferences towards sustainability, as in the case of the slow food movement (Chaudhary and Albinsson 2015) and the slow fashion phenomenon (Ertekin and Atik 2015), or the rise of self-proclaimed hedonic collective efforts like the anti-car-pro-bicycle culture discussed by Dalpian, Silveira, and Rossi (2015) and the shopper-centric “buycotts” or “carrotmobs” in the chronicled by Hutter and Hoffman (2013). If we dig deeper into individual-level motivations, even there we find either a

degree of selfishness or an affective pursuit of pleasure surrounding the “nobler” goal of sustainability. For instance, participating in a more traditional anti-consumption practice such as a consumer boycott has been found to be mixed with self-enhancement motives (Klein, Smith, and John 2004); supporting sustainability is often the thing done to “look good” (Naderi and Strutton 2015); buying organic food is linked to a mix of sustainability and selfish motives (Berges and Monier-Dilhan 2013), and re-acquiring consumption objects which have been often disposed of by other consumers essentially takes the form of a pleasurable treasure hunt (Brosius, Fernandez, and Cherrier 2013).

Even if we were to look at other real-life practices around us the intersection of sustainable consumption, experientialism, and hedonism is often visible, be it in the resurgence of colorful farmer’s markets, the rising popularity of fair-trade products, subscription gift boxes centered on ethical consumption, the phenomenon of the small-house movement, or the strong support towards locally produced products over mass-produced items in many places. Thus, it appears that sustainable behavior that speaks more to the hedonic, experiential, or affective side of the consumer might actually have a better chance of being adopted on a societal scale than one which is articulated purely in “do good for future generations” terms. And we believe that one of the possible explanations behind this might lie in the way these alternative conceptualizations are framed.

Multiple Gains, Not Losses: Hedonism as Positive Framing?

While there is an intuitive simplicity to the notion that consumers are likely to adopt sustainable behaviors as a collective whole when they view it as something pleasurable and fun, one can

propose a more theoretical explanation through the lens of decision framing. Although Tversky and Kahneman's (1981) original discussion of framing centers on more micro-perspectives of consumer behavior, a logical extension can be made to the macro, societal level if we were to consider how market systems with their diverse sets of stakeholders, ranging from consumers to organizations to policy makers, craft a larger approach toward sustainability. This approach is framed not in terms of how sustainability entails giving up a lot of things, but rather in how it results in acquiring different kinds of benefits – a recommendation that owes much to Thaler's (2008) idea of segregating gains and not “wrap[ping] all the Christmas presents in one box” (p. 17).

As already mentioned, consumers often pursue sustainability from mixed motives which are a combination of arguably “selfish” ones (i.e. self-enhancement, materialism, or pleasure-seeking, among others) and “selfless” ones, which reflect a genuine concern for the environment and others who might be potentially affected. Emphasizing, wherever possible, the hedonic or experiential aspects of a particular sustainability initiative has the unique potential to address both these motives. On the one hand, there is an altruistic satisfaction that comes from the knowledge that one was doing something positive for his or her society, community, environment and/or the world at large. On the other hand, there is a personal, more direct, experience of happiness in being able to do something which revolves around the “fantasies, feelings, and fun” (Holbrook and Hirschman 1982, p.132). Thus, framing sustainable behavior as a positive, hedonic experience that entails multiple benefits addressing distinct consumer motivations has a stronger potential impact on the collective adoption of sustainable behaviors than if it was framed purely in

terms of a “loss” of current consumption opportunities, as echoed in Kahneman, Knetsch, and Thaler’s (1991) discussion on the loss aversion tendencies of consumers.

Conclusion

In keeping with recasting the relationship between consumption and sustainability, this paper attempts to provide yet another piece to the complex puzzle of pursuing sustainable behaviors in a modern-day market system that is grounded in consumption-centric roots. Specifically, its contribution lies in proposing a hedonic frame of reference for sustainability wherever possible in order to increase its appeal and eventual adoption by the various stakeholders in the marketplace and society as a whole. Organizations that could manage to walk this tightrope might find themselves rewarded by increased consumer loyalty, while policy makers could explore the possible ways to promote sustainable consumption venues and practices as being helpful as well as enjoyable. Consumers could also take a proactive approach in undertaking collective action and banding together a community of like-minded people together to pursue more hedonically sustainable consumption practices.

The approach is not without its limitations, of course. There could be cases where there might not be any possibility of incorporating a hedonic or affective component to a particular sustainability initiative (such as reducing water or power consumption, or in boycotting a firm for unethical business practices) and thus, it cannot become a catch-all approach to pursuing sustainability. Rather, its strength lies not in rhetorical musings of how things might be in a utopian scenario but in recognizing the current production and consumption relations between market and societal stakeholders, and in trying to work within the existing constraints to come up with practicable

solutions that would have a better chance of succeeding in the real world. Although sustainability and sustainable consumption are very complex issues, macromarketers have a prominent role and challenge as academic activists to keep sustainability as a central focus to promote a better society.

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Research on sustainable consumption in marketing literature: a synthesis of conceptualization choices

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Abstract

Sustainable consumption has become an important goal within the sustainable development debate and is gaining more attention in the academic field of marketing. To synthesize the different conceptualizations of the complex construct of sustainable consumption, we employ a structured literature review of 270 peer-reviewed empirical academic journal articles in marketing during the period 1992–2014. The analysis reveals four conceptual lenses that structure the current marketing literature with regard to sustainable consumption. These four conceptual lenses can serve as a tool for scholars to categorize novel empirical contributions to sustainable development within the marketing discipline.

Introduction

In 1992, the United Nations (UN) held the Conference on Environment and Development, which became a catalyst for sustainability projects throughout scientific institutions. With “ensuring sustainable consumption and production patterns” as one of the post-2015 UN sustainable development goals (Griggs et al. 2013), there is a general recognition that consumption is an important factor in the transition to sustainability. However, the complexity of sustainable

consumption as a concept is a major obstacle in implementing sustainable consumption as a public policy goal (International Council for Science 2015).

Sustainable consumption appears within different streams in the academic marketing discipline (Gordon, Carrigan and Hastings 2011) and is widely acknowledged as a focal issue for research (Huang and Rust 2011; McDonagh and Prothero 2014; Peattie and Peattie 2009; Prothero et al. 2011). Despite its importance, a comprehensive overview of the different conceptualizations of the complex concept of “sustainable consumption” in research is missing. The aim of the current study is to provide a research synthesis of the way sustainable consumption has been conceptualized in empirical marketing literature in the past decades. To achieve this aim, we employ a structured literature review. Summarizing and integrating the literature in this way helps to provide clarity on current research and provides opportunities in identifying future research priorities for the marketing field (MacInnis 2011).

This study advances the insights marketing literature has gleaned on sustainability in two major ways. First, we provide a focused account of academic conceptualizations of individual behavior in support of sustainability goals. With this focus, we build on the work of previous scholars who have reviewed the developments of sustainability debates in the marketing domain (Chabowski, Mena, and Gonzalez-Padron 2011). In contrast with Chabowski (2011), who provide important insights into the literature on corporate behavior and sustainability, we focus on research that examines behavior of the general public, often referred to as sustainable consumption. Second, we translate the body of literature into four different conceptual lenses that shape the different perspectives on what sustainable consumption concept entails. In doing so, we hope to provide an

opportunity for future scholars to make informed decisions about their conceptualization of sustainable consumption. To do so, we make use of an approach that combines qualitative and quantitative analyses in a review of the current empirical literature.

The paper proceeds as follows: First, we introduce three categories that form the basis of conceptualizing sustainable consumption. These three categories constitute the core framework for the synthesis of the literature and guide our review of the empirical literature. Second, we explain the selection process for the relevant empirical literature and the chosen analysis procedures. Third, we discuss and visualize the results based on a review of 270 empirical journal articles and synthesize the choices made in these articles within the three categories.

Conceptual background

“Sustainable consumption” is an umbrella term that encompasses a wide range of issues and activities (Schaefer and Crane 2005). Which consumption activities are sustainable and what sustainable activities should be considered part of sustainable consumption, is not always self-evident. On the one hand, it is not clear how consumption activities can be transformed in order to be sustainable. On the other hand, researchers can have different starting-points for the type of activities that need to be studied. As a result, many different conceptualizations of this term appear in the marketing literature (Peattie and Collins 2009).

In an empirical study on sustainable consumption a scholar needs to deal with the ambiguities of the concept. As a simple solution, she could choose a simple and measurable definition, such as ecological footprint or earth share (Peattie and Collins 2009). However, two main problems arise

when restricting oneself to simple and measurable conceptualizations. First, scholars would overlook the social element that is part of sustainability. For example, fair-trade consumption has become an eminent part of the sustainable consumption domain without being linked to a person's impact on the environment (Van Marrewijk 2003). Second, they would neglect actions that do not directly reduce negative impacts of consumers, such as political actions (Spaargaren 2003). Although these actions do not belong to sustainable consumption in this narrow definition, intuitively many people do relate them to sustainable consumption. Consequently, a simple definition of sustainable consumption is both incomplete and unfit for many types of research. Therefore, an attentive consideration of different conceptualization choices for sustainable consumption is needed.

We therefore start with a broad delineation of sustainable consumption as actions individuals engage in that are positively linked with the contribution to larger societal sustainability goals by academic scholars. In taking this definition, we purposefully put the responsibility of linking the action to the sustainability goals in the hands of the researcher—that is, individuals themselves can be unaware of the sustainability of their actions, but the researcher identifies the action as an individual contribution to sustainability goals. Furthermore, we only review sustainable consumption in a way that constitutes a positive link between sustainability actions and a sustainability goal; that is, we analyze studies in which the researcher investigates sustainable consumption actions that are positively linked to sustainability goals (i.e., engaging in the actions makes a positive contribution to the sustainability goal). Therefore we do not look at the conceptualization of unsustainable consumption.

Following the debate regarding the agenda of sustainable consumption research (Huang and Rust 2011; McDonagh and Prothero 2014; Spaargaren 2003), we address conceptualization choices that involve (1) relevant focal domains within sustainability, (2) the drivers of change considered in the link between sustainability and consumption practices, and (3) the types of individual actions considered in connection with sustainable consumption. We treat each of these conceptualization choices as a category that is relevant to studying the concept of sustainable consumption. Although researchers' choices regarding these three categories are related, we first disentangle them to gain a detailed account of the choices that can be made in conceptualizing sustainable consumption. We do this with an overview of the scholarly debate on sustainability goals, drivers of change and consumption actions.

The sustainability of sustainable consumption

"Sustainability" is a flexible term that can have different meanings depending on the context in which it is used (Spaargaren and Oosterveer 2003). To set boundaries, we draw from literature on individual contributions to larger societal goals (Stern, et al. 1999). Here, a commonly used distinction is that between environmental and social sustainability domains (De Groot and Steg 2007; Sheth, Sethia, and Srinivas 2011). Environmental sustainability refers to the benefits of sustainable consumption to animals, local environments, and the planet, while social sustainability centers on helping other people. This means that sustainable consumption can make a contribution to environmental sustainability goals, social sustainability goals or a combination of the two (Seuring and Müller 2008)¹¹.

¹¹ Where sustainable marketing research also includes economic sustainability (Van Marrewijk 2003), this is not relevant to sustainable consumption in our definition of individual engagement in actions that contribute to a larger societal goal.

Drivers of change to more sustainability in consumption

The second category we address is the difference between individual drivers and contextual drivers of a person's participation in sustainability-related consumer activities (Geels 2010). Both these elements are considered in research on sustainable consumption and shape the direction in which scholars point for sustainability to be achieved in consumption (Mittelstaedt et al. 2014).

The first type of driver we distinguish is the individual a driver of sustainable consumption. Value-belief-norm theory and motivation–opportunity–ability have made important contributions to the academic field by explicating the causal process of individual motivators to engage in pro-social behaviors (Phipps et al. 2013). Moreover, the theory of planned behavior has been highly informative in shaping the conceptualization of individual factors in sustainable consumption research (Vermeir and Verbeke 2006). The literature on the individual as a driver identifies the demographic (e.g., age, gender, income) and psychographic (e.g., personal motivations, characteristics) profile of a sustainable consumer. Individual drivers of sustainable consumption thus conceptualize the change towards sustainable consumption to instigate within a person.

In the second type of driver—namely, contextual drivers of change—sustainability consumption is considered the result of changes in a person's environment. A contextual driver could include the marketing system around a specific behavior to determine how this behavior can be changed to be sustainable (Holt 2012). Contextual drivers can include persuasive messages, the influence of other people, or other instruments that “nudge” the environment (Reisch, Eberle, and Lorek 2010; Thaler and Sunstein 2008). All entities in a marketing system, such as taxes or cultural norms, can also be considered a contextual driver of sustainable consumption.

Sustainable consumption research is geared toward changing consumption to become more sustainable, thus implying that sustainable consumption is connected with a driver of that change. Both individual and contextual drivers of change can be seen as an integral part of conceptualizing sustainable consumption because they indicate where change to sustainable development originates. These two types are not mutually exclusive. Scholars can also consider a combination of individual and contextual types that drive the change to sustainable consumption. For instance, scholars can research how specific groups in society react to the implementation of different recycling systems (Taylor and Todd 1995).

Sustainable actions

The third category we put forth is that of the related consumer action, which is the performed element in the conceptualization of sustainable consumption (Warde 2005). Sustainable consumption can be considered a dispersed practice, meaning that it becomes visible through a wide range of individual actions. As a result, researchers can also consider a wide range of individual actions under the umbrella of sustainable consumption research and it is up to the researcher to decide if she only wants to consider one action or review a set of actions. What actions are considered we thus consider the choice of the researcher.

Taking into account the various conceptualizations of sustainable consumption, researchers can make several distinctions in sustainable actions. First, a researcher can take an objective or a subjective view of the link between the actions and the sustainability goals (Peattie and Collins 2009). With an objective view, an outside authority makes this connection, whereas with a subjective view, the individual engaging in the action connects it with sustainability goals. For

example, low-temperature washing can be considered sustainable because an objective scientific report identifies it as an action that significantly contributes to sustainability or because consumers regard it as an action that contributes to sustainability goals.

The second distinction is between direct and indirect sustainability actions (Poortinga, Steg, and Vlek 2004). This distinction also pertains to the conceptual connection between the action and the sustainability goal. Direct actions have a direct impact on the final goal, while indirect actions influence the sustainability goal through a mediating mechanism (e.g., pressuring companies). An example of a direct action is giving food to a homeless person; an example of an indirect action is signing a petition to protest against animal abuse.

The third distinction in this category is the relationship between pro- and anti-consumption and sustainability (Amine and Gicquel 2011; Black and Cherrier 2010; Lee, Fernandez, and Hyman 2009). Pro-consumption is the engagement in consumption practices that are regarded as having a positive link to sustainability goals (e.g., purchasing foods with eco-labels). Anti-consumption refers to actions in which people do not engage in consumption actions as part of their sustainable consumption practice (Cherrier 2009) and in this way link to sustainability in a positive manner. Note that these actions are not strict opposites: sustainable consumption as a concept can be shaped by both engaging in pro-consumption actions and by not engaging in actions through anti-consumption (Chatzidakis and Lee 2013).

Finally, we found an increasing attention in the literature for the distinction between the citizen-consumer and the consumer-citizen (Trentmann 2007). There is a distinction between the way

individuals exercise their rights as citizens in their community and consumers who make choices in the marketplace (Ray Chaudhury and Albinsson 2015). A citizen-consumer view on sustainable consumption puts a focus on the community and can use consumption activities to exercise their rights. However, a consumer-citizen focused researcher restricts herself to individual decisions of consumption. We adopt these distinctions to clarify the different types of individual actions related to sustainable consumption.

Conceptualization choices in sustainable consumption research

We chose the three aforementioned categories (sustainability goals, drivers of change and related actions) because they derive from considerations within literature on sustainable consumption and shape the concept of sustainable consumption. They also provide boundaries for the subsequent literature review and are prominent in the debate about what sustainable consumption entails. In the first category we distinguish, the two types of sustainability considered are environmental and social sustainability. In the second category, drivers of change, change for sustainability can come from either individual drivers or contextual drivers. Finally, in the third category, individual action, we observe distinctions between (1) subjective and objective sustainable actions, (2) direct and indirect actions, and (3) pro- and anti-consumption actions and (4) a view on the consumer as a consumer-citizen or a citizen-consumer. Table 1 summarizes these categories regarding sustainable consumption; we employ this classification as guidance for the boundaries of sustainable consumption conceptualizations and employ them in our review of empirical studies.

[Insert Table 1 about here.]

Research methodology

Using the developed categorization, we perform our structural literature review in four phases (Seuring and Müller 2008): (1) selection of literature, (2) content analysis of the categories and their connection with sustainable consumption, (3) descriptive analysis of the selected articles, and (4) evaluation of the results. The categories provide the coding frame to fit the empirical articles to the three categories. We review the empirical literature through a content analysis, after which we conduct a non-linear canonical correlation analysis (CCA) to determine the strength of the relationship between the categories described in the theory section and the characteristics of the articles published in the 1992-2014 period.

Selection of literature

We include peer-reviewed articles that were published in 18 relevant journals within the field of marketing (Hult, Reimann, and Schilke 2009). We selected the journals that fell in the top-half of the marketing journals ranking. The selected timespan is between 1992 and 2014, as this provides an overview of the developments in the literature since the UN 1992 conference, considered a milestone for sustainable development. We conducted several searches through different search engines (e.g., Web of Knowledge, ProQuest, Google Scholar). The first selection of articles came from a list of sustainability-related search terms. We then expanded this list for a second search that included more key terms than were present in the first group of articles in order to make sure we include all relevant articles. This process resulted in 779 selected articles.

In the next step, we selected only the articles that met the following four criteria. First, they needed to be peer-reviewed, original articles published in one of the selected journals. Second,

they needed to include primary empirical data collection, either quantitative or qualitative. This criterion excluded conceptual work and meta-analyses. Third, the articles needed to show that either the activity they described was considered sustainable by the people studied or the scholars themselves put forth sustainability aims in their research. Fourth, we considered only articles whose unit of analysis related to an individual action; thus, behavior of members of the general public had to be the focus of the article. Therefore, we excluded employee behavior and individual behavior related to for instance personal well-being; rather, we focused on individual actions of members of the general public that contribute to the larger societal goal of sustainable development. A review of articles using these criteria narrowed the number of selected articles to 270. Table 2 provides an overview of the chosen journals and the number of articles included in the literature review.

[Insert Table 2 about here]

We performed a descriptive content analysis on the selected articles. We coded the following characteristics of each article at the beginning of the review: year of publication, journal, and research methodology. To collect information on the methodologies employed in each article, we distinguished four types: experimental designs, survey designs, qualitative methods with direct inquiry (e.g., interviews, focus groups), and a miscellaneous category (e.g., scanner-data or observational studies). Articles could use more than one method as they can contain more than one study.

Next, we utilized content-coding for the conceptualizations of sustainable consumption employed in the articles. The categories selected in the preparation of the literature review helped guide the analysis of the articles. The coding scheme for the first two categories occurred in a closed manner. First, coding for the category “sustainability” consisted of (1) environmental, (2) social, and (3) both environmental and social issues and general sustainability. Second, the coding for the category “drivers of change” consisted of (1) codes reflecting drivers from within the individual and (2) codes reflecting drivers from the context of the individual. For individual drivers, the final coding scheme contained six demographic codes and 29 psychographic codes. For the codes related to change as a result of contextual drivers, the final coding scheme included 16 codes. Finally, we performed the typology for “individual actions” through an open-coding procedure; specifically, we finalized the coding scheme of the individual actions after an open-coding round for all articles. For this last category, we coded the individual actions mentioned in the articles as either the focal issue or the dependent variable in the study.

Our approach resulted in a coding-scheme with (1) the variables used in the content coding, (2) a short description of their content, and (3) the number of times the codes appeared in the selected literature. The principal investigator carried out the coding, and a research assistant coded a random sample of 15% of the articles. This resulted in fair agreement, with average agreement per article being 87%.

Analysis

The final data set includes 270 articles (observations) and xxx variables which we can group into 4 distinct sets of variables, describing the articles on (1) sustainability, (2) individual drivers of

change, (3) contextual drivers of change, and (4) individual actions. For reasons of clarity, we split the typology drivers of change into two sets: individual drivers and contextual drivers. To avoid outliers, we excluded all variables on which fewer than five articles scored. A technique that enables us to provide insights into the relationships among the 4 sets of variables is non-linear CCA (OVERALS; Gifi 1990; Van der Burg, Leeuw, and Dijksterhuis 1994). This technique is used in marketing; for example by Li (2013) for consumer segmentation.

Non-linear CCA has three major advantages. First, it enables simultaneous analysis of variables with different measurement levels, for instance nominal and interval. Second, the technique enables us to analyze the relationships between more than two sets of variables. Third, there are no assumptions about the type of relationships (e.g., linear) between variables. An advantage of OVERALS is that the outcomes can be visualized enabling us to get a better insight into the relationships among the four sets of variables.

Results

In this section, we discuss the descriptive results of coding the selected 270 articles. In addition, we provide a detailed description of the OVERALS analysis, with the goal of synthesizing different approaches to the conceptualization of sustainable consumption.

Descriptive results

As Fig. 1 illustrates, the number of published articles on sustainable consumption increased from 1992 to 2014, even after we correct for the increase in the total number of articles published in the journals. In absolute numbers, articles on sustainable consumption started with one and seven in 1992 and 1993 and ended with 35 and 26 in 2013 and 2014, respectively. These figures give

strong indication that sustainable consumption gained interest in the field over time, a notion that other authors also confirm (McDonagh and Prothero 2014).

[Insert Figure 1 about here]

The research methodologies employed in the studies include experimental designs (103 times mentioned), surveys (102 times mentioned), qualitative interviews/focus groups (40 times mentioned). Thirty-three articles used more than one type of research method. We thus conclude that most articles on sustainable consumption published in the field of marketing employ quantitative methods. Surveys are published in all years; notable however is that articles with an experimental design were mostly published in the past three years, with 49 of the 103 articles published between 2012 and 2014.

The Appendix presents the total overview of the variables in our data set. The literature covers a well-balanced mix of environmentally focused (111 times mentioned) and general (109 times mentioned) approaches to sustainability. However, the social focus in sustainability research is less common (only 51 times). Environmental issues related to sustainable consumption is thus the most common way of conceptualizing sustainable consumption. There are 109 articles either using a general term for sustainability, such as ethical consumption, without directing this to a more specific domain or reviewing behaviors that are pro-environmental and pro-social within one article. An example is voluntary simplicity study (Shehryar, Landry, and Arnold 2001), which conceptualizes this phenomenon as a consumer movement intended to decrease the amount of products consumed with the goal of reducing environmental degradation and creating a healthier

society. Van Herpen (2012) presents one of the few studies that explicitly include both fair-trade and organic-labeled products in one research design; the latter includes a combination of environmental and social sustainability domains.

In total, the articles included 25 individual and 12 contextual drivers. Regarding individual drivers of change, we counted 38 mentions of the demographic drivers of age, gender, education, income, religion, and ethnicity. Psychographic drivers were used in 248 articles, implying that the majority of articles mention some sort of psychographic variable driving sustainable consumption.

Contextual drivers of change are also often discussed: 169 articles view aspects in the context of the person as an important driver of sustainable consumption. The most prominent influence within the context of a person is a message about the sustainability of a product or practice (78 times coded); 148 articles combine contextual and psychographic elements, and 16 articles consider how differences between individuals based on demographic and psychographic variables and influences within the context of those individuals drive sustainable consumption.

As mentioned previously, we coded the category of individual actions in an open manner; this resulted in 30 codes for this category. The five most-coded variables are: donating (57 times coded), purchasing environmentally friendly products (54 times coded), recycling and handling waste (46 times coded), boycotting (35 times coded), and reducing consumption in general (31 times coded). For the variables related to purchase decisions, we find that these decisions are coded 188 times across the 270 articles, showing that purchase behavior is the most important form of sustainable consumption in marketing literature. Finally, we also checked the number of articles that combined different individual actions. We find that 203 of the 270 articles focus on

only one individual action; given this, we can conclude that it is relatively uncommon to investigate more than one type of individual action in the articles on sustainable consumption.

Relationships among categories

We employ non-linear CCA (OVERALS; SPSS v21) (Gifi 1990; Van der Burg et al. 1994) to investigate the relationships among four sets of variables selected for further analysis: (set 1) sustainability domains (3 variables), (set 2) individual drivers (25 variables), (set 3) contextual drivers (12 variables), and (set 4) individual actions (20 variables). We found the best fit in a two-dimensional solution explaining 55% of variance. Fig. 2 provides a visual representation of the non-linear CCA. Each point in Fig. 2 represents the component loading for a variable. ; we plot only variables with a multiple fit of 0.1 or higher to avoid clutter in the center of the graph

Interpretation is as follows: The length of a line joining the point to the origin indicates the importance of a variable, to distinguish the articles in the data set; more precisely, the square of the length of the variable (point) to the origin (coordinate vector) indicates the amount of variance explained by the variable. The strength of the association between two variables can be inferred from the angle between the coordinate vectors of the respective variables; when the angle is small the relationship is strong, when the angle is 90 degrees there is no relationship, when the angle is 180 degrees there is a negative relationship between the variables. For example, the relationship between religiousness and donations is strong indication that these characteristics relatively often can be found in 1 article; the attitude towards a product or advertisement and values are on opposite sides off the origin meaning that these characteristics will not coincide, when 1 is found in the article the other will not. Note that to avoid clutter, no vectors are displayed in the plot.

As can be seen in Fig. 2 in the bottom right quadrant, the variable “recycle or handle waste correctly” well distinguishes the articles from one another; furthermore, this variable is highly correlated with the variable “switch transport,” indicating that the articles likely share these characteristics. The variable “cause-related product” is opposite to “switch transport,” indicating that these characteristics do not appear in the same article.

With regard to the whole graph in Fig. 2, the first dimension distinguishes articles focusing on social or general issues (left) from articles focusing on environmental issues (right). The second dimension distinguishes articles focusing on pure purchase choices (top) from those focusing on citizen-actions (bottom); that is, consumption is the central focus in articles at the top of the plot, while society plays a more prominent role in articles at the bottom. We also observe that the contextual drivers are split into two groups; specific contextual drivers are in a different location than more aggregate-level contextual drivers. Furthermore, environmental sustainability is related more to sustainability beliefs and other related individual drivers, while for social sustainability, more often the sustainability domain is connected with specific attitudes as an individual driver. Building on the results of the descriptive analysis and of the CCA, we now synthesize the literature on sustainable consumption.

[Insert Figure 2 about here]

Conceptual lenses for research on sustainable consumption

Fig. 3 presents an abstraction of the CCA results, including the conceptual lenses on sustainable consumption we revealed, thus building on the results presented in Fig. 2. The diagram in Fig. 3 presents two axes and four conceptual lenses, to facilitate understanding of the different conceptualization choices in sustainable consumption research.

On the vertical axis in Fig. 3 we provide a distinction between the individual as a consumer and the individual as a citizen; previous research has tied both terms to sustainability (Spaargaren, Oosterveer and Loeber 2010). The order of the words “consumer” and “citizen” indicate whether articles took the perspective of people foremost as consumers who make decisions in that role (consumer-citizen) or as citizens who engage in consumption practices (citizen-consumer). This distinction can be observed in the vertical order of the types of drivers of change and the types of activities, which move from a “citizen” focus to a “consumption” focus on the vertical axis.

Similarly, Fig. 2 depicts the variable “purchasing cause-related products” at the top and all actions related to political action at the bottom.

On the horizontal axis of Fig. 3, the order of the variables pertains to a different view of the type of change conceptualized to motivate sustainable consumption. On the left-hand side, the focus is on drivers of change and actions that indicate that the individual is a change-maker who expresses concerns through his or her actions. The right-hand side shows actions that indicate that the individual is part of the problem, and subsequently the focus is on the individual as the entity that needs to change. Stemming from these two axes, our interpretation of the CCA results leads to four conceptual lenses that lie at different points in this two-dimensional space. In the next sub-

sections, we present the specific characteristics of each of these four lenses derived from the review of the empirical literature.

Conceptual lens 1: calling for sustainability in society

In this first lens sustainable consumption is perceived as a research concept in which individuals are the voice in society demanding sustainability changes and research investigates why people engage in these actions. We position this lens at the bottom part of Fig. 3 because it mostly involves citizen actions (see also Fig. 2). In this conceptual lens, actions can be linked to both environmental and social sustainability, and the drivers of change center on the individual (e.g., moral motivation). Thus, this lens is related to a view of individuals as change-makers, placing it more toward the left of the space. Individual actions are linked to sustainability in an indirect way, as this conceptual lens focuses on the influence of people on institutions, including governmental bodies and industry.

A person can express his or her voice regarding sustainability issues (both social and general) in society in different ways. Although authors generally describe these activities as more active involvement with societal issues (Stern 2000), relatively passive activities, such as making donations, are also part of a conceptual lens in which sustainable consumption is conceptualized as people being a voice in society. Such voice can take the form of participating in civil society (e.g., donating, volunteering) or advocating by convincing others about the importance of sustainability action and thus eliciting action.

This conceptualization is represented in studies on donations and moral positions (e.g. Winterich, Page, and Ross 2009; Winterich, Zhang, and Mittal 2012) and engagement in activism (e.g.,

Hollenbeck and Zinkhan 2006). With the rise of social media, people have gained more opportunities to support social movements through voice activities. Phenomena such as the World Wildlife Fund's Earth Hour could be an increasingly important activity understood through the conceptual lens of sustainable consumption in which citizens are needed to raise their voices in society to instigate sustainable development.

Conceptual lens 2: making consumers aware of their power in the market

Conceptualizing sustainable consumption with a “power through consumption” lens is similar to the voice lens, in that the focus is on the individual as a change-maker in society. However, this second lens differs in that it advances a conceptualization of sustainable consumption in which the emphasis is on changing own behavior and the focus of sustainability is related to a specific issue, such as a product type, brand, industry, or sustainability topic. Most important, this conceptual lens includes only consumption-related actions in the conceptualization of sustainable consumption.

According to our results, this lens is most frequently used for social sustainability topics. The drivers of change appear most often in an interaction between a person receiving information about a practice or product and that person's attitude toward a brand. Again, this is different from the first lens because it interprets the drivers as specific and focused on a particular concern. Finally, the link between individual actions and sustainability is indirect because this lens focuses on consumption-related actions with which consumers can influence companies to become more sustainable.

Within this type of individual action, research has examined a range of products, differing in terms of price, availability, and several types of risk. For example, fair-trade chocolate has become a widely available option in which the price markup is easily understandable by consumers and therefore is an accessible way to seize power through consumption choices. From an anti-consumption perspective, “power through consumption” pertains mostly to boycotting actions (e.g., Cherrier 2009). An important element in this anti-consumer perspective is that such activities can reduce personal comfort or freedom (Cherrier 2009; Klein, Smith, and John 2002). Conceptualizing sustainable consumption through this lens means that the sustainability of consumption choices is dependent on the individual’s knowledge of sustainability in the production and consumption of products; it also involves tying personal consumption to the solving of large societal issues (Tanner and Kast 2003). With this connection, the consumer’s role as an agent in the process of production and consumption is emphasized. The individual thus expresses concerns through consumption. However, other motivations (e.g., personal benefits and costs) can interfere in this relationship. With this lens, researchers tend to view change for sustainable development as driven by consumers when they make use of their power in consumption practices.

Conceptual lens 3: making people feel good about purchases

We depict the third lens that can be used in sustainable consumption research in the upper-left-hand quadrant of Fig. 3. Here, the individual is clearly viewed as a consumer. Looking at sustainable consumption with a with feel-good conceptual lens, research considers the company to provide an opportunity for the consumer to contribute to a sustainability goal that is not necessarily related to the product that is consumed. The individual action in this conceptual lens is

cause-related marketing, thus purchasing products with a sustainability claim (Cornwell and Coote 2005; Koschate-Fischer, Stefan, and Hoyer 2012; Lafferty, Goldsmith, and Hult 2004).

This conceptual lens tends to be related more to the social domain of sustainability. The related drivers of change in this lens often include specific attitudes toward the product and the manner in which the cause-related marketing is displayed. This lens is also less frequently related to personal characteristics or sustainability concerns as a driver. This shows that this lens differs from the “power through consumption” lens in which researchers ask who is interested in the actions; for feel-good consumption, this is not a relevant question, because it focuses on the triggers that persuade people to purchase a cause-related product.

As a final distinction, the “feel-good consumption” lens on sustainable consumption requires the least direct link between the sustainability goal and the related action, meaning that the type of product does not need be objectively related to that sustainability goal. For example, objectively Pampers would be related more to a cause that deals with waste management of diapers; however, this is not a relevant link in this conceptual lens because sustainable consumption is only subjectively linked to sustainability. For an act of feel-good consumption to be part of sustainable consumption research, scholars focus on the connection the consumer feels between his or her action and the companies contribution to a sustainability goal. Discussions in the marketing literature also confirm that “feel-good consumption” is a distinctive lens on sustainable consumption with its own conceptualization (Lii and Lee 2012; Vanhamme et al. 2012).

Conceptual lens 4: making people responsible for their own impact

The final conceptual lens on sustainable consumption is based on the conceptualization choices appearing in the right-hand side of Fig. 3. The difference between this conceptual lens and the first three lenses is that it is the only lens that conceptualizes individuals as part of the sustainable consumption problem (Wahlen 2009). This lens is more common in studies that focus on environmental sustainability. In environmental issues, a person is deemed part of the problem because of the impact of his or her consumption choices. An often-related driver of change is the person's belief about sustainability and its importance (e.g. Berger and Corbin 1992; Lee and Holden 1999). This means that articles in this quadrant view change in sustainable consumption as coming from the importance individuals attribute to sustainability.

The types of activities found here can also be separated into a pro- and anti-consumption perspective. For the pro-consumption perspective, articles most often include the purchase of environmentally friendly products and products made from recycled materials (e.g. Brosius, Fernandez, and Cherrier 2013; Chan 2001; McCarty and Shrum 2001). Anti-consumption actions are individual actions that try to conserve resources, switch transport modes, and reduce consumption in general (e.g. Craig-Lees and Hill 2002). Recycling and handling waste correctly (e.g. Taylor and Todd 1995) also belong to this conceptual lens.

Fig. 2 shows some notable exceptions in the structure of individual actions in this conceptual lens. For example, purchasing products with environmentally friendly packaging is located far from the other individual actions in this domain, as is contacting a politician or government official. Articles that contain codes on these two individual actions mostly do survey research with these actions as

part of a scale. Therefore, these two items are often part of studies that conceptualize a broader domain of individual actions as relating to the same sustainability goals and drivers of change. Thus, in general, this structure does belong in the “responsible for my own impact” conceptual lens.

[Insert Figure 3 about here]

Discussion

The conceptualization of sustainable consumption essentially shapes the sort of interventions marketing research proposes to public policy and corporations (Dolan 2002). Therefore, the development of good conceptualization tools for researchers is of vital importance to academic research in marketing. We analyzed sustainable consumption by synthesizing three categories and then assessed the relationships among these categories resulting in a synthesis of the literature from 1992 to 2014 in four conceptual lenses: (1) calling for sustainability in society, (2) making consumers aware of their power in the market, (3) making people feel good about purchases and (4) making people responsible for their own impact.

Our review is the first to reveal the diversity in the conceptualization choices on sustainable consumption in the marketing literature. Similar to Prothero et al. (2011), we stress that this diversity is important to the advancement of sustainability research and highlight this diversity as a positive finding regarding the quality of sustainable consumption research in marketing. Such diversity has developed into a complex field of research that requires profound considerations on the areas on which research agendas should now focus (see Sheth et al. 2011), as well as an

understanding of what that means for empirical research. We show that the conceptual lenses found in the empirical literature are rooted in dilemmas regarding the meaning of sustainable consumption.

Individual or contextual causal agents and mechanisms are constantly interacting, and the causal relationship between individual and institutional changes in social surroundings has been debated extensively (for a review of this discussion, see Schaefer and Crane 2005). This relationship is a source of conflict between different scholars of sustainable consumption; for example, Holt (2012) critically examines the research focus on overall consumer attitudes toward sustainability. In particular, he addresses a general disregard of the market factors that lead to unsustainable consumption patterns on a larger scale. Conversely, other authors (e.g., Crompton and Kasser 2010) have argued that the larger public's demand shapes institutions such as governments and business, and thus individual attitudes can be an important driver of change. In these authors' view, it is important to alter consumer attitudes toward sustainability in general to affect the many different consumption areas. This debate reflects the profound differences in studies that view individuals as change-makers or as the object of change in their conceptualizations of sustainable consumption, a notion that also came forward as an important difference between the conceptual lenses in this review. For empirical research, the research focus can be on attitudes toward particular issues and people's reactions to sustainability information (e.g., product labeling) or lean toward a conceptual lens that includes the influence of the environment on individual actions.

Relevance of research synthesis

The four conceptual lenses aid to discover new avenues of research. They make it visible that the diversity within the domain of sustainable consumption influences the type of research being conducted. To further advance sustainable consumption, research could review individual actions that are often considered in proximity to each other (e.g., boycotting and political actions) or those considered farther apart on this axis (e.g., purchasing cause-related products and boycotting). Furthermore, contrasting different drivers of change in relation to these different types of actions could be an important addition to the literature. By contrasting and combining the conceptual lenses, researchers have an opportunity to contribute to the empirical sustainable consumption literature that is well informed by conceptual considerations.

Our review indicates that all empirical studies need to make decisions about the conceptualization choices delineated in this review, either explicitly or implicitly, in their research design. Asking the questions we put forth in our coding of the literature should be an important element of starting sustainable consumption research, if researchers want their contributions to be not only scientifically sound but also societally relevant (Prothero et al. 2011). A scholar could encounter a new phenomenon among consumers, deem it related to sustainable consumption, and then ask the questions related to the categories used herein to explicate the specific domain of sustainability. Then, the scholar could ask which types of drivers are important to instigate change to sustainability for this phenomenon. For example, is the phenomenon driven by individual characteristics or changes in context? Finally, the researcher could assess the performed element of this new phenomenon as individual actions. Here, the scholar could explore how the new sustainable consumption phenomenon relates to previously studied actions.

Conclusion

With the rising interest in sustainability as a focal issue for research throughout the marketing discipline, it is important to bridge the gap between the considerations in macro marketing and empirical research in the entire marketing field regarding this fundamental issue. This article provides a starting point for future research on sustainable consumption by synthesizing the choices researchers can make when dealing with this concept. With our reflection on the 1992–2014 period, we hope to encourage others to continue the debate about the role of marketing for societally relevant issues that are part of the post-2015 UN development goals (International Council for Science 2015) through both the development of theory and well-considered empirical investigations.

A limitation to the current review is that though the resulting conceptual lenses provide a synthesis of conceptualization choices for sustainable consumption, as in any review, the scope of the review may be limited. We derived the conceptual lenses from empirical literature on sustainable consumption and therefore might have turned a blind eye to conceptualizations that have not been studied extensively in marketing literature (Peattie and Collins 2009). For example, it is not clear how and if new innovations (Melville 2010) or perspectives from different disciplines (Seuring and Müller 2008) might bring forward other conceptualizations of sustainable consumption. Further research can thus be useful to review how scholars in different field are tackling the complex issues of conceptualizing sustainable consumption and continue to see how this affects the direction of the research field.

Table 1. Categories for the conceptualization of sustainable consumption

Category	Elements
Sustainability domain	Environmental Social General or both
Drivers of change	Individual Contextual
Individual actions	Subjective or objective link to sustainability Direct or indirect link to sustainability Pro-consumption or anti-consumption

Table 2. List of journals and number of articles included in study

1.	Journal of Business Research (60)
2.	Psychology & Marketing (36)
3.	Advances in Consumer Research (34)
4.	Journal of Marketing (21)
5.	Journal of Consumer Research (19)
6.	European Journal of Marketing (17)
7.	Journal of Public Policy & Marketing (16)
8.	Journal of Advertising (14)
9.	International Journal of Research in Marketing (12)
10.	Journal of Consumer Psychology (11)
11.	Journal of Marketing Research (9)
12.	Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science (7)
13.	Journal of Retailing (5)
14.	Journal of Advertising Research (3)
15.	Management Science (3)
16.	Marketing Letters (3)

Fig. 1. Distribution of selected journal articles in the period 1992–2014 in relation to total number of articles published in journals

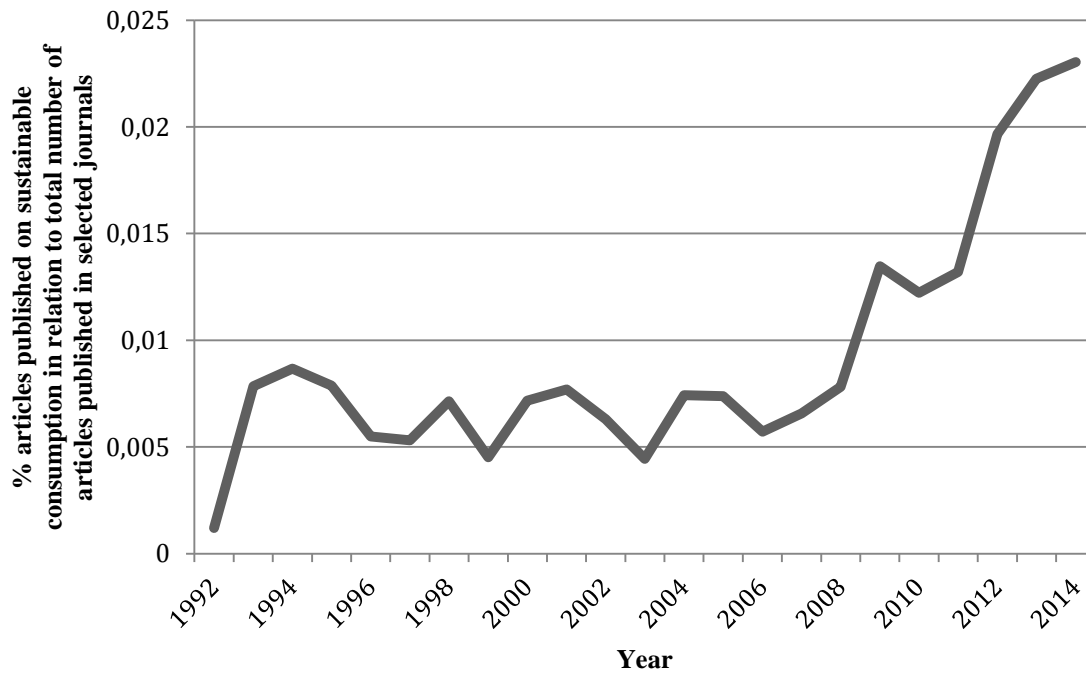


Fig. 2. Visualization of empirical sustainability studies (non-linear CCA results)

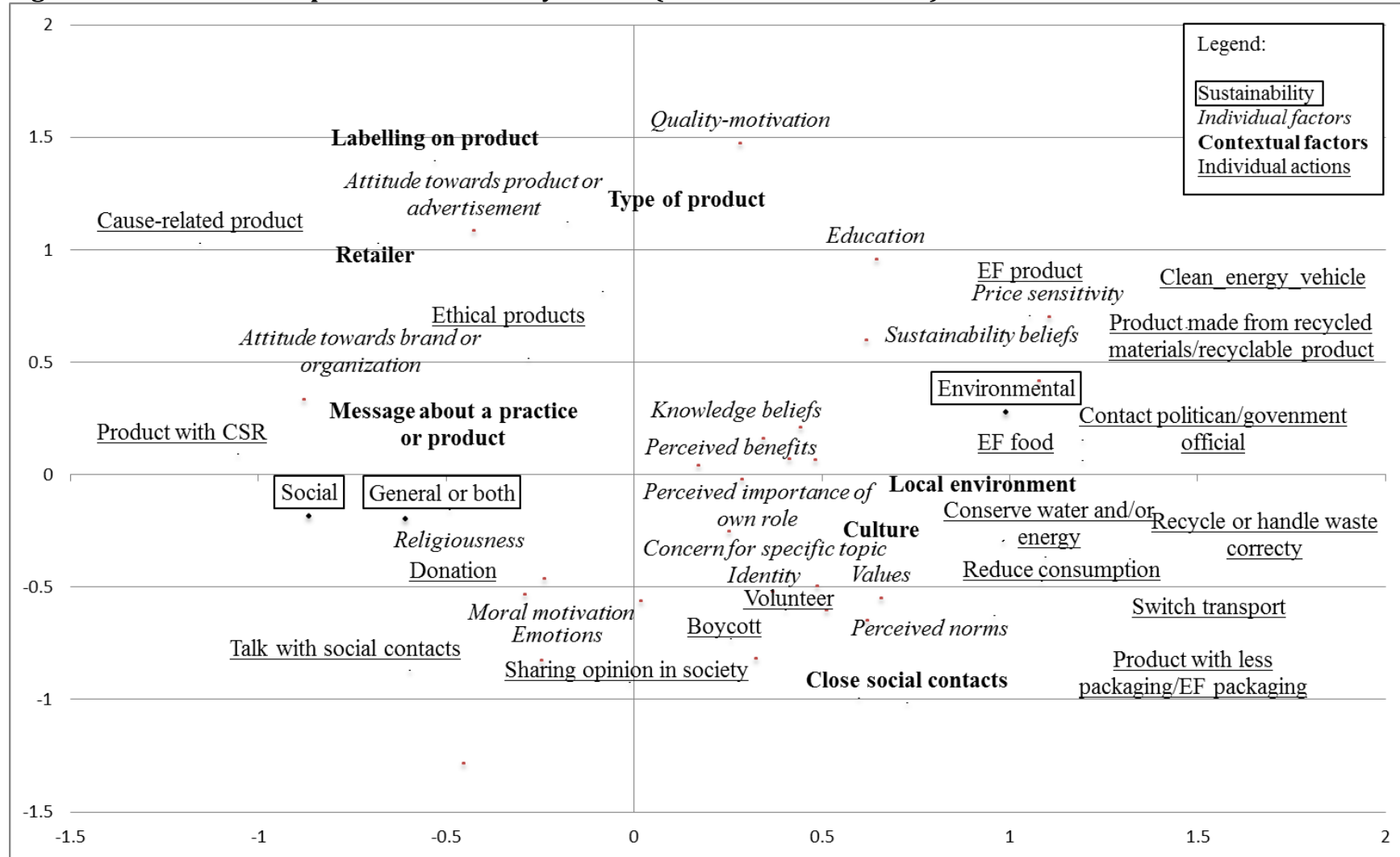
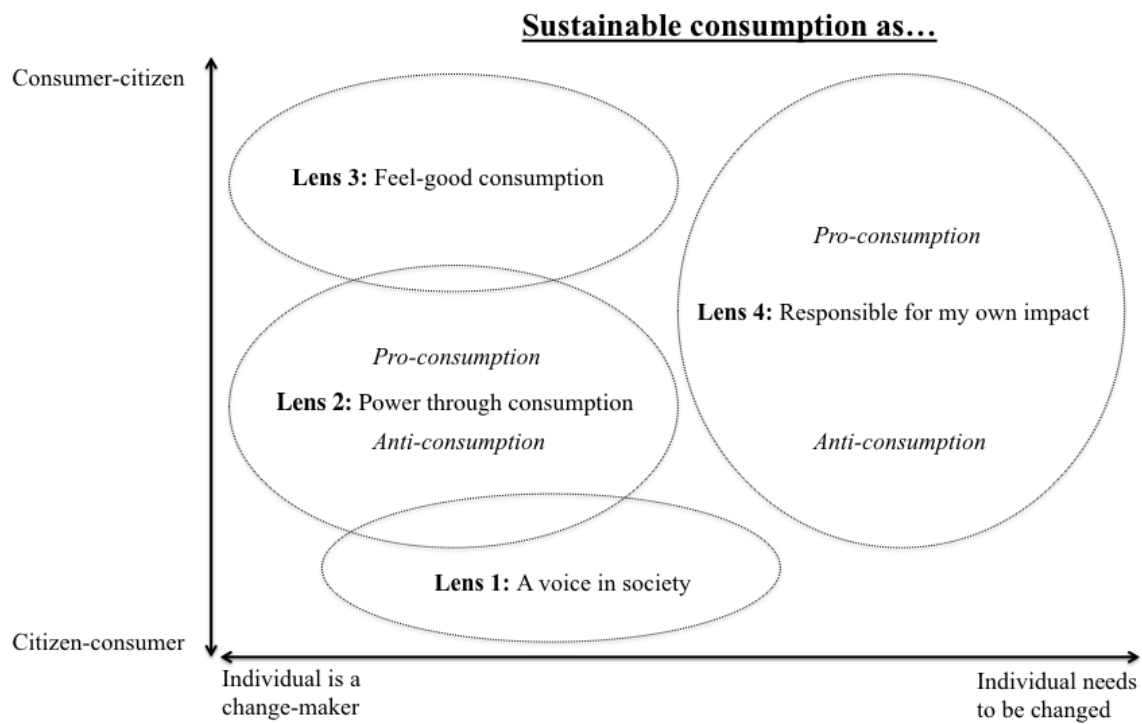


Fig. 3. New conceptual lenses for sustainable consumption research



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Appendix A: Coding scheme

Available upon request

Appendix B: Selected literature for review

Available upon request

Macro perspectives on sustainable consumption: a literature review

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Abstract

In the last decade, the amount of research on sustainable consumption has increased rapidly. As the number of studies conducted on the topic has grown, a thorough overview of research on sustainable consumption has been lacking. The aim of this paper is to conduct a literature review on the topic of sustainable consumption. The paper focuses on studies that have employed a macro-level perspective to their analysis. A search for articles yielded 184 articles, which were reviewed. The review shows the most common focus of studies to be on the individual consumer. However, a number of macro-level perspectives are identified in the reviewed articles. It is suggested that further research is needed to analyse sustainable consumption as a macro-level phenomenon.

Introduction

In the last decade, the amount of research on sustainable consumption has increased rapidly. As the number of studies conducted on the topic has grown, a thorough overview of research on sustainable consumption has been lacking. In recent years, two literature reviews on the topic

have been published (Finney 2014; Papaoikonomou, Ryan, and Valverde 2011). However, both of these reviews have explicitly focused on the sustainable consumption behaviour of individual consumers, thus omitting from analysis macro-level research. Furthermore, Papaoikonomou, Ryan, and Valverde (2011) use a limited sample size ($n=80$), whereas Finney (2014) does not give any account for the sample of articles analysed. As such, there seems to be a clear need for a literature review on the topic of sustainable consumption, particularly giving attention to studies going beyond the decision making of the individual consumer.

The aim of this paper is to conduct a literature review on the topic of sustainable consumption. As previous reviews have focused on individual consumers' decision making regarding sustainable consumption (Finney 2014; Papaoikonomou, Ryan, and Valverde 2011), this paper focuses the analysis on studies that have employed a macro-level perspective to their analysis.

In the following, the methodology for selecting the articles for the literature review is presented. The following section discusses the perspectives on sustainable consumption identified in the reviewed articles, paying particular attention to studies in which the focus is not the individual consumer's decision making but rather macro-theoretical approaches to the topic. The paper concludes with suggestions for future research on sustainable consumption.

Research methodology

A database search was conducted in the databases ABI/INFORM Complete and Business Source Complete. Keyword searches were conducted with the keywords most commonly used to signify the phenomenon of sustainable consumption; the keywords included "sustainable consumption", "ethical consumption" and "green consumption". The search was limited to articles published in

English in peer reviewed scholarly journals. As the amount of research on the topic is so vast, the search was limited to author-supplied keywords, ensuring the sample of articles include those that are identified by the authors themselves as studying the topic of sustainable consumption. To obtain a manageable sample of articles, the search was further limited to articles published in the last three years of 2013-2015.

The search yielded a total of 184 articles. Out of these, 18 were excluded from further review due to their nature of being for example book reviews or introductions to special issues. As such, the final sample of articles reviewed included 166 articles. Out of these, 105 articles use the keyword “sustainable consumption”, 39 use “ethical consumption” and 22 use the keyword “green consumption”.

Noteworthy is that the publication of research on sustainable consumption is highly concentrated, with only two journals, *International Journal of Consumer Studies* (n=28) and *Journal of Cleaner Production* (n=23), having published nearly a third of the sample of articles analysed. Other journals having published frequently on the topic in recent years include *Ecological Economics* (n=8), *Journal of Macromarketing* and *Journal of Marketing Management* (both with six publications), and *Journal of Business Ethics* and *Journal of Business Research* (both with five publications). Accounting for just over half of the sample of articles analysed, a large number of journals have published infrequently on the topic, often a single article in the analysed time period of three years. This points to sustainable consumption being a topic that is of broad interest in a number of fields of research. Table 1 shows the number of articles published in different journals during the reviewed time period, listing those journals that have published three or more articles during the three year time period.

[Insert table 1 here]

Perspectives on sustainable consumption

Figure 1 depicts the perspectives on sustainable consumption identified in the reviewed research articles. Following research in ecological economics (Suomen luonnonsuojeluliitto 2015, p. 20), the three commonly used dimensions of sustainable consumption (economic, social and environmental) have in this paper been depicted as three levels in a system – the economy, society and the environment – to illustrate their interdependencies, the economic system being embedded in the societal system, which in turn is embedded in the environmental system. The perspectives to sustainable consumption identified in the reviewed articles are organised under these three levels, perspectives being placed on the level they correspond most closely with. A distinction has been made between perspectives, which focus on a specific actor in the production-consumption system (marked in the figure with light grey) and those that have a cultural and/or structural focus (marked with dark grey).

[Insert figure 1 here]

The different perspectives in figure 1 are discussed in the remainders of this section. First, the different actors in the production-consumption system identified in the reviewed articles (marked in the figure with light grey) are presented, starting with actors in the market and followed by actors on the societal level. This is followed by a discussion of the different cultural/structural perspectives identified in the reviewed articles (marked in the figure with dark grey), starting with perspectives on the economic level and moving to the societal level and finally the environmental level.

Actors in the production-consumption system

The by far most common focus of studies on sustainable consumption is on the individual **consumer**. Close to half of all the articles analysed have the individual consumer as the level of analysis. These studies generally assume a sovereign consumer making consumption decisions in the marketplace. As such, the view of the consumer in these studies is in accordance with the traditional understanding of the consumer in marketing research as a sovereign individual making rational decisions. A common type of study, most often quantitatively, investigates the impact of some variables, such as consumers' knowledge (Wang, Liu, and Qi 2014), values (Marx-Pienaar and Erasmus 2014), or religiosity (Minton, Kahle, and Kim 2015), on sustainable consumption behaviour, e.g. intention to purchase or willingness to pay.

However, many researchers argue for moving away from a focus on the individual consumer (e.g. Akenji 2014; Eckhardt and Dobscha 2014; Vittersø and Tangeland 2015), stating that the primary agency of sustainable consumption does not lie with the consumer and that a focus on consumer responsibility "distracts from the urgent structural changes needed in order to achieve sustainable development" (Akenji 2014, p. 13). As such, the remaining parts of this section will focus on research that has a focus beyond the decision making of the individual consumer.

Besides consumers, research on sustainable consumption has also studied several other actors in the production-consumption system. Most studies focus on a single actor, although there are also a small number of studies among the reviewed articles that study interdependencies between multiple actors. As will be discussed in the following, most of the actors identified in the reviewed articles are part of the production chain, ranging from suppliers and producers to retailers and finally reaching the end user, either consumers or public procurement. These actors, along with

investors in the market, all fall within the economic level of the system, as their primary agency is within the market. Actors from outside the market having some form of influence on the production-consumption processes within the economy have been placed on the societal level in figure 1. These include public policy makers, educational institutions and NGOs. The different actors in the production-consumption system are discussed in the following.

Actors in the market

Besides the consumer, **producers** of goods and services are the most commonly studied actor in production-consumption systems. The two most common aspects of producers' activities studied in the reviewed articles are communication and product design. As so much research focuses on consumers, it is perhaps not surprising that a common focus in studies on producers is the communication and marketing efforts producers direct at consumers, often with the goal to alter consumption behaviour (e.g. Bodur, Duval, and Grohmann 2015; Thongplew, van Koppen, and Spaargaren 2014). However, a more substantial effort by producers is to focus on how products can be designed to be more sustainable, as discussed by Pettersen, Boks, and Tukker (2013). These studies mainly focus on the life span of products (Brouillat 2015; Nazzal et al. 2013), although Kopnina (2015) moves a step further by suggesting cradle-to-cradle as a viable design philosophy. Other aspects of producers' operations studied in the reviewed articles include innovations in business models (Bocken et al. 2014) and considerations of pricing policies (Dekhili and Achabou 2013).

Other market actors have received only limited attention in research on sustainable consumption. The operations of **retailers** have attracted some attention, perhaps due to retailers' closeness to consumers in the market, which enables efforts to directly influence consumers, a topic that has

been studied by among others Ekelund et al. (2014). However, research on retailers also include analysis of retailers' business models (Morgan 2015) as well as some rather strong critiques by Jones and colleagues (Jones, Comfort, and Hillier 2014; Jones, Hillier, and Comfort 2014) of retailers' continued immersion in the dominant paradigm centred around economic growth and their emphasis on commercial success over a genuine concern for sustainability. Other market actors have barely been studied in the reviewed articles, with only rare exceptions focusing on **suppliers** (Sayogo et al. 2015), **investors** (Peifer 2014) and **public procurement** (Diófási and Valkó 2014).

A probable explanation for the heavy focus on consumers and scarce research on other market actors in the reviewed articles is the choice of sampling key words in the present review. As the key words chosen focus on consumption, it is perhaps expected that studies in the sample focus mainly on the consumer and, to some extent, actors close to the consumer. Suppliers and investors are quite far removed from the actual consumption of products, and may thus not easily be conceived of under the heading of sustainable consumption. On the contrary, research on these actors may fall under altogether separate research topics, such as sustainable production, sustainable supply chains and socially responsible investment. As such, to gain a comprehensive, systemic understanding of market actors in the production-consumption system, sustainable consumption research needs to be complemented with research on the topic in related fields.

The almost complete lack of research on public procurement, on the other hand, may be due to the public sector's position often conceived of as separate from the market. As business research focuses on the corporate sector, the public sector is perhaps left to other disciplines to study. However, as the public sector can be a substantial source of consumption and as such can be

understood as a major institutional customer, a move away from focusing solely on individual consumers' as customers to include also the public sector could be beneficial for the discipline.

Societal actors

The actors discussed so far have all been active mainly within the market, i.e. the economic level in figure 1. There are also other actors in society, depicted on the societal level in figure 1, that play a part in the production-consumption system. The actors studied in the reviewed articles include public policy makers, educational institutions and NGOs. Whereas **NGOs** influence on sustainable consumption has received only limited attention (Hamilton 2013; Lorek and Spangenberg 2014), both public policy and education have been somewhat more strongly present in research on sustainable consumption.

Akenji (2014) argues for the role of **public policy** in achieving structural changes in sustainable consumption. Among the sample of articles reviewed, a number of papers focus on public policy efforts towards sustainable consumption, ranging from national level (e.g. Guillard and Roux 2014) to EU regulations (Zidianaki 2013) and international agreements (Tukker 2013). Papers include both theoretical discussions (Akenji 2014; Safarzynska 2013) and empirical investigations into specific policy initiatives (Zidianaki 2013).

A handful of articles in the sample reviewed for this paper also focus on the role of **educational institutions** in advancing sustainable consumption. Most notably, *Journal of Cleaner Production* has recently released a special issue on the topic of higher education for sustainable development (Adom̂sent et al. 2014). Articles included in the issue focus on for example the development of pedagogical methods to employ in higher education about sustainable consumption (Barth et al.

2014) as well as the skills students need to learn (Gombert-Courvoisier et al. 2014). It seems essential to include education on sustainable consumption in university curricula to counteract the otherwise strongly corporate-focused education received in business schools. Barth et al. (2014) argue that higher education for sustainable consumption is poorly developed, and as such additional research on the topic is welcomed.

Systems of actors

The research discussed above encompasses studies that mainly focus on one actor in isolation from the larger production-consumption system of which the actor is a part. As sustainable consumption is a complex issue, it may be problematic to solely consider single actors in isolation from their embedded position in the wider context of the production-consumption system. Rather, a beneficial macro-level analysis would include a consideration of multiple actors' roles in the system. There are a few studies among the reviewed articles which consider interactions between multiple actors (e.g. D'Antone and Spencer 2015; Ekström and Salomonson 2014). For example, Migliore et al. (2014) study the interactions between consumers and farmers in food community networks. Karvonen (2013) discusses community-based partnerships to upgrade the energy performance of existing housing, including occupants, housing providers, community groups, local authorities and construction professionals in his analysis. Da Silva, Gabriel de Oliveira, and Pasa Gómez (2013) have mapped the roles of different actors in the electricity sector in Brazil. Following a mapping of stakeholder influences on sustainable consumption by Michaelis (2003), da Silva and colleagues have identified the most salient actors working towards sustainable consumption in the Brazilian electricity sector.

Analyses such as the above take a systemic approach rather than focusing on a single actor in the production-consumption system. The limited number of studies employing this approach points to ample opportunities for future research to advance knowledge on sustainable consumption by taking a systems theoretic approach.

Cultural and structural perspectives

Moving beyond a focus on specific actors and their role in the production-consumption system, a number of studies on sustainable consumption analyse sustainable consumption as a cultural phenomenon or focus on structural aspects of the phenomenon. The cultural and structural perspectives on sustainable consumption identified in the reviewed articles are mapped in dark grey in figure 1. As can be seen, these issues extend over all three levels of the system, with most focus being given to the societal level whereas the economic level and the environmental level receive less attention. As such, notable is that whereas perspectives focused on specific actors in the system most commonly focus on the economic level, cultural and structural approaches mainly focus on the societal level.

Perspectives on the economic level

On the economic level, structural perspectives on sustainable consumption mainly include discussions of the issue of **wealth distribution** (Reisch, Eberle, and Lorek 2013) and recognition of **economic conflicts of interests** which act as barriers to a transformation to sustainable production-consumption systems (Vittersø and Tangeland 2015). However, neither of these issues has gained attention in the literature beyond isolated remarks. Nevertheless, issues like these may play a major impact in transitions to sustainable production-consumption systems. For

example, if there is a strong social stratification, which entails high levels of conspicuous consumption by higher class members of society whereas members of lower classes struggle with their livelihood, the mechanisms for change may be very different from a society in which wealth distribution is more equal. As such, research would benefit from considering structural issues such as these when investigating the economic level, rather than focusing solely on individual actors in the market.

Perspectives on the societal level

On the societal level, a number of different cultural perspectives are identified in the reviewed articles, none of which has attracted considerable amounts of attention. There are a number of studies that analyse consumers as members of **social groups** (e.g. Axsen, Orlebar, and Skippon 2013; Costa Pinto et al. 2014; Salazar, Oerlemans, and van Stroe-Biezen 2013). These studies view consumers not as isolated actors making consumption decisions in the market, but rather understand consumers as actors in the context of peer groups. Research has studied for example questions of status (Brooks and Wilson 2015) and identity (Perera 2014) related to sustainable consumption.

Furthermore, some research has studied groups of consumers initiating social change in **social movements** (Sebastiani, Montagnini, and Dalli 2013; Werkheiser and Noll 2014) or through social innovation (Jaeger-Erben, Rückert-John, and Schäfer 2015). For example, in the context of food consumption, Sebastiani, Montagnini and Dalli (2013) have studied the slow food movement, while Werkheiser and Noll (2014) have studied the local food movement. Furthermore, Binnering, Ourahmoune and Robert (2015) as well as da Silva et al. (2013) study collaborative consumption as a way for consumers to collectively transform production-consumption systems.

One of the most common cultural perspectives to sustainable consumption in the reviewed articles is an analysis of changes in consumption **practices**. For example, Niva et al. (2014) analyse how food consumption is contingent on prevalent cooking and eating practices. Reisch, Eberle, and Lorek (2013), in their discussion of sustainable food systems, mention the normalized position of heavily processed food and animal protein in current food practices. There are also mentions of the role of **habits** in the transformation of consumption practices (Jack 2013; Lyon, Ailshire, and Sehon 2014).

Other cultural perspectives on sustainable consumption include an analysis of the cultural **values** underlying transitions towards sustainable consumption. Brombin (2015) studies the food production and consumption in ecovillages. She finds that alternative production and consumption practices reflect cultural values of among others self-sufficiency as well as gifting and sharing rather than “the economic logic of equal exchange” (p. 468). In their study of organic food consumers, Schösler, de Boer, and Boersema (2013) find cultural values such as connectedness to nature and a meaningful moral life. In contrast to these studies, which analyse cultural values supporting sustainable consumption practices, Guillard and Roux (2014) study conflicting cultural norms, which may act against transformations towards sustainable consumption. In their study of so called gleaners and disposers, i.e. people that dispose of bulky items on sidewalks for others to freely collect for reuse, the authors find a negotiation of the established hygiene norms against using public space for recycling, which conflict with the sustainability norm of reusing products.

As such, the study by Guillard and Roux (2014) exemplifies **cultural processes** surrounding sustainable consumption through their focus on cultural negotiations as well as

institutionalisation of norms. Cultural processes have rarely been studied in the reviewed articles, though another exception is Dendler's (2014) study of the institutionalisation and legitimisation processes related to sustainability labelling of products. She finds that conflicting understandings of sustainability may hinder the institutionalisation of shared labelling schemes.

Several of the reviewed articles discuss these conflicting understandings of sustainable consumption, by analysing **discourses** and constructs of sustainable consumption as well as other cultural constructs. For example, Jack (2013) studies how cultural constructs of cleanliness impact sustainable laundry practices. Most notably, however, several studies discuss alternative discourses about the meaning of sustainable consumption (e.g. Jones et al. 2013; Lorek and Fuchs 2013; Lorek and Spangenberg 2014). These authors argue that current approaches to sustainable consumption have a foundation in a weak sustainability discourse, whereas these authors argue for the use of a strong sustainability discourse. Whereas the former argues that only incremental change is needed (Bebbington 2001) and that sustainable consumption will be achieved through technological development (Fuchs and Lorek 2005), the latter advocates more drastic changes in consumption patterns and levels (Fuchs and Lorek 2005) and includes questioning the current state of economic organisation, which equates economic growth with development (Bebbington 2001) and high levels of consumption with well-being. As such, these studies do not see the meaning of sustainable consumption as given, but rather view it as a cultural construct, of which there are conflicting understandings. The largely normalised discourse of weak sustainability steers consumption practices towards a certain understanding of sustainable consumption. These authors argue that it is necessary to question this underlying weak sustainability discourse in favour of building sustainability transformations upon a strong sustainability discourse.

Perspectives on the environmental level

The only structural issue related to the environmental level discussed in the reviewed articles is **population growth**, an issue that is commonly recognised as impacting the environmental impact of humanity (Jackson 2011). However, regulation of population growth is rarely considered an option in the articles reviewed. An exception is made by Kopnina (2015) suggesting that family planning be used to combat unsustainable levels of population growth. Quite interestingly, the sample of articles also includes an argument in favour of continued population growth (Bretschger 2013).

Conclusions

As can be seen from the discussion above, sustainable consumption has been studied from a large array of different perspectives. As was previously stated, previous research on sustainable consumption has an imbalance regarding which actors in the production-consumption system have been the focus of analysis, the behaviour of individual consumers attracting far more attention than any other actor in the system, although multiple actors in the production-consumption system have been identified in previous research. Most notably, however, most research has focused on a single actor rather than regarding sustainable consumption as a complex phenomenon that requires systemic analysis.

As such, it is suggested that further research could benefit from systemic analyses of sustainable consumption, considering the roles of multiple actors in the system as well as recognising the multi-level interdependencies of sustainability. In macromarketing, most notably Layton (2007) has advocated systemic analyses, although his focus is mainly on the market system, whereas this

paper suggests studying sustainable consumption by including also the societal and environmental systems within which the market system is embedded.

Furthermore, it is suggested that sustainable consumption research moves to macro-level analyses where influences of societal structures and the cultural context on individuals can be scrutinised. Theoretical perspectives such as practice theory (e.g. Warde 2005) move beyond a focus on the individual consumer to analyse consumption as a cultural phenomenon and as such may provide new insights on the topic of sustainable consumption.

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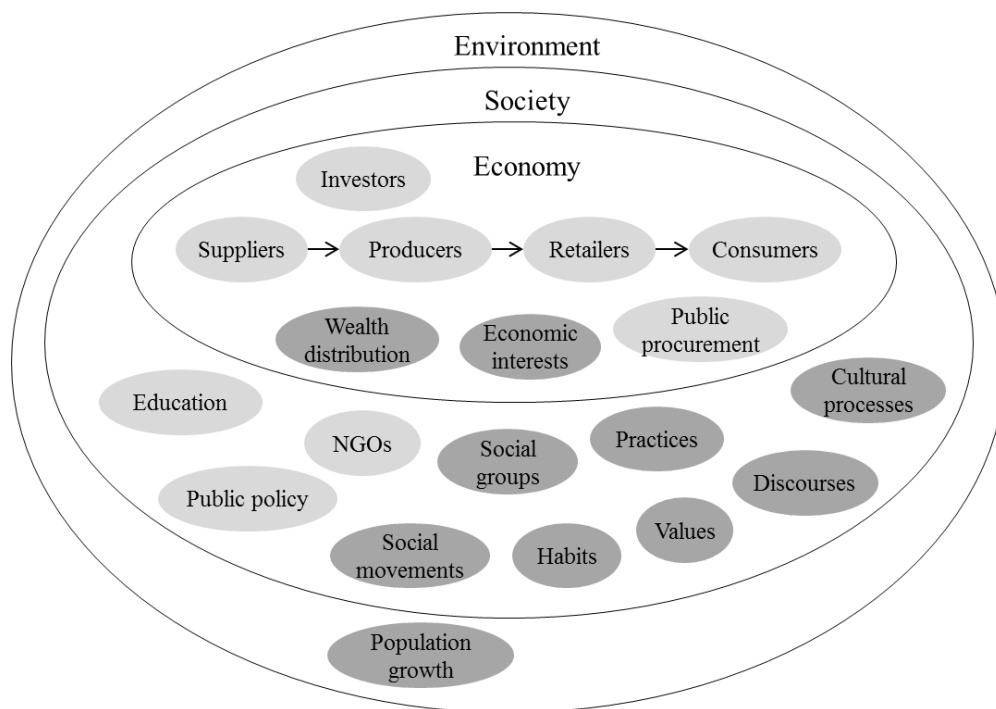
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Table 1 Sample of articles by journal

Journal	Publications
International Journal of Consumer Studies	
Journal of Cleaner Production	
Ecological Economics	
Journal of Macromarketing	
Journal of Marketing Management	
Journal of Business Ethics	
Journal of Business Research	
Journal of Agricultural & Environmental Ethics	
European Journal of Marketing	
Journal of Consumer Policy	

Figure 1 **Perspectives on sustainable consumption**



Learning to speak Dutch in The Netherlands

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Introduction

In food consumption, like in many other domains of consumer behaviour, most consumers claim to consider sustainability issues important, but this does not necessarily translate into manifest sustainable consumer behaviour (Van Dam & Van Trijp, 2013). Awareness of the need for sustainable development has triggered changes in consumer attitudes (Pelletier, Dion, Tuson, & Green-Demers, 1999; Roberts, 1996; Uusitalo, 1990), but not necessarily in consumer demand (Boulstridge & Carrigan, 2000; Claudy, Peterson, & O'Driscoll, 2013; De Barcellos, Krystallis, de Melo Saab, Kügler, & Grunert, 2011; Moraes, Carrigan, & Szmigin, 2012; Papaoikonomou, Ryan, & Ginieis, 2011; Vermeir & Verbeke, 2006). This discrepancy between stated importance and actual consumption is commonly referred to as the gap between sustainable attitudes and actual behaviour.

The gap between sustainable attitudes and actual behaviour confirms that consumer behaviour is the outcome of multiple and potentially conflicting attitudes and/or goals (Laran & Janiszewski, 2009). Two segments of consumers are hardly bothered by such goal conflicts with respect to sustainability. First, a small segment of committed sustainable consumers, responsible for the majority of sustainable consumption in the market, seems to have integrated sustainable development goals into their consumption patterns (Brown, Dury, & Holdsworth, 2009; De Ferran

& Grunert, 2007; Fotopoulos, Krystallis, & Ness, 2003; Zander & Hamm, 2010). In any other context this segment could be labelled as 'heavy users', but because curtailment of consumption is a significant indicator of sustainability the designation 'committed sustainable consumer' is more appropriate for this market segment (Verain, Dagevos, & Antonides, 2015). Opposite to these committed sustainable consumers one may find a segment of consumers who see no benefit at all in sustainable development and who only accidentally purchase sustainable products. The size of this segment is difficult to estimate, because the denial of sustainability goals may be a defence mechanism that is caused by an experienced goal conflict (Stich & Wagner, 2012).

Those two segments of consumers represent two extreme regulatory styles in self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 2000; Ryan & Deci, 2000). In terms of self-determination theory (Vansteenkiste, Soenens, & Vandereycken, 2005) the committed sustainable consumers are intrinsically motivated by a sense of trying to do (what they perceive to be) the right thing, or by the rejection of consumerism and capitalism (McDonald, Oates, Alevizou, Young, & Hwang, 2012). They are actively trying to maintain and increase their sustainable behaviour, and merely require the opportunity to do so. The opposite segment is a-motivated. In terms of self-determination theory these a-motivated consumers do not see a contingency between their behaviour and sustainable development issues. Both the intrinsic motivated and the a-motivated consumers are of limited interest for understanding the dynamics of sustainable consumption. The committed sustainable consumers already have adopted a sustainable consumption pattern, and the a-motivated consumers will not (voluntarily) adopt it.

Though research into sustainable consumption usually differentiates between the intrinsically motivated committed sustainable consumers and the a-motivated 'grey' consumers (McDonald et al., 2012), the vast majority of the market consists of an intermediate segment of light users of sustainable products who only incidentally choose to consume sustainably (Eckhardt, Belk, & Devinney, 2010). These light users typically consider sustainability relevant, though sustainability is not usually determinant for their actual consumption (Van Dam & Van Trijp, 2013). Being neither intrinsically motivated nor a-motivated, in terms of self-determination theory this majority of consumers is extrinsically motivated to pursue sustainable behaviour (Ryan & Deci, 2000). These consumers do not go shopping to save the world, and for them sustainable consumption implies a goal conflict between sustainable and consumption. Because a critical discussion on sustainability and sustainable development easily reverts to an ideological contest over planetary survival (Connelly, 2007; Seyfang, 2004), this goal conflict is more easily discussed by analogy and metaphor.

Learning language by analogy

Some decades ago if one was to stay in Ireland for a prolonged time it would be difficult to learn to speak Gaedhilge, if only because only a minority of the Irish themselves were fluent in this language. Furthermore this minority used to be scattered in rural and remote areas in the Western parts of the country, which were not likely to be very open to foreigners. The majority of the Irish did not see any benefit in speaking the language of their ancestors. It is difficult to adopt something that is not easily found, unless you are terminally committed to do so. Learning Gaedhilge in Ireland can be likened to a market with an intrinsic motivated minority in an a-motivated environment, much like the organic market of the 1970s.

Instead suppose that you were to pick up Dutch in The Netherlands. That should be more easy, because all Dutch people speak Dutch. Let's assume you are fluent in English and let's assume you will be stationed in Wageningen, The Netherlands, for a couple of years. You have prepared for your stay abroad by taking language classes learning to read, understand, and speak the language of your host country. And based on these preparatory skills you plan to improve your fluency in that language the first years of your stay. Even though all locals speak Dutch on a daily basis, my suspicion would be that it will be at least as difficult to achieve some fluency in Dutch in The Netherlands. Based on experience, my prediction actually is that it will require all your effort and commitment even to retain any of your preparatory Dutch skills in The Netherlands.

This is not because you do not want to learn the language: you really intend to do so. It is not because the Dutch are overly protective and don't want you to learn their language: most Dutch will actually encourage you to do so. It is only that the moment you open your mouth they will switch to English. The moment they address you they will do so in English. Before you even notice, you are saved the embarrassing struggle with gutturals and alveolar sibilants, you can avoid the quagmire of incomprehensible grammar and semi-gendered nouns, and you are drawn back to the convenient safety of English. While you are trying to match the throat-clearing sound of the cashier to the amount you read on the display, you are identified and the next thing you hear is "Would you like a receipt for this, madam?". The moment you ask directions in your best, but heavily accented, Dutch you have betrayed yourself and your question will be repeated in English, to confirm it is understood correctly, and the directions will be in English as well. I will be the first to admit that this English may be as heavily accented as your Dutch, or even more so, but it will be

English and that will be convenient. And because everybody, including yourself, will switch to the more convenient English at each and every occasion, because it takes so much effort to fight that one-sided trench war to stay in the Dutch language, not only will you never learn to speak Dutch – whatever skills you may have had you will have lost before you even realise it.

In the end, unless you are extremely determined you will not learn to speak Dutch. Not because you don't want to, not because the Dutch don't want you to, but mainly because every single moment it just is more convenient to allow yourself to be drawn into English. And both you and the Dutch allow this to happen because to you and to them the primary purpose and the intrinsic motivation for talking is communication. We can now try to analyse (or speculate) what would make learning to speak Dutch in The Netherlands feasible, and armed with this analogy we can understand what would make sustainable consumption feasible.

Construal level theory of New Year's resolutions

Often we decide to try to achieve something, but find ourselves choosing to do the opposite. Not because we are not motivated to reach our goals in the future, but because the incentives favour a different choice in the present. The majority of people experience sustainable development as an abstract and distant goal that may be desirable and relevant in general. These same people experience sustainable consumption as not immediately feasible, because their consumption is determined by other incentives. The resulting discrepancy between pro-sustainable attitudes and lack of pro-sustainable behaviour, known as the attitude-to-behaviour gap in sustainable development, can be explained by the differences in construal level between abstract goals and concrete behaviour.

Construal level theory of psychological distance was formulated in the late 1990s, and has evolved since into an encompassing framework that has been related to consumer behaviour. People can only directly perceive and experience what is actually present. Thinking and feeling beyond this actual reality is possible by construing and maintaining a mental image of reality (Trope & Liberman, 2010). The primary function of this mental construal is the creation of a mental substitute to the lack of immediate perception of a person, an object or an event. Psychological distance is the subjective experience that something is in one's proximity (proximal) or far removed (distal). The reference point of psychological distance therefore is the actual self and the individual 'here and now' (Trope, Liberman, & Wakslak, 2007). Psychological distance relative to this self-reference point is experienced along several different dimensions that have highly similar effects on mental construal (Fujita, Henderson, Eng, Trope, & Liberman, 2006; Nussbaum, Liberman, & Trope, 2006; Trope & Liberman, 2000). Something or someone can be proximal or distal in a spatial, temporal, social, or certainty dimension (Todorov, Goren, & Trope, 2007; Wakslak, Trope, Liberman, & Alony, 2006). As psychological distance increases mental construal becomes more abstract or high-level, and conversely more abstract or high-level construal increases the experienced psychological distance. Therefore psychological distance tends to spill-over into other dimensions and when distance on one dimension increases the perceived distance on the other dimensions also increases (Bar-Anan, Liberman, & Trope, 2006; Trope & Liberman, 2010).

Mental construal is instrumental to individual reasoning and therefore implies a functional, goal congruent process of abstraction (Trope & Liberman, 2010). In this process of abstraction those

features that are essential to the goal are stressed, whereas features that are incidental or irrelevant to the goal are ignored. Mental construal determines how reality is experienced and therefore determines how someone cognitively understands and motivationally reacts to this reality. A distant outcome is, cognitively and motivationally, represented more abstract and idealistic compared to the immediacy and feasibility of actual consumer choice. The practical differences between experiencing abstract, distant outcomes and concrete, immediate outcomes have been extensively studied in terms of preference reversal (Horsky, Nelson, & Posavac, 2004; Kardes, Cronley, & Kim, 2006).

--- table 1 around here ---

The cognitive and motivational differences between high and low construal representation (Table 1) result in marked shifts in perception, understanding and preference between sustainable development as a goal and sustainable development as consumer behaviour. The distant goal is desirable and one may honestly intend to achieve it. The actual choice favours the most feasible behaviour and this just doesn't bring one closer to the goal. Seen in this way the attitude-to-behaviour gap in sustainable consumption is an unfulfilled New Year's resolution. We sincerely resolve to accomplish something in the coming year, we even may do a valiant effort in January, but before we know it life reverts back to normal.

Speaking in goal conflicts

We do not go to The Netherlands to learn Dutch, but we may have the intention to try and learn the language while we are there. In The Netherlands we do not talk to learn Dutch, but we talk to communicate. And in The Netherlands communicating in English is more easy and more

accessible than communicating in Dutch. And over time we may not even realise that we don't learn Dutch, because we firmly believe we are still trying and we do pick up the odd word. Or we gradually let go of the idea altogether.

We do not go shopping to be sustainable, but we may have the intention to try and purchase sustainably while we are there. In the shop we do not buy to save the world, but we buy to obtain the products we want. And in the shop buying non-sustainable is more easy and more accessible than buying sustainably. And over time we may not even realise that we are not sustainable, because we firmly believe that we are trying and occasionally we do pick up the odd product. Or we gradually let go of the idea altogether.

At a high construal level 'learning to speak Dutch' is abstract, simple, desirable and it is easy to understand why an expat would want this. At a low construal level 'communicating in Dutch' is complex, concrete, infeasible and it is difficult to envision how an expat would achieve this. The high construal primary motives to focus on the positive outcomes of 'having learned Dutch' are in the end extrinsic motives, as the goal must justify the means. The low construal focus on the communication context provide an intrinsic prevention motive to minimise the loss of clarity. Except for one point: a key difference between the New Year's resolution and learning to speak Dutch is that it takes one to fulfil a resolution, but it takes two to have a talk.

Learning a language without teachers

A look at the low construal motivational factors suggests several ways to solve the problem of how to learn to speak Dutch in The Netherlands. A low construal goal focus is oriented towards

situational and contextual means. If Dutch was the only way to manage essential things as board-and-lodging or meal provision, more expats would learn to speak Dutch more rapidly. A low construal goal pursuit is intrinsically motivated. If the use of Dutch was met with social approval, if speaking Dutch was a source of pride or the confirmation of one's linguistic prowess, more expats might learn to speak Dutch more rapidly. From first generation immigrants we can hear that their primary reason to speak Dutch was the fun of talking to a date. A low construal goal pursuit is dominated by a prevention focus to loss avoidance. If the use of English was met with pity, condescension, or if every time a conversation slips into English you were warned that this conflicts with your goal of learning to speak Dutch, more expats would learn to speak Dutch more rapidly. So if only the Dutch were less willing to accommodate strangers and less eager to show their own mastery of Dunglish, learning to speak Dutch would be much easier – maybe it would be the natural thing to do.

We can blame the expat for not learning to speak Dutch in The Netherlands. After all it is possible to learn the language, as many immigrants have proven over the years. But you have to be very determined, very committed, and very stubborn every time you want to communicate. Of course the expat should try harder and of course the expat should not give up so easily, but a certain amount of cooperation or facilitation would be helpful. And it should not be necessary to ask for Dutch conversation every single day, and it certainly should not be necessary that every time our expat uses an English word for lack of translation this is seen as proof that he doesn't want to learn Dutch after all.

We can blame the Dutch for not creating the conditions that facilitate learning to speak Dutch in The Netherlands. After all it cannot be so difficult to speak the language that your guests want to learn, and that you want your guest to learn as well. The cost of course will be that the actual communication initially will be less efficient. Being Dutch, I can say that is not my job and not my responsibility to teach people the Dutch language. I can justly defend the position that if you want to speak Dutch to me you just have to ask me, and you just have to refuse to speak with me if I happen to switch into English during our talk. You just have to force me to speak Dutch to you and I will do so. After all: it is you who wants to speak Dutch, I just want to have a talk.

Sustainable Consumption and Markets

Learning to speak Dutch in The Netherlands is only an analogy for changing towards more sustainable consumption. Both are difficult and the overall odds are heavily against it happening. But, not being loaded with ideological preconceptions, discussing the difficulties of learning to speak Dutch triggers different suggestions for solutions than discussing the difficulties of consuming sustainably. The analogy suggests that sustainable consumption and marketing requires a study into the interactions between consumers and suppliers, into the responsibilities of suppliers, and into the institutional structures that reward a lack of sustainability and that discourage an increase of sustainability.

In a series of studies the framework of construal level theory has been applied to sustainable consumption over the past five years (Van Dam, 2016; Van Dam & De Jonge, 2015; Van Dam & Fischer, 2015; Van Dam & Van Trijp, 2011, 2013). The majority of light users of sustainable products is neither intrinsically motivated nor a-motivated, but extrinsically motivated to pursue

sustainable behaviour. This is congruent with a high construal level (Freund, Hennecke, & Riediger, 2010), which implies a simple and coherent motivational structure (Van Dam & Van Trijp, 2011), and a promotion focus on obtaining positive outcomes (Lee, Keller, & Sternthal, 2010) by purchasing acknowledged sustainable products (Brown et al., 2009; Zander & Hamm, 2010). At the same time actual consumption is located in the actual here and now, which implies a low construal representation that is congruent with intrinsic motives and with a focus on situational means and the prevention of losses. It has been shown that highlighting the least sustainable products (Van Dam & De Jonge, 2015) can induce more sustainable consumer behaviour. It has been shown that enhancing intrinsic motives like self-confirmation (Van Dam & Fischer, 2015) or guilt and pride (Onwezen, Bartels, & Antonides, 2014) can induce more sustainable consumer behaviour.

Sustainable consumption can be stimulated by creating conditions that align the low construal motives for consumption to sustainable consumption. Just like learning Dutch in The Netherlands can be stimulated by creating conditions that align the low construal motives for talking to speaking Dutch. But it is not directly clear who should create those conditions.

Sustainable consumption requires sustainable marketing, and sustainable marketing requires a supportive institutional environment. Extending the insights of construal level theory from consumer behaviour to marketing explains why companies face a generic tension between their (long-term) strategic market orientation and their (short-term) operational marketing actions (Dodd & Favaro, 2006; Kaiser & Craig, 2011; Kaiser & Overfield, 2010). In order to control the environmental and social impact of products and production processes over the entire product

life cycle, sustainable development implies a cradle-to-grave approach to resource use and value creation that involves the entire value chain (Carter & Jennings, 2002; Marshall, McCarthy, McGrath, & Claudy, 2015; Wells & Seitz, 2005). Furthermore the environmental and social impact of products and production processes explicitly addresses the problem of the social costs of economic activity (Coase, 1960). In sustainable marketing the generic tension between strategic versus operational planning therefore is likely to be aggravated by the difference in spatial and temporal distance between cradle-to-grave versus local processes, and the difference in social and temporal distance between collective versus corporate costs and benefits. In this tension between sustainability and business economics many companies are more concerned about the profitability of sustainable ventures than about the sustainability of profitable ventures (Menzel, Smagin, & David, 2010), which supports the conjecture that sustainability may be considered relevant but that profitability is determinant.

In micro-marketing or marketing management the effectiveness of marketing is measured in terms of financial corporate performance (Hunt & Morgan, 1996, 1997) and sustainable demand is just a market segment that can be catered to by adding a sustainable product line to the business model. At a chain or market level, which transcends the individual business interests, it is not evident that successful micro-marketing is compatible with successful markets (Hunt & Arnett, 2006), or that seeking efficiency in lower resource costs is compatible with finding effectiveness in delivering sustainable value (Hunt & Duhan, 2002; Meng, 2015). It could be argued that by shifting from wealth creation and profitability to profit maximisation and shareholder value (Brueckner, 2013; Friedman, 1962), and by shifting from a consumer orientation to a buyer orientation (Alderson, 1958), marketing has redefined itself as business science rather than social science.

Sustainable marketing therefore requires a reassessment of the relation between the governance systems of markets and society (Hufty, 2011).

Informal enquiries seem to indicate that at various levels in the value chain initiatives towards 'greening the chain' are launched only to be blocked 'somewhere' by 'someone'. The challenge is to get grip on the interaction between institutions, motives, and incentives that determine different market systems. The challenge is to find a theoretical framework that explains why it is so difficult, and how it would be more easy, to succeed in learning to speak Dutch in The Netherlands.

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Table 1: Differences between low and high construal level representation (source: Van Dam, 2016)

Construct	Low construal	High construal	Selected source
Psychological distance	Proximal	Distal	Trope and Liberman (2010)
Temporal distance	Present	Remote past or future	
Hypothetical distance	Certain	Possible	
Social distance	Family and friends	Strangers	
Physical distance	Here	Far away	
Cognitive Factors			
Representation	Concrete, detailed, complex	Abstract, simple, coherent	Bar-Anan et al. (2006)
	Idiosyncratic	Prototype and/or Stereotype	Pfeiffer et al. (2014)
Reasoning	Pragmatic	Idealistic	Irmak, Wakslak, and Trope (2013)
Classification focus	Differences	Commonalities	Lee et al. (2010)
Categorisation	Narrow	Broad	Förster, Liberman, and Shapira (2009)
Evaluation of outcomes	Feasibility	Desirability	Fujita, Eyal, Chaiken, Trope, and Liberman (2008)
Evaluation of actions	Process focus (How)	Outcome focus (Why)	Freitas, Gollwitzer, and Trope (2004)
Motivational Factors			
Goal focus	Situational, context-based, means	General, primary, ends	Fujita et al. (2008)
Goal pursuit	Loss oriented, prevention	Gain oriented, promotion	Lee et al. (2010)
Motivation	Intrinsic	Extrinsic	Freund et al. (2010)

Marketization and Subalternity I

The Plight of Rural Migrant Workers in Urban China

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Abstract

Manufacturing opportunities in urban China have led to the mass migration of over 270 million rural residents to urban areas. We investigate the resulting upheaval in Chinese society using a macromarketing framework, especially the effect on the family unit. A qualitative study of 34 adult migrants in Shanghai is used to put a human face on the challenges faced by those distant from their families of origin (and in many cases their own children) and yet ostracized by most of those in urban society.

Introduction

Recent articles in the *Economist* (2015a,b,c) have covered the plight of Chinese migrants from rural to urban areas of China. The context offers many macromarketing issues to investigate, including public policy, quality of life, subcultural differences, and profound household disruptions. We will review some of the structural processes underlying the challenges created by the huge internal migration (over 270 million migrants, mainly from rural to urban areas). We will then investigate the lived experiences of 34 migrant workers in Shanghai to put a more human face on the issues.

The Context

Like most human migration, the internal migration in China is almost entirely done by those seeking enhanced economic opportunity. The movement of over 270 million Chinese to urban areas is the biggest voluntary migration of all time (*Economist* 2015b). While urbanization is largely a global phenomenon, the magnitude of the internal migration in the PRC is unprecedented. The rapid growth of Chinese manufacturing created the need for millions of workers, and thus the opportunity for better paying jobs (or, in many cases, just jobs) for the rural population (which is still nearly 50% of the overall Chinese population). On the surface, this would seem to be a win-win outcome for both the migrants and the manufacturers, but major issues exist as will be elaborated in the sections below.

Subcultural Issues

One issue is the quality of life for the migrant workers. On one hand, migrant workers are considered well-off by those in their hometown and are often the role models for their rural peers to emulate, especially when they acquire certain urban consumption tastes and bring these practices home. On the other hand, the lives lived in urban China by migrant workers leave much to be desired. Their average income barely exceeds the poverty standard defined by the World Bank, and only about half of urban workers' income. Many migrants work 12 or more hours a day on construction sites or in export-oriented manufacturing companies. They may commute for four hours more, as many live in dormitories at some distance from the work place (*Economist* 2015b; Zhang, Zhu, and Nyland 2014).

In addition, they are considered by urban residents to be among the lowest *Suzhi*/quality people (Sun, 2009) and most “marginalized” in the urban marketplace (Chu, Leonhardt, and Liu 2015; Zhang 2010). They are often seen as illiterate, in poor health, inaccessible by media, geographically isolated, and inexperienced with consumption; they are the Bottom-of-the-Pyramid consumers in urban cities (Chu et al. 2015; Prahalad 2005). As culturally distinct and inferior “others,” the workers are considered “rootless,” “uncivilized,” and “dangerous” (Pow 2007; Rowe 1990). The presence of the large number of socially “out of place” migrants has resulted, in part, the growth of gated communities in urban areas, so as to possibly isolate the urban well-off from the rural riff raff (Pow 2007; Wang and Tian 2014).

Government Policy

The PRC has a several decade-old policy of restricting movement from one’s birth place to other areas of China. Almost everyone in China has a *Hukou* document which registers their birth place and gives them the right to education and welfare (e.g., health, social security) services at subsidized prices at that location. The system acts as a barrier to migration, as movement to another area results in limited welfare opportunities (e.g., retirement/ medical/working-injury, maternity leave insurance/ education for children/ housing).

The *Hukou* system may be changing, as the government announced a new policy in December 2015 making it possible for migrant workers to apply for special residency permits which provide some of the benefits of an urban *Hukou*. The *Economist* (2015c) compared the new permit to a “green card,” and questioned its potential for improving the social status of many migrant workers. One reason for the skepticism is that one needs either an employment contract

or a tenancy agreement in order to apply for such status, whereas most migrants working in factories have neither. They would also have to show that they have lived in the urban area for at least six months, and have contributed to the government's social insurance system for three years (if the city's population is less than a million) or for five years (if the city is between one and five million). Typically, larger cities have their own requirements, which are generally more restrictive as the Chinese central government has informed the local administrations to limit the urban population growth. For example, Guangzhou has a point system that heavily weights education, skill levels, and large income tax payments, which do not favor most rural migrants. Since 2011, Guangzhou has only made urban *Hukou* available to 3000 people per year, despite having approximately nine million rural migrants in the city. The *Economist* (2015c) interprets the new policy as one attempting to push migration from the coastal cities to smaller, second-tier ones.

Family Concerns: The Elderly

The movement of adult children to urban areas has raised many concerns about aging issues (Gentry and Mittelstaedt 2014). For centuries, Chinese seniors have relied on their family members for both everyday care and financial support, especially in rural areas, where the value of filial piety remains strong. The transformation from a total welfare state to a market economy creates a tiered retirement compensation system. Former civil servants who reside in urban areas can receive pensions as large as 5000 yuan a month (\$785), whereas the average annual pension among all urban seniors was 20,900 yuan in 2012. However, the average annual pension for retired agricultural workers is just 859 yuan (\$137) (*Economist* 2014). While parts of the less developed world (i.e., sub-Saharan Africa, India, and the Middle East) are relatively young and

expected to remain so, China is aging rapidly due to the one-child policy and higher life expectancies. China's median age will catch that of the US by 2020, that of Europe by 2030, and that of Japan by 2050 (Chan 2012).

Traditionally sons and their wives are expected to take care of seniors when they become old, as articulated in the Confucian dictum, "while your parents are alive, you should not travel far afield." However, with the one-child policy, a "4-2-1" family structure has evolved, with the one child expected to take care of two parents and possibly help with grandparents as well. Such expectations are becoming infeasible for many young people, especially in urban China. Further, with only one child to spoil, parents and grandparents have done that well in the last three and a half decades. As a result, many young Chinese adults focus more on their own individual desires instead of the needs of their parents. With government attempts to urbanize rural residents (with limited success), and with more young people moving to big cities for better job opportunities, older parents find their children to be increasingly far afield.

The left-behind seniors are hence often neglected and isolated from children who have moved to other places. Recognizing this social problem, the Chinese government introduced a new law on July 1, 2013, that requires children to visit or keep in touch with elderly parents. The same day a court ruled that a daughter had to visit her 77-year mother and to help her financially, in a lawsuit in which the mother sued the daughter. The daughter is now required to visit her mother once every two months and on at least two national holidays a year (*Economist* 2013; Russo 2013). The "social" elements of China's traditional "social security" are fraying.

As part of the marketization of Chinese society, a new pension program was implemented in 2000. Bloom, Jimenez, and Rosenberg (2012) note that 21% of Chinese are covered by pension funds, compared to over 83% in the OECD countries. The government's goal is for its people to retire on 60% of their final wage. Forty million retired civil servants, teachers, and state employed doctors receive pensions of about 90% of their final wage (with most making no contribution before retirement). Apparently the logic behind the relatively high pensions paid to retired civil servants was the supposed tradeoff between low salaries while in the work force but reasonable funding during retirement. The pension for non-government employees is about 40% of salary. Rural migrant workers are yet to be included in such a retirement system.

The expected shortfall in 2013 was 18.3 trillion yuan, or about 150% of GDP (*Economist* 2012; Roberts 2012). In urban areas, it is likely that retirement ages will be increased about five years from the current levels of 60 for men, 55 for white-collar women, and 50 for blue-collar women. As noted above, the pension discussion is basically only appropriate for the 50% of the Chinese population who live in urban areas. As one rural elderly Chinese woman noted, "retirement" is an unused word in the countryside (*Economist* 2012). Surveys indicate that 93% of Chinese oppose raising the retirement ages (Roberts 2012).

Globally attitudes are moving toward the belief that seniors should be responsible for themselves financially, even in most of the Confucian countries included in Jackson, Howe, and Peter's (2012) study, which asked "Who, ideally, should be most responsible for providing income to retired people? [the retirees themselves, government, former employer, or grown children]. The modal response in most countries (Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, and

Taiwan) was “themselves,” whereas only 9% of the Chinese respondents answered “themselves,” versus 63% responding “the government.” These results reflect the remaining influences of the socialist era when the government was expected to provide social welfare from cradle to graveyard. The marketization of social welfare is far from complete in Chinese society whereas traditional ways of caring for elders through family support are rapidly fading during the course of urbanization and within country migration. While most countries in the world are concerned with how they will pay for entitlements in the future, it appears that China faces problems of a magnitude higher than most other countries.

Another attempt to address the aging problem in China is the rapid growth of the retirement home industry there. China has about 38,000 institutions, with 2.7 million beds for the elderly. This covers about 1.6% of the population over 60; the developed world had beds for about 8% of those over 60 (Balfour and Kahn 2012). About 20% of rest homes are non-government owned, with some sponsored by Christian donors who require residents to convert (or at least be open to converting). The government has not changed greatly its orientation toward religious groups, but it is also very aware of the growing needs of its society and its inability to meet them. One example is the Hangzhou City Christian Nursing Home which opened in 2006 with 500 beds, with it taking four years to fill them. In 2012, it has 1400 beds and a waiting list over 1000. It receives a local government subsidy of \$1600 (10,000 yuan) for each bed (*Economist* 2012d). Changing attitudes toward retirement facilities were found by Fowler, Gentry, and Reisenwitz (2015) in an investigation of Chinese seniors using the Internet, most of whom expressed the desire to not be a burden on their children. This is consistent with the survey findings of Jackson et al. (2012) that only 2% of those over 60 thought that their children should be responsible for

their finances. However, these urban retirement homes are rarely accessible to rural migrants and their parents. Again, we find evidence that China's traditional reliance on family as the means for providing a decent quality of life for seniors may no longer be feasible.

Family Concerns: Left-Behind Children

A second family disruption created by the labor migration in China is the fact that most children are left behind when parent(s) leave(s). This disruption has received less attention in the West than the fading filial piety, but it has the potential to do more long run harm to Chinese society. Many of the migrants have children; most of them do not take their children under 17 with them (some 60+ million of them). Some villages are left with only grandparents and children (*Economist* 2015b). More than half of the children left behind (CLB) are with the remaining spouse, but 29 million are left in the care of others (mostly grandparents). Two million children have been left to fend for themselves (*Economist* 2015b). The CLB constitute nearly half of the children in rural areas. Some 36 million children have moved with their parents to urban areas, but the *Hukou* issue means that they cannot attend public school past 9th grade nor receive medical attention at subsidized rates. With both parents working (as noted earlier, often for 12 hours/day), the children are often as neglected as the CLB. Labor migration has thus disrupted the lives of well over 100 million children in China (*Economist* 2015b).

The Road to School project, a non-governmental organization, estimates that ten million CLB do not see their parents even once a year and that there are three million who have not had a phone call for over a year. One third of the CLB see their parents only once or twice a year, usually during Chinese New Year. The impact of the migration on CLB has been severe. CLB perform less well in school, and receive little help at home as most of their grandparents are illiterate. Recent

studies estimate that one quarter of Chinese children are abused at some point; CLB are more vulnerable to abuse. Juvenile crime is on the rise in China, with two-thirds of it occurring in rural areas (*Economist* 2015b).

Leaving children and older parents behind does not fit with traditional family norms in China. Grandparents often wish to remain in the area where they have lived all their lives. If they were to move to urban areas with their adult children, their lower pensions are not sufficient to live on in the city, especially given the high costs of property there. A survey of 1500 migrant workers asked why they did not bring their children with them; two thirds said that they had no time to look after them and one half said that they could not afford to have them there (*Economist* 2015b).

Traditional family norms in China are being violated due to the internal rural-to-urban labor migration. We will now investigate the effects of the migration process from the perspectives of the migrants themselves.

Method

A total of 34 migrants between the ages of 24 and 47 participated in the study in Shanghai, China. All migrants have resided in the urban area for more than five years. The interviews were conducted between 2013 and 2015. The long interview is perhaps the most powerful tool in qualitative research (McCracken 1988). The method can take the researchers into “the mental world of the individual, to glimpse the categories and logic by which he or she sees the world” (McCracken 1988, p. 9). The interviews were conducted face to face in the participants’

residence, lasting between one to two hours. The conversation was video recorded and later transcribed. The interview started with general questions regarding demographics such as migration history, age and marriage status, and then followed with questions on consumption habits and practices. In the end, questions on identity formation were asked. For instance, the researchers asked what “home” means to the migrant workers, and what bundles of attitudes, interests, and activities in the urban areas are held by the migrant workers.

Each individual interview generated between 15 to 40 pages transcripts in Chinese. The original texts were read by the Chinese authors in the research team and then translated into English. The English transcripts were independently analyzed by all the researchers in an iterative manner, moving back and forth between data and theory (Spiggle 1994). Consensus was reached through discussion within the research team. The profile of the informants is shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Demographics

Interview Time	Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Registered Permanent Residence	Marital Status
2013	LZ Yang	Male	38	Shannxi	Married
2013	LX Yang	Female	36	Henan	Married
2013	Fs, Ji	Male	40	Jiangsu	Married
2013	S Liu	Male	37	Zhejiang	Married
2013	XZ Zhou	Female	42	Zhejiang	Married
2013	Q Lin	Male	47	Jiangsu	Married
2013	B Bang	Male	34	Anhui	Married
2013	J Gao	Male	24	Henan	Married
2013	J Nang	Female	32	Jiangsu	Married
2013	H Hang	Female	44	Shandong	Married
2013	I Shi	Male	37	Anhui	Married
2013	C Wang	Male	53	Jiangsu	Married
2013	X Han	Male	36	Hubei	Married
2014	C Yun	Female	44	Jiangsu	Married

2014	Y Yang	Male	31	Henan	Married
2014	N Li	Female	24	Shandong	Single
2014	H Hu	Male	30	Anhui	Married
2014	N Xi	Male	26	Yunnan	Single
2015	X Nang	Male	47	Henan	Married
2015	C Chen	Male	34	Jiangsu	Married
2015	H Hun	Male	27	Liaoning	Married
2015	N Li	Male	33	Sichuan	Married
2015	J Chuan	Female	25	Zhejiang	Single
2015	J Lin	Female	29	Zhejiang	Married
2015	S Sui	Female	25	Anhui	Single
2015	S Ji	Female	25	Anhui	Single
2015	C Y Jiang	Female	50	Henan	Married
2015	M L	Female	26	Anhui	Married
2015	H Chen	Male	20	Fujian	Single
2015	S Yao	Male	32	Anhui	Single
2015	Y Shao	Male	41	Henan	Married
2015	M Y Jiang	Female	22	Anhui	Single
2015	S G Chen	Male	50	Anhui	Married
2015	J H Wei	Male	23	Fujian	Single

Findings

In general, the migrants discussed much turmoil existing in their lives. For many, there was confusion as to whether Shanghai or their birth place was “home.” Forces tended to pull them in each direction, and many of those forces were completely out of their control. We discuss the various challenges facing the migrants as generated from the interviews.

Family Issues

The separation from family and friends for greater economic opportunity yielded a mixed blessing. The economic opportunity was greatly appreciated, but family were missed.

When I first got here, I felt that I had moved from hell to heaven. Finally I could afford pork for dinner. But I really miss my family... I came to Shanghai in 2005 and then I went back. I did not like to move here at all. It is far from home. A year later, I came back to Shanghai again. This time I stayed. Initially I thought the town in the West is OK, not that bad. I was confused for a while. (Gao)

I feel my living condition now is better than in the past. Shanghai is much better than my own hometown. There are people out there who still do not have enough food and clothes. By thinking about that, I feel much better for myself. (Liu)

When I was a kid, I walked six miles every day to go to school. Now in the city, you can actually buy a bike and it only takes a few minutes to go to the places you need to go.
(Wei)

Although moving to cities provides a much improved quality of life, rural migrant workers still feel the guilt of not being able to provide care for their elderly parents at home. There is a strong felt need to compensate for their absences by saving and sending home their wages to elders who still live in rural areas. Filial piety plays an important role in strengthening family ties among migrants workers and their parents, as seen in the following quote:

Every end of the year, I give money to my parents. I pretty much leave every dime I have to my parents and hope they can take care themselves. During the Chinese New Year, they calculated their living costs and wanted to return the money left to us. I refused to take it and honestly they can keep it for themselves. This is sad. When I first left my parents, I did not even have a cell phone. I used the public phone to call them for a while. For the first seven or eight years, I really did not have anything left to give to them. Now, my financial situation is slightly better and I really want to take care of them. My Mom and Dad cried when I said I will take care of them. They told me that it is not easy for me to make a living. I do not have much money for myself. [They said] I should keep it. (Lin)

Despite the improvement of quality of life experienced in urban China, some informants regard the rural area as a safer social space to which they can always return. For example, Chen expressed:

My brother is nice as well. When I left my family, my brother told me that I should go. I was told if it is not good out there, I still can come back. He even told me that he will be responsible for my parents' living and asked me not to worry about them. Then I left. The first time I went back to see him, he held me and cried.

My parents passed away. We had a very old house back to the hometown then. It is pretty old and shabby, so we finally sold it. A while back, my brother brought a newer house/ apartment in a better area. He lets us to stay when we go back. My other brother also left the town for work in another city. But anyway, the house is empty most of time, since no one permanently lives there. I am thinking since my brother bought it, I could decorate it a little. We can all contribute something and maybe get together once a while. My wife does not go back often through, unless it is Chinese New Year. (Hang)

Families (e.g., parents, children, siblings) and ritualized cultural activities (e.g., holiday gatherings) play vital roles in maintaining ties with the past. The distance between family members can be seen as a component of a "separation event," which shapes families' experiences. Separation events affect the motivation and capacities of families to reassemble practices (Epp, Schau, and Price 2014). The practices (e.g. gift giving, returning for holidays) between the family members during separation may motivate them to close the relational gap (Epp, Schau, and Price 2014). The thoughts of possibly returning to the rural area and the strong ties to the family left behind prevent full commitment to the adjustment to urban life.

Most of us always go back for holidays. We have friends here. But they also gather with family during holiday. If you do not go back, you will feel very lonely. Now, my parents are still there. I need to go back to see them. (Ji)
I cannot break the ties with them. They raised me. I go back during Chinese New Year. I do not know if I will move back or not. It seems it is too far to even think about it. (Nang)

Filial piety to parents helps to sustain family ties and provides an opportunity for migrant workers to reinforce their own social ties in their hometown while visiting their elders. Parents expressed regrets about those left behind, especially their children, but also discussed why they did not bring them to Shanghai:

I work 12 hours a day. There is no way I can take care of my own child here.
(Li)

I miss my child. But what can I do? I need the money to support the family.
(Yang)

Many migrant parents choose to buy products and mail them to their children, rather than giving the children disposable income, and this spending is referred to as “Confucian consumerism,” which reflects the long-standing Chinese values of families and social relations (Zhao 1997).

My daughter is with her grandparents. We live in a small place in Shanghai. If I ask my parents to bring her here, they won’t have a place to stay. So we had to leave them behind and often my wife purchases stuff here and mails it back to them.
(Zhou)

There is not a price difference between my hometown and here. Sometimes, it is more expensive in my hometown. We can make more money here and the price here is almost the same in the store back in my hometown. I’d rather buy stuff here and send it back home. (Sui)

In summary, the narratives from our informants do not resonate with the somewhat implicit accusation of the “abandonment” of family left behind that one may interpret from the *Economist* article cited frequently above (*Economist* 2015b). The informants expressed strong conflicts between the ties to the past and the opportunity to have a more prosperous future. The passages above are indications that migrants may have difficulties in assimilating to the new culture due to strong family ties. While the experience is marked by physical separation, the past relational ties might have prevented the creation of a stable new status, hindering the assimilation process to the urban areas.

Sub-cultural Conflicts

Many migrant workers suffer from low literacy levels, low cultural capital, and low economic capital, which leads to a lack of acceptance on the part of urban residents of Shanghai:

My education is elementary level. My family is very poor and could not support me to go to school. I do not understand Shanghai-ness accent. They always see us as outsiders. There is nothing wrong with us. Just some locals wear colored lens to see us. We are not one of them. (Hu)

I do not feel we can be urban people. They look at us differently. They feel we are dirty anyway. You know we work in the factory. In the future, if it is possible to save some money, I would like to go back the hometown to buy a place to live in the countryside. That's my dream. (Lin)

One issue faced by many migrants is low literacy. The effects of low literacy have been researched in the marketing literature. Jae and DelVecchio (2004) outlined a relevant research agenda, predicated on the assumption that low literate consumers are vulnerable. For instance, previous researchers have identified a number of cognitive and social vulnerabilities that arise from low consumer literacy in both developed economics such as the United States (Adkins and Ozanne 2005; Viswanathan et al. 2005) and developing economies such as India (Viswanathan et al. 2008).

Low literacy limits the workers' capabilities to acquire social and cultural resources by applying for a high paying job or socializing with urban social class. As a consequence of low literacy, TV became a major channel for migrant workers from which to obtain information.

I have six siblings, I went to elementary school for two years. That's it. Now, I try to learn something on TV and finally reach a point that I can read some of the Chinese characters. But my mind is so slow, it is not enough. (Li)

Li's use of television to grow cultural capital is not unique, as Jae and DelVecchi (2004) and Wallendorf (2011) have found that TV has become a major vehicle for migrant workers to obtain information. This was certainly true among our informants.

I do not have hobbies; I watch a lot of TV shows. (Yang)

I love TV and I spend a lot of time to watch the shows. (Ji)

I want a computer, I [would] use computer to watch TV. In terms of phone, I would buy it as far as it looks pretty to me. But I want a computer to watch my favorite shows, though I do not know how to use it still. Lately, I save so hard for a computer [laughing]. (Liu)

I have not been to any parks yet. My kid wants to go and I told him to wait till the school takes them there. For us, it is more important to buy a TV and a bike. They are the necessities. (Xi)

The only product or brand I trust is those I watched on TV. If a new brand comes out and I have never seen it on TV before, I would not even think of buying it at all. I would go to the store to try it but definitely won't take it home. (Hu)

At times, my friends introduce me to some brands. But still I do not like them, unless I see them on TV before. (Li)

My wife likes watching TV, but I like movies. She does not want me to go to the movie theater, as the ticket would cost us money. TV is cheaper here (we only have basic channels). Well, just like we do not go to the parks; we do not want to pay the tickets to get in. (Zhou)

I do not have many urban friends, so I love to watch TV, and use cell phone to call old friends and families, and it makes me feel better about myself. (Li)

Watching TV at home has become a coping strategy for minimizing spending. As the findings show, TV is relatively cheap compared to going to a movie or a theme park, which again leads to a degree of isolation. In this case, TV and visual cues help the worker to cope with the stigma of low literacy. On the other hand, TV becomes another necessity for these workers in order to dwell in their liminal urban space. They have to accept the stigma of low literacy, but they face

the market challenges by leveraging resources, including creating a zone of comfort in which they limit their purchases to items seen on TV.

Furthermore, informants expressed concern about their future living arrangements, with desires to either have a home in Shanghai or one in rural China. Those who have the possibly unrealizable dream of buying a home in the Shanghai have no doubt been influenced by their desire to achieve acceptance by urban residents.

I save some money for my kid. I also think it would nice to buy a home. I know, I know, it is not even possible, I could only dream about it. It is awfully expensive in Shanghai. (Hun)

My life goal is to get a larger apartment. (Bang)

My goal of living in the city is to buy a place to live. Stability is the key for us. We save money but do not really have a clear plan. (Li)

If you really want to settle down, first thing you want to do is to buy a house. Everything else is secondary. I have the expectation but it does not mean it will become true. (Nang)

The dream of home ownership may be a reason for staying in the urban setting, but there seems to be recognition that it is not a very likely outcome. As Schouten (1991) posited, role transitions are crucial in determining the direction and quality of consumers' lives, and they are limited by their social and financial conditions. Individuals face the task of re-constructing congruous/integrated self-concepts (Schouten 1991). The possibility of owning a home is an important part of the identity project in the transition from rural to urban, at least for those who have desire to own a home in urban China. Though many have not assimilated to the urban life, the challenging thought of obtaining a permanent living space can be an indication of the desire to assemble an urban identity.

Public Policy Issues

The informants did not discuss the governments' role in their challenges, except for a couple of them who discussed their children's need to get further education in their home areas. But the researchers sensed that the migrants were well aware of the limitations placed upon them by the *Hukou* system. At the same time, there also seemed to be an awareness of the magnitudes of the issues confronting both the Shanghai local government as well as the national government.

Most developed countries of the world are facing issues with immigrants (from less developed countries); China's migrants are internal, most often Han Chinese similar to the residents of the urban areas, though they may speak different dialects. What makes the migrant situation so pressing is the huge number of them, over 270 million. Only two countries other than China have populations greater than that number.

The *Hukou* system serves to limit urbanization and the recent changes in the policy are intended to encourage growth in in-land cities as opposed to coastal cities. When we consider Nature as a stakeholder (Mittelstaedt, Kilbourne, and Shultz 2015), it would appear that the *Hukou* system is a positive factor. The system also serves to escalate status differences between those migrants with rural/agricultural *Hukou* and those with urban/non-agricultural *Hukou*, and these status differences harm the quality of lives for the needed cheap labor. These issues were discussed in the previous section.

The *Hukou* system also creates barriers contributing to the break-up of the extended family. The horribly inequitable pension system (rural versus urban) reduces the mobility of grandparents

and their ability to afford movement to help their extended families in urban areas. In addition, the children who came with their parents to the city face limited educational opportunities. After the nine-year obligated education (1st grade – 9th grade) is completed, many migrant children are not allowed to attend high school in Shanghai and, as a result, have to return to their hometowns to finish their educations. Further, students sitting for college entrance exams are required to do so in the province where their *Hukous* were issued. Thus, even those migrant families making sacrifices to stay together may be forced to separate given the emphasis on education in most families.

Implications

The internal Chinese migrants, 270 million of them, deserve attention. So the question becomes, from a macromarketing perspective, what may be done to improve the situations for all of the parties involved. We will look at this from the various perspectives.

The Government

The *Hukou* policy has been successful in preventing migrant labor from taking residence in the large urban areas. The desire to avoid urban slums such as those found in Mumbai or Kolkata is hard to argue with. The desire to move migration to in-land cities is reflected in the potentially more liberal *Hukou* policy recently introduced. At the same time, the barriers created by the *Hukou* system violate many people's belief in equal opportunity. The new policy may encourage the individual migrant to obtain an urban *Hukou* and thus raise oneself up from the boot strings. Unfortunately, it appears that one's birth place will continue to determine whether real opportunities exist for those with rural *Hukou*.

Given the lower educational performances and increasing crime rates among CLB, more attention needs to be paid them. Recently a version of child welfare system has been started in five provinces, leading to improved educational and crime statistics (*Economist* 2015b). But these efforts affect less than half of one percent of the CLB. Clearly the system needs much expansion.

Manufacturers

In order to be competitive with manufacturers from less developed countries, Chinese manufacturers need cheap labor. Thus it is likely that there will continue to be “opportunities” for rural migrants in the future. More humane job environments allowing workers to phone family during work hours or the provision of child care will add to the firms’ cost structures, but they may also help Chinese society in the long run. The development of an OSHA-like governmental structure to monitor working environments may not be a realistic potentiality, but China’s ideological history has led to some referring to the PRC as a “worker’s paradise.”

The Family

Fulfilling the duties of filial piety is becoming increasingly difficult for millions of Chinese. Much of it is due to the global urbanization phenomenon brought on by the nature of economic opportunity. Can people be faulted for seeking opportunities that far exceed those close to the place of birth? On the other hand, should grandparents be expected to raise their grandchildren? Government policy concerning rural versus urban pension levels is a barrier to grandparent

movement to urban areas. Many grandparents would not choose to move to the urban areas, but many people might believe that they should have a viable choice.

The separation of young children from their parents needs attention as well. The dormitories that house many migrants do not allow children; the availability of family-friendly housing opportunities is needed. As noted above, the firms hiring the workers can facilitate family connections by allowing workers to call family during work hours or providing child care and allowing visitation during work time. The short run increase in costs might go a long way in avoiding the development of a generation of unemployable, rebellious rural youth.

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Institutionalizing Subalternization-A Case of Commercial Surrogacy in India

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The paper attempts to uncover an emergence and an institutionalization of a complex exchange viz. commercial surrogacy. It attempts to understand how the process of marketization of child birth leads to the subalternization of under-privileged women. An argument is further extended to comprehend that the subalternization gets institutionalized at two levels. At one level, female reproductive bodies from the developing countries serve as a carrier for embryos/fetuses from the developed countries. At other level, same phenomenon occurs when commissioning parents are from affluent class within the same geographical boundaries.

“.....Reproduction, parenthood and family are matters about which most people hold deep convictions- convictions often based on a certain theological or moral persuasion. Traditionally these convictions reflect a socially constructed paradigm of a ‘nuclear family’ where reproduction takes place within a permanent relationship between one man and one woman to the exclusion of all others. This relationship has traditionally been considered to be mysterious, sacred and personal. Consequently, there is ambivalence about or discomfort with methods of human reproduction, which depart from this traditional and ‘natural’ process of creating human life. One

such method of human reproduction which directly challenges traditional convictions concerning reproduction and the formation of the family is surrogate motherhood.....” (Stuhmcke 1995)

Introduction

Every society has culturally approved solutions for an infertility involving, either alone or together, alterations of social relationships (e.g. divorce or adoption), spiritual intercession (e.g. prayer or pilgrimage to spiritually powerful sites), or medical intervention (e.g. taking of herbs or consultation with medicine man) (Rosenblatt, Peterson & Portner 1973). With increased scientific understanding of fertility and an evolution of industrial society embracing modernity, all other social options than adoption lost their relevance. An adoption solve in a wonderful and satisfying way the problem of infertility for so many people that we tend to forget that adoption is a problem not a solution (Rothman 2005). Rothman further reasoned that in a better world, adoption would all but disappear. Societies world over prioritize ‘genetic substance’ over any other links such as adoption to create parent-child bondages. Ragone & Twine (2000) argue that ‘regrettably biological children continue to be considered preferable to adopted children, since adoption is most often understood as a last resort for those who are unable to fulfill genetic dictum’. Assisted reproductive technologies (ART) have provided an unconventional resolution for an infertility and involuntary childlessness. ART and specifically surrogacy has emerged as a boon to couple unable to beget a child.

An advent of ART coupled with societal changes have brought the issue of ‘surrogacy’ to the forefront of discourses of management, ethics, family, legal, feminist etc. Medical innovation and technology make it possible to destabilize the linear categories of biology and kinship. It has altered an inward orientation of a sexuality and brought it to the marketplace. Surrogacy brings

the conventional domestic activity of giving birth to a child into the realm of the market (Birthing A Market A Study on Commercial Surrogacy 2012). A childless couple prefer having a biological connection with a child. Many couples who choose to use surrogate consider it to be a 'last resort' or their last chance for a child (Baumhofer 2012). Commercial surrogacy is flourishing today because the genetic tie remains a powerful and enduring basis of human attachment (Pandey 2009). In the process, female reproductive bodies are marketized.

Commercial Surrogacy in India

The primordial urge to have a child of one's own flesh, blood and DNA — aided by technology, money and the Indian entrepreneurial spirit — has generated the “reproductive tourism industry,” which in medical parlance is known as Assisted Reproductive Technology (ART) (Malhotra 2010). Technology driven ‘fertility industry’ is a grand boom (?) in India. This industry has helped India expand its medical market and fuelled the growth of medical tourism industry. From a center of cheap reproductive labor, India is now virtually a surrogacy supermarket where deals are available off the shelves and bonuses are thrown in for good measure (Kohli 2011).

Lack of regulatory and monitoring mechanism makes it difficult to arrive at exact statistics pertaining to surrogacy industry in India (Mahajan et al. 2012). Commercial surrogacy is estimated to be USD 445 million-a-business in India (Warner 2008). Other estimate puts the surrogacy industry known as ‘baby factory’ at GBP 1.5 billion annually (Britons largest clients of 1.5 billion pounds surrogacy industry in India, 2012) (Burke 2010). A study conducted in July, 2012 estimated that there are over 3,000 fertility clinics in India (Bhalla & Thapliyal 2013).

India has surreptitiously become a booming center of a fertility market with its “reproductive tourism” industry reportedly estimated at INR 250, 000 Million today. Clinically called ART, it has been in vogue in India since 1978 and today an estimated 200, 000 clinics across the country offer artificial insemination, IVF and surrogacy (Malhotra 2010).

Surrogacy has become commercially viable and attractive proposition in India as there is abundant supply of poor women ready to offer their womb-on-rent (Jaiswal 2012) and near absence of law regulating the fertility industry (Law silent on protecting rights of a surrogate 2012). This leads to a fear of establishment of a ‘breeder class’ of minority women carrying children for the affluent (Rifkin 1988). The debate concerning commercial surrogacy has tended to focus on the key issues of autonomy, dignity and exploitation (Blyth & Potter 2003). However, there are definite designs implicit in the practice of surrogacy- like the commercialization of conception and child birth (Frank 1985) and also the commercialization of female reproductive capability and body.

Reproductive Body

Throughout history and across cultures, the reproductive body of a woman has provided fascination and fear (Ussher 2006). Women’s reproductive bodies have been constructed as a source of power, dangers and weakness. Reproductive body is central to the process by which women take up the subject position ‘woman’; central to the performance of normative femininity (Ussher 2006). Demystification of female fecundity and an advent of technology coupled with increased infertility and urge to have child of one’s own genetic material/blood ties have given rise to a commercial surrogacy world over. Feminists have denounced surrogacy as the ultimate

form of medicalization, commodification and technological colonization of the female body, and as a form of prostitution and slavery resulting from the economic and patriarchal exploitation of women (Pandey 2010). Further, narrowing this argument Campbell (1992) notes that contemporary medicine has transformed the human body into a source of instrumental value, a resource of value to others. Women's bodies are fragmented in a host of ways through their reproductive potential, so that they are reduced to vaginas, wombs and breasts (Sharp 2000).

"The deconstruction of human specifically, female body due to the technocratization of reproduction has emphasized the instrumental value of reproductive body...a womb." In an arrangement called commercial surrogacy an inability of a womb, a socially constructed embodiment of a woman, to procreate is made up with buying commercial services of healthy womb, detached from a service provider by means of a document called contract. Commercial surrogacy arrangement affects three way separation of female body. Reproductive body is deconstructed from a female body and further a fetus is detached from the commercial mother's reproductive body by means of commercial arrangement. The process of commercial surrogacy has brought the reproductive body in the ambit of market laws; the commercial surrogacy is all about buying a reproductive capability. Feminist perspective is that technocratization of reproduction has subsequently placed female reproductive body in public arena. This has deconstructed a female body in culturally significant parts and pieces. The whole process of commercial surrogacy has either reduced a woman into objectified pregnant body or a body that lacks this capability. The female body is always valued for its reproductive potential (Sharp 2000). Commercial surrogacy has added pecuniary dimension to it.

Surrogacy as an Exchange

Bagozzi (1975) enumerates three types of exchanges: restricted, generalised, and complex.

Restricted exchange refers to two- party reciprocal relationships. Generalised exchange denotes univocal, reciprocal relationships. Generalised exchange denotes univocal, reciprocal relationships among at least three actors in exchange situation. Complex exchange refers to a system of mutual relationships between at least three parties. Each social actor is involved in at least one direct exchange, while the entire system is organised by an interconnective web of relationships.

Surrogacy is the focus of the complex market exchange. It constructs families through marketplace (Rao 2003). In commercial surrogacy arrangement, multiple social actors participate; major being the commissioning parents and surrogate mother. They are represented either by a self or a representative. Assisted Reproductive Technology service provider/clinic creates an ecosystem for the exchange of commercial service to happen. This is a complex exchange, in which market and contractual commercial transactions have been inserted into a domestic moral economy of exchange and kin relations (Sama- Resource Group for Women and Health 2010).

One needs to understand what attributes each entity brings to the transaction. The process of creation and sustenance of an ecosystem of complex exchange needs to be unraveled. Different participants have different understandings of the process, making meaning of surrogacy

complicated, as well as they have different experiences and expectations of the social relation involved and generated in the clinic (Vora 2010). Social actors in the surrogacy exchange gives competing logics of market and altruism to justify their participation in the process. Surrogacy has generated a host of theoretical responses that underscore such themes as enslavement versus self-ownership, where the institution itself has been referred to as “estranged labor”, contractual motherhood, contract pregnancy, incubatory servitude and renting of a womb (Sharp 2000). Surrogacy takes place within a capitalist market and produces commodities. But it is extremely unique version of services bought and sold. The result of the service provided and the commodity produced is truly profound, it is new human life (Baumhofer 2012).

Indian society transcends the rigid economic class analysis (Lal 2001). There are many sources of stratification in Indian society including caste, class, gender, age, etc. The conceptualization subaltern captures these sources of stratification and exclusion in a comprehensive way. ‘Subaltern’ is defined as a social subordination by Gramsci (1971). Subaltern classes and groups constitute the mass of laboring population and the intermediate strata in town and country that is the people (Chaturvedi 2000). The subaltern producer-consumers continue to live in abysmal material conditions and at the margins of our society, which excites little interest among the marketers (Roy Chaudhuri 2010). Extraordinarily, a biological capacity to procreate aggravates the subaltern status of surrogates who belong to under-privileged class at the margins of society.

Objectives

Following the above discussion we explore the process of an institutionalization of subalternization through the female reproductive body- enumerating from the commercial surrogacy in India.

Methodology

We use grounded theory as the guiding methodology for this work-in-progress research. The data collection is being done primarily through in-depth interviews in different parts of India, augmented by, all available, news-paper articles in leading English dailies of the country viz. Hindustan Times, Times of India, Indian Express and Hindu.

Contribution

To our knowledge this is the first attempt to understand the commercial surrogacy from an exchange perspective. A critical lens used to study the phenomenon shall help unravel the social-policy gaps in more effective way.

Conclusion

By an attempt to construct an institutionalization of a complex exchange of commercial surrogacy and subalternization, that is being befallen thereof, we are moving away from a conventional managerial settings to unconventional marketing exchanges.

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'Wings to fly'- but to where? Menstrual hygiene, marketization and vulnerability among subaltern women in India

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Abstract

In this exploratory study we look at how marketization and marketing of disposable sanitary napkins (DSN) is creating new vulnerabilities among subaltern women of India. A pilot study was done around Auroville near Puducherry in southern India. Our initial findings suggest that there is significant marketization of menstrual hygiene, evident from multiple reports, media coverage, advertisements and Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) programs of leading MNCs and market-making policies of the Indian government. The entire effort is geared to promote DSNs among sections of women who have been using traditional methods like cloth. Good menstrual hygiene practices can lead to improved quality of life for women and young girls. However, the solutions projected through marketization and marketing of DSNs can lead to new problems and vulnerabilities for the subaltern consumer.

Introduction

Menstrual hygiene is an essential pre-requisite for arresting girls' drop-out from schools, women's overall health and ability to continue productive employment, as well as maternal well-being. Although menstruation is a natural bodily activity for women, as much as breathing of

clean air is to all humanity, it has been a topic of taboo, shame and secrecy in most societies. Consequently, providing good menstrual hygiene has been a daunting challenge for policy makers and health-activists alike. Access to safe menstrual health is not only a matter of providing various options like disposable sanitary napkins (DSNs), tampons, menstrual cups etc., there is also the need to fight the cultural aspects associated with their usage. The situation is becoming more difficult due to the potential environmental hazard caused by disposal of used DSNs.

While DSNs offer convenience to menstruating women in terms of their disposability, questions have raised about the environmental impact of the waste it generates (House, Mahon and Cavill, 2012). Global studies in this regard are alarming. A study by USAID and Kiawah Trust funded Dasra (2013) notes that if commercially produced non-biodegradable DSNs were to be made available to all, India would produce 580,000 tons of environmentally hazardous menstrual waste every year, most of which may end up as landfills. It has been reported that a single DSN takes 500-800 years to decompose (Delaney, 2012).

Invented in 1896, DSNs became popular around 1920s in US (Women's Environmental Network, 2012). In the Indian markets sales are estimated at \$ 236 million in 2012 as per Euromonitor estimates and expected to reach around \$442 million by 2017 (Khan and Gokhale, 2013). The Govt. of India (GOI) with its National Rural Health Mission makes available 'Freeday' Pads to rural adolescent girls at Re 1/- per pad (National Rural Health Mission, 2011). The scheme has however already run into trouble with huge unsold stock due to poor quality products and consequent unwillingness to buy such napkins (Pandey, 2013). National Guidelines for Menstrual Hygiene Management (2015) clearly recommends that commercial DSNs require a

good incinerator for safe disposal, though incinerators are literally absent in rural and semi-urban India. Hence 90 million DSNs are likely to hit the market in the first phase of the 'Freeday' Pads project alone, with no safe method of disposal (Ecofemme, 2014). In addition, TV advertisements by MNCs and Indian corporations with aspirational pose with the challenge of understanding the impact of marketization effects of DSNs especially for subaltern consumers.

Background

Markets and marketing are regarded to be working for the betterment of society and creation of consumer well-being (Shultz II & Holbrook, 2009). Following Prahalad's call (2004) to MNCs to consider consumers at the 'Bottom of the Pyramid', possibilities and challenges in creating consumers out of the economically disempowered and the subalterns has gained attention from many scholars. Menstrual hygiene products like DSNs have not been exceptions. Below, we provide a list of solutions/products to the economically disempowered and subalterns for maintaining menstrual hygiene:

1. Traditional approaches include using cloth like *sarees* and *lungis* (traditional dress for Indian women and men) available at home. Cloth usage is a universal phenomenon, across countries and societies. While it has no harmful effects per se on the users, the type of cloth, its cleanliness and ways of washing and drying it, post-menstruation, create health challenges. Stains caused by low absorbent clothes make mobility difficult for girls and women, stopping them from participating in schools, sports or social events. Unclean clothes cause infection, subsequent heavy bleeding and anemia. There are also reports stating the use of soil or mud to check menstrual flow among rural and tribal communities, increasing the chances of infection, and even turning out to be fatal.

2. Market-based solution like DSNs and tampons are widely used by Western and affluent consumer segments of emerging markets. DSNs are convenient to buy and use. Tampons that are more prevalent in the West do not find favor in India as there are cultural taboos against penetration by a 'foreign object'. Corporations with high market share encourage women to use DSNs through their Corporate Social Responsibility programs like the Stayfree 'Women for Change' program (CSR Resources, 2013).
3. Govt. sponsored schemes / projects where low-cost sanitary napkins are sourced from small and medium enterprises (SMEs) and provided for free mostly targeting the adolescent girls. Such market-based solutions tackle issues around access and cost of napkins and provides school-going girls a comfortable menstrual experience.
4. Social enterprises (SE) have been working to provide solutions to population-groups who could not access DSNs manufactured by MNCs. Our desk research suggests that there are two main groups of SEs working in this area.
 - a. The first group develops indigenous technology that allows production of low-cost sanitary napkins. This trend was pioneered by Arunachalam Muruganathan who invented a new technology and production process for manufacturing of sanitary napkins. His initiative has made local women-led manufacturing of DSNs possible, enabling many women in rural India to earn their livelihood and use sanitary napkins.

- b. The second group of social entrepreneurs is working with cloth pads – a solution positioned between households using cloth/ rags and those using DSNs. Cloth based sanitary napkins came to the Western markets in the 1970s and became increasingly popular due to ‘comfort, savings over time, environmental impact and health reasons’. They are relatively new to the Indian market. While some of the brands like Kriya target urban, eco- consumers, others work with the BoP market. Over their life span, cloth pads work out to be cheaper than DSNs which were made for one time usage and has lower per unit cost in the long-run. These groups of SEs believe cloth pads to be a sustainable and eco-friendly solution to the problem of menstrual hygiene and related health issues for rural women.

Literature Review

To ground ourselves into relevant literature we looked into three streams of study – ‘marketization’, ‘consumer vulnerability’ and ‘subalternity’. We briefly describe our understanding in the following section.

Lowrie and Brown (2011) argue that marketing and marketization are not the same things, and while marketing provides information that helps in taking decisions, marketization involves power dynamics and complexities of funding, labor and markets. Raising the debate of whether marketing as a discipline should raise questions on the marketization debate, Araujo and Pels (2015) points out that literature on subsistence marketplaces of subaltern consumers of global south occurs in unique socially embedded landscapes that have scant relation to formal markets. This brings us to the question of whether forces of marketization do indeed benefit or harm the poor. Beneria (1999) contends that both, national Govts. through their efforts of globalizing their

domestic economies, as well as IMF, World Bank policies have contributed to an increasingly global market-place. This, she claims, would promote individualistic competitive behavior, and even greed and acceptance of societal inequities. In a scathing critique of marketization Sliwa (2007) refers to it as the *soma* or drug that promotes conspicuous consumption, individualism through identification with group norms, and progressive de-intellectualization of society. There is a general understanding that vulnerability and opportunism go hand-in-hand. Baker, Gentry & Rittenburg (2005, p.134) have defined vulnerability as “.. a state of powerlessness that arises from an imbalance in the marketplace interactions or from the consumption of marketing messages and products. It occurs when control is not in individual’s hands, creating a dependence on external factors (e.g. marketers) to create fairness in the marketplace.” Following Prahalad’s seminal approach the subaltern consumers, who till recently were relegated as living in abysmally poor material conditions and hence out of the purview of these marketers, have been evincing much interest from marketers globally though with its fair share of criticism. Questions have been raised about the seriousness in delivering true value to subaltern consumers or are these attempts of creating consumer vulnerabilities by instigating a pernicious trend of conspicuous consumption practices among them (Varman & Belk, 2008). With the above theoretical lens, we explore what effects marketization has on the non-affluent Indian consumers living in a cultural milieu of taboo and secrecy about women’s menstruation.

Problematization of the emergent marketization phenomenon

Emotionally charged advertisements from MNCs and free distribution by the Indian government is leading to wide adoption of DSNs by rural women even though there is a global tendency among the informed, environment-conscious consumers to shift back to traditional

environment-friendly menstruation hygiene methods like cloth pads or menstrual cups. We problematize this development in India on three counts

- I. There is an implicit vulnerability around menstruation primarily due to social taboos. Marketization is adding to that vulnerability by seemingly providing a 'solution' to the 'problem'. The nature and extent of the vulnerability is moving from implicit to explicit (from social customs to mass media based TV ads). This is creating desire, identity formation and resultant pull for consumption among the consuming class.
- II. The subaltern women are buying DSNs- moving from one type of vulnerability (social taboo around menstruation) to another type- the desire to conform to the projected identity shown by advertisements i.e. the need to buy costly napkins which are in no way superior to a clean cloth/ cloth pad. They exhibit tendencies of moving towards different kind of aspiration-based consumption as reflected in TV ads with taglines like 'so that I don't lose an opportunity' or 'give me wings' (Stayfree India, 2015; Stayfree India 2012)
- III. Vulnerability is getting created by disposal of used DSNs and leading to a) possible natural disasters caused by choked waterways b) carcinogens emitted due to burning of DSNs. Here too, the subalterns may suffer more as rural areas have low awareness about sustainable practices and absolutely no waste management systems, e.g. no incinerators.

In the figure below, we have identified four groups of consumers, depending on their ability to afford a suitable product and the cultural taboo around menstruation. In the current study, we focus on consumers in Q2 and question their possible shift to Q1 in terms of vulnerability.

Given the above issues that we see emerging from marketization and marketing of DSNs, our research question is:

Are subaltern women (Q2, see below) becoming the new consumers for DSN manufacturers (Q1), posing a problem of health and environmental hazards thereby increasing their vulnerability.

[Insert figure 1 about here]

Research Methodology

Since it is not easy to get subaltern women to talk about menstruation, we approached a social enterprise, EcoFemme (EF) that is involved in promoting sustainable menstruation practices through promotion of cloth-pads. EF operates out of Auroville near Puducherry in southern India. Through EF, we approached the subaltern consumers in and around Auroville. Employees and support organizations of EF helped us reach out to the members of self-help groups (SHG) involved in improving women's livelihood opportunities. The employees also helped in translating as the in-depth interviews were primarily conducted in Tamil. We also talked to the co-founders of EF, a waste-management consultant working part-time with EF, volunteers of EF and support organizations that extensively work with subaltern female consumers. We visited interior villages that had no easy access by public transportation, and the SHG member-women had to walk a minimum of ten kms daily to reach their work-place or sell their products to nearby market-places. 11 in-depth interviews were conducted, and average interview time was 45 minutes (some went on for 1.5 hours, while some others were around 30 minutes). This pilot field-work was primarily exploratory in nature, and focused on understanding menstrual management practices of the target consumers. Through EF, we also got access to reports of syndicated research studies initialized to gauge rural women's response to EF cloth-pads, and the way they handled menstrual flow.

Findings

Our pilot study yielded some expected and some unexpected insights. We will discuss the primary themes of our findings in the following section.

a. Paradox of vulnerability versus empowerment

Who is vulnerable? Is it only the subaltern consumer who can ill-afford hygienic ways of handling menstruation, or is the panacea more far-reaching? Monisha (name changed) was a first year medical student in a reputed Indian University. Her German mother was Aurovillean and had adopted her as a little girl (she was Indian). Being an Aurovillean, the mom was environmental-conscious and tried to get her daughter to use environment-friendly options like cloth-pad or menstrual cups. The young girl wasn't eager. In an effort to understand what the causes of non-adoption are, we approached her. She was unwilling to talk to us, and was actually upset about the very topic of discussion. When the second author met her socially at a Christmas dinner, she was plainly jittery and uncomfortable, although no mention of the proposed interview was done. This makes us wonder whether only the sub-altern consumer is vulnerable, or are there different levels of vulnerability in even the educated upper echelons of society. For the poor consumer, affording a DSN might be an issue, but with the aspirational appeals of commercially marketed products that urge them to 'not lose an opportunity' or 'give wings' to dreams, they are vulnerable to the lures of marketization.

'I had my annual exams the day I had my first period. I felt scared. I did not know anything about it. Amma wanted me to sit at the corner of the room, but I still wrote my exams. Amma told me not to speak to boys. She gave me cloth to use. After that I changed to napkins after 5 months. I watched ads, and my friends told me. I felt uncomfortable wearing cloth to schools. I just told my mom that I want them. I liked the wings of Stayfree'

(emphasis added, Aarti, Data Entry Operator at a small enterprise)'

While using unhygienic mud, dirt, rags makes sub-altern women vulnerable to diseases, the *soma* of conspicuous consumption (Silwa, 2007) might create a new vulnerability both for her as well as the environment of the community. Is marketization really giving them the wings, or are they pushing them towards products that the western consumer has been steadily moving away from? Are their aspirations to realize their aspirations and dreams being used against them to sell DSNs?

'My daughter does not want to wear cloth. She wants to use only disposables. Initially we had to buy it from shop. Now school gives free pads. In fact now I also use those pads that she gets from school' (Sylvia, member of self-help group).

'My mother gave me old lungi when I got my first period. My younger sister was in 11th standard and she started using disposables. She knew about it because she went to a town school. And I too was introduced to it. Before that I was only using cloth.'

(Jaggi, SHG member).

'Mother did not suggest, but my 19-year old cousin sister suggested that I use Stayfree. My mother still uses cloth.'

(Nimisha, NGO worker).

The question is, does DSNs empower, or does marketization make the subaltern consumer vulnerable in terms of environmental impact that DSNs create with an almost non-existent waste management system in those eco-systems for used napkins?

b. Where does menstrual waste go, and at what cost?

'I have never been to school. Out of my four children, two have never been to school. No, I don't know what this is (on being shown a Whisper pad). I have never used a bathroom. I use old cloth. When I chum, I use water from the field pumps to clean myself'

(Jyoti, landless farm labor)

Yet even Jyoti had her 'coming of age' ritual celebrated. None of the respondents we talked to knew about menstruation before they had their first period. Male relatives were invited to the puberty ritual, but no conversation ever happened over menstruation. It was just like another social function that they attended, and no one asked questions.

'My mother told me not to look at the face of men after I had my first period. During the first five days of my first period, I wasn't allowed to leave home.'

(Nimisha, NGO worker).

'I did not look at mens' face months after I reached puberty; even in the puberty ritual, I wouldn't look at them, I would look down'

(Jaggi, SHG member).

This culture of silence breeds its own undercurrent of secrecy around menstruation.

Consequently the used sanitary pads are buried, or burned, or even washed before they are thrown away in water bodies.

'I burn Stayfree after use'

(Slyvia, member of self-help group)

'After starting on disposables I felt that it is difficult to get clothes, wash them. Disposables easy to throw. Clothes were burnt in far-away places. From the disposable, I wash the blood, and burn it; or throw it away. If eagle or snake or lizard crosses used menstrual cloth/napkin, there would be dosha, you may get barren'

(Jaggi, SHG member).

Manufacturers are not required to declare the composition of disposable sanitary napkins as in India, these classify as medical device. It has been reported that DSNs have relatively low toxic chemicals, but their very presence spells health hazards for women (Women's Voices, 2014). Interestingly, the soiled napkins are not treated as medical waste. Ragpickers of Pune, India, sent bagful of soiled sanitary napkins to the corporate offices of commercial DSN producers P&G, J&J, Unilever, Kimberley-Clark Lever, in an effort to draw their attention to the necessity of proper disposal of menstrual waste (Basu, 2013). Soiled sanitary napkins are considered to be non-recyclable solid waste and are to be incinerated after segregation into bio-degradable and non-biodegradable waste. However, all soiled feminine care products may contain blood-borne pathogens and may therefore be dangerous to the rag-pickers who handle them without any protective gears (Basu, 2013). Additionally, the informal burning of the napkins releases hazardous dioxins and furans in the atmosphere.

Conclusion

This exploratory study on effect of marketization on subaltern customers is based on our initial findings from interviews and fieldwork in south India. Adoption of sustainable menstrual hygiene products can bring a sea change in the lives of millions of subaltern Indian women, improving their education, mobility and social empowerment. DSNs are emerging as the dominant choice before subaltern women, pushed by aspirational TV advertisements (Wings to Fly), branding initiatives and CSR programmes of market leading MNCs. This is creating newer types of vulnerability among subaltern groups. Public policy is also skewed towards a 'market making' orientation – providing free pads to school going children who will find it hard to switch

to other products like cloth pads for the rest of their lives. Vulnerability linked to DSN disposal is absent from the discourse. Pathogens in used napkins and carcinogens from the burnt ones create health hazards. Piles of used sanitary napkins in landfills and waterbodies are posing environmental hazards. Living in areas with low awareness about sustainable disposal, vulnerable subalterns face the brunt of another market made disaster, yet again.

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Fig. 1

Affordability


Affluent

Non-affluent

Cultural acceptability

Tabo

Non-Taboo

Elite consumers of Emerging markets DSNs Q1	BoP consumers of Emerging markets Rags, Mud, subsidized/free DSNs 
Western Consumers, Emerging market consumers that believe in sustainable menstrual Tampons Menstrual cups/ cloth pads Cloth pads DSN Q3	BoP consumers Free/subsidized menstrual cups by SEs Q4

Food Versus Energy in Emergent Southeast Asia: A Battle for Sustainability on One of the World's Great Rivers

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Overview

Current and proposed dam production along the Mekong River has significant downstream effects on agriculture and the aquacultures of the Southeast Asian region. Hydropower energy plays a critical role in the area as countries are rapidly developing, and thus utilizing their natural resources. Little understanding exists, however, regarding the full deleterious impacts of regional energy demand on the waterway. This paper focuses on the consequential outcomes of uncoordinated and unfettered damming of the Mekong River. The presentation will focus more closely on Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, and Vietnam. In particular, it examines the manner in which hydroelectric projects have directly impacted and will impact productivity of regional aquaculture and agriculture that sustain millions of lives.



(Source: Chiangrai Times April 17, 2015)

A secondary and primary data analysis of the political, economic, and environmental influences is detailed throughout this paper and presentation. In particular, an examination of the trade-off and high cost of hydro-power generation projects in terms of long term environmental damage exacerbated by sea level rise driven by climate change. The objective is explore potential short term and long term options in salvaging the environment and biosphere around and in one of the largest and most productive rivers in the world.

The Mekong Battle

The Mekong battle stems from the wide variety of demands put on the river during its traverse of Southeast Asia. These demands are often in conflict and create significant stress for the

river, its ecosystems and the geo-political entities that lay claim to its riches. The river flows nearly 4,600km with its roots stretching from the Tibetan Himalayas in China to the South China Sea (Ziv et al., 2009). Along its path, the Mekong sustains populations in Myanmar, Lao Peoples Democratic Republic (Lao PDR), Cambodia, Thailand, and ultimately Vietnam as it empties into the South China Sea through the Mekong River Delta. As plans for hydroelectric dams are proposed and realized, the road to development has already begun to take its toll on the people and the health of all eco-systems along the Mekong. The Mekong produces nearly 25 percent of the global freshwater catch, largely credited to the inland fisheries. The Lower Mekong is also home to over 1,100 freshwater species, namely the Mekong Giant Catfish and Irrawaddy dolphins that are rapidly nearing extinction (WWF, 2013). Not only is the Mekong home to many species of fish, but also to a wide number of local human populations spread throughout the neighboring countries.

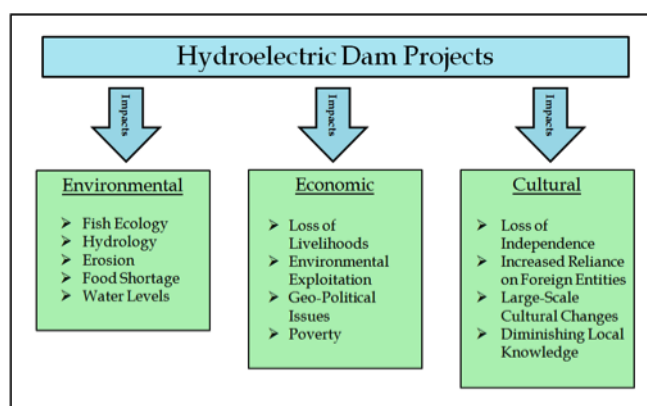


Figure 1. Interactive systems that are effected through Hydroelectric Dam Projects, as discussed throughout each section. Source: Author

The Mekong River Commission

The Mekong Committee was formed in the 1950s to protect the integrity of what was at the time, one of the last unexploited great rivers in the world. The intent was to try and have some sort of coordinated approach to monitoring the river and keep abreast of issues that impacted

its current and potential well-being. The Mekong Committee helped begin multinational conversations about the River and its fair usage into the future. The Khmer Rouge took Cambodia out of the group in the mid 1970's and the organization continued without Cambodian participation until the current organization, known as the Mekong River Commission (MRC), came into existence in 1995. The MRC was formed to promote the Mekong and to act independently of individual nations' interests while focusing on the people and river as a whole. The MRC's mission seeks "an economically prosperous, socially just and environmentally sound Mekong River Basin" (MRC, Vision and Mission). The member nations are Cambodia, Lao Peoples Democratic Republic (Lao PDR), Thailand, and Vietnam. While there are variety of other nations that are said to provide input and assistance, the obvious missing member is from the north: China. The absence of China as a full member is most important from every angle, but especially from a policy and action perspective. A recent article in *The Economist* points out, China is the "Mekong's biggest threat" (Economist 2016). The absence of China is not an 'oversight.'" China has been clear over the years in its refusal to join the group.

China has been developing at an unprecedented pace in a relatively short amount of time. That pace has been supported by, on a regular basis, not following all the rules regarding the environment. There has generally been little worrying about the needs of each individual at home and abroad. This behavior is also evident towards its neighbors downstream on the Mekong. China is pursuing its long-term national interests and continuing to strive to become a leader in the global economy. Between 2006 and 2011, China invested more than \$6.1 billion in the financing and construction of hydroelectric power additions along the Mekong River in

Southeast Asia. Additionally and more alarmingly, Chinese companies, most of which are state-owned enterprises, have currently “financed 46% of all hydroelectric capacity additions in Cambodia, Laos, and Myanmar” (EIA, 2013). While the argument is often that “it is for the Southeast Asian nations, estimates by the MRC are that all these dam projects will supply only about 8% of the lower Mekong’s Southeast Asian nations power future power needs (Economist 2016). Given current and past behaviors both at home and around the globe, one can easily posit that China’s increased investment in Southeast Asian hydroelectric resources is simply China seeking to secure a long-term supplier of electricity to power for its own southern regions. These regions have been growing steadily in size and wealth with each passing year. Moreover, with seeming indifference to other countries’ interests, China has dammed the Upper Mekong located in its territory without bilateral agreements with the nations to its south.

Future Outlook

For thousands of years, millions of people have and continue to use the Mekong River for food, water, shelter, employment, and navigation. While the Mekong provides the basis for the livelihood and well-being for millions, demands from around the region (China in particular) have accelerated the deterioration of the river and its surrounding ecosystems as the river makes its way south from interior China to the South China Sea. This has fueled growing concern about the, short-term, mid-term, and long-term sustainability of not only the river, but the entire region’s ecosystems that depend on Mekong waters for sustenance in almost every imaginable manner. The signs are clear that the health and future of the Mekong is in jeopardy. The Lower Mekong Basin has some of the largest inland fisheries in the world, with

the highest productivity exported to the benefit of the host countries. In addition to fish production, the Mekong is beautiful and has drawn many people from around the world through tourism to visit the Mekong and its bordering cities. This paper examines the interface of these systems and the geopolitical entities that have a choice. They can either destroy one another through reckless and uncoordinated efforts or identify appropriate political and market driven forces that can be leveraged to make sure that the desire to harness the Mekong's power does not destroy the very artery that pumps the life blood through the region.

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Marketing History: Thought and Practice I

A History of U.S. Antitrust Law and Its Impact on the Practice of Marketing

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Abstract

More than one hundred twenty five years ago, Americans struggled with newly nationalized markets where small firms were being squeezed out by larger firms that were forming trusts to control the market output and prices. While courts would sometimes not enforce trust agreements when one trust member sued another, the electorate felt more was needed and antitrust laws were enacted at the state and federal level. Since then the strictness and focus of U.S. antitrust enforcement has varied over time. This paper proposes and examines various periods of antitrust policy and enforcement by both analyzing the holdings of major court decisions as well as the number of government and private lawsuits brought under the federal antitrust laws.

This paper examines the marketing practices condemned as unreasonable under early Sherman Act cases and then examines practices condemned by Clayton and Federal Trade Commission Acts of 1914. As marketing developed as a discipline beginning in the 1930s, the marketing literature in both books and journals is added to the analysis. The marketing literature sought to inform practitioners about antitrust developments and to add marketing voices to the debate regarding

antitrust policy. This paper concludes that in the past 40 years or so, antitrust policy has worked its way back to its origins –condemning blatant collusion among competitors and judging everything else under the rule of reason that attempts to predict the likely competitive effects of the conduct in question in the particular market being examined.

Mining the recent history of Macromarketing thought: A visualization of ideas

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This project seeks to explore the trajectory and recent trends of macromarketing thought by excavating the data comprising of keywords and abstracts for publications that appeared in the *Journal of Macromarketing* between 2008 and 2015. Underlying this research is the understanding that user-generated keywords capture the conceptual essence of a publication (such a natural language approach to information retrieval is often contrasted with controlled approaches that rely on a vocabulary of pre-defined keywords, see Taylor and Joudrey 2009, 359–367). By tracing author supplied and abstract-based keywords, we are able to draw out the patterns that indicate core theoretical interests and how these evolve through time. To our knowledge, this is the first attempt to apply data mining techniques to construct a comprehensive overview of macromarketing thought that builds on and extends three well-established traditions in macromarketing scholarship: Subject-specific literature reviews (e.g., Drenten and McManus 2015), historic reflections on the discipline (e.g., Jones and Shaw 2006, Shapiro, Tadajewski, and Shultz 2009), and an attention to methodological issues (e.g., Wooliscroft 2016, 9).

This project draws on current developments in *technologically enhanced content analysis* (Krippendorff 2013) and utilizes data visualization techniques to identify and examine patterns

within macromarketing thought. Our unit of analysis is the metadata for each article published in the *Journal of Macromarketing* between 2008 and 2015 (excluding editorials and book reviews). Metadata is the data that describes the content (Ware 2012, 29), such as authors, titles, keywords, geographic terms, and so on. Following the methodological tenets of content analysis (Krippendorff 2013), we collect author supplied and abstract-based keywords to determine and analyze the presence of certain notions and relationships between them to make inferences about central concepts and patterns in macromarketing theorizing. To generate the coding frame, we consider the existing literature that reviews the field of macromarketing, and conduct a preliminary thematic analysis. We employ a series of visualization techniques to systematically process and present emerging categories and relationships therein.

Our analysis shows previously unrevealed relationships between diverse research ideas and concepts, and makes it possible to visualize the paths that form the field of macromarketing. For instance, our analysis reveals the geographical spread and internationalization of the macromarketing community, both in terms of ideas and countries represented. In addition to previously discussed overarching themes at the core of macromarketing thought (such as marketing ethics, see, e.g., Nill and Schibrowsky 2007), we are able to uncover patterns of macromarketer's interests that are variegated, multifarious, and dynamic. In particular, we see how certain research concepts emerge to form persistent themes, while others appear from time to time, and still others become prominent only momentarily.

While foundational research reviews tend to focus on the prominent field-defining and/or field-transforming concepts, topics, and research streams, our analysis pays heed to more marginal

ideas. In doing so, our analysis demonstrates the breadth and diversity of macromarketing research. The plethora of ideas thus revealed is a testament to macromarketer's creativity and vibrancy of their interests, as well as their willingness to push and continuously redefine the boundaries of the field.

Overall, we believe that our project complements the existing work on the history of macromarketing thought. We think it is particularly useful for aspiring macromarketing scholars as it shows both the history of the discipline and the traditions within macromarketing scholarship, and importantly the scope of possibilities for new ideas and new research at the intersection of marketing, markets, and society.

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Macro-Social Marketing in a Country: The British Experience

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Abstract

This paper considers the macro perspective of social marketing, in a national level, and studies a policy process that led to its incorporation in a national public policy, with the aim of improving positive social behavior change and citizens well-being, trying to demonstrate how a cognitive approach explains the genesis, development and implementation of that process. Based on the theoretical foundations of social marketing in social sciences and political theory, as well as on macromarketing theory, using the method of *referentials* (*référentiels*, according to the so called Grenoble school closely associated with Bruno Jobert and Pierre Muller), that cognitive approach was developed through a case study research about the British public health policy, including its national social marketing strategy, initiated in 2004, and considered as a *crucial* one in this field. Between 2004 and 2013 we had collected quantitative and qualitative data in order to follow that British national social marketing strategy, trying to understand its *mediation*, tracking the different *mediators* involved, showing and explaining their evolution from a cognitive dimension to a normative one, from the intellectual to the power field, including the creation and contribution of different institutions. That cognitive approach is proven to be scientifically consistent and valid for the explanation of the British case and presents a contribution to the

conception and development of similar policies, in other situations and countries, according to appropriate policy transfer and implementation.

Art and Culture I

The Collective Art of Protest: Branding the Umbrella Revolution

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Abstract

The Hong Kong protests of 2014 quickly became known as the Umbrella Revolution or Umbrella Movement, receiving international attention and press coverage. Activists purposefully and successfully created a strong visual identity for this movement, thereby 'branding' it on the public consciousness. Drawing on netnographic data, findings demonstrate the role of art in the construction and negotiation of social identity. Indeed, artistic creation was central to the protest and its development, reclaiming public space and embracing a new, collective identity challenging not only the government but also the established art market which lionizes the individual rather than the communal. We see how the tools of branding, traditionally used to signal private ownership, can be used in communal meaning-making for public good.

Introduction

Eckhardt and Bengtssen (2010) examine branding practices in China and demonstrate that they have been in operation since premodernity, emerging outside of a capitalist context to serve primarily social functions. Therefore, while much of the branding literature implies a Capitalist frame of reference, brands have not and do not always operate in a hierarchical and monologic

way. This paper focuses on the recent 2014 Hong Kong protests, dubbed the ‘Umbrella Revolution’ to examine how this social movement used the tools of branding in an effort to create and communicate a new collective identity. In particular, this paper examines the use of the visual arts as part of this effort. Art became a primary vehicle of expression and method of documentation during these pro-democracy protests. The occupied streets were transformed into canvases for artistic creativity, demonstrating the power of art as a platform for participation and advocacy both to challenge the financialization of the art market as well form a part of a wider political rebellion. The umbrella, an everyday item that protects users against the rain and sun became one of the defining symbols of the protests due to its use to deflect the pepper spray and tear gas used by the police, becoming a symbol of resistance and underlying social grievances. The color yellow also became symbolic of the protests as students adopted yellow ribbons in solidarity. Protest art thus served a number of functions: bolstering spirits through humor, adding personality and comfort to an otherwise desolate living space, staving off the boredom of living for weeks on end on a highway and also conveying messages to outsiders to increase public awareness and visibility.

Throughout history, visual culture has played an important role in protest and social change. Although “high” art had long been used to venerate political figures as well as members of the upper classes, with the revolutionary tides of the 18th and 19th centuries in Europe and America there was a shift and an increase in pictorial depictions of political resistance. These historical examples demonstrate the way visual culture has been fundamental to the politics of protest. Art serves as witness and document, it can incite and instigate action. In Hong Kong, the ‘Umbrella Revolution’ saw an explosion of artistic expression and art became an important ideological

means through which opposition to the state was articulated and resulted in the sudden opening of public space. While the marketing literature is increasingly recognizing the need for examination of the visual as a central part of our consumer culture, this has largely focused on advertising (e.g. Schroeder, 2006), packaging (Kravets, 2012) or the work of celebrity artists such as Warhol (Kerrigan et al., 2011). There is a need to further examine the use of public art, which this study argues can provide social consciousness, emphasize civic-minded participation and ultimately, challenge power to open up alternate modes of life. Moreover, Van den Bosch et al. (2005) demonstrate how corporate visual identity supports reputation but there is little understanding as to how, through the image, identity can be constructed and negotiated for wider groups of public citizens.

Context

Art & Politics

The relationship between various kinds of art and power, aesthetics and politics and art and propaganda has been a subject of interest throughout history. There is therefore a long history of the arts being used in ideological struggles, political authority being waged through imagery in a fundamentally symbolic battleground. As the arts respond to contemporaneous events and politics they take on political as well as social dimensions, becoming themselves a focus of controversy and sometimes of socio-political change (Edelman, 2001). Adorno (1951) famously declared that “every work of art is an uncommitted crime,” in that art as creative expression, by its very nature, challenges the status quo. In this sense, all art is political. Corrigan-Brown (2012) notes how images can shape public understanding of socio-political issues and are important in their ability to elicit “strong physiological and emotional impact from viewers” (p.132). These

images, she continues, can impact our understanding of events, legitimize (or delegitimize) different groups of people and are a “central part of how citizens come to understand the actions of governments and elites” (p.133). The arts are therefore important in creating and communicating a collective narrative, articulating who we are, where we come from, what we stand for and what we are against. Art has the ability to reduce complex concepts to easily grasped ideas, raise people and ideas to the status of icons, reach wide audiences and create a spirit of belonging and perception of empowerment. This paper focuses on the visual image in particular, as it is the quickest way to spread a message, conveying context and emotion across language barriers. This is why visual identity often features heavily in contemporary branding theory and in particular, in discussions of nation branding.

Nation states have, of course, always used flags, colors, slogans, anthems, origin stories and other symbolic forms to establish and mark their sovereignty. The arts are acknowledged as tools of soft power and the development of the creative industries has become a priority for emerging economies in cementing their place on the world stage (e.g. O'Connor and Xin, 2006). This is in line with a wider discourse of nation branding which has been presented as a means for nations to redefine and reposition themselves within the master narrative of globalization, reinterpreting national identity in market terms (as discussed by Jansen, 2008). However, while nation branding is as argued by Jansen (2008, p.134) a “monologic, hierarchical, reductive form of communication that is intended to privilege one message (..) marginalize and silence dissenting voices,” perhaps public art created collectively can resist these exclusive tendencies. By examining how the Umbrella Movement ‘branded’ itself through the use of art we see a more multifaceted identity presented, allowing everyone a voice.

Although it is controversial to suggest that the creation of public art is an overt attempt at branding, the Hong Kong protesters clearly made use of the branding discourse in seeking a unique and recognizable identity through activities such as online competitions for logos of the movement. Political scientist Gene Sharp, whose writings have been described as “a revolutionary’s best friend, or, perhaps more accurately, as a dictatorship’s worst nightmare,” (Mackay, 2012), provides guidelines of how to orchestrate a protest movement. Beyond his discussion of tactics as basic as public speeches, petitions, picketing and vigils, Sharp’s list defines how to create a unique and recognizable identity for a movement. It recommends establishing “symbolic colors,” slogans, caricatures, sounds and symbols in service of the greater cause, and draws upon the myriad ways a political party or company creates an identity for voters or consumers to associate with its candidates or products. The Hong Kong protesters seem to have followed these directions and the image of the umbrella thus served as a terrain on which to articulate (and sometimes contest) national identity, revolutionary struggle and the people’s voice in forging a new and more open future. In this sense, the protests are similar to other recent struggles, for example Rogers (2012), shows how the hennaed Hand of Fatima provided the focal point for anti-terror and pro-democracy demonstrations in Morocco, arguing that expressive cultural imagery is a powerful vector for social cohesion. However, this paper suggests that it is not just the imagery that must be considered but the practices that are used to form them, in particular the collaborative nature of these practices whereby art was used as a platform for participation and advocacy.

Background to the protests

Hong Kong is known as the “city of protests” (Ma, 2007, p. 207) and as discussed by Garrett (2015) it is a space where narratives of the city and its people and their place and role in the Chinese nation are frequently contested visually on the streets and in the public spaces of the city. While many of these protests have centered on the struggle for greater democratic reforms, political freedoms and greater autonomy from the mainland there have also been countless other demonstrations involving demands for social justice over Hong Kong’s wealth gap, public housing, urban development, heritage conservation and other government policies (Garrett, 2015). Indeed, these various issues all find expression in the protests of 2014 which although focused on electoral reform, became a wider space for resistance to corporate and political interests. For 79 days of 2014, the world watched Hong Kong as the city came to a standstill. Beginning on September 28, 2014, as many as 200,000 defiant Hong Kongers took to the streets to demand the democracy they had been promised when the UK returned the colony to Beijing in the summer of 1997. Their demands were for ‘true universal suffrage’ through open elections by 2017 rather than the current ‘nominating committee’ of 1200 people - most of them from pro-Beijing elites – who currently choose the top political post of chief executive. While the movement eventually dissipated without achieving any actual concessions from China, it created a resilient protest community particularly of the previously apolitical youth who now have a heightened awareness of their civil rights and responsibilities and provided a space for creative experiments and extra-economic interactions that was key in this civic transformation. The protests therefore serve as an interesting context in which to consider the role of public art in creating or reclaiming national and popular identity.

Methods

This paper extends previous research by Borgerson and Schroeder (2002) focusing on visual representations, following their call for more theoretical consideration of visual issues in the marketing literature. The research answers this by moving beyond a consideration of advertising and corporate imagery (e.g. Pearce, 1999; Schroeder, 2006) created for the market to consider the visual representations created as part of the 2014 Hong Kong protests. These include logos, paintings, sculptures, graffiti and other forms of street art. By considering these images as socio-political artefacts we can unpack the meanings they communicate to local and international audiences and the social values they create and reflect. Goffman (1979) showed us how identities can be “performed” through images, especially images that enter the cultural landscape through popular mass media and by focusing on a highly mediatized conflict the study can further uncover the use of visual representation in understanding cultural identity and as part of our lived experience. Data was collected through the Internet, using a netnographic approach (Kozinets, 2002). Focusing on a number of Facebook groups related to the protests, activists’ postings both during and after the protests (ongoing from October 2014) were collected. The groups were selected based on their relevance, following the social media activity of key local artist-activists previously known to the researcher. Once a few groups were selected, snowballing allowed for a greater sample. The main groups used were ‘Hong Kong Artists concern protest art,’ ‘Umbrella Festival,’ ‘Sketching Occupy Central,’ ‘Mr & Ms HK people,’ ‘Umbrella Creation Community’ and ‘Umbrella Movement Visual Archive.’ Through these groups, discourse data from activists as well as images of the art being created was collected. The research draws on art historical and cultural studies tools to further investigate identity, politics and consumption and to understand the power of the image in creating meaning. In addition,

media reports on the protests (and at times, the art created) were collected by entering key words such as 'Hong Kong,' 'Protests,' and 'Umbrella' in search engines to understand how the artistic activities were understood by outsiders. The data was then iteratively analyzed for anticipated and emergent themes, focusing particularly on the construction and communication of the movement's identity. The researcher then tacked back and forth repeatedly between the findings and extant literature.

Preliminary Findings

Public Space

The explosion of art seen during the Hong Kong protests, often pointedly political, became as much an expression of the protest as the megaphone speeches and the metal street barricades. It was notable in reflecting a collective spirit, as Professor Oscar Ho Hing-Kay, formerly exhibition director of the Hong Kong Arts Centre, described: "The entire city is a work of art, and everyone is an artist. What impresses me is the totality of it. (...) This is a kind of bottom-up art explosion, entirely not curated, but still all working on a common theme, as if someone had curated it" (Pollack, 2015). The walls of buildings were full of sketches, paintings, cartoon and banners, encouraging anyone to have a go. In a city as crowded as Hong Kong where policy is controlled by real-estate developers, the public had never had such unbridled access to roadways and avenues and the art created reclaimed this space for the commonweal. What became known as *Lennon Wall*, located next to the central government building and covered with thousands upon thousands of Post-it notes bearing drawings, slogans and pleas, many professing their love for Hong Kong, is representative of this. It is worth noting that post-its and chalk were the main media used, so as not to damage public facilities. Beyond this respect for the space, the idea of

rendering the public sphere visible through these messages and colors (see image 1) is particularly relevant in Hong Kong due to the city's high degree of urbanization, hyper population density, relative small size and limited sites of political power.

Furthermore, the explosion of artistic expression seen during the protests was previously not achievable as it would not have been seen, being restricted to those connected to the small and exclusive art world. While Hong Kong is considered the key financial hub for the Asian art market, being a base for record-breaking sales in both the major auction houses, Sotheby's and Christie's, the growth and success of the prestigious Hong Kong Art Fair (run by Art Basel) and the increasing number of major international galleries, the local arts scene is still small and underdeveloped. Local artists have not reached the near-celebrity status of their mainland peers and Hong Kong's art scene has developed separately from the art market with the massive growth of the mainland Chinese market overshadowing it. For example, while the numbers in terms of attendance and sales at the Hong Kong Art Fair have been phenomenal, only a small number of Hong Kong galleries are in attendance of which only a couple actually show Hong Kong artists. There is therefore a growing division between local artists and the art market. While money is being made in the Hong Kong art market, it is doing little to develop the Hong Kong arts scene and has therefore been perceived as a kind of Capitalist encroachment by the local artists who struggle to survive. The need for a Hong Kong identity, which is increasingly political (and differentiated from that of the mainland artists) and the importance for locals to band together to promote this identity is therefore visualized through the art created during the protests. Following Venkatesh and Meamber (2006) we consider how these forms of street art offer alternative modes to the hegemony of the art market as well as to wider visual marketing

practices. Participative art was key to the protests and the occupied streets were turned into debating grounds for socio-political issues. For example, a competition was created to build low-cost homes in response to the lack of affordable homes in the city. These collective and open-to-all practices were a way to take back much-contested private space and to allow for diverse voices and perspectives, while their largely ephemeral and dematerialist nature (due to the materials used) provided a critique of the market by offering alternative, short-lived acts of protest. One local artist produced black candles of the police, meant to be melted away, representing representing the gradually destroyed image of the police as they used excessive force on the protesters. Another, produced edible political slogans such as "I want real universal suffrage ", in order to internalize these messages. Furthermore, although a diversity of images and messages were visible in the protests, in line with branding practices the ideological power of much of these lay in their repetition of key tropes such as the umbrella.



Image 1: Lennon Wall

Collective Identity

Facing *Lennon Wall* was *Umbrella Man*, a 3 metre high wooden statue which rapidly became an icon for the occupation movement upon its appearance on the demonstration site on the 5th of October 2014. Photographs of it soon appeared on websites and newspapers around the world. The sculpture of a protester holding a yellow umbrella (see Image 2) took inspiration from a photograph of a protester holding an umbrella over a police officer to shield him from the rain (Watson et al., 2014). The wooden blocks of his face were white, representing the pepper spray used by the police on the protesters and the statue was quickly compared to the *Goddess of Democracy* statue erected during the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests (BBC, 2014). After the statue appeared, other miniature versions quickly emerged created by others and *Umbrella Man* became a central symbol of the protests, seen to symbolize the peaceful nature of the pro-democracy protests. As one student protester wrote on Facebook: “He is saying to me ‘even though I have been sprayed with pepper in my face, I am still here and I am protecting you.’” By anchoring the work in the local through the use of the everyday, simple umbrella, necessary for the frequent showers of Hong Kong but also sparking iconological resonances of British identity that exist in the collective unconscious, this work became a key part of the protests.

Umbrella Man was created by a young graduate known only as ‘Milk’ to protect his identity, aided by a team of ten people. Anonymity was a central feature of the art created in the protests, necessary for practical purposes (signs around the protests asked visitors and media not to take close-up pictures of the demonstrators so everyone could remain an “anonymous hero” and to prevent prosecution by the government). This was very much in line with the protests as whole

which also lacked visible individual leadership and an awareness that the spotlight needed to stay on the work/issues rather than any personalities. Again, this was also a form of resisting the forces of the art market which continuously emphasize the identity of the artist. Collectivism or collaboration are a means of defying the singular author and the economy created around these biographies and emphasizing the public nature of the art rather than the private.



Image 2: *Umbrella Man* and miniatures

Logos

The need to represent the identity of the protests to the world took its most concrete form when Kacey Wong, an artist and assistant professor at the Polytechnic University, put out a call for submissions to find a logo for the demonstrations in a mock competition online. Wong put the top three prizes as “Justice, Democracy, and Freedom”. Hundreds of entries flooded in (see Image 3) and elevated awareness about the demand for universal suffrage for Hong Kong internationally in the form of extensive media coverage (see e.g. Dissanayake, 2014). The use of social media to spread the messages/images during the protests provided a platform for universal participation. Recent research has examined the use of social media and in particular

the emphasis on user-created content to encourage contributions and sharing. For example, Segerberg and Bennett (2011, p.201) argue that social media now play an important role in “coconstitut[ing] and coconfigur[ing] the protest space.” It is useful in promoting solidarity and sociability between protesters but also in communicating to outside (potentially international) audiences to engage supporters in the process of identity and message construction. The message can thus spread rapidly and reach broad audiences, establishing collective identity through this online activism and in turn, generate offline activism (Raynes-Goldie & Walker, 2008). Most notably the logos created as part of the competition were created for the creative commons, available to use, remix and share. In this sense we see an example of what Belk (2010) calls “sharing out” of collective goods.

In line with previous studies (Thorson et al., 2013), we note that archival and contemporary images and works of art were remixed and mashed-up to produce new texts using components of recognizable cultural artefacts. As Schroeder (2006) demonstrates, quoting an art historical tradition can help ground the viewer, drawing associations to the visual tradition they are already familiar with, so for example many of the logos took inspiration from popular films such as *Resident Evil* where the umbrella logo is a key symbol of the survival horror franchise or more traditional revolutionary artworks including Delacroix’s commemoration of the French Revolution with *Liberty Leading the People*. By using existing popular culture iconography as a set of cultural resources, we see a style of activism which owes much to the traditions of fan culture, assuming images and stories that are shared by many of the participants and will be understood by the wider public. In line with corporate branding the logos were both visually striking and easily recognized whilst also self-representing their cause as a force for good.

Moreover, this repurposing of narratives by the public allowed them to voice their own hopes and frustrations while projecting a shared destiny and national identity.



Image 3: Some of the logos submitted

Conclusion

The Hong Kong protests saw a sudden boom in artistic creation and as such are an interesting context within which to consider the role of art in demonstrations of political protest and therefore the intersections between markets, ideologies, societies, and culture. In this case, the art created helped to make the cause easier to understand and more attractive. Although using many of the tools of marketing and branding in particular (in terms of logos, repetition, slogans, etc.), there was a refusal to anchor a singular meaning to the movement, allowing for more people to join and help reshape the message. The images created put emotions and anger into the discourse in varied and often personal forms, acting as a catalyst for the protests. A space was opened up that allowed exchange, for the free flow of information, a space of spontaneity unimpeded by bureaucracy. In line with Maclaran and Brown (2005, p.314) we see a transformation effect as private space was transformed into public space thus co-creating a “utopian spectacle.” An aesthetic commons (as described by Visconti et al., 2010) was created that invited belonging and participation and built a Hong Kong imaginary where true democracy was possible. In this sense, the protesters were more successful than those observed by Kozinets and Handelman (2004) in achieving a non-hierarchical, inclusive discourse. However, at the same time this openness in terms of collaborative creation and the resistance to any kind of hierarchical leadership perhaps led to the dilution of the message, it is worth considering whether this emphasis on the image ultimately led to trivialization. While it was good at getting people to unify perhaps it operated only on the level of spectacle whereby social relationships are mediated by images (Debord, 1967).

In any case, the viscosity of global protests and social movements have a lot to tell us about

meaning-making. There is a need to understand how images “become operative forces in sociopolitical reality” (Mitchell, 2010, p. xvii), going beyond just the commercial use of images in marketing but to wider visual practices which are central to our roles as public citizens. Visual resistance is thus a way for citizens to reclaim national and popular memory from authoritarian states, allowing for the creation of a counter-hegemonic narrative to transform the social order. Ultimately we see a mixed legacy from the protests; in terms of their aims they did not succeed, the Chinese government made no concessions and many predict further erosion of press and academic freedoms, as the universities were shown to be seedbeds of political activism and potential subversion. On the other hand, the protesters were successful in at least one sense, in that their myth-making around the idea of national identity led to a heightened awareness of civil rights and responsibilities, particularly amongst the young. This follows from Zhao and Belk’s (2008) work which notes the power of art in reconciling critical perspectives with hegemonic values to create various, often conflicting, public discourses. Furthermore, the multifaceted forms of artistic expression could be argued to have been integral to the success of this myth-making, indeed, Brown et al. (2010) show that ambiguity is central to consumer meaning-making and Chatzidakis et al. (2012) show that the heterotopic nature of Exarcheia in Athens was essential in opening up new ways of doing things. There is a need for further research to examine how the arts can be used in communal mythmaking and in articulating new identities and positions to respond to and subvert hegemonic narratives of all kinds. Visual representation allows us to understand some of the ethical, aesthetic and cultural implications of representing geographical locations, individuals or cultural identities and as Hong Kong demonstrated by taking a grassroots approach, perhaps a more authentic form of nation branding is possible where the consumer can become a citizen again. Representation not only

reflects knowledge but also creates it and macro-approaches to considering the sociocultural context in which an image is created and how it performs is essential to understanding this.

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The Representation of Black Women in Television Dramas as an Expression of Cultural Domination

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Marketing is an inherent part of the production and consumption of mass-media imagery.

Televised depictions involve the implicit and explicit promotion of products, places, services and even people. The dominance of televised depictions of particular identities in comparison to more societally marginalised ones, can be viewed as an expression of cultural domination that maintains and legitimises existing social hierarchies.

Despite the globalised nature of the world, there is a dearth of multifaceted mediated depictions of various non-white and non-Western identities, including those of Black African and Black African diasporic women. The launch of *Scandal* in 2012 and *How to Get Away with Murder* (*HTGAWM*) in 2014 ended 38 years without leading Black women in US television network dramas. This paper includes a critical analysis of the arguably scarce nature of depictions of Black women as main cast members in television dramas. As part of such analysis the portrayals of Black women in *Scandal* and *HTGAWM* are critiqued.

The analytical lens adopted is shaped by critical race theory, post-colonial theory and Foucauldian approaches to discourse analysis, all of which foreground the concept of normativity in relation to knowledge production. These approaches influenced investigation of the primarily white landscape of televised identities and the broader socio-historic context that

depictions of Black women in television dramas emerge within. This paper investigates the capacity for the depictions of Black women in *Scandal* and *HTGAWM* to disrupt what may be deemed as manifestations of cultural domination in these popular culture contexts, such as the lack of complex and stereotype resistant depictions of Black women on television.

This work explores how the absence and presence of depictions of Black women in television dramas can be perceived as being expressions of cultural domination. It investigates the potential for such representational dynamics to be regarded as ideological vehicles that maintain a global order in which the hegemony of white and Western identities persists, in addition to the oppression of non-white and non-Western ones. The dominance of the US specifically is reflected on in relation to the prevalence of high-profile televised depictions of African-American women, in contrast to those of other African diasporic women.

In the context of this work, the concept of cultural dominance pertains to the relative erasure of Black African and Black African diasporic women in television dramas. This paper explores how the scarcity of complex depictions of Black women in television dramas and the presence of a number of depictions of Black African-American women, may be indicative of white Western and North American cultural dominance in the marketplace and beyond.

Consuming the Korean: Memetic Kitschization of Unorthodox Aesthetics in *Gangnam Style*

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Abstract

Purpose - In this study, we seek to unpack an Asian-born celebrity culture in which celebrities become everyday necessities for global consumers' identity struggle, prototypes for global branding strategy, contents for the media industry, and agents for sociocultural transformation.

Design/methodology/approach - In order to better elucidate such a significant phenomenon, we also introduce two mostly palpable and more relevant domains of celebrity culture to global consumer culture literature—politics of aesthetics and memetics—as analytical tools.

Observations and publicly available narratives are also incorporated to enhance the review and critique of the global celebrification process. Psy's *Gangnam Style* (*GS*) is chosen as an archetype, due to its exceptionally vulgar but highly replicable nature.

Findings - The specific case of *GS* exposes three unique qualities of kitsch—exaggeration, disconcertment, and subversive sensibility—that are substantially commensurate with prototypical characteristics of globalized online memes—ordinariness, flawed masculinity, theatricality, and ludic agency. Polysemy and optimism also facilitate the celebrification process in global participatory culture.

Research Implications - The “radical intertextuality” of online memes sustains the participatory culture in which kitsch becomes a global icon through a reproductive process. Korean popular culture cultivates reverse-cosmopolitanism through a nationalistic self-Orientalization strategy that paradoxically indigenizes Western pop -culture and transforms power relations in global pop culture.

Originality/value – This article presents further elaboration of current discourses on global celebrity culture by incorporating popular concepts and practices, such as kitsch, meme, parody, and sharing, which synergistically advance aesthetic liberation on a global scale.

Introduction

...the essential merit of the “common people” is that they have none of the pretensions to art (or power), which inspire the ambitions of the “petit bourgeois.” Their indifference tacitly acknowledges the monopoly. That is why, in the mythology of artists and intellectuals, whose outflanking and double-negating strategies sometimes lead them back to “popular” tastes and opinions, the “people” so often play a role not unlike that of the peasantry in the conservative ideologies of the declining aristocracy. (Bourdieu 1984, p. 62)

No matter how we scorn it, kitsch is an integral part of the human condition. (Kundera, 2008, p. 249).

It was Noam Chomsky at MIT who offered a cameo appearance to the students’ remake of *Gangnam Style* (GS, hereafter) in 2012. The Korean singer Psy’s enigmatic charisma did not allow

even one of the most renowned intellectuals in the world to elude the postmodern orgy, to which Chomsky himself had been publicly opposed. The incident can be attributed to the fact that the monopoly of aesthetic and artistic legitimacy has been successfully overthrown since Salvador Dali, Vladimir Tretchikoff, Andy Warhol, and many other artists contributed to the production and promotion of kitsch. Such a cultural agitation culminated with Warhol's homage to soup cans, epitomizing the ordinary that can be reproduced indefinitely. Not surprisingly, the aforementioned names appear to have two traits in common: their opposition to highbrow cultural authority and, ultimately, their statuses as kitsch producers that consistently relate to most, if not all, popular cultures.

Before the turn of the 21st century, the Asian cultural landscape, due to its strong Confucian overtone (Fam, Yang, and Hyman, 2009), had not been fertile enough to cultivate iconoclastic popular culture (i.e., *GS*) that could permeate numerous cultural topographies (Hong and Kim, 2013). Especially in Korea, Confucianism prominently couples with toadyism that originated from the nation's long-standing history with China (specifically, in the Ming and Qing dynasties). Korea's sociopolitical tendency (the only historically available ideology during that time) fostered its culture to regard China's culture and societal system as the ultimate ones. Such ideology later shifted its focus to the American (pop) culture and system as the global powerhouse. However, at the end of 20th century, when postcolonial discourse prevailed, the Korean government (the Kim Dae-Jung administration through the Korea Creative Contents Agency) took the bold move to proclaim one of its primary interests and agendas in the new century would be to become sovereign—even influential—in the global (pop) culture industry (Hong, 2014). Now, the seeming infertility has de facto surprised and fascinated consumers of

popular culture in and out of the Asian context, especially when Korean pop culture intoxicated the global audience. Korean pop-music stars (e.g., Girl's Generation and Super Junior) and dramas (e.g., *Winter Sonata* and *Dae Jang Geum*) achieved fandoms extending to the Middle East, Europe, and Latin America (Hong and Kim 2013).

Notwithstanding the enormous amount of discursive power given to celebrities and popular culture, consumer research has been quite reserved when curating the underlying workings of *celebrification* at the individual level (Braudy, 1986; Rojek, 2001) and *celebritization* at the sociocultural and global levels (Boykoff and Goodman, 2009). A few important exceptions in the field of consumer culture theory that have partially uncovered celebrities include studies about Warhol as a celebrity brand (Kerrigan, Brownlie, Hower, and Daza-LeTouze, 2011; Schroeder, 1997, 2005), about gastronomic celebrity (Hower and Brownlie, 2013), and about celebrity endorsement in general (McCracken, 1989). Notably, in the thorough analyses of Warhol, Barbara Kruger, and Cindy Sherman, Schroeder (1997, 2005) stressed the interwoven relationship among art, (self) branding, consumer identity project, and consumer culture as a whole. Although such an insightful art-centered approach illuminated new opportunities for marketers to better strategize their branding practices, it did not discuss the specific makings and workings of celebrity based on political economy of aesthetics. The ever-increasing degrees of connectivity and connectedness also demand an alternative, updated approach to explain the star-making practices and processes, as well as the consequences on a global scale. Therefore, further elaboration of the current discourses of celebrity culture on a global scale is timely because of the unprecedented level of democratization in the *celebrification* process, in which individuals artistically engineer their identities to become commodities—especially in the world

of social media (Hong, 2009; Lewis, 2010). Another ongoing societal-level process, namely *celebritization* (Driessens, 2012), also deserves attention from consumer researchers, due to its interconnectedness with other macro phenomena such as mediatization, consumer responsabilization, and globalization in particular (Boykoff and Goodman, 2009; McKernan, 2011; Turner, 2004). Initiating academic conversations on such areas of art marketing seems timely and necessary, particularly because they have been insufficiently studied. O'Reilly (2011) showed that only a few studies specifically discussed the interwoven theoretical and practical relationships among pop culture, art, aesthetics, and technology, and that the issue of globalization has not yet reached the list of art-marketing literature. Thus, this study illuminate areas not yet included but essential to complete a holistic and eclectic map of art marketing.

Despite the paucity of academic research on this topic, some reports, critiques, and subsequent discourses (in both online and print media) on *GS* encompassed the organic dynamic between kitsch and meme and included individual blog postings, presentations, and newspaper articles from various sources and in different languages. Among those academic and practical products produced from “crowd brainstorming” the issue, Lee (2013) specifically examined the phenomenon employing the popular concepts of kitsch and meme. Lee’s study provided a thorough review of the literature and coherent analyses of the prolific online content. However, it focused primarily on the dissemination aspect without sufficiently discussing the underlying politics, ideologies, and sociocultural implications of the celebritization process. Additionally, the aforementioned study did not discuss the intelligible distinction and resemblance between *kitsch* and *camp*. Furthermore, the potentially inseparable chemistry between kitsch and the Internet meme was treated as possibly dissoluble or sequential, even though global celebrification

necessitates a simultaneous process—namely, “memetic kitschization”—that signifies mediatized commodity (Driessens, 2012). To more intelligibly describe and theorize based on discussions of the memetic kitschization process, we analyze Psy’s *GS* as an archetype due to its exceptionally vulgar but highly reproductive nature.

Recognizing the significance of human branding as an art form (e.g., Labrecque, Markos, and Milne, 2011; Shepherd, 2005; Thomson, 2006), and the subsequent sociocultural consequences, the present study has a twofold objective. We first seek to unpack an Asian-born celebrity culture in which celebrities become everyday necessities for global consumers’ identity struggles, prototypes for global branding strategy, contents for the media industry, and agents for sociocultural transformation. To better elucidate such a significant phenomenon, we discuss two of the most significant and more popularized spheres of celebrity culture for consumer research along with a detailed analysis of *GS*. This discussion for the first objective follows a three-step approach:

1. We review the politics of aesthetics by problematizing celebrity as *kitsch*, which orthodoxly connotes “bad taste” and “tackiness” (Belk, Wallendorf, and Sherry, 1989). Through the discussion of kitsch followed by camp, we identify prerequisites and artistic qualities essential to becoming a celebrity;
2. We examine the global diffusion of celebrity, employing the popular discourse of *memetics* (Dawkins, 1976) as an analytical tool to better understand some intense and rapid celebrification cases. Illuminating meme as an opaque and elusive mechanism that intervenes in most sociocultural evolution and transformation processes helps

further explain celebrity as kitsch. To analyze GS, we employ Shifman's (2011, 2013, and 2014) practical account of Internet memes;

3. Based on the previous discussions on kitsch and meme, we thoroughly analyze Psy's *GS* with respect to its background, content, symbolism, ideology, and sociocultural impact.

Then, to accomplish the second part of the research objective—the study's essential contribution—we also discuss the interlaced relations among kitsch, meme, and global-celebrity culture in relation to Asian (Korean) human brands (celebrities), their ideological positions, and their cultural role in the hyper-globalized pop-culture market. More specifically, we use post-colonial discourses to discuss the newly developed pop-cultural landscape and provide a framework (Figure 1) that visually represents the “East-initiated” celebritization process on a global scale: “global participatory culture” (e.g., Lee, 2012).

Given the illuminating and yet incomplete previous analyses, we also aim to galvanize researchers in the relevant fields with a framework drawn from public discourses, narratives, and observations, to ultimately deconstruct the celebritization process. Astute perspectives from such discussion can facilitate theorizing a global participatory culture and drawing theoretical implications for the current literature and future research.

Kitsch: Resisting the Politics of Aesthetics

What precisely did the first Korean singer to sweep the various countries' music charts, including Billboard, the UK Singles Chart, and the iTunes Charts, present? How did Psy, as a celebrity, and his song transcend language, ethnicity, and culture to gain global popularity in

such a relatively short time in 2012? Among many possible explanations, the global grassroots revolution that targeted the politics of aesthetics calls for more attention from globalization theorists. Art can easily globalize, and so can kitsch. This tremendously empowers Asian (precisely, Korean) pop culture to further contribute to the new age of “aesthetic liberation.” In particular, Korean popular culture—the so-called *Korean wave*—as a highly commercialized and successful kitsch industry has extended to all continents its hybridized form of aesthetics that amalgamates the East with the West and the North with the South (Hong and Kim, 2013).

In consumer research, kitsch has appeared in a limited number of studies (e.g., Belk et al., 1989; Murray, 1997), but was not sufficiently discussed as a critical concept to understand popular culture and, in particular, celebrity. Those studies simply regarded and introduced kitsch as something inauthentic, lowbrow, profane, pretentious, superficial, and ultimately deceptive. Kitsch, however, provides much more to consumer culture theoretics than it has in the literature, especially with celebrity culture rapidly expanding on a global scale and permeating individual lives. Some theoretical fundamentals are provided here to facilitate understanding of global-celebrity culture.

“Art” is a relative term, and so is “kitsch” (Kulka, 1996). Correspondingly, three domains of humanities other than aesthetics produce and reinforce relativism in interpreting kitsch. Sociological, historical, and anthropological appreciation of kitsch is essential to clarify its confounding nature and properly assess the inevitable complementarity of highly “sensitizing taste” (Dorfles, 1969). Kitsch is time and space dependent; therefore, it reflexively reveals the socio-politico-cultural underpinnings of what it simulates, resists, and ultimately transcends

(Dickie, 1984). Such an argument unavoidably conjures up the discourse of class, with a particular emphasis on taste. Korean kitsch has started disenchanting popular taste cultivated by and transmitted from the American “culture industry.” As kitsch, *GS* provokes not only the domestic, sociopolitical class struggle but also pop-cultural asymmetry on a global scale.

Middlebrow culture, as a broader aesthetic category of kitsch, was developed as an acute response to the bourgeois lifestyle based on accumulated wealth and cultural capital that legitimized and embodied “the beautiful” (Bourdieu, 1984). Redistribution and reconfiguration of aesthetic power relations were called upon, mostly by the petit bourgeois and nouveaux riches, who preferred immediate, romanticized, corporeal, banal, and self-deceptive aesthetics—so-called pop culture (Fiske, 2011). Nonetheless, the alleged pseudo art adopted an undercover agenda to demythologize what was aesthetically pleasing. Popular pleasures were de facto enjoyable because they were plainly predictable, as was the celebrity culture (Calinescu, 1987).

The Frankfurt School reluctantly acknowledged the reproductive capability of kitsch by describing it as a “parody of catharsis” (Adorno, 1998, p. 355). Owing to the arrival of the “culture industry,” art consumers started exchanging their agency and aesthetic autonomy for more readily accessible amusement from circuses, jewelry sold in grocery stores, light opera, replicas, and the like, mocked for their aesthetic deficiency (Horkheimer and Adorno, [1947] 2002). However, the bodily and potentially spurious pleasure embedded in “antitaste” is too flamboyant to just condemn and reject (Bourdieu, 1984). Consumers paradoxically reestablish their aesthetic autonomy by surrendering themselves to the hedonistic decadence of aesthetics. Such practice is generally justified as arising from a socioculturally diverse audience and

contributing to the liberation of their suppressed or marginalized imagination. This aesthetic empowerment propels *kitschization*, a highly (re)productive—rather than consumptive—process (D’Acci, 1988). Romanticism, eroticism, grotesque, pastiche, cliché, nostalgia, and absurdness have become the lexis and currency for the kitsch industry—the very carnival the working class patronizes (Bahktin, 1968). This cultural industrialization is followed by encroachment of kitsch upon the middle-class lifestyle that is also vulnerable to popular taste because it is highly profitable in both the economic and cultural senses (Bourdieu, 1984). Psy’s *GS* lucidly demonstrates its aesthetic autonomy by amalgamating Western tastes—the dominant mode of appreciating the beautiful (e.g., a convertible or the appearance of horses)—with Korean sentiment and wit that have not been vital to the global system of taste (Shim, 2008). In doing so, it also represents and reinforces global working-class taste. The lyrics and scenes in the music video blatantly deride authority, order, and ultimately, orthodox aesthetics. Psy’s style in the music video is precisely the opposite of what one would expect the Gangnam area of Seoul to present. Psy’s exaggerated hairstyle, hardly coordinated sunglasses, and tacky luxury items all metaphorically signify the puerility and showiness of the area and, ironically, stimulate global audiences to acknowledge and eventually reproduce the kitsch.

Kitsch unleashes aesthetic imaginations while it paradoxically homogenizes and enslaves people for the sake of its participatory globalization, as seen in the case of *GS*. Macdonald (1953) anticipated that generational, cultural, and class gaps would be tremendously minimized, if not all nullified, through mass (popular) culture. Distinctions made and maintained for adults, intellectuals, connoisseurs, and the wealthy become almost prehistoric illusions in aesthetic nostalgia (Macdonald, 1962). Kitsch amends the laws of superiority, adequacy, and exclusivity.

The new laws of mediocrity, inadequacy, and inclusivity foster a much more (re)productive environment in which alternative modes of expression and appreciation of art coexist with artistic legitimacy, as articulated in the opening vignette (Bourdieu, 1984). What makes the current state of kitsch highly paradoxical is its function of identification (as in the case of folk culture) as well as its status as a distinguishing agent (e.g., Greenberg, 1939). Consumption of the same kitsch to both identify with and differentiate from others presents the eternal irony that producers and consumers of pop-culture face. Globalization of kitsch and cultural pluralism maintain a symbiotic relationship that transforms the sedimented aesthetic landscape into new terrains of public joy and participation, to which Psy has enormously contributed (e.g., Hong and Kim, 2013).

Derived from the discourses of aesthetics and class, kitsch has been characterized formally in two distinctive manners. First, from a social anthropology viewpoint, Kulka (1996) identified three conditions that qualify a “kitsch-ish” item as kitsch: 1) Kitsch depicts objects or themes that are highly charged with stock emotions (p. 28); 2) The objects or themes that kitsch depicts are instantly and effortlessly identifiable (p. 33); and 3) Kitsch does not substantially enrich our associations relating to the depicted objects or themes (p. 37). That is, kitsch does not elicit deep emotional responses; therefore, people do not generally become deeply invested in the aesthetic format. Instead, frivolity and ephemerality are highlighted. Second, Philip (1983) provided specific properties of kitsch that involve anthropological as well as sociological manifestations, including 1) spontaneity free from power and control; 2) indefinite quality and meaning; 3) unauthentic authenticity; 4) fusion of form and content; and 5) ritualism. These characteristics of kitsch provide the basis for our proposed framework of global participatory culture (Figure 1).

As such, kitsch is practical, direct, relaxing, narcissistic, humorous, stimulating, and anachronistic with respect to aesthetics. Sociologically, kitsch is satire, mockery, resistance, and indictment of societal absurdness and outrage. Psy and his megahit show abundant commonalities with these characteristics. Thus, for a well-contextualized analysis, we offer a closer examination of his celebrification process through the theoretical lens called *memetic kitschization* following discussions of camp and meme.

A Petite Note on Camp as an Apolitically Serious Sensibility

As briefly mentioned in the introduction, *kitsch* and *camp* share some properties as alternative aesthetic claims and, at the same time, present subtle but crucial differences worth noting. Susan Sontag's "Notes on Camp" (1964) succinctly and yet effectively visualized what camp is and is not, but it is still possible to find both types of characteristics in most kitsch, including *GS*. Therefore, it is necessary to juxtapose kitsch to camp according to the distinctive sensibility Sontag portrayed. Among many qualities, banality, exaggeration, and frivolity make kitsch "camp-like" (Sontag, 1964). However, it should be noted that frivolity in camp is fundamentally serious; in other words, camp is devoted to blurring the boundary between the serious and the trivial. To disentangle these aesthetic sensibilities, we can look to the way each treats failed attempts. Specifically, camp appreciates successful elements from a failed or excessively pretentious camp, whereas when kitsch fails, it passes unnoticed.

A few more substantial contrasts can be made to supplement the argument that camp is not just a parody of kitsch, or vice versa. First, unlike kitsch, being free (or at least detached) from politics is one of the most significant aspects of camp. Psy's *GS* is, however, purely political; it is

named after two highly political words (“Gangnam” and “style”). Second, camp taste prioritizes style over content, whereas *GS*, as kitsch, offers no style but promotes nihilistically narcissistic contents. Third, camp sensibility is serious and uncalculated; kitsch is playful and well planned. The images, lyrics, and theatrical devices of *GS* are all skillfully choreographed to better mock the techno-aristocratic taste called *GS* in a senseless fashion. Fourth, camp is a method to stylize oneself as distinct from others based on tastes, but kitsch asks for collective resistance to the mainstream and the dominant—which makes it even more political (e.g., Calinescu, 1987). Last, another covert and yet decisive resemblance between the two sensibilities that paradoxically distinguish one from the other is stated, in fact, quite directly, “Camp taste transcends the nausea of the replica” (Sontag, 1964, p. 11). Every camp that is created and, therefore, exists is owned by the creator as an exclusive and intact pleasure. Kitsch, in contrast, intends to be replicated and introduces altered meanings over time, as in the case of the global proliferation of *GS*, which enables no one to own any element of the kitsch.

Meme: Augmented Global Icons

Richard Dawkins’ (1976) memetics applied evolutionary theory to sociocultural domains of contemporary life, which particularly underscores replication, variation, and preservation (Shifman, 2013). Among the components of the cultural-evolution process discussed above, (global) consumer culture theoreticians had not paid much attention to the imitation principle until Internet memes started sweeping on- and even off-line media. Internet memes, as conduits for the diffusion of unorthodox aesthetics, present a few noteworthy characteristics that specifically relate to the phenomenon of *GS*.

First, the meme is not necessarily as selfish as are genes. Whereas selfishness is essential for a meme's survival, altruism is also observed in its humane (as opposed to biological) and social nature. In other words, a meme that offers collectively shared values (mainly entertainment in the context of celebrity culture) for the sociocultural web generally receives a more favorable evaluation; therefore, other members of the web tend to adopt (reproduce) the meme (Blackmore, 1999). Second, another characteristic renders ironic workings of a meme. A meme promotes and diffuses collectively and traditionally prioritized values; however, such values are not necessarily ethical and dignified, but often carnal and instinctive (Dawkins, 1982). Such function and characteristics confirm the inseparability of kitsch as popular pleasure and memes. Psy's *GS* presents many hedonic values of hyper-participatory popular culture: "shareability" and imitability, in particular. Those values together conferred global-celebrity status on the pop-cultural ambassador from Korea.

What most motivates someone to imitate others is their initial achievements or pre-celebrity status (Blackmore, 1999). The status upgrade confers superiority on the person, which is a crucial asset when competing with other memes in memeplexes, in which numerous types of memes comingle, metamorphose, and eventually evolve when selected (Speel, 1997). The selection process, however, is not necessarily natural. Strategic self-commodification and objectification of self-identity must accompany the promotion of memes for other individuals to maintain their connectedness and embellish their unique self-identity with the memes (Conte, 2000; Hong, 2009). Psy, in *GS* and various media, successfully displays a peculiar identity highly receptive to commercializing his style and demeanor as sources and materials of Internet memes. Because the entertainment industry constantly requires stories, celebrity status can ultimately

be established when individuals convince the public that they are storytellers of “postmodern folklore” that cultivates a participatory culture (Shifman, 2014, p. 15). Individual subscriptions to the membership of memeplexes are one prerequisite to sustaining the global-celebrity culture, especially in the electronically enmeshed environment.

Contextualization: Why Psy the Deviant?

Congruent with previous discussions on kitsch and meme that embody memetic kitschization, our observations and public narratives help draft the Korean-born celebrification process. We used a variety of stories and documentary accounts (newspapers, magazines, television shows, online public discourses, etc.) to describe and explain the phenomenon. Further, we recorded critical incidents around the phenomenon. As demonstrated in applications of the extended-case method (see Burawoy, 1998) as an ethnographic method, we aimed to not only draw micro-level implications, but also explore macro-level patterns from a unique and exceptionally prominent case.

Psy had allegedly shown up at a party celebrating the strategic union between Facebook and WhatsApp in February 2014. Although it was later confirmed that Psy was not at the party, what should strike us was that he had notably climbed to the top celebrity status. More importantly, his status was not achieved through the conventional process in which a big label would apply a star-making template from a successful celebrity to the relatively low-level singer. Compared with many other “mainstream” performers the global audience had previously appreciated, Psy significantly lacks an attractive appearance, stage manners, dance skills, and artistic qualities in his songs (*GS*, in particular). Such a democratized version of bottom-up celebrification and “high-

quality” satirical pop production was destined to draw an unexpected amount of attention and agitate the sociocultural and aesthetic landscapes (Shifman, 2014).

Socio-politico-culturally, Gangnam is a highly stylized, affluent, and lavish area of Seoul that symbolizes corporate capitalism and the following consumer binge that creates, supports, promotes, and redesigns cutting-edge trends. It is, therefore, an area generally aspired to by working-class and low-middle-class Koreans. This, however, inevitably generates tension, exhaled through ridicule and travesty, as was the case for kitsch. In *GS*, Psy provides a series of kitsch for the audience to cope with the insurmountable gap between the haves and have-nots, by hailing iconoclastic substitutes for the supposedly exquisite styles and devising sarcasm and wit throughout the music video. The unique scenes in the video, which provided abundant cultural materials for the global audience to playfully engage in the multi-discursive and multi-cultural “fever,” are described in the Appendix.

Psy’s horse dance throughout the *GS* music video is crude and indecent, but the global audience openly appreciated the metaphoric move for copulation (e.g., the subway scene). A noteworthy aspect of the unprecedented success of this “mass-fetishized” kitsch is that the messenger played a significant role. How, and by whom, the kitsch is performed and delivered to the audience is more important than the contents of the kitsch (Pountain and Robins, 2000). Many agree that it was Psy, an almost-perfect vehicle for the kitsch, who most contributed to the megahit—rather than the music video’s humor and pastiche. Kitsch, as a resource for obtaining celebrity status, satisfies global audiences’ tastes and further kindles (upper) middle-class and intellectuals’ aesthetic appetites. For example, *Slate Magazine* (2012, October 24) once reported that Psy

visited the United Nations Secretary General, Ban Ki-moon. The celebrity visit delighted one of the most influential people in the world, indicating the bottom-up democratization of unorthodox tastes. Moreover, even President Barack Obama publicly inaugurated Psy as a must-enjoy, “fringe artist,” when responding to the question whether he would mimic the horse dance at his inauguration ball: “I just saw that video for the first time. ... I think I can do that move. But I’m not sure that the inauguration ball is the appropriate time to break that out. Maybe, do it privately for Michelle.”

Kitsch presents properties and qualities that eventually become the catalyst for celebrification. First, exaggeration needs to be present. It provides moments of self-deception and hallucination that redistribute the perceived power relations in certain scenes (Bakhtin, 1968; Fiske, 2011). The bus scene in *GS* symbolizes how norms and codes of conduct can be manipulated through a glimpse of ordinary people dancing and singing in a public space. The audience shares the sentiment and feels catharsis, which further ties them to the celebrity.

Second, disconcertment from sexuality, bizarreness, bestiality, and explicitness double crosses, because those embarrassing images and lyrics should culturally sicken the audience—but actually does the precise opposite. In an analysis of blood sports (i.e., dogfighting and bullbaiting), Malcolmson (1982) argued that anything morally wrong cannot be politically right, but can still entertain people. Essentially, kitsch offers challenges to morality contrived by bourgeois ideology. Psy’s blatant voyeurism over a “sexy lady” on a subway train and others practicing yoga in a riverside park vividly displays plebeian pleasures, free from discipline and control. Sexuality, as the prevailing theme of the music video, also metaphorically scorns the

moral decadence of the Gangnam area. “Freedom of speech” in kitsch is guaranteed, insofar as it presents commodity value (Marshall, 1997). The Super Bowl commercial from Wonderful Pistachio that featured Psy and his song, regardless of the irrelevance, confirmed that moneymaking enterprises pursue possibly disconcerting moves.

Lastly, subversive sensibility enlightens the public with respect to what can balance or redeem their lives, albeit illusory and temporal (Goulding, Shankar, Elliot, and Canniford, 2009). Global audiences might have realized that frugality, abstinence, productivity, work ethic, meaning, and depth had hardly solved any social and economic issues—resulting in global movements such as the “We are the 99 Percent” or the “Occupy” movements in general. Such universal sentiment paved the way for Psy to openly promote meaninglessness and antiproduktivity in a cultural form. Psy created a carnivalesque environment in a postmodern sense, in which social stratification, agreed-upon rules, principles, and mores became malleable and infringed (Bakhtin, 1968; Bennett, 1983). Succeedingly, global middle-class acceptance and appropriation of the kitsch has paradoxically contributed to his popularity.

Psy’s global success is mainly attributable to the shared sentiment and commodity value in his performance in- and out-side the music video and his on- and off-stage demeanors. What has, however, promoted him to a celebrity is the *intertextuality* (Irwin, 2004) that realizes the potential for cultural contents to be imbued with the meaning of life for global consumers who take part in the cultural orgy in social media.

Celebrity: The Kitsch Digitized

Celebrity requires accessibility and rapid circulation. It is hard to find a celebrity idolized, frequently gossiped about, demonized, or severely ostracized without much exposure in online media—YouTube, in particular. Recent research has also concurred that “unpaid” online media (i.e., blogs, tweets, and other forms of threads and comments) play a crucial role for celebrities to improve and reinforce their status as brands (Davies and Slater, 2015). Remarkably, YouTube, the online “premium outlet” of kitsch, has its own unique business model relying heavily on memes that feature Miley Cyrus’ twerking and endorse grassroots planking. Imitations and mash-ups are generally observed in online memes as manifestations of the intertextuality of such memes (Shifman, 2011). This intertextuality also tends to manifest into metamemes that select and curate online memes and ultimately “publish the cultural lexicon” of a given society (e.g., Henson, 1987). As Holt (1997) pointed out, interpreting texts necessitates amalgamation of the interpreter’s experiences, social interactions, and background with the text (*GS* in this case). Self-reference criteria are applied to the text of interest, and they enable the interpreter to produce another *XXX Style* based on the determinant criterion employed. For example, *Mitt Romney Style* was created by College Humor as an attempt to “diss” (disrespect) the presidential candidate due to his perceived socio-politico-cultural inappropriateness for the presidency. As such, memes as textual and audiovisual kitsch democratize the methods of interpretation and forms of expression. The following presentation of the interpreted cultural material reproduces and proliferates (memetic kitschization) to become dominant on a global scale. This dominance requires hosts and channels that contribute to developing metamemes. The worldwide dance craze of *Macarena* by Los del Rio in the mid-1990s had everything but the online network.

Shifman (2011, p. 4) defined YouTube memes as “a popular clip that lures creative user engagement in the form of parody, pastiche, mash-ups or other derivative work.” Memes are not designed to be such; they turn into memes when they become a part of the online platform for “publicizable personality” through numerous repetitions (Burgess, 2008). The rapid propagation of digital memes is attributable to the global phenomena of “participatory culture” and “attention economy,” in which the former cultivates network individuality and the latter necessitates a more radical and innovative simulation of the original (Shifman, 2014). An empirical study (Shifman, 2011) explained which characteristics of self-branding contestants in the massively participated online competition help better promote the original and the replicas. The characteristics are in accordance with what we witnessed from Psy, online and offline. Previous research (e.g., Lee, 2013) has addressed how *GS* can be analyzed and deconstructed using Shifman’s (2011) framework, but the analyses merely linked the framework to the original content without providing specified evidences or incorporating the sentiments and sociocultural positions of global participants. Therefore, we provide a more detailed analysis based on Shifman (2011), followed by further discussions on *content, form, and stance* of the replicas.

First, memetic sharing and proliferation of the kitsch present “ordinary people,” which means both the viruses and the hosts are seldom extraordinary with respect to appearance, performance, and attractiveness. That is, celebrity status in the digital era is established through everyday, grassroots, and enabling cultural materials. Psy’s below-average appearance and mediocre dance skills quickly became a target for ridicule. However, their very commonness later attracted participants (fans) from various sociocultural, political, and economic backgrounds. .

Second, most tend to agree that Psy is a deviant. He deviates most from the North American model of masculinity that shows increasingly less tolerance for hegemonic masculinity (Cheah and Kim, 2014). His version of masculinity is distorted and fundamentally flawed, mainly due to his hyperbolic gestures and facial expressions. We gain from Psy as a celebrity not aspiration for and inspiration from “Man-of-Action Heroes” (Holt and Thompson, 2004), but a feeling of ascendancy and spurious ego charging *per se*—stereotypical properties of hegemonic masculinity (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). Celebrities in the volatile digital culture do not need to be role models, heroes, or gurus. Psy almost perfectly fit the description and maintained the “aura” consistently, even during appearances on famous shows such as *Saturday Night Live*, *Live! With Kelly and Michael*, and *the Ellen DeGeneres Show*.

Third, Psy is funny. Humor grants virality to kitsch (Knobel and Lankshear, 2007). Shifman (2011) identified three modules of humor that accelerate the celebrification process: playfulness, incongruity, and superiority. Psy’s playfulness not only provides cultural materials to play with, but also encourages constant and proactive audience participation with ludic agency (Kozinets et al., 2004). Sunbathing under a parasol at a sandy playground in an apartment complex is ludicrous due to the perceived incongruity between the context and the activity. The very incongruity, however, paradoxically publicizes the superiority of the kitsch and the celebrity. The superiority in this case means the reinforced motivation of the audience to further participate in this logic of playfulness by emulating the humor presented.

Fourth, one of the required qualifications of celebrity is the theatricality of the kitsch Psy utilizes, and it often comes from the repetitiveness and simplicity of the cultural material. Many patrons

of YouTube are also known as identity tourists who pursue passing identities for instant role-playing and the subsequent circulation of the minimally processed identities through reproduction (Nakamura, 2002). The replicability is dependent upon the simplicity of the kitsch. The moment of role-playing is an escape from the body and control, which also connotes an escape from meaning in the meaningless kitsch (Foucault, 1978). Psy's humor codes, dance moves, and general presentation of his kitsch, which are all sufficiently simplified, expedite the celebrification process.

Lastly, polysemy is what consumers of celebrities expect from their popular material, provided it is relevant to their identities and lives (Fiske, 1991). Polysemy is more easily ascertained when the contents of the kitsch are arbitrary, hodgepodge, alien, and essentially whimsical. Celebrities are facilitators who de facto enrich the level of symbolic creativity of the public (Willis, 1990). Psy's aesthetics is a prototypical manifestation of "grounded aesthetics" that create, reconfigure, and often dismantle the landscape of global popular culture, which provides leverage for him to epitomize a noble portrayal of celebrity.

Other noteworthy qualities of online kitsch that eventually contribute to celebrity include positivity and positioning (Shifman, 2014). The nature of positivity (optimism) originates from the negation of dialectical oppositions between high culture and mass culture, producer and audience, and form and content (Jameson, 1990). Class struggle and segregated aesthetic tastes and practices become irrelevant and meaningless in the global participatory culture in which the only authenticity possible is found in replicas. Positioning in a much more practical sense is a must-select tactic for individuals to undergo an online celebrification process. Convincing

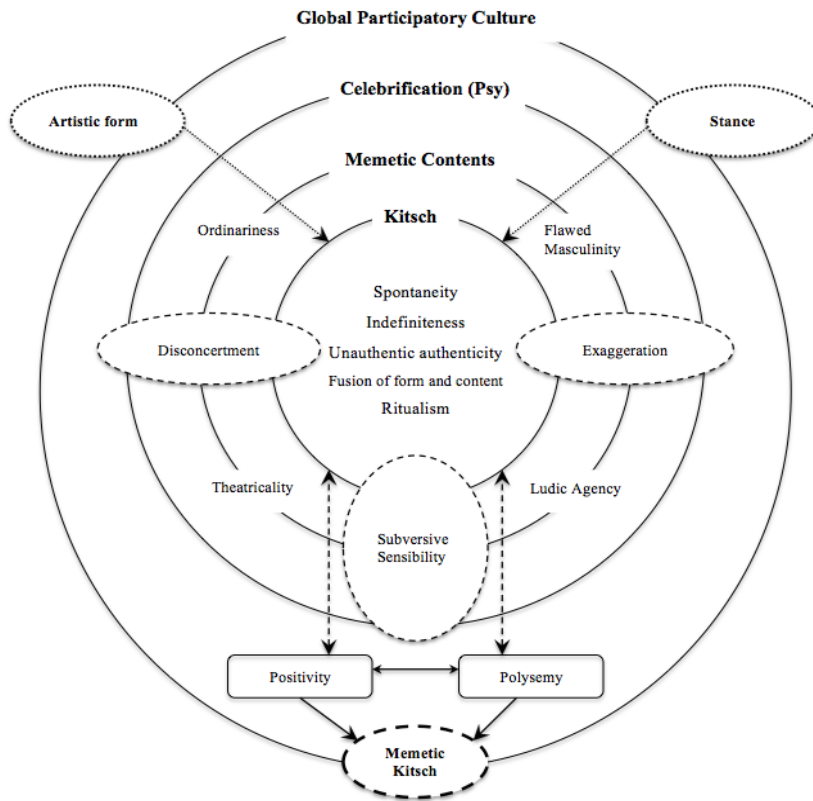
influential gatekeepers worldwide (i.e., journalists, producers, and power bloggers, etc.) of online kitsch is the last hurdle for potential celebrities to overcome, as long as their online contents share the aforementioned characteristics of a successful self-branding contestant (Hinz, Skiera, Barrot, and Becker, 2011).

As online contents constantly transform with or without carrying the meanings and intentions of the original contents, additional attention needs to be paid to the characteristics of replicas. Discussions of the elements in replicas are particularly necessary because the reproduction process tends to confuse the public between the original and its variations even though the latter lack “aura” (Benjamin, 1936). Replicas are devoid of their presence in time and space and immune to the criteria of authenticity; however, they never cease to populate between public criticism and enjoyment. Recognizing those ironic features, Shifman (2013) introduced three dimensions of cultural items (memes): *content*, *form*, and *stance*. First, the *content* aspect of replicas can be fully addressed, as explained in the previous analyses concerning the characteristics of Internet meme. Although numerous replicas exist, almost all of them can be categorized into one of the aforementioned characteristics according to their (relatively) more prominent characteristic(s). Second, the *form* that a replica utilizes can be quite deviant from the original; therefore, it is more significant to understand how global participants in this fairly new art genre actually appropriate the “open-ended materials.” The original *GS* was an audiovisual material; however, various forms of replicas include texts, graphics, animations, costume play, flash mobs, and other types of hybrids. An artistic combination of unique contents and forms can help the replica become more viral. Lastly, in the same sense that the original has to position itself in the online market for distinctive sensibilities, replicas should provide a “manifesto” for

the potential audience that socio-politico-culturally places them in the memplex. This *stance* prescribes the subsequent tone and style of the replica, as well as the particular discourse in which it aims to partake (Englebertson, 2007). The *stance* is particularly essential to the potential success of a replica, as demonstrated by the *Mitt Romney Style* and the *Inmate Gangnam Style* from the Philippines.

Figure 1 depicts the workings of the global participatory culture as the necessary condition and source of power for both celebrities and audience. Although the celebrification process is embedded in the participatory culture, the figure essentially mirrors the celebritization process by including global actors, media, and their assigned roles. Kitsch is fundamentally the medium that connects celebrities to audience and vice versa. The specific case of Psy exposes three unique qualities of his *GS* kitsch—disconcertment, exaggeration, and subversive sensibility—that substantially commensurate with the four prototypical characteristics of online memes. Additionally, the presence and extensive adoption of positivity and polysemy in the participatory culture is a lucid manifesto highlighting the volatility of orthodox aesthetics as well as the aesthetic agency as a qualification for the participants.

Figure 1. Global participatory culture



General discussion and implications

As an epitome of the global participatory culture endorsed through the celebritization process that demands memetic kitschization, *GS* invigorates popular discourse on co-creation of value in general marketing theory and practice (Vargo and Lusch, 2004). In the arts marketing literature, Lee (2012) also underlined the crucial symbiosis between producers and consumers (audiences) for better management and experience of the art constantly being co-created. The present study,

however, facilitates the ongoing academic dialogue about co-creation of art by recognizing a few additional important issues.

First, as the case of *GS* demonstrates, co-creation of value is no longer essential in the pop-cultural market; rather, co-creation of the “pop” is the value. In such an environment, copyright becomes a “right-to-copy” and the fundamental premise in the new economy where attention, sharing, and creativity replace advertising, distribution, and mass-production of art. Similarly, the constant interactions between the artist and audience, as well as cultural exchanges among consumers of pop culture, warrant further attention with respect to global intertextuality.

Second, understanding global participatory culture warrants further discussion on the possibly paradigmatic change in the global pop-culture market because the new cultural milieu necessitates macro-level transformation that is realized through celebritization. Aesthetics, ideologies, and semiotics in global pop culture together redefine intertextuality as multicultural literacy, which is one of the bases of a cosmopolitan lifestyle (Geertz, 1973). Particularly, the meanings of the unprecedented aesthetic contestation co-constructed through a global audience’s mass online participation indigenize the Western politics of aesthetics, which has been prescribing acceptable “styles.” Now, the most recommended style is not the one that used to be the “in style” from the West. Instead, Psy and *GS* presented a new “cool” that is free from pretentiousness and demystifies predetermined, clichéd identities in Western popular culture (Pountain and Robins, 2000). The new style from South Korea offers neither exoticism nor familiarization of the unfamiliar, but in-style authenticity based on a universal replicability that homogenizes a way to take part in the global consumer culture. Each replica simulates full-fledged liberation of Westernized, Americanized, or Japanized aesthetic tastes worldwide. The

native Korean version of aesthetic emancipation first frightened, but ultimately enlightened, at least a few hundred million global consumers. Korean kitsch has facilitated and accelerated a revision of contemporary politics of aesthetics that involves dual meaning of emancipation: (1) the global phenomenon of *GS* helps understand how kitsch became the “oeuvre” of consumer society where art no longer has to be obsessed with its origin and originality (e.g., Jameson, 1998); and (2) *GS* also further substantiates that a critique of commercial exploitability of art (i.e., replicas, viral versions, and other variations) is achronological and otiose, because such a character of art is actually the main locomotive of the culture industry.

The new political economy of aesthetics also introduces “reverse cosmopolitanism” to global consumers (cf. Thompson and Tambyah, 1999). Coronil (2000) contended that the socio-politico-economic power that had stayed in the West was transferred to less-identifiable regions of the world, including several rapidly developing Asian countries. The blessing, and at the same time curse, of the term *cosmopolitan consumer* that one could become when subscribing to transnational consumption of fragmented cultural elements has been long replaced with postcolonial aesthetic sensibility (see Firat and Venkatesh 1995; Lash and Urry, 1994).

Divides between North/South and West/East are now recognized as illusionary ideology practiced to maintain the constantly contested Western supremacy in critical domains of human life—political economy, in particular. The only domain that was not completely demarcated, and therefore propagated, as a resource for global connoisseurs of cultural difference was aesthetics, due to its highly commercializable nature. Such a colonial account of cosmopolitanism is now being challenged as the “new style” from the periphery and is developing into the dominant

mode of identity showcasing for global consumers (e.g., Wee, 2004). Whereas being “cosmopolitan” in the past would have meant travel and appreciation of the exotic from less-dominant cultures, postcolonial cosmopolitanism requires constant participation in the cultural dialogues between North/South and West/East. Korean pop culture (represented mostly by *GS*), as a free agent between the dominant and dominated, has initiated a new discourse for “pop cultural sovereignty” for all (cf. Hardt and Negri, 2000) and the driving force for cosmopolitanism has been decentralized. That is, what had been the margins have become the center from which to revise the cosmopolitan ideology of the past.

Self-Orientalization of kitsch also facilitates the global celebrification process: A style from Korea reconfigures Western-levied pop-cultural aesthetics as it appropriates its own cultural textures and nuances that the West once essentialized under the name of Orientalism (e.g., Mitchell, 2004). Self-Orientalization in *GS* is a domesticated version of exotic aesthetics. In other words, it purposefully reinforces Western stereotypes of the Korean through self-parody, while it exhibits playful Asian identity that paradoxically indigenizes Western pop culture. Rather than refuting or jeering at familiarized aesthetics in Western pop culture (as in Occidentalism), the noble kitsch from Korea stylizes itself along the ideological tensions between Orientalism and Occidentalism. The global celebrification process has to be managed by accepting and redefining stereotypes to create a new kitsch that reproduces itself (e.g., Hayward, 1999). Introducing kitsch as a meme in online context has evidently reduced and intermediated the cultural and ideological hostility sedimented in both Orientalism and Occidentalism. Memes are not only agents to formulate our collective episteme of aesthetics, as Blackmore (1999) contended, but

also cultural diplomacy between the formerly orthodox and the newly circulated “cool” from Korea (Hong, 2014).

GS is also vastly self-reflexive and thus reflects highly nationalistic aesthetics that have gone to memplexes. Reflexivity in this context is indeed the ultimate reserve for new aesthetic presentations of Korea and its culture. Instead of representing that which the global audience desires, presenting that which is in and of Korea in its natural form and style proved to be the ultimate strategy for successful globalization of popular kitsch. It also seems that fragmented cultural artifacts and repertoires have already reached their potential and saturated the global (or at least, Asian) pop-culture market, as is often found in the case of Japanese kitsch (i.e., Pokémon, Hello Kitty, idols, manga characters, etc.) and the “Kawaii” (cute) that has been superficially co-opted by the West (Granot, Alejandro, and Reussll, 2014). Perhaps the nationalism shown in *GS* is neither an antonym for globalization nor *Empire* in Hardt and Negiri’s (2000) account, but an ideological practice similar to Žižek’s (2009) notion of “overidentification” in *The Plaque of Fantasies*. In order to reveal fundamental motives for the illusionary promises of a globalized system of aesthetic (principally the nationalistic impulses of the West and of Japan), Korean pop culture overidentifies with them by being exceptionally nationalistic. The corollary is the new system and politics of aesthetics that follows the same method adopted by former prescribers of global aesthetics. However, the “overidentified style” transcends the general concept of authenticity by offering an online authenticity template for global consumers of popular culture.

Conclusion

GS itself presents postmodern texts, contexts, and substances that bear no message but provide a re-creative pool of democratic, horizontal contents for the global audience. Correspondingly, Psy's eccentric personality amplified the global catharsis based on the "metameme," which is superior due to its "radical intertextuality" (Jenkins, 2006). This celebrification process, as the focus of this study, creates a power vacuum in which celebrities must delegate their power to the global audience to create, disseminate, and better strategize their self-brands (van Krieken, 2012). Meanwhile, surrogate marketers (reproducers) of celebrities immerse into the global participatory culture and sell their labor for their own entertainment and identity showcase (du Gay, 1996). The power relations in the global participatory culture enacted and embodied through the celebritization process are postcolonial and reverse-cosmopolitan. The dynamics in the global phenomenon is also sociopolitically inside out and upside down, which, in turn, connotes that the very culture disempowers celebrities as they become more successful in their self-branding (Kirby, 2006).

We have arrived at the epoch where branded persona and constantly updated lifestyles from cultures once considered periphery have become the new locomotives for this novel kind of political economy of global sharing, which requires "viral capital" as its currency. As a postmodern condition, the divides between producers/audience and dominant/dominated have been long blurred, and celebrities are omnipresent and ever debuting to facilitate the aesthetic democratization process. Globalized kitsch and meme together initially help produce the "trailer" of the epic proliferation of a celebrity only; the rest of the scenes are being globally co-constituted.

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Appendix. Popular scenes in the *Gangnam Style* music video

1. Sunbathing, presumably on a beach, but he is actually in a playground covered with sand (0:05 ~ 0:17).
2. Dancing in the horse stable was suggested by Psy due to the metaphoric moves resembling riding a horse in the choreography, which was designed to invite ridicule (0:18 ~ 0:25).
3. Leaning on a man's shoulder in a sauna with another man who shows heavily tattooed back stretching his upper body (0:47 ~ 0:51).
4. Dancing in a tour bus with mirror balls, which is illegal. The scene is subject to censorship in Korea (1:00 ~ 1:07 and 1:29 ~ 1:32).
5. Horse-dancing forward while ladies walk backward, which is a widely observed exercise in the parks in Seoul (1:15 ~ 1:18).
6. Dancing through a group of young ladies practicing yoga at a riverside park and looking down a lady's hip with exclamation (1:27 ~ 1:29 and 1:36 ~ 1:39).
7. Man in yellow in a parking garage, who is a very famous comedian and show host. The scene is a pure improvisation (1:43 ~ 1:53).

8. A man, another comedian and show host, dancing over Psy lying face down in an elevator (1:54 ~ 2:02).
9. Surfacing from the water with goggles. It is in fact a large tub in a public bath where the sauna scene was filmed (2:38 ~ 2:42).
10. Singing on the toilet with pants pulled down (3:12 ~ 3:17).

Panel III: Marketing Ethics in the US Macro Environment

Panel Chair:

Pat Murphy, University of Notre Dame, USA

Panellists:

Marketing Ethics in the Sharing Economy

Linda Ferrell, Belmont University, USA

OC Ferrell, Belmont University, USA

Ethical Leadership from the Inside Out

Bill Locander, Loyola University, New Orleans, USA

Research Challenges for Marketing Ethics and CSR

Pat Murphy, University of Notre Dame

Ethics, Equity and Social Justice II

An emic approach to understanding the link between sustainable tourism development and community wellbeing.

Sheila Malone, Lancaster University, UK
Carmela Bosangit, Swansea University, UK

Extended Abstract

The research aims to examine the link between sustainable tourism and community wellbeing (CW). Specifically, it will explore how the local communities perceive community wellbeing and how sustainable tourism practices contribute to it. Here we are not referring to the economic impact of tourism on a local community as such (i.e., economic wellbeing), but also to other important indicators that are emic in nature (i.e., community life, material life, emotional life health and happiness, and quality of life). We argue for a more holistic view of community wellbeing with particular emphasises on aspects that relate to the sustainability efforts in a host destination. Sustainable tourism initiatives aim for long-term growth and continuing benefits, yet economic wellbeing is often prioritised despite the fact that it only captures a short-term snapshot of a particular date in time. A greater understanding of the link between sustainability and community wellbeing will allow decision makers (e.g., policy makers, the government and local businesses) to develop, enhance and promote sustainable tourism practices and demonstrate its contribution to community wellbeing in the long term.

Background of Research

Tourism is inextricably tied to issues related to social, environmental and economic matters.

Tourism development in host destinations is often credited because of its economic impact, yet it is met with varying degrees of success with regard to the residents' lives as well as the values they hold (Ritchie 1993; Mai, Rahtz & Shultz II 2014). The industry has made many attempts to be more responsible by addressing sustainability issues, and the core of such efforts often pivots on greater community involvement. These efforts can lead to enhanced community empowerment on a broader scale (Fraser, et al. 2006), however we still know little about the impact of sustainable activities in relation to their contribution to a community in the longer term i.e., community wellbeing (CW) (e.g., Lee, 2013). This gap in our knowledge can be attributed, in part, to the complexity of the sustainable tourism concept (Miller, 2001). In particular, greater clarification of the concept is necessary as well as the development of instruments that help measure and transform the efforts of sustainable tourism initiatives into a more practical tool for greater implementation in tourism destinations (Torres-Delgado & Palomeque, 2014).

A major critique in our current understanding of the impact of sustainable activities on CW often arises because of the development of several quantitative tools and measurement indicators, which act as a means to gauge a country's performance (see Pope, Annandale and Morrison-Saunders 2004; Ness et al. 2007). The vast majority of studies employ objective, economic measures based on calculable entities such as GDP, income, physical health, standard of living, and crime rates. However, CW is not easily quantified or measured, yet it is a key concept in taking into account the impact of sustainable tourism practices on a broader societal level (Gibson,

Hassan and Tansey 2013; Kilbourne, McDonagh & Prothero, 1997; Ganglmair-Wooliscroft & Lawson, 2011). We may “miss other “things” that matter to us, such as health, longevity, and so on, even if not happiness” (Varey 2010, 115).

The predominance of quantitative indicators to measure sustainable practices is evident because they produce generalizable results and alleviate any concerns with regards to rigour and credibility of the findings (see Kim, Uysal and Sirgy 2013). It can be argued that economic wellbeing is not an adequate indicator of a destination’s growth because of its contingent status and is therefore limiting as “indicators of sustainability are not always quantifiable and may necessarily be somewhat subjective” (Miller 2001,7). In order to create effective tools for understanding and shaping policy priorities, it is crucial that wellbeing measures identify the ways in which citizens, communities and societies’ sense of wellbeing is improving or declining as a result of sustainable initiatives (Wiseman and Basher 2008).

The issues outlined with quantitative measures that are based on economic growth has resulted in a greater need to understand the impact of sustainable tourism on CW as embedded in the residents' experiences of community wellbeing such as their emotions, attitudes, attributes and personal evaluation. Economic growth does not equal personal or subjective well-being (Varey, 2010). Here, we are referring to ‘subjective indicators’ as a measure for sustainable efforts and their impact on wellbeing (see also Uysal et al. 2016; Sirgy 2002; Rossi and Gilmartin 1980). These measures relate to the quality of life and level of sustainability as experienced by the community members (individually and collectively) and “is shaped by complex relationships between the physical psychological and environmental factors faced by all communities

regardless of their type” (Dredge 2003) and can help community leaders and tourism officials with planning policies and tourism development in the long term (Kim et al. 2013).

Rossi and Gilmartin (1980) suggest that a bottom-up approach, a perspective of wellbeing based on its impact on an individual level is necessary as the only person who knows whether a person is feeling well or their quality of life has improved is that person themselves (Layard 2005).

Concentrating on the local communities perceptions of tourism’s contribution to the community wellbeing is relatively recent, yet it is limited in its application due to a strong focus on “identifying, measuring and comparing the variables that may influence the manner in which tourism and its impacts are perceived by the local community” (Naidoo and Sharpley 2015, 3). As a result, Naidoo and Sharpley identify the need to investigate the extent to which tourism contributes to and translates not only at the individual level but also with regard to wider social developments. Development, in this instance, is more broadly defined beyond its economic value to encompass “the broader goal of the betterment of the human condition” (p.2) and the need for society to inject a personal, subjective element into the assessment of their own wellbeing (positive or negative) (Dissart and Deller 2000).

Community wellbeing

Two perspectives of community wellbeing exist; namely a) community wellbeing examined using individual attributes such as satisfaction/happiness, quality of life, individual efficacy/agency and or social support and b) emic definitions of community wellbeing that account for cultural conceptualisations which move away from western characteristics of wellbeing (Buzinde, Kalavar and Melubo 2014). The latter concentrates and emphasises a collective understanding of

wellbeing within indigenous populations and local communities, which is often not transferable to other contexts. In this regard, CW is emic in nature and is unique in that it relates to each community's distinctive characteristics and therefore requires a context-specific understanding. Wiseman and Brasher (2008) assert that any definition of wellbeing must be contextualised within the communities and populations of interest. From this perspective, community wellbeing is defined as: the combination of social, economic, environmental, cultural and political conditions identified by individuals and their communities as essential for them to flourish and fulfil their potential (ibid). The need to recognize that wellbeing is a multifaceted and culturally informed concept requires a grounded understanding as defined and experienced by different groups (such as individual, family, community and nation, see Buzinde et al 2014). The Community Indicators Victoria (CIV) offers a broader definition of CW based on community engagement. They take into account five key areas: healthy, safe and inclusive communities; dynamic, resilient economies; sustainable built and natural environment; sustainable built and natural environment; culturally rich and vibrant communities and democratic and engaged communities. However, the CIV approach to CW raises the question of whether these indicators truly reflect how the individuals in a community perceive community wellbeing and how sustainable tourism contributes to or negatively influence their wellbeing – (i.e., their thoughts and feelings on how sustainable tourism development contribute to the community well-being – an emic orientated sense of CW). Such a perspective is necessary to understand the immaterial elements of quality of life/wellbeing and such approach will also allow deep narratives and open up multidimensional perspectives that could be applied in different cultural settings (Liburd and Derkzen 2009). It moves away from the use of general questions asked to local residents based on a bipolar scales (agree or disagree) as they fail to link the impacts of sustainability to individuals' overall life satisfaction (Andereck et al.

2007), and those conducting attitude surveys often imposed their own perceptions of tourism impacts on respondents (Moscardo and Pearce 1999).

The need for increased attention towards subjective indicators of sustainable tourism practices is mounting, particularly as they offer a means to promote the benefits of sustainable initiatives in the wider tourism destination (WTO 1995). Uysal et al. (2016, 247) claim that “the overall purpose of tourism development becomes a goal to enhance the quality of residents' lives by addressing the economic, social, cultural, recreation, and other benefits of tourism” and furthermore “...not all residents perceive tourism impact similarly”. Therefore, by taking an emic approach we explore residents' perception of community wellbeing by drawing on the eight life indicators that relate to subjective wellbeing according to the International Wellbeing Groups Personal Wellbeing Index. These include: standard of living, personal health, achieving in life, personal relationships, personal safety, community-connectedness, future security and spiritually – religion. These indicators are integrated to the following elements of wellbeing at the community level: determining what the residents feel about harmony, interdependence in the community and whether there is acceptance, respect and enjoyment within the community as facilitated by sustainable tourism development. The current research aims to address this gap through an exploratory study aimed at capturing the impact of sustainable tourism on wellbeing from a community perspective. In doing so, we also highlight the need to understand community wellbeing from different groups of stakeholders/residents in the community

Site of Investigation

UNESCO Geoparks are appropriate sites of investigation as they bring together the principles of conservation, sustainable development and community involvement. It is expected that communities within these parks have strong local involvement and will therefore be able to link, during empirical research, community wellbeing with existing sustainable tourism practices. First established in 2001, currently, there are 33 member countries in the Global Geopark Network promoting 120 Geoparks globally. According to UNESCO, the Geopark network aims to raise awareness of geodiversity and promote protection, education and tourism best practices. As a result, Geoparks “form a complete range of sustainable development tools and make an invaluable contribution to the realization of the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals by combining global and local perspectives” (<http://www.globalgeopark.org/News/News/9979.htm>). On a local level, Geoparks have the potential to support local communities through the promotion of sustainable practices and ultimately the wellbeing of its residents. It is important to note that the UNESCO initiative is not solely about geodiversity, preservation and conservation of the local area, but also about enhancing the lives of those who live there, the local communities and the visitors who experience the area.

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Psychographics of religiosity and the nature of just economic systems: examining Buddhist reform movements in Thailand

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Abstract

Recent decades have seen the growth of several streams of reform Buddhism among the urban middle class in Thailand. They can be categorized along two dimensions which give a sort of psychographic profile of followers of the streams. The different movements have similar views toward personal ethics, but widely different views about the nature of the preferred economic system. This corresponds to differences in how they view the role of context in shaping personal ethics.

Introduction

Thailand has seen rapid economic development over the past century. The country has reached the ranks of upper middle income countries, and ranks 32nd in global competitiveness (WEF 2015). This has fostered economic growth, urbanization, and the rise of an educated urban middle class. However, many middle class Thai have feel that this economic 'success' has brought

new and bigger problems on many fronts, including declining morality, rampant corruption, social and economic inequality, and environmental degradation.

Many look for guidance from religion, but traditional Buddhism seems to have become somewhat irrelevant, focused on the traditional dichotomy between the Thai elite and the rural masses.

“Middle class people are very different from the rural Thai villagers who had been the major followers of traditional Thai Buddhism” (Satha-Anand 1990, p. 396). Phra Payutto, a leading scholar-monk of the ‘reform-from-within’ current of Thai Buddhism, summarizes the problem well:

“when the modernists began to be disillusioned and dissatisfied with modernization [they] turned to find meaning and answers from [Buddhist] tradition. However, as the traditionalists have long been far removed from the real world of changing values, they cannot supply the answers or satisfy the need of the modernists” (Payutto 2007, p. 56).

This fostered growth of a number of urban middle class Buddhist reform movements. We examine four here which seem to represent different psychographics. Three (Wat Dhammakāya, ‘reform-from-within’, and Santi Asoke) have received some attention by scholars interested in religious reform in modern Thailand, although not so much from the way we examine them here.

“These three movements all make serious attempts to communicate and to answer the spiritual needs of the Thai people, particularly the urban middle class in the modern context” (Satha-Anand 1990, p. 397). The fourth movement is the following of Kuan Im *Boddhisattva* (Chinese Kuan Yin). Sometimes it is treated as a spirit cult, but close examination shows that it fits the template for urban middle class reform Buddhism well (e.g., Ganjanapan 2003; Roenjun and Speece 2011).

We examine these four movements using Rawlinson's (2000) four-quadrant taxonomy, which essentially classifies religious traditions by the type of psychology which they address, i.e., in marketing terminology, psychographic segmentation. However, the different psychographics translate into differing views about the nature of a just economic system, and thus, whether and how much Thailand's system needs to be reformed. Differing views on system essentially reflect beliefs about the degree to which context influences ethics. There is little difference among the segments in seeing the need for strongly ethical conduct on the personal level. Interconnection between the individual and the society in which he/she lives may influence personal ethics, and some psychographic segments feel that high ethical standards require reform, sometimes substantial, so that the system is more in line with high ethical standards.

Four quadrant psychographics

Rawlinson uses two key dimensions, hot-cool, and structured-unstructured, to build his quadrants. 'Hot-cool' basically distinguishes whether traditions stress an 'other' beyond oneself, to which one must refer in some way to attain salvation (hot), or see salvation as being essentially a matter of self-realization (cool). Structured traditions see some roadmap that can be followed, with or without help from an 'other'. Unstructured traditions do not really distinguish stages or a map, but rather, aim for realization that truth/God is present always, and one only needs to see it. Figure 1, based on Rawlinson, summarizes these two dimensions and the four quadrants.

[Figure 1 about here]

Rawlinson applies his schema much more broadly than just to Buddhism. He does, however, give examples of four main traditions in Buddhism which fit his four quadrants. Theravāda is characterized as cool-structured, Vajrayāna is hot-structured, Zen (a variant of Mahāyāna) is cool-unstructured, and Pure Land (another variant of Mahāyāna) is hot-unstructured. Official Buddhism in Thailand is Theravāda, but the four reform movements discussed here diverge along the lines Rawlinson discusses. Details of fitting the Thai reform movements into the schema are discussed elsewhere (Speece 2013; also Speece 2010 for basic beliefs and thinking about economics and ethics in three of the movements); here we have space only to briefly summarize. The 'reform-from-within' movement mostly stays fully within Theravāda, and is cool-structured in the psychographic schema. The late Buddhādāsa, one of Thai Buddhism's leading thinkers, was "very influential in bringing core Buddhist concepts to bear on the problems of development and modern life, and helping to nurture a corps of social activist monks" (Parnwell and Seeger 2008, p. 94). Payutto has been similarly influential. "For a large number of Thai Buddhists, especially middle-class intellectuals and well-educated Buddhist monks, Phra Payutto has become the authoritative voice in debates revolving on the interpretation, meaning and function of the Pāli canon" (Seeger 2007, pp. 3-4). Like Buddhādāsa, he has been very concerned that without reform, Buddhism may become irrelevant.

Wat Dhammakāya and Santi Asoke both come from Thai Theravāda, but have diverged in different ways to fit into the hot-structured and cool-unstructured quadrants, respectively. Indeed, one common criticism of Wat Dhammakāya is that it has become Vajrayāna; and a common criticism of Santi Asoke is that it is Zen. Wat Dhammakāya, however, has become a mass movement, and "has taken pains to present itself as a dynamic, "cutting-edge", reformist movement which

respects and accepts the existing order and rules of the game” (Fuengfusakul 1993, p. 176). Wat Dhammakāya has so far managed to stay within official Theravāda, even gaining considerable influence in the *Sanṅha* hierarchy. Santi Asoke’s leader, on the other hand, has been a vocal critic of corruption within the *Sanṅha* and, possibly because of that as much as his incorporation of Zen elements, was disrobed. While followers are free to practice, Santi Asoke is not recognized as Theravāda and may not portray itself as such.

Kuan Im’s movement has never claimed to be Theravāda, so has not attracted criticism for ‘distorting’ Buddhism’, meaning, in Thailand, official Theravāda. Kuan Im is the Thai version of the Chinese Kuan Yin *Bodhisattva*, the female manifestation of the *Bodhisattva* Avalokiteśvara. She was brought to Thailand by Thai-Chinese, but has extended her popularity well beyond to include ethnic Thai. Kuan Yin is well known in most East Asian Buddhist traditions (e.g., Tay 1976; Yü 2001), and, as Avalokiteśvara, even more widely, but is usually particularly associated with Pure Land Buddhism, which Rawlinson uses as an example of ‘hot-unstructured’ traditions.

Psychographics and economic systems

To assess how the Thai Buddhist reform movements think about economic systems, we adapt the framework of Hopwood, Mellor, and O’Brien (2005). Their framework includes two dimensions, and is derived from their extensive review of the literature on ‘sustainable development’. Most definitions include equity as an important element, and most also include recognition that resources, including the environment itself, will be depleted and/or severely damaged without some limits. Hopwood, Mellor, and O’Brien (2005) summarize their review in a useful graph (2005, p. 41), estimating where various authors fall on the dimensions of socioeconomic concern

vs. environmental concern. We use that framework here for assessing where the economic systems of the four Thai stream of Buddhist reform are positioned in the debate on sustainability (Figure 2).

[Figure 2 about here]

Within macromarketing discussion, the lower left-hand side of the graph (little concern about either inequality or environment) might be viewed as representing the ‘dominant social paradigm’ (DSP; e.g., Kilbourne, McDonagh, and Prothero 1997; Kilbourne, Beckmann, and Thelen 2002; Polonsky, Kilbourne, Vocino 2014). Technically, DSP may differ in different cultures, but the spread of the modern capitalist economy has made its main elements quite similar in countries which have gained some degree of economic ‘success’. In the consumer societies of modern capitalism, DSP’s “ideology of consumption ... maintains that increasing material well-being provides the basis for [quality of life]” (Kilbourne, McDonagh, and Prothero 1997, p. 5). More and more consumption, of course, requires more and more production, which leads to increasing environmental problems.

The Wat Dhammakāya movement is explicitly capitalist. Some observers view it as elite-led reform which aims to use Buddhism to legitimize the state and economic system (e.g., Swearer 1995, Chapter 3). Accommodation “to the world of modern capitalist development ... is manifest at its most extreme in the pro-capitalist Thammakai movement” (Parnwell and Seeger 2008, p. 81). Ip (2007) notes that the movement is quite favorable toward wealth accumulation. Generally, Dhammakāya members

“seem to represent a segment of the emerging middle class that is keen on achieving both worldly pleasure and peace of mind in religious form. ... They create a novel image of Buddhism that corresponds well with the grandness of capitalism, and the concretization of Buddhist ideals also corresponds with the concrete sensual satisfactions of a consumer society” (Satha-Anand 1990, p. 407).

By our schema, Wat Dhammakāya aims to deal with problems of modern society with little change in the status quo. Economic equity problems can be handled with (substantially) improved personal ethics, but without substantial change to the system. Stronger ethics will translate into some environmental concern, but modern technology can fix most problems without requiring much change in how people relate to the environment (Speece 2010). The discussion in Kilbourne, McDonagh, and Prothero (1997, pp. 7 ff.) of technological solutions to pollution, rather than change in consumption patterns, sounds very much like Wat Dhammakāya views. In other words, this movement basically accepts the DSP of global capitalism. The Santi Asoke movement is vehemently anti-capitalist; some observers call it utopian (e.g., Taylor 1999; Parnwell and Seeger 2008). Its more committed members live in small agricultural communes, where

“in return [for non-wage work], residents receive spiritual support, the four necessities for a comfortable material existence (food, shelter, clothing, and medicine), as well as free education and a positive environment for their children” (Essen 2004, p. 7)

Santi Asoke's *bun-niyom* philosophy aims to make merit by taking as little profit as possible (while remaining viable), thus transferring to society most of the value-added in production and trade.

Santi Asoke views on the environment are essentially a form of 'deep ecology' (Fuengfusakul 1993; Heikkilä-Horn and Krisanamis 2002). In our schema, Santi Asoke aims for radical transformation of both the economic system and man's relationship with the environment. Santi Asoke entirely rejects the DSP of modern capitalist Thailand.

The 'reform-from-within' movement is represented in Figure 2 by Buddhādāsa and Payutto.

Buddhādāsa often called for 'Dhammic socialism,' (e.g., Buddhādāsa 1989; Changkhwanyuen 2003; Puntarigvivat 2003), but in places recognized that capitalists might follow Buddhist principles. Payutto generally assumes private ownership, of the 'small is beautiful' version in Schumacher (1966). However, most writers in this movement are clear that property rights are not absolute. Using property to harm others can cause forfeiture (Payutto 1994, 2007; Piboolsravut 1997; Puntasen 2009). Given the principle of interconnectedness, 'others' not only includes society, but also the environment. Thus, this movement approaches a deep ecology worldview (Swearer 1997). Kilbourne, McDonagh, and Prothero (1997) note that DSP treats the environment as a free good, which, by tradition, does not 'belong' to anyone, so that damaging it does not infringe property rights. The 'reform-from-within' movement in Thai Buddhism would disagree with this view.

Kuan Im is particularly popular among women, including small business owners (Roenjun and Speece 2011). Receptivity is, of course, much broader than just among Thai-Chinese. Whether or not people are actually Thai-Chinese ethnically, Chinese cultural influence has fostered strongly

commercial values among the middle class more characteristic of Chinese culture than of Thai traditional agricultural society, (e.g., Komin 1991; Speece and Igel 2000). This cultural mix and diffusion of values does build in some receptivity to Mahāyāna concepts. Thai-Chinese are well integrated into Thai society, so many middle class pure Thai regard Thai-Chinese culture and values as simply a variation on Thai culture. Thus, there is no need to worry that these are ‘foreign’ ideas, which might be suspect (Roenjun and Speece 2011). The small business orientation of many Kuan Im followers would tend to make them pro-capitalist, but likely wanting some protection from what they view as predatory big companies. This would be somewhat similar to the ‘small-is-beautiful’ version of Buddhist economics in the ‘reform-from-within’ stream, but without some of the mixed economy elements.

We can merge Rawlinson’s dimensions for psychographics within the four movements discussed here with the position of the movements in the sustainable development debate, as shown in Figure 3. On the hot-cool dimension, hot traditions, those that look to an ‘other’ seem to be more content with current economic conditions. Perhaps they count on the ‘other’ helping them along the Path, so that the conditions in the economy are somewhat less important. Most extreme along this thinking, they may feel that the ‘other’ can intervene in this life to give them tangible benefits. There is less need to change the system if one can count on a powerful ally to help out. Cool traditions seem more oriented toward change of the system. Perhaps the need to make spiritual progress oneself, rather than relying on a powerful ‘other’, makes it seem necessary that the system be set up more equitably.

[Figure 3 about here]

Ethics and context

Kilbourne, McDonagh, and Prothero (1997) note that the DSP has eliminated ethics from the discipline of economics. None of our Buddhist reform movements is comfortable with that. All four movements examined here agree that Buddhist economics starts with individual-level 'microeconomics', which is about ethics. Most modern economic and environmental problems ultimately stem from mental defilements, which condition individual actions having economic and environmental impact. All four movements aim for drastic improvement of individual morality. Staunchly pro-capitalist, status quo Wat Dhammakāya, the small-is-beautiful, mixed-economy, reform-minded movement represented by Buddhādāsa and Payutto, and fiercely anti-capitalist, radical transformation Santi Asoke sound virtually identical on this issue (Speece 2010), as does Kuan Im (Roenjun and Speece 2011). What they differ on, as is clear from their categorization in the sustainable development debate, is the role of context and how it affects individual thinking and behavior. The different views on context translate into the different economic systems and into how they define Buddhism's 'right livelihood' element of the Eightfold Path.

Research in business ethics has shown that organizational context can have an impact on ethical behavior of managers (e.g., Treviño, Weaver, and Reynolds 2006; Reynolds, Leavitt, and DeCelles 2010). In the Thai debate on Buddhist economics, this context issue extends to the level of economic systems. Definition of economic systems and right livelihood, and corresponding acceptance or rejection of DSP, depends on the extent to which the movements feel that individual behavior is determined by context, as well as how strongly they believe individuals can resist the distractions of modern consumerism. Figure 4 illustrates where the three movements stand. On

the vertical axis of individual level change, there is little disagreement about the need to substantially improve personal ethics, thus the movements are all at a high level. The horizontal axis is about views on context, and corresponding definitions of 'right livelihood'.

[Figure 4 about here]

Wat Dhammakāya essentially sees things mostly in terms of individual responsibility, with very little contextual impact on the individual. Change of the system is not needed to make spiritual progress, nor to make a more just society. Rather, it is about improving individual morality. 'Non-harm is essentially sufficient for right livelihood, and if everyone practices non-harm, things will be fine. The DSP is fine, if only people would follow these higher ethical standards.

Santi Asoke feels that context is very important for serious spiritual progress; people cannot actually get to the higher ethical standards under DSP. Santi Asoke aims to eliminate most of the distractions of modern consumerist society. In a sense, their agricultural communities emulate the more restricted, simpler environment of the monastery. Santi Asoke is very narrow in definition of 'right livelihood'; emphasizing "a return to a very simple way of life, with agriculture as the basis for livelihood" (Satha-Anand 1990, p. 404). This can be seen both in terms of its rigorous interpretation of the 'small-is-beautiful' concept, as well an attempt to move closer to the simplicity of the monastic economy as an aid in reducing attachment, thus fostering more rapid spiritual progress. They aim to go far beyond 'non-harm' to giving as much as possible to help society (hence the *bun-niyom* philosophy, within the constraints of maintaining their simple lifestyle. Society as currently structured is not conducive to high ethics.

The 'reform-from-within' movement and Kuan Im are intermediate. Both see ethical Right Livelihood as going beyond simple 'non-harm'. Kuan Im followers who own small businesses talk about strong commitment to treating employees and customers fairly, and also about helping employees develop their careers (Roenjun and Speece 2011). Some 'reform-from-within' followers even change careers or move to the forefront of progressive employment practices to give positive benefits to society, well beyond simple non-harm. Neither movement seems ready to completely overturn DSP, but they are certainly skeptical of many elements in it and want them changed.

Conclusion

Thailand's urban middle class Buddhist reform movements follow several streams which correspond to four different versions of spirituality. These essentially allow a psychographic segmentation based on how people relate to the transcendental and how they perceive order (or lack of) in the cosmos. There is little disagreement about the need for ethical behavior to get a just society, but there is a wide range of thinking on how the system should be structured to make it feasible to get the ethical behavior. Thus, these psychographic segments correspond to how the movements believe the economy should be structured. The patterns correspond to categories in the broader debate on sustainable development. They also fit what Kilbourne, Beckmann, and Thelen (2002) found – that stronger acceptance of DSP (i.e., the prevailing capitalist model and consumer culture) corresponds to less concern about the environment.

This discussion shows that religiosity translates into perceptions of economic systems, but there is no simple correspondence in terms of exactly what system people tend to support, and no

simple correspondence in the degree of acceptance or rejection of the DSP of modern global capitalism and the consumerism. The Buddhist reform movements show distinct psychographic segmentation, and thus, come to different conclusions regarding economic system, environmentalism, and DSP.

It is also clear that there may be problems simply translating Western research on religiosity into this discussion. Leary, Minton, and Mittelstaedt (2016), for example, show that in a USA Christian context, more strongly religious people are more likely to believe in man's dominion over nature, while less religious people tend more toward believing in man's stewardship. Stewardship beliefs translate into more sustainable behavior. The fundamental concept of interconnectedness in Buddhism is broadly incompatible with the 'dominion' view. However, while 'stewardship' fits better, how to implement that stewardship is related to the nature of the system. More sustainable behavior is not about the degree of religiosity, but rather, about the psychographic approach to religiosity.

This discussion is preliminary in nature, and clearly needs additional work to refine the thinking. However, already, it is evident that these speculations can be tested if we develop good measures of the nature and strength of spirituality in the movements. We hope the discussion encourages others to look at these sorts of issues. The problem of how to structure a more just, equitable society is one of the most important issues needing urgent attention in the modern world.

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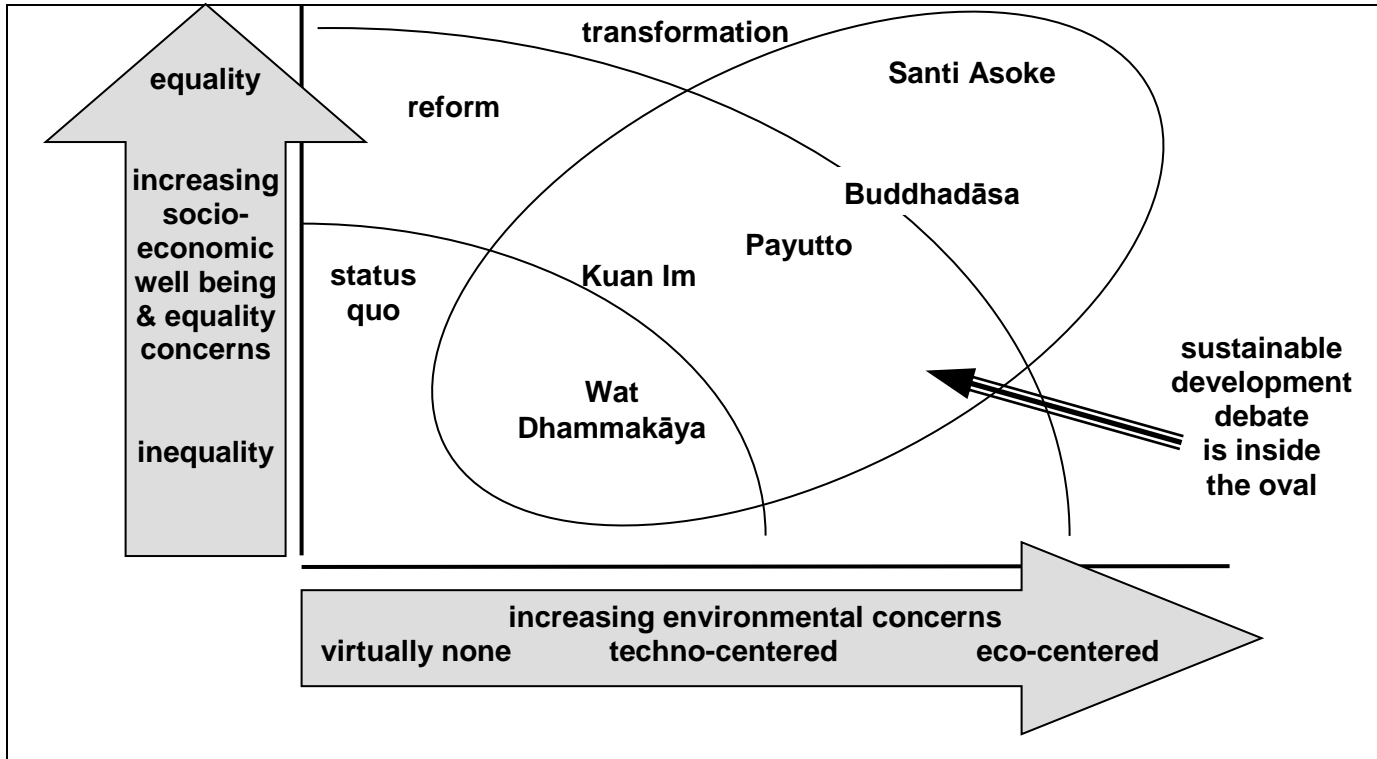
Acknowledgement: many thanks to an anonymous reviewer for suggesting that the concept of 'dominant social paradigm' should be integrated into the discussion.

Figure 1: Rawlinson's dimensions and four quadrants

	<p>hot</p> <p>is that which is other than oneself; that which has its own life. It is not something that one has access to as of right. It is powerful and breathtaking, and is associated with revelation and grace. It is very similar to Otto's 'numinous'.</p>		
<p>structured</p> <p>there is an inherent order in the cosmos and therefore in the human condition. There is something to be discovered and there is a way of discovering it. A map is required to find the destination.</p>	<p>hot structured</p> <p>The cosmos is vast and inhabited by innumerable powerful beings; liberation consists in finding one's way through the labyrinth with the appropriate passwords.</p> <p>Buddhist example: Vajrayana</p>	<p>hot unstructured</p> <p>There is a divine power, quite other than oneself, which encloses us and is the source of liberation.</p> <p>Buddhist example: Pure Land</p>	<p>unstructured</p> <p>there is no gap between the starting point and the finishing point. Method and goal are identical. We are not separate from reality/truth/God and so no map is required. Everything is available now and always has been</p>
	<p>cool structured</p> <p>Liberation is within oneself, but it must be uncovered by disciplined practice.</p> <p>Buddhist example: Theravada</p>	<p>cool unstructured</p> <p>One's own nature is liberation; everything else is illusion.</p> <p>Buddhist example: Ch'an / Zen</p>	
	<p>cool</p> <p>is the very essence of oneself; one need not go to another to find it. Hence one <i>does</i> have access to it as of right. It is quiet and still, and is associated with self-realization.</p>		

Source: Rawlinson 2000, p.100; also Rawlinson 1989, pp. 167, 172; Rawlinson 1997, pp. 98-100.

Figure 2: Thai Buddhist economics in the sustainability debate

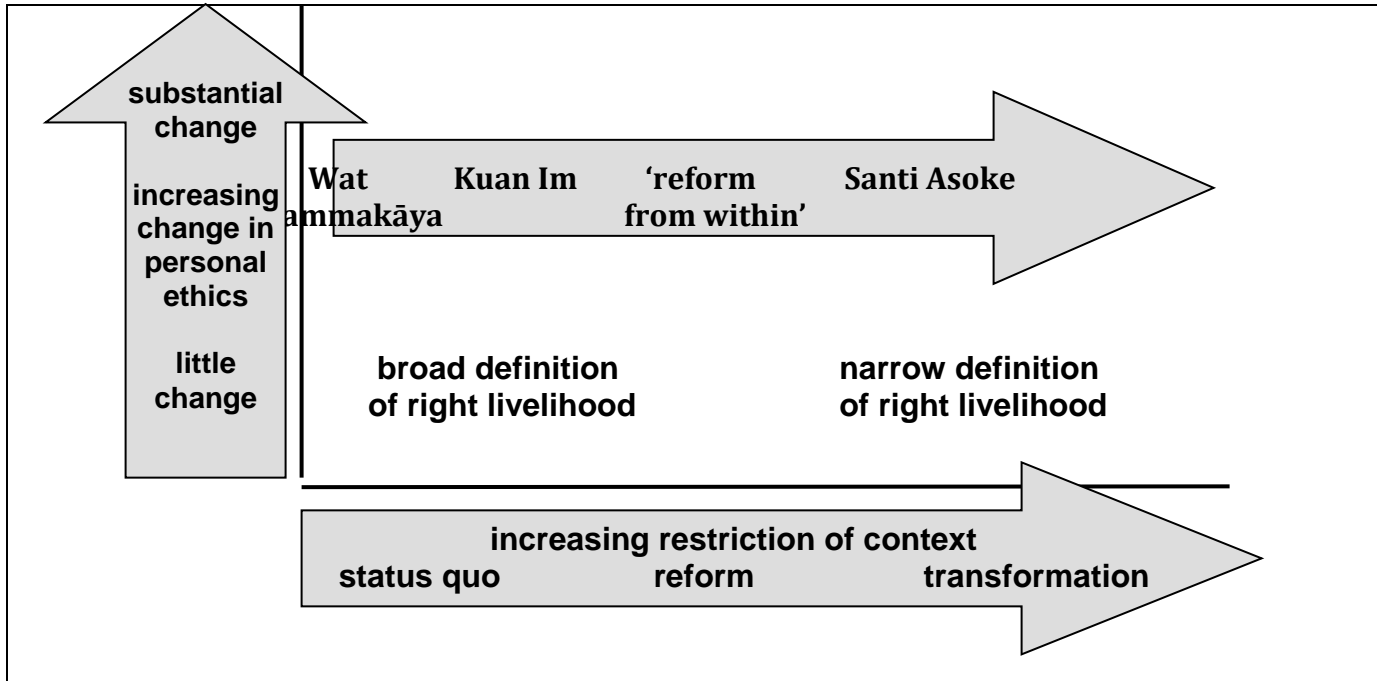


Source: dimensions and categories based on Hopwood, Mellor, and O'Brien (2005, p. 41); placement of Thai Buddhist reform movements from Speece (2010), except for Kuan Im, newly added for this paper.

Figure 3: Merging the psychographics with sustainable development position

	hot		
structured	status quo	some reform	unstructured
	more reform	transformation	
	cool		

Figure 4: Change in personal behavior



Source: Speece 2010, except for Kuan Im added based on this discussion

Embedded Ethics: Time to add a new product category?

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Abstract

A new category of products is emerging, products that make life and death choices about humans. Fanciful ideas of 'do no harm' cannot be extended to all situations. When dealing with traffic it is sometimes a matter of doing the least harm, which may include 'choosing' to kill the occupant of an autonomous vehicle ahead of the lives of others. This paper considers ethical issues surrounding the car and the autonomous vehicle. The nature of products in markets and their ethical issues is important, as macromarketing concerns itself with the interaction between markets and society.

Introduction

The history of marketing includes many categorizations of products, see Table 1 for examples. None of those taxonomies include products that may 'choose' to kill you. Kotler (1972) did consider products with negative impact on our welfare, such as cigarettes, see Table 2. That classification was further extended by Harris (2009) to include an ethical dimension. There are many ethically charged products, guns, alcohol, etc.. While Harris (2009) identifies these ethically charged products, guns do not operate on their own, cigarettes do not cause cancer unless you light them. None of these classifications fully address the autonomous vehicle as a product. The essence of the autonomous vehicle's ethical problem has often been put forward as a version of the trolley problem, discussed below. The ethical issues associated with autonomous vehicles

must be considered within the wider context of the ethical issues that surround the automobile in developed countries around the world. No consideration has been given to products that 'choose' to take an action that will kill us, outside of science fiction. The first, and most prominent, of these new products to emerge in markets is the autonomous car/vehicle - a product with embedded ethics.

The Wider Ethical Issue of the Automobile

Around the world there is a quiet acceptance of deaths that result from automobiles as 'normal'.

We have a trolley problem with 30000+ people (in the USA alone) on the tracks every year, and it is accepted and an 'externality' of the auto-dependent society we live in.

Table 1: Product Categorizations Examples

Emergency	Selling
Convenience	(Parlin, 1912)
Convenience	Shopping
Speciality	(Copeland, 1923)
Goods	Services
International	Domestic

Table 2: Kotler's Paradigm of Product Categories (Kotler, 1972)

		Immediate Satisfaction	
		Low	High
Long run Consumer welfare	High	Salutary products	Desirable Products
	Low	Deficient Products	Pleasing Products

The police chief of New York city is reported as having said "We do have 8.4 million people here.

We do have a daytime population that's over 10 million people, so you're going to have a lot of traffic. And you're going to have accidents." (Stuart, 2014). They might just as well have said, we have ten million people, there are going to be a lot of murders (and that's okay). Related to this is the fundamental issue of many countries having traffic offences and criminal offences. Traffic offences are generally prosecuted at a lower level, or have significantly lighter penalties associated with the same outcome for the victim. Traffic offences are related to "accidents", while criminal offences relate to deliberate bad behavior. Careless behavior with a motor vehicle and careless behavior with a firearm are treated very differently, in most countries in the world. The amount of energy transferred to someone being hit by a bullet or a car suggests that greater responsibility should be required of drivers, see Table 3

Table 3: Kinetic Energy Table

Object	Kinetic Energy (Joules)
80kg person walking at 4km/hr	49
55kg person running at 14km/hr	412
9mm bullet at typical muzzle velocity	538
1 000kg car (very light) travelling at 50km/hr	96 451
1 500kg car (typical) travelling at 50km/hr	144 676
1 500kg car travelling at 100km/hr	578 705
67 000kg articulated lorry at 100km/hr	25 848 807

Ethical frameworks to consider the autonomous vehicle

Ethical questions have left the hypothetical world of the philosophy class and must now be made explicit before the product category autonomous vehicle goes on the road (Laczniak, 1983). Of course, it is highly likely that the ethical decisions will be made so as to limit or eliminate liability in major and litigious markets, like the USA.

Considering utilitarian ethics or deontological ethics (Hunt and Vitell, 1986), autonomous vehicles require us to deal with the choices being made by the programs that drive the vehicles.

Utilitarian ethics is based in the idea of balancing the outcomes of actions, or in this case products, around a central variable (pleasure, happiness, etc.) (Ferrell and Gresham, 1985). It is a normative theory, seeking to answer the question 'what should one do?'. In the case of vehicles and travel, minimizing road deaths and injuries would appear appropriate. Though, there are certainly those that would make a case that happiness is created by ensuring that as many people as possible arrive as quickly as possible at their desired destinations.

Deontological ethics, centered around adherence to rules and the behavior of the focal person rather than the outcome of their actions, is the second dominant stream in ethical thought (Murphy, 2010). The current traffic 'ethics' in most countries centers around a set of rules, which we should all follow as road users. Were we all to follow all the rules, there would be very very few accidents and injuries or deaths. That is empirically not the situation. There has already been conflict between autonomous vehicles and human driven vehicles because autonomous vehicles adhere to the rules | they stop as soon as the light turns orange, they don't exceed the speed limit, maintain safe following distances, etc. | and humans frequently do not.

The current design of motor vehicles privileges the owner's safety over that of other road users, especially vulnerable road users, cyclists and pedestrians | a situation for consideration of Rawlsian ethics (Rawls, 2009). There has been clear evidence of an "arms race" around vehicle purchasing in many countries, with consumers purchasing larger vehicles as they are safer, resulting in other consumers also purchasing larger vehicles to be safe.

Does the act of ownership, with its attendant payment, privilege the owner of the autonomous vehicle when there are traffic interactions that will result in injury or death. The owner of the autonomous vehicle has paid for the vehicle, should it not give the owner some call on better outcomes? Of course everyone in a vehicle is already better protected than vulnerable road users, like cyclists and pedestrians.

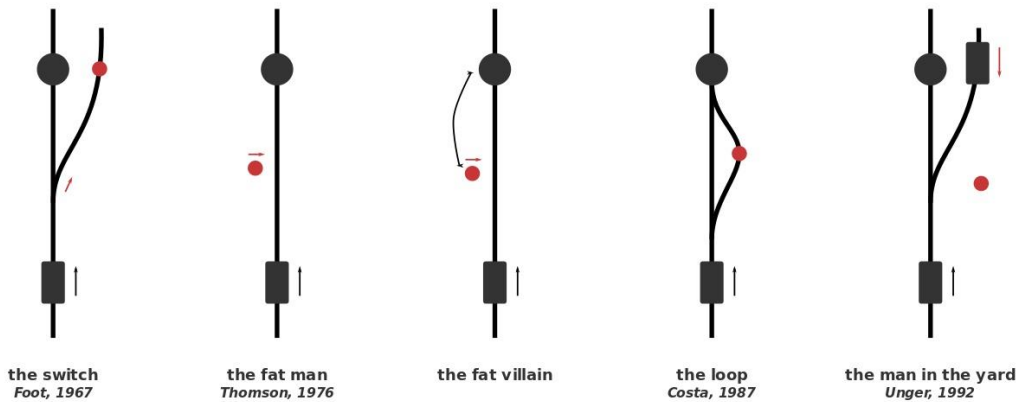
The benefits of autonomous vehicles

Currently automobile crashes (accidents implies no responsibility) kill around 32 000 Americans per annum (Staff writer, 2015) and around 26 000 Europeans per year. This has been the leading cause of death by machine in the USA for almost a century, only now being threatened for its top spot by the firearm. The WHO estimates that 1.3 million people world wide die as a result of automobile collisions each year. If autonomous vehicles can reduce that number, and there is little question that normally operating autonomous vehicles will reduce crash rates, society as a whole is better off. The case for programs instead of drivers is so strong that it has been suggested it could become illegal to drive in the future. The ethical issues are not so simple, there are benefits and costs, tradeoffs abound. The trolley problem gives us a framework to consider issues surrounding autonomous vehicles.

The trolley problem and autonomous vehicles

Philosophy classes are filled with consideration of the trolley problem, and its variants, some of which can be seen in Figure 1.

Figure 1: The Trolley Problem and variants (source Kubilius (2015))



The Switch

We stand by the switching gear of a rail road track as an out of control trolley runs down the tracks towards five people, who will almost certainly die if we do nothing. If we switch the rails the trolley will run down a track and almost certainly kill a single person. What should we do? To do nothing is to be a complicit observer of deaths. To switch the rails is to 'cause' the death of the one person, who would not previously have died.

The Fat Man

In the fat man variant of the trolley problem we have the same set up without the switch, a trolley is running out of control towards five people, who will almost certainly die. You can stop the trolley if you put something heavy in its way. By chance a fat man (it is hard to see why person has not been used in this mental exercise, surely the gender is irrelevant.) stands near you and you could push them onto the track to stop the trolley, saving the five lives, but causing the death of the fat man.

The Fat Villain

A further development of the Fat Man is where the fat man is the person who put the five people on the track in danger. As a 'murderer' can we kill him to avoid the deaths of the five 'innocents'?

The Loop

As philosophy classes do, this version adds another level of complication. There is a loop in the track, the trolley is heading, out of control, towards the five people on the track, but you can switch the tracks and send the trolley onto a different part of the loop where the trolley will hit a fat man who will arrest the trolley. If you do nothing, the trolley will collide with the five people almost certainly killing them, but saving the fat man.

The Man in the Yard

In this version we are in a position where we could send a second trolley down a separate track to stop the out of control trolley. However, in doing so the two trolleys would derail and end up killing someone sleeping near the tracks, but the five people would be saved. All of these hypothetical situations, with perfect knowledge, are entertaining and thought provoking, but the autonomous vehicle brings the trolley problem to the real world.

The Autonomous Vehicle trolley problem

The trolley problems require a striking amount of knowledge about the outcomes of our actions and the physics of run-away trolleys. When it comes to autonomous vehicles the sensors will be modeling at a level below that of a philosophy professor's perfect knowledge example. The vehicles processor will not know the weight of the different vehicles around it, or the frictional

coefficient of the road, etc. However, the processor will know a great deal more than even the best drivers about the trajectory of all the vehicles and people around it. An autonomous vehicle is proceeding in a legal manner along a road when its sensors detect an unavoidable collision, in which it will be involved. The 'choice' for the autonomous vehicle is which accident it is involved in and who will be (likely) injured or killed. What is the value of the lives of the humans detected by the sensors? One option may be to drive into a wall and kill the occupant (and the vehicle) but avoid the collision impacting on anyone else. The autonomous vehicle must "choose" which life/lives to lose in this situation. Those lives must be valued relative to each, and the likelihood of death and/or injury included.

Autonomous vehicles cannot avoid these "choices" if they are to operate in the real world. How is the life of a driver, cyclist, pedestrian valued? It is reported that Google's self driving car values the life of pedestrians and cyclists ahead of drivers. The autonomous vehicle will not drive onto the pavement to avoid a crash with another vehicle if it senses a pedestrian is there. This is a major improvement on the current situation in New York, where you are more likely to be killed crossing the road with the lights than you are jay walking (Stuart, 2014). Currently pedestrians are anything but privileged by drivers or the law (Schlossberg, 2015).

The driver of a non-autonomous vehicle is faced with these same choices, but less information and understanding of the interaction of the many different variables around the vehicle. The choices of drivers result in many deaths of those drivers, but that does not mean that we are comfortable considering a car that might make the same decision, albeit with more complete information (Bonnefon, Shariff and Rahwan, 2015).

Ethical issues of the Autonomous Vehicle

Table 4 summarizes the ethical benefits and costs of autonomous vehicles, discussed below.

Table 4: Benefits and Dangers of Autonomous Vehicles

	Benefit to Society	Benefit to Owner	Danger to Society	Danger to Owner
Your vehicle may decide to kill you	X			X
Someone else's car may decide to kill them to save you	X			X
The capacity for cars to collect evidence and send it to law enforcement and/or insurance	X	X		
Cars constantly updating maps	X	X		
Government/police control /over ride	X			X
Terrorist use of autonomous vehicles			X	X
Hackers accessing autonomous vehicles			X	X
Increase in congestion through empty vehicles on roads		X?	X	
Decrease in congestion through shared use model	X	X		
Unemployment of drivers		X?	X	
Inequality - who gets to use/own autonomous vehicles			X	
Reduction in emissions from E-autonomous vehicles	X	X		

Your vehicle may 'choose' to kill you

The most discussed ethical issue of the autonomous vehicle is that the vehicles computer may 'choose' to kill the driver. This is correct, in a situation where a life will be lost (statistically speaking, or according to the internal model of the world the computer uses and its collected data) the computer in the car may 'decide' that the driver's life is the one with the least value.

Ownership, or payment for the mobility service, may not bestow privileges on the driver | the computer is independent.

The opposite is of course true, as a pedestrian, a cyclist, or driver of, or passenger in, another vehicle may benefit from the 'choice' of the autonomous vehicle. The program in the car is expected to be beneficial to society, overall.

'Perfect' information

Autonomous vehicles offer the opportunity for large scale accurate data to be collected on the roads, where ever they are. Should this data be made available to law enforcement and insurance companies, there will be considerable benefits in reducing law breaking on roads. There are of course another series of ethical issues surrounding the wholesale collection of data on our roads, but those issues are minor compared to the costs of law breaking on our roads.

Given that the autonomous vehicle owner/operator is in a vehicle that always obeys the law, there is no danger to them from data collection. A wholesale reduction in law breaking on our roads will only benefit society. We are already seeing a widespread adoption of dash cameras by drivers to provide evidence in case of accident. These cameras are not available to the police, as of right, however.

In a related issue, autonomous vehicles will constantly update maps and road conditions, reducing

disruptions to transportation flows and reducing costs to those vehicles that are connected and to society as a whole.

External control of Autonomous Vehicles

Many countries require that override capacity be built in for law enforcement. Police must be able to stop empty autonomous vehicles when they suspect that they are being used in a way that threatens society, for example by terrorists to transport bombs (already an issue with drones). Who should have override control and under which circumstances should it be used, a series of ethical questions. As with any computer program there is a danger of hackers accessing a connected system of autonomous vehicles and creating havoc. The security of the autonomous vehicle override and connections will far exceed the requirements of cellphones and banking.

Congestion and the contribution of autonomous vehicles

Under one scenario, people own autonomous vehicles and use them for themselves and their families. That may lead to an increase in traffic on the roads as one autonomous vehicle takes the owner to work, returns home empty, takes a child (or children) to school(s), returns home empty or collects groceries. Half the trips are with an empty vehicle and the roads have an increase in traffic, contributing to congestion. An extension of this scenario relates to parking, where the owner asks the autonomous vehicle to circle the block, avoiding the high cost of parking in central cities, remaining available to the owner and increasing congestion greatly.

The alternative scenario centers on a shared use model where autonomous vehicles are mobility as a service and are programmed to maximize time with passengers over time empty. The first scenario is loaded with costs to society and benefit to the owner, while the second scenario offers

benefits to society over the current situation.

Employment and the autonomous vehicle

Driving offers employment to many people and autonomous vehicles threaten those jobs. Roughly half of the costs of public transport are labor costs, costs which could be 'saved'. Autonomous vehicles will be the next step in the replacement of humans from work, increasing the number of people in low skilled employment who will be without jobs. With higher unemployment, and/or lower incomes, who will benefit from the potential of autonomous vehicles? It is unlikely to be the ex-drivers who benefit from autonomous vehicles. The ethical and equity issues associated with autonomous vehicles are similar to many other technologies that have arrived and replaced humans.

E-autonomous vehicles

It is expected that almost all autonomous vehicles will be electric vehicles, which bring with them considerable society level benefits through green house gas emission reductions. Owners will also benefit from cheaper energy and more efficient conversion from stored energy to motion.

The roads are built for (autonomous-) cars

Should autonomous vehicles continue to struggle with people on bicycles, as the head of Renault has been reported as stating will there be pressure to keep bicycles off roads? Will pedestrians be increasingly restricted in their movements? Nova Scotia has just made it more expensive to be fined for "jaywalking" than for speeding past a stationary school bus.

Applying the Lacznia Framework to the Autonomous Vehicle

The ethical issues surrounding our first products that make life and death choices are complex and multifaceted. Society and governments will have to adjust to these challenges, as autonomous vehicles are certainly on the horizon. Using the Lacznia (1983) framework we can consider the autonomous vehicle (suggestions related to the material above are included in brackets, they are far from definitive):

- Does the autonomous vehicle violate the law? (No, less often than human driven vehicles)
- Does the autonomous vehicle violate any general moral obligation:
 - duties of fidelity? (No)
 - duties of gratitude? (No)
 - duties of justice? (No)
 - duties of beneficence? (Not significantly different to other vehicles)
 - duties of self-improvement?(There will doubtless be those that argue, “driving makes me happy, autonomous vehicles will deny me that pleasure”. There will also be many who are freed from the chore of commuting in congested traffic)
 - duties of nonmaleficence? (autonomous vehicles are clear winners when it comes to reduction in harm to others)
- Does the autonomous vehicle violate any special obligations stemming from the vehicle industry? (While the typical car does not get driven quickly or skillfully, for years the vehicle industry has sold speed, freedom and a driving experience. This offer must be renegotiated.)
- Is the intent of the autonomous vehicle evil? (No)
- Are any major evils likely to result from or because of autonomous vehicles? (No)

- Is there a satisfactory alternative (human driven cars), which produces equal or more good with less evil than autonomous vehicles, being knowingly rejected? (autonomous vehicles offer benefits above the alternative)
- Does the autonomous vehicle infringe on the inalienable rights of the consumer? (Is there an inalienable right to drive and to be part of a system that kills tens of thousands every year? There may be a perception of that right, but it is not found in any document that I have been able to source.)
- Does the autonomous vehicle leave a group of people less well off? Is this group already relatively underprivileged? (Access to autonomous vehicles will be income dependent, but so is access to cars currently. Private motorized transport is heavily subsidized through the lack of collection of externalities clearly associated with the private vehicle and the internal combustion engine. The autonomous vehicle is unlikely to solve these issues, but the shared ownership model may make access to transport more available.)

Discussion and Conclusion

Does (macro)marketing need a new category of goods; long run good for society, long run good for the individual, but it may choose to kill you? The autonomous vehicle is likely to be the first of many products that "choose" to do something which may be detrimental to the health of the owner, or user. Science fiction may be a source as we consider the near future of products and consumption, but we must make serious informed choices too or risk receiving all the worst aspects of a new technology instead of maximizing the potential benefits.

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Consumer Culture and Happiness I

More Homely than Home: Liminality, Happiness and Pilgrimage Consumption

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Introduction and Theoretical Background

Although religion remains central to global consumer culture, Drenten and McManus (2015, 8) have recently suggested that research on macromarketing and religion is “sluggish, at best.” One useful area for research interest is the relationship between religion and happiness. Various studies have suggested that religion beliefs and practices can lead to increased happiness and a better quality of life, partly because of the associated participation in social networks (e.g. The Austin Institute for the Study of Family and Culture, 2014; Croezen et al. 2015). However, these studies tend to be quantitative in nature. As suggested by Kale (2004, 103), consumers are increasingly adopting an individualised approach to religion and spirituality so a thorough understanding of perceptions of quality of life “will need to embrace ethnographic research.” This paper draws on a three-year ethnographic study on the consumption of the religious pilgrimage experience to Lourdes, France and provides a deeper understanding of the importance of religious expression for Catholic consumers. In particular, we find that religious conversation and expression is becoming less tolerated and as such is silenced or “backgrounded” (Weinberger, 2015) within the public domain, including market places. We find such existential silencing to be detrimental to overall happiness, causing many to feel existentially liminal in everyday life. The liminal state has been viewed as a “negative, ambiguous phase” during which liminars suffer a

“suspension of their identity” experiencing a “vague or blurred” sense of self (Cody and Lawlor, 2011, 211). However, through consumption of the Lourdes experience, consumers are able to temporarily shed their existential liminal state, to experience a temporal cohesive, happier sense of self.

Researching Lourdes

Scholars of religious (e.g. Lauretin, 1994; Turner and Turner, 1978) and secular (e.g. Arnould and Price, 1993; Reader and Walters, 1993) pilgrimage recognize the extraordinary nature of the experience. Extraordinary experiences are “uncommon, infrequent and go beyond the realm of everyday life” (Bhattacharjee and Mogilner, 2014, 2). The Lourdes pilgrimage was ignited in 1858 by a series of apparitions between fourteen-year-old Bernadette Soubirous and a woman, who was authenticated by the Catholic Church in 1862 as the Mother of Jesus Christ. A consumption experience that continues to grow after 150 years, with over six million pilgrims journeying there annually in search of physical, spiritual and personal renewal.

In keeping with standard ethnographic practice, multiple methods of data collection were employed. Fieldwork was based on participant observation, which at times incorporated volunteering with teams. Fieldwork data resulted in over 200 pages of double spaced field-notes, approximately 3000 visuals (photographs and videos), and many informal and serendipitous interviews with pilgrims on site at Lourdes, which were audio-recorded when possible. Depth interviews were conducted with twenty-three respondents lasting from thirty minutes to four

hours in length enabling the understanding of personal life histories. All interviews were transcribed verbatim, tallying over 1000 double spaced pages of transcription.

Findings: More Homely than Home

Respondents agree that practicing Catholicism results in them being socially labelled and positioned as part of “The God Squad” or “Crazy Catholics”. Turner (1969, p. 103) suggests that submissiveness and silence are characteristics associated with liminal entities. For many, growing secularization (Berger, 1999; Bruce, 1992:1996) has removed and silenced public religious expression, resulting in them feeling continuously liminal. However, rather than overtly or publically transgressing against normative society, respondents turn to the marketplace, consuming the Lourdes experience, where such religious repression is temporarily freed. The Lourdes pilgrimage consumption experience encapsulates a familiarity that is expressed as being a “home away from home” that is “comfortable”, “homely”, and “welcoming”. Consequently, many align their pilgrimage consumption experience to being encapsulated within what is colloquially termed the “Lourdes Bubble” (Lilly), with the Lourdes pilgrimage affording them a time and place where they feel wholly, “safe”, “secure”, and “protected”, more so than they do at home, with many experiencing Lourdes as being their true home:

“On the way home everyone is tired, but happy. I can hardly wait to get home, but by this I mean that I can hardly wait to go home to Lourdes next year because that is how I feel about going to Lourdes every year – I am going home!”(Patricia, 93).

Therefore, while emically respondents speak of Lourdes as a home away from home, etically our findings reveal that Lourdes can in fact be more homely than home because of the safety and security offered by the landscape that is missing from daily life.

Reconceptualising Liminality

Van Gennep (1909/ 1960, 46) distinguishes between the *physical* return versus *the social* return from rites of passage, a distinction that has yet to be incorporated into marketing and consumer research. This study demonstrates that whilst consumption experiences may be *physically* located within a peripheral, liminal landscape, the *social* experience can provide consumers with a holistic sense of self, unachievable in their mundane, everyday lives. Thus, consumers simultaneously can be *physically* liminal and *socially* whole. The peripheral *physical* location of the Sanctuary of Lourdes, in the Pyrenees region of France, denotes liminality. However, the *social* experiences of Lourdes consumers signals not a “betwixt and between” but rather a stable, holistic state.

To end, we advance Schouten’s (1991, 421-422) understanding of “prolonged” and “continued” liminality, demonstrating that permanent or continued forms of liminality in everyday life need not be debilitating or painful. After all the consumers in this study are not unhappy in their everyday lives, but merely more aware of the need to silence their Catholic sense of self, thus feeling more at home in Lourdes than they do in their actual home lives. Our findings further support the suggestion that religious beliefs and practices can lead to increased happiness and better quality of life (i.e. Croezen et al., 2015). However, we argue that the marketplace has a unique and crucial role to play, with consumption of the Lourdes experience becoming a balm enabling consumers to

temporarily shed their existential liminal state, and experience a temporal cohesive, happier sense of self.

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Pain-Free Funeral: Creating the Market for the Bereaved in South Korea

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Abstract

This study illuminates the transformative process by which Koreans have been obligatorily converted due to regulations with respect to funerary practice, and unconsciously endorse the newly devised experience industry that purportedly caters unprecedented “convenience” to the bereaved. The socio-politico-cultural patterning of funeral experience in Korea, and consumers’ reflexive collusion with agentic forces in the current political economy of ritual, is characterized as *de-Confucianization*, which involves *de-emotionalization*, *hyper-symbolization*, and *vulgarization*.

Extended Abstract

The experience economy (Pine and Gilmore 1998) now overshadows what has been previously conceived and practiced with full spirituality and highly calcified ancestral ritualism in South Korea. The death of a family member and the aftermath of such a tragedy should, however, be no longer as mentally exhausting, emotionally shattering, and physically agonizing as it used to be under Confucius regime. A newly evolved market for mourners and the deceased in the country provides not only value-bearing (in fact, enhancing) experiences for the involuntary “participants” of the traumatizing event, but also kindles researchers to question and explicate the potential scope, politics, process, and boundary conditions of creating a market for the purportedly sacred need (cf.

Belk, Wallendorf, and Sherry 1989; Giesler 2012). Therefore, this study illuminates the transformative process by which Koreans have been obligatorily converted due to regulations with respect to funerary practice, and unconsciously endorse the newly devised experience industry that caters unprecedented “convenience” to the bereaved.

The current literature on market creation—based on institutional theory—primarily inculcates socio-politico-cultural legitimation processes of culturally charged products (e.g., Humphreys 2010a, 2010b), as well as the newly self-defined consumer segment (e.g., Scaraboto and Fischer 2013) and the subsequent transformation of the market. Another stream of research on the topic adopts actor-network theory to highlight different roles of active agents as well as the developmental phases of market creation (e.g., Giesler 2012; Martin and Schouten 2014).

Nonetheless, what has been missing in such studies calls for more attention to spirituality, religion, and traditional ritualism vis-à-vis (r)evolutions in regulatory system, market(ing) influence, and ultimately the nature of customer (the bereaved) experience. The sociocultural patterning of funeral experience in Korea, and consumers’ reflexive collusion with agentic forces in the current political economy of ritual, is characterized as *de-Confucianization*. In the process, Koreans have become spiritually denuded and ritualistically barren, which is identified as the necessary condition for legitimating vastly unconventional death rites.

Prior to the inception of the “pain-free” funeral service industry in the 1990s, Korean traditions based on Confucianism provided cultural bedrocks of pneumatology and thanatology for individuals to ensure their ancestors “exist” generation after generation, in the form of the ancestor commemoration ceremony (Kwon 2006). This cultural practice takes place in front of the tombs of

ancestors at least once or twice a year, and at home on the anniversary of their death. However, funerary transformations accelerated by rapid changes in sociopolitical agendas, and the following commodification of the ritual experience, eventually revolutionized the Korean culture of grieving and ancestor veneration. Confucian values that had been embedded extensively in everyday life in Korea started to be replaced with pragmatic and economic values (Park 2010). Owing to the change, Koreans have lost not only their family members, but also the eternal connection to the *cosmos*, to where the deceased returned. The loss of connection should be demoralizing due to *han* (a concept—and also a medical condition—specific only to Koreans, which connotes hopeless and helpless resentment, agony, and unidentifiable pain) that is interwoven with the history of the country and various teachings of Confucianism; but the government, marketers, and consumers co-created a cure: *sangjo* (full-service funeral assistance).

The transformation of funeral practices in Korea was inevitable because of new government policies that incentivized cremation and legalized funeral halls within hospitals, moving the traditional location of death and death rites from the home (the sacred) to hospitals (the profane) (Park 2011). Deaths outside one's home had been considered bad deaths (*geksa*), and cremation was culturally associated with bad deaths, such as younger people and people with no family, and understandably, *geksa*. However, it is now a new standard and status that necessitates marketers (i.e., *sangjo*) and a relevant material culture. *Sangjo*, funeral halls, crematoria, and columbaria together in Korea embody social statuses of the dead and the alive through various financing options, funeral-related product selections, and most importantly, site choices, which are typically called “parks” in the same sense as playgrounds or amusement parks. Commoditization of the customary practice intensifies the culture-specific notion that a funeral can be festive, where

condolers are not expected to leave for three days, playing card games for money, and folk singers (*sorrikkon*) are hired to “cheer up” the mourners.

Archival analyses, in conjunction with netnography, suggest Koreans have quite abruptly been de-Confucianized with respect to familial, spiritual, and ritual aspects of death rites, and marketers are amid the process to create a de-sacralized market where consumers overcome and, in fact, transcend emotional denial, material (financial) limitations, and ritualistic (sacred) burdens with the aid of the newly developed funeral service (the profane)—presented as an epitome of modern consumerism. Death became a lucrative field in which the replacement of the sacred with the profane provides paradoxically joyful and comfortable experiences for the participants of the end-of-life “show.”

De-emotionalization, as an aspect of de-Confucianization, is the quintessence of the new industry, where the emotionally draining ritual practices of the past are assisted and even acceptably performed by “surrogate mourners” and well-trained service providers. *Hyper-symbolization* is another aspect of de-Confucianization. This feature signifies a process in which traditionally esteemed and taken-for-granted spiritual symbols of love, respect, and most importantly, *han* expire because material symbols are presented as the newly embodied vernacular and currency of mourning. Lastly, *vulgarization* is practiced in the new market. Consumers and marketers of such funeral services consistently collaborate to confirm that the traditional death ritual has become, *de facto*, reasonable and pragmatic—albeit highly pretentious and ultimately profane, according to the country’s long-established custom.

Socio-historical and cultural patterning of death rituals in Korea that have manifested into a highly entrepreneurial enterprise (*sangjo*) facilitates our understanding of consumer ritualism and warrants ongoing discussions on boundary conditions and agentic configurations of market creation for sacred, spiritual, and ritual practices.

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The Quest for Existential Renaissance: Non-Mimetic Consumption in Consumer Culture

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Abstract

This paper highlights communal paroxysms of marketplace transgression as a vehicle for existential renaissance, a means to establish ephemeral authenticity and freedom of existence – for contemporary consumers to establish and maintain a sense of ‘happiness’ in contrast to the illusionary and sanctimonious structures of capitalist ideology.

Extended Abstract

Drawing on ethnographic and netnographic data, from instances of excessive alcohol consumption, recreational illicit drug use, and consumer rioting, this study provides novel insights into cultural gravitation towards non-mimetic, dangerous, marketplace behaviour. Consumers, in carnival spirit, are beginning to augment marketer-facilitated mimetic (moderate, controlled) forms of experience with non-mimetic (dangerous, uncontrolled) consumption rituals, enacted in pursuit of contemporary excitement – an opportunity to express and recreate the self.

Consumers have always desired an experience economy (Sherry, Kozinets, and Borghini 2007). The consumer desire for experience is complex and often driven by existential needs for authenticity, self-expansion, and freedom (Leigh, Peters, and Shelton 2006; Lyng 2012), rather than what marketers consider entertainment. Capitalist society is a theatre of desire: consumer experience is

directed by a system of hedonism, pleasures, and fantasies (Caru and Cova 2007; Holbrook and Hirschman 1982). However, within capitalist society, strong mechanisms of social control regulate the experience of mystery, magic, passion, and soul (Firat and Venkatesh 1995), serving to limit the human expression of extreme emotion (Elias and Dunning 1986). As a result, contemporary existential renaissance becomes not so much a state of being but a *quality of experience*, induced by the submission to emotions that *excite* (Kozinets et al. 2004).

However, it is argued that contemporary consumer experience lacks any great quality of depth or originality (Baudrillard 1988): the magical sparks of excitement, which once inspired spontaneous paroxysms, abound with ecstatic irrationalities, have been doused by the disenchanting nature of the structured market (Firat and Venkatesh 1995). Marketers, as a diminished substitute, stage thematic, commercially approved, consumption experiences, however, some consumers seek experiences, which are less comfortable, less predictable, but more dangerous and exciting (Lyng 1990; Murphy and Patterson 2011; Tumbat and Belk 2011) – typified by experiential marketing and the brandfest phenomenon (McAlexander and Schouten 1998). Consumers are capricious and creative but also deviant and destructive (Gabriel and Lang 1995; Reith 2005), the latter traits provide heightened emotional experiences and greater marketplace excitements (Kavanagh, Keohane, and Kuhling 2011), yet remain under-researched in marketing and consumer research (Fitchett and Smith 2002).

For some time now, marketers have created spectacular themed environments intended to excite consumers into supplementary consumption (McAlexander, Schouten, and Koenig 2002; Schmitt 1999; Sherry, Kozinets, and Borghini 2007): Marketer-facilitated extraordinary events, provided

for customers to celebrate brand ownership/consumption, intended to stimulate long-term brand loyalty (McAlexander and Schouten 1998). Despite operating in the realm of 'anti-structure' (Turner 1979), marketer-controlled spectacular environments typically belongs to the 'mimetic class' of excitement (Elias and Dunning 1986). Mimetic excitement is socially and personally without extreme forms of danger, whereas, during non-mimetic excitements people are liable to *lose control* and potentially become a threat, or danger, to themselves and/or others (Elias and Dunning 1986). The term mimetic is used not in the most literal sense meaning imitation: mimetic events are not representations of everyday structured life events, rather, the *emotions expressed* and the *affects aroused* are imitative of those experienced in everyday structured society.

Brandfests mimic the emotions, and affects, embedded in structured society, only transposed in more spectacular cladding. Marketer-controlled leisure activities generally form an enclave for the *socially approved* arousal of *moderate* excitement (Reith 2005; Santro and Trolie 2007).

Despite the CCT literature casting consumers as 'double agents', 'plunderers', and 'pirates' (Cova, Kozinets, and Shankar 2007), marketplace culture research has paid less attention to deviant communal consumption rituals – transgressive behaviours related to the pursuit of existential needs (Lyng 2012). Communal, hedonic, and transgressive festivities have been performed by cultures throughout recorded history (Caillois 1959/2001; 1962; Kavanagh, Keohane, and Kuhling 2011; Turner 1979; 1982). The exhilaration of carnival, for instance, is opposed to structured life: the latter concerned with daily tasks and a system of taboos, whereas the former "eminently favour the creation and contagion of an exalted state that exhausts itself in cries and movement and that is incited to uncontrollably abandons itself to the most irrational impulses" (Caillois 1959/2001: 97). Activities of the carnival transmute the regular world to the 'world-upside-down' (Presdee 2000):

whereby Bakhtin (1965/1984) maintains ‘the fool is king’! Carnival is full of irrational, deranged, and offensive behaviour, ‘carnivalistic life’ with magical efficacy, sanctions exciting behaviours, which in the structured world would be considered unacceptable, dangerous, or even criminal (Bakhtin 1965/1984; Presdee 2000).

Marketers have utilized the carnival as a form and a metaphor (Brown, Stevens and Maclaran 1999; Presdee and Carver 2000), providing commoditised carnival-like experiences, in a variety of marketplace contexts (Langer 2007; Sherry, Kozinets, and Borghini 2007). Commercial processes have suppressed the carnival in its authentic state (Presdee and Carver 2000): the marketer-facilitated carnival has lost the transgressive and non-mimetic elements, essential for existential renaissance. Consumers no longer participate in ‘carnival’ once or twice a year but consumers participate in multiple commercial-carnivals per year – seeking the existentially elusive (Presdee and Carver 2000). However, the innate human need for deviance, transgression, and the production of tensions, cannot be quelled: *madness* emerges in marketplace contexts (Kavanagh, Keohane, and Kuhling 2011). Beamish tours (O’Sullivan, Richardson, and Collins 2011), the WSOBP, Ecstasy consumption (O’Sullivan, 2015), Arthur’s Day, ‘Black Friday’ looting, and the London/English riots, despite their cultural potency and magnitudes resonating at escalating intensities, each of the non-mimetic paroxysms possesses the common thread of disrupting marketplace ideology and are direct ramifications of the human dissatisfaction with capitalist ideology.

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Social Marketing: Time to Get Critical I

Looking good but doing harm

Sandra C Jones, Australian Catholic University, Australia

The Alcohol Industry and Corporate Social Responsibility

The World Bank describes Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) as accountability to all stakeholders and a social responsibility to consider the impact of their actions on communities and the environment, whilst recognising the need to make a profit' (Nicolau 2008). The tobacco industry has been criticised for pursuing insincere CSR policies (Palazzo and Richter 2005); and similar concerns have been raised in relation to other controversial products such as alcohol and gambling.

The International Centre for Alcohol Policy (ICAP) advises its members that their CSR activities should “contribute to a wider development of alcohol policies, promote responsible drinking patterns, and target alcohol misuse.” This paper reviews some of the initiatives and activities undertaken by the alcohol industry in Australia that are apparently part of their concerted approach to reducing harmful alcohol consumption. So, let's have a look at how they are going....

They're Helping us to Drink 'Responsibly'

While there is increasing evidence that alcohol advertising is associated with early drinking initiation and more harmful drinking patterns, the industry maintains that advertising is designed solely to drive brand choice. The voluntary introduction of 'responsibility' messages is one strategy has been positioned by industry as part of its contribution to the reduction of alcohol-related harm.

We examined alcohol advertisements in three leading Australian women's fashion/lifestyle magazines for the period 2007-2012. After removing duplicates, there were 216 unique advertisements; and 66% (143) included a responsible drinking message. Of these 143, only five included detailed responsible drinking messages (such as "Not for sale to persons under the age of 18. Please drink responsibly. We take Responsible Service of Alcohol seriously") and all of these were for products exclusively sold by one liquor chain. One quarter (26%) simply stated '[please] drink responsibly,' 'drink [brand name] responsibly' or 'please drink [brand name] in moderation'. However, the remainder utilized the moderation message as part of the promotion, using positively-valanced words and/or playing on the theme and imagery in the advertisement. 55% included the word 'enjoy' in the responsibility message – such as "Enjoy Responsibly" or "Enjoy [brand name] Responsibly"; and 24% linked the wording of the responsibility message to the theme of the advertisement – such as "Enjoy the magic. Drink [brand name] responsibly," "Share the pleasure responsibly" and "enjoy your exotic moment responsibly". In all cases the responsibility message was in substantially smaller font than the other writing in the advertisement, and appeared at the bottom and/or margin of the advertisement (the only writing

smaller than the responsibility message was, in some advertisements, trademark information, photographer credits or competition terms and conditions).

They're Working Hard to Make us Healthier

The tobacco industry is (in)famous for initially finding ways to promote its product as healthy and, when that became unsustainable, to focus on promoting 'healthier' versions, such as 'light' cigarettes. As it is becoming clearer that the touted health benefits of alcohol have been overstated, alcohol marketers need to either accept that their product is bad for us, make it less harmful, or convince us that it is healthier than we think it is. To date, research into the extent and nature of alcohol advertising in mainstream media has predominantly focused on 'lifestyle/entertainment' media, where a hedonism message is perhaps to be expected. 'Health' magazines, on the other hand, are often perceived as an appropriate source of information on health and nutrition. Thus, it is reasonable to expect that advertisements in these magazines would predominantly be for health-promoting (or at least not health-damaging) products.

We audited three 'health' magazines (*Men's Health*, *Women's Health* and *Prevention*) for the presence and nature of alcohol advertisements for the period 2010-12 (102 of 108 issues published). Over the three years there were 30 alcohol advertisements in *Men's Health*; seven in *Women's Health* and 10 in *Prevention*. There was considerable variation across years; for example, the number in *Prevention* increased over time. Advertisements in *Men's Health* were predominantly for beer (76.7%); and in *Women's Health* and *Prevention* for wine/champagne. There were a small number of 'typical' alcohol ads. However, most used images, wording, or

models that stated or implied links to health, fitness and/or sport. What was particularly concerning was the frequent presence of a 'health' message in advertisements appearing in these magazines. This ranged from the use of images and words that implied a link to 'healthy' ingredients or processes, such as pictures of wheat growing in fields to actual 'health' messages. For example, 17 (36.1%) included a low calorie or low carbohydrate claim, although only two promoted low(er) alcohol content.

They're Trying to Protect our Children

The Internet is one of the fastest growing marketing communication channels; and increasingly being utilised as a medium for alcohol advertising. While social media is clearly problematic, and blurs the line between commercial and social content, alcohol brand websites are clearly and solely 'marketing communications' and both their content and age restrictions on access are entirely within the control of the brand rather than the platform.

We audited the official brand websites of 25 Australian alcohol companies/brands (Jones et al. 2014). Of the 25, 18 had direct links to their Facebook pages, 11 invited their 'friends' to follow them on Twitter, and six encouraged visitors to upload photos and other materials directly onto the main brand/product website. Three of the 25 had no age-verification entry page; seven asked you to tick 'yes' if you were over 18; and two asked for your date of birth, but allowed access regardless of the age you entered. The remaining 13 asked for date of birth and denied entry if the date entered meant you were aged under 18 years, but none prevented you from trying again with a different date of birth.

They're helping the less fortunate

Corporate Social Marketing (CSM) is an activity that “uses business resources to develop and/or implement a behavior change campaign intended to improve public health, safety, the environment, or community well-being” (Kotler, Hessekiel, and Lee 2012, p. 111). CSM activities by the tobacco industry have been described as ‘air cover’ (Daube 2012), and one of the few ways that harm-creating industries can present a positive face to the public and to governments (Jones, Wyatt, and Daube 2016). Alcohol industry CSM activities promoted in Australian women’s fashion and lifestyle magazines encourage socially active young women to drink up for the good of humanity. Belvedere vodka’s (RED) campaign for HIV/AIDS, invites consumers to “Do something extraordinary.” In glossy women’s magazines they encourage women to “BUY (RED). GIVE (RED). SAVE LIVES.” as 50% of the profits from their purchase will be given to the Global Fund to fight HIV/AIDS in Africa. Every October, women in Australia (and numerous other countries) are entreated to ‘pink’ their alcohol consumption – buying (and drinking) wines and liqueurs that donate a proportion of their profits to breast cancer research and support services. It is an unfortunate coincidence that both of these causes support conditions that would actually be less prevalent were people to reduce, rather than increase their alcohol consumption.

The report card?

Helping us to drink responsibly? FAIL

It appears that responsibility messages in alcohol advertisements are designed not to be noticed by consumers and, if they are noticed, to further promote and encourage consumption by

reiterating the key advertising messages.

Making us healthier? FAIL

Consumers are presented with a wide range of conflicting messages about alcohol, the majority of which encourage consumption. We find alcohol advertisements are present in 'health' magazines in similar frequencies to other magazine genres, but are often positioned in such a way as to suggest a health benefit or minimise the perception of a health risk.

Protecting our children? FAIL

It seems odd that the very industry that brought us innovative online tools, such as the ability to 'shout' our friends alcohol with a text message, has been unable to develop an effective age-verification system. Perhaps the absence of legislative requirement to prevent underage access has pushed this lower down on the to-do list for this tech savvy industry.

Helping the less fortunate? FAIL

The alcohol industry invests substantial resources into CRM activities which encourage people to buy alcohol to 'support' worthy causes, giving consumers a justification for buying, and consuming, greater quantities of alcohol. While this may well have an immediately beneficial outcome for the recipients of the CRM donations, it not only has an immediate negative effect on the 'donors' but also increases their risk of developing the very conditions they are donating to.

Conclusion

If alcohol companies are really sincere about CSR, perhaps they could start by addressing some of the very valid concerns that have been raised about their products (such as alcohol energy drinks, high-strength liquors, and products that appeal to children and adolescents) and the way they market them (such as sports sponsorship and online marketing). Perhaps they could also consider the ethical implications of promoting low-calorie alcohol as the 'guilt free' option for young women, and using causes that resonate with (particularly young) people to market alcohol consumption as a socially responsible and altruistic activity?

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France's Évin Law on the control of alcohol advertising: content, effectiveness and limitations

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Aims

This presentation will assess the effectiveness of the French Évin Law that was implemented in 1991 with the objective of protecting young people from alcohol advertising. It will first describe the history, content, and evolution of this law, and then present the results of a survey conducted on students.

Design

Data were obtained from questions measuring exposure and receptivity to alcohol ads that were introduced for the first time in the 2015 European School Survey Project on Alcohol and Other Drugs.

Participants and setting

A representative sample of 6,642 tenth to twelfth grade students (mean age 17.3) were interviewed in 198 schools in France by a self-administered questionnaire.

Measurements

Information was collected on alcohol advertising exposure in different media (outside billboards, Internet, etc.) and receptivity to recent ads (attractiveness, incentive to drink, etc.).

Findings

The majority of students declared that they had been exposed at least once a month to alcohol ads in supermarkets (73.2%), in movies (66.1%), magazines and newspapers (59.1%), on billboards in streets (54.5%), and on the Internet (54.1%). Concerning the last recalled ads, 27.8% remembered the beverage type, 18.2% the brand, 13% felt like having a drink after having seen the ad and 19.6% found the ad attractive (boys ranked significantly higher than girls for all these indicators; $p\text{-value} < 0.05$).

Conclusion

The 2015 version of the French Évin law does not appear to effectively protect young people from exposure to alcohol ads. This is mainly due to the strong lobbying from the alcohol industry since the law was implemented in 1991 that has considerably changed and weakened this regulation.

How marketing content via packaging and advertising influences alcohol products representations, desire to consume and health warnings' noticeability

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Context

Alcohol consumption is responsible of 3.3 million deaths around the world. It causes diseases (infectious diseases, cardiovascular diseases, liver cirrhosis, various cancers, foetal alcohol syndrome, etc.) and is associated to social problems (traffic crashes, homicide, etc.) (World Health Organization 2014). Young people are particularly concerned by heavy episodic drinking (binge drinking) (Bräker et al. 2015). In France, alcohol abuse has serious consequences: it accounts for 49,000 deaths per year (Guérin et al. 2013), it is associated to road traffic crashes, homicides, and domestic violence, etc., and its social cost was estimated to be €120 billion in 2010 (Kopp 2015). Due to its harmful effects, the French government has implemented a range of measures recommended by the WHO to regulate alcohol consumption, among which marketing regulations and health warning labels. In regard to marketing regulations, the Évin Law (1991) controls advertising content: ads must be “product-oriented”, that is to say they must contain only factual data and objective qualities on products (proof, origin, composition, means of production, etc.). Attractive messages with positive, evocative images and/or texts associating alcohol with pleasure, glamour, success, sport, etc. are not allowed. Regarding health warning labels, France requires the mandatory display of the message: “*alcohol abuse is dangerous for health*” at the

bottom of each alcohol advertisements (Évin Law 1991). Since 2006, the backside of all alcohol bottles also features a mandatory pictogram warning pregnant women from consumption (law n°2005-102).

Aims

The aim of this research is to question the effectiveness of these two measures. More precisely, we will explore whether ad content (ads that only feature objective information about the product - Product-Oriented: PO ads more respectful of the Évin law - vs ads that feature attractive and evocative elements) and bottle design (regular retail bottles - Product-Oriented: PO packaging more respectful of the Évin law - vs limited edition bottles regularly launched by the alcohol industry to entice consumers) have an impact on alcohol product representations, attitudes towards ad and pack, desire to consume and alcohol warnings visibility and noticeability. Research on alcohol marketing content is an important topic, insofar as it has been poorly explored in the past (Gordon et al. 2010; Chen et al. 2005; WHO 2011). Concerning alcohol warnings, researchers commonly analyzed their effects out of context (Greenfield et al. 1999; Graves 1993) even though these warnings are mainly used on display, featured on attractive ads and/or bottles tastefully designed by the alcohol industry.

Methods

We conducted in-depth individual interviews on 26 young individuals (from 15 to 29 years old - parental consent was asked for minors-; non-drinkers, moderate and heavy drinkers) to better understand and explore people's reactions towards and perceptions about different alcohol ads and packaging (PO vs design-oriented ads and packs) and warnings.

We interviewed young people as they represent a highly relevant target for policy makers: in France, 46% of the 18-25-year-old group is concerned by binge drinking behaviours (Inpes 2014). Different open-ended questions were asked to participants. First questions were about perceived benefits, motivations for drinking, risks of alcohol abuse. Secondly, people were exposed to different alcohol stimuli presented on picture format: 9 luxury alcohol ads from 6 alcohol brands and 6 luxury-oriented packs from 5 alcohol brands. We tested design-oriented ads and packs based on luxury iconography, as it is a marketing trend identified within the French market for alcoholic beverages (Diouf 2014). For both packs and ads, participants were presented with the design-oriented and the PO versions and asked about the related evocations, perceptions and desire to drink. A professional designer created the two versions for each stimulus. Thirdly, participants were exposed to 4 stimuli (Appendix 1): 2 real bottles from the brand Absolut Vodka (the regular retail bottle vs the 2014 Andy Warhol limited edition bottle) with the apposed mandatory pictogram and 2 print ads from the champagne brand Moët & Chandon (one PO ad vs a design-oriented ad) with the mandatory warning “*alcohol abuse is dangerous for health. Consume with moderation*” featured at the bottom of both ads (Appendix 1). Questions were then asked to participants about warning’s noticeability and visibility for these 4 stimuli. Fourthly, questions on gender, age, education level, occupation and drinking profile were asked. Each interview was audio-recorded and transcribed. Double manual coding was implemented by 2 researchers and the software N-vivo was also used to analyze the data.

Results

Generally we notice that the luxury alcohol stimuli elicited more positive evocations than the PO ones. Most of these positive evocations are in fact proper to typical luxury goods (aestheticism,

prestige, rarity, high quality, self-booster, etc.). They seem to have spilled over onto the alcohol products and positively influenced respondents' perceptions and representations: *"Because of the gold [colour on the bottle] we think of upscale social events that involve luxury and appearances"* (female moderate drinker, 29). Thus luxury as a marketing content seems to enhance the value of the alcoholic beverages associated with it. Meanwhile the power of evocation for the PO stimuli seems to be restricted to the alcohol product and related factual characteristics: *"This [ad] shows champagne and nothing else. The accent is on the product. It is quite ordinary with the logo on top"* (female non-drinker, 25). Moreover the luxury alcohol stimuli were mostly rated as more appealing and attractive than their PO counterparts. Regarding the impact of content on desire to consume, results are mixed as both luxury and PO alcohol stimuli elicit an equal influence more or less. However we clearly notice that luxury content does elicit more desire to purchase the associated alcohol beverages in comparison to the PO stimuli: *"This [luxury alcohol ad] makes you want to buy the product right away"* (female moderate drinker, 17).

To question warnings noticeability and visibility, participants were asked to list the top five elements they noticed first on 4 real bottles and ads (Appendix 1). Regarding bottles, no participant mentioned the warning in the top-five list and no difference was pointed out among the 2 bottles. They declared not paying attention to the pictogram warning due to its localization (at the back side of the bottle), its size (too small) and the fact that it is surrounded by others labels: *"There are three labels next to one another... They are the same size ..."* (female moderate drinker, 27). The warning on ads was more noticeable: about half participants mentioned it in the top-five list, and it was more noticed on the PO ad (even though its small size and localization was stressed). When considering the design-oriented ad, it was said: *"we focus on the product rather than on some small warning"* (male heavy drinker, 17) whereas for the PO ad was mentioned the

fact that: “...on this ad, we have the impression that the ad is so poor and dull that the warning is the most important message...” (female heavy drinker, 25).

Conclusion

From a public health standpoint, our research explores how alcohol marketing content (i.e., luxury) can positively influence youth’s perceptions of alcohol and desire to consume. It also reveals that French warning labels suffer from a lack of visibility; in addition to their small size, the salience of marketing-related design elements hinders their visibility and then dilutes their effectiveness. This exploratory study presents innovative results and highlight how important it is to limit the evocative power of marketing content through regulations like the French Évin law. Despite these important results for policy makers, there are several limitations to this study. Using a qualitative approach, results extrapolation is proved to be difficult, as our study sample is not representative enough of the general target population. Additionally, we only evaluated perceptions and behavioural intentions instead of real behaviours.

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Appendix 1: Examples of tested stimuli

“Classical” bottle	“Product-Oriented” (PO) ad
	
Limited Edition bottle	Designed-Oriented ad



Panel IV: Discussion on Roger A. Layton's "There could be more to marketing than you might have thought!" (Layton 2016)

Panel Chairs:

Michaela Haase, Freie Universität Berlin, Germany

Michael Kleinaltenkamp, Freie Universität Berlin, Germany

At the ANZMAC conference, a special session honored Roger Layton's contributions to marketing. In addition, the editor of the Australian Marketing Journal, Roger Marshall, invited a paper by Roger Layton on the nature and future of marketing that was published in this year's March issue of the Journal. We welcome the opportunity to contribute to this important discussion at this year's macromarketing conference at Trinity College in Dublin and have invited Roger Layton to participate in a special session within the marketing theory track.

In his paper, Layton (2016) asks for a repositioning of the marketing discipline. He observes the growing fragmentation of the discipline and points to a number of new research opportunities. Notice that Roger Layton's starting question uses the "or" in the non-exclusive sense; thus, marketing can be it all:

Is marketing a management technology, a societal provisioning system, or the study of seller and buyer decision processes in increasingly complex contexts, or...or should it, first of all, be thought of as a discipline within the social sciences? (Layton 2016, p. 2)

At the ANZMAC conference and in his Australian-Marketing-Journal article, Layton's intention was not to exclude scholars and their work from the marketing discipline; rather, his intention was to review and discuss arguments, which, from his point of view, are indicative that marketing is a social science. This does not exclude, for example, that scholars study or design provisioning systems or even management technologies - as subdiscipline of marketing as a social science.

Thus, by broadening the concept of marketing, Layton assigns the technology and management-oriented strands a place in a discipline that is constituted by a hard core set of social phenomena, shared with adjacent disciplines, but studied from the perspective of a (or more than one?) dynamic theory of value creation and exchange in marketing systems.

Marketing, as a scientific discipline, is devoted to the search for relevant knowledge. According to Layton, this is knowledge not limited in scope and time, that is, general knowledge. This knowledge should be applicable, for example, to managerial and policy insights in both developed and less developed markets; to communication patterns and structures in choices; or to multi-level networks of exchange. These research objects, as the others mentioned by Layton (2016), can be identified not only in modern societies but also in ancient societies. Among the phenomena that Layton includes in the core set of social phenomena studied by marketing are subsistence marketplaces; the development of market places; different blends of self-interest and altruism; the creation of economic and social value. Essential for Layton's understanding of the marketing discipline is the view that markets and marketing are essential for human development and, included in that, that there are stages of human development. Notice that one can share Layton's view on marketing as a social science, but reject his marketing philosophy.

What does Layton's proposal mean for the self-understanding of the discipline and the part of it contemporarily called macromarketing? As the question sounds, the need to distinguish a subdiscipline called macromarketing from a discipline called marketing vanishes. Of course, as in all social-scientific disciplines, there are studies addressing different levels of analyses, usually spelled out in terms of micro-, meso- and macro-level questions. This is, from our point of view, an appealing perspective. However, some questions remain to be answered in regard to the self-understanding of the - so re-positioned - marketing discipline:

1. As Layton (2016) shows: there are relevant important social-scientific phenomena to be studied by marketing. What is the role of phenomena (or regularities) if it comes to the drafting of a discipline? Do these core phenomena "lead" us to the core theories in marketing – which do not necessarily need to be conceived of as marketing theories? The following sentence, for example, could have been written by the institutional economist John Maurice Clark (1884-1963):

"Responding to questions such as these I believe we need a deep understanding of the way human communities interact in cocreating economic and social value through exchange, and of the causal dynamics producing evolutionary change in the resulting exchange networks" (Layton 2016, p. 3; see the introduction by Abramovitz and Ginzberg (1936), two students of Clark, to the Preface of *Social Economics*).

2. What role do the research objects of adjacent social-scientific disciplines play? On the one hand, we could argue that we do not need to study what other disciplines already study. On the other hand, we could also ask: What can we contribute to the study of these phenomena? Note that at

least two of the three “key social mechanisms” addressed by Layton (2016, p. 5) are research objects of other disciplines such as organization studies or sociology: “the mechanisms driving the co-evolution of ideas, behaviours, social practices and institutions;” and “the social mechanisms linked to diffusion, cooperation, self-organisation, and emergence;” “the emergent, often highly complex social mechanisms of marketing systems.”

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Layton, Roger A. (2016): There could be more to marketing than you might have thought! An invited paper, by Professor Roger Layton. Australian Marketing Journal 24 (1): 2-7.

The Panel Contributions

Eight panelists have been invited to comment on Roger Layton’s article. These are, in alphabetical order: Helge Löbler, Pauline Maclaran, John D. Mittelstaedt and Robert A. Mittelstaedt, Pia Polska, William Redmond, Stanley J. Shapiro and Clifford J. Shultz. These scholars were invited by Roger Marshall to elaborate on their comments and to submit them to a commentary section of the Australian Marketing Journal, after the presentation and discussion of their comments at the conference, to be published in this year’s Autumn.

Statement on the panel on Macromarketing conference 2016: „Marketing as a Social Science“

Helge Löbner, University of Leipzig, Leipzig, Germany

The understanding of marketing as a Social Science (MASS) is a critical endeavor particularly for what it excludes. It first and foremost excludes marketing as being only a tool for managing and fostering economic growth or economic profit. In this sense MASS is neither a tool for academics nor a tool for practitioners or managers. The only goal MASS is pledged to is gaining insights, awareness and/or knowledge in its field. What can and should the field of MASS be? The field of MASS cannot be restricted to the “sunny side of life” which is value co-creation. All the environmental and social externalities and inequalities, which are a result of greed, markets and private equity (among others), are in the center of MASS. MASS is the study of prerequisites, processes and consequences of markets, its institutions, behaviors, cultures, values and their impact on society and nature.

Let's Make a Start: From Marketing to Markets?

Pauline Maclaran, Royal Holloway University of London, London, UK

I definitely believe that marketing should be treated as a social science and, indeed, in my own work this is the approach I adopt: looking at human society and social relationships through the lens of markets and marketing. In my opinion, this classifies marketing as a social science. Significantly, this also means acknowledging other constituents, apart from marketing managers, such as society and consumers, constituents who are equally, if not more important (as

macromarketers have long recognised). My research is from cultural consumption perspectives and I study the meaning-making processes that develop around exchange systems. This emphasis makes my work quite far removed from the study of marketing as a management technology, and much more akin to other social sciences like anthropology etc.

Part of the problem, however, in re-positioning marketing as a more broadly focused social science discipline is the term itself. 'Marketing' immediately locates it as a particular business function. The reduction in meaning that ensues is difficult to overcome without changing the name altogether. I propose a refocus on the core phenomenon rather than the more recent managerial activity, on markets rather than marketing. Other alternative names that spring to mind and that would immediately broaden our discipline's outlook are Markets and Market Actors or, more simply, Market Studies. There is already a sub-field of marketing known as Constructivist Market Studies that draws on inter-disciplinary perspectives to theorise the shaping of markets and uses the term to distance itself from the technical side of marketing. I agree very much with Roger Layton that the marketing discipline is likely to continue to fragment unless we can think of a more unifying umbrella to encompass the many different parts. Let's make a start with what we are naming!

Comments on Roger Layton's "There could be more to marketing than you might have thought!"

John D. Mittelstaedt, University of Wyoming, USA

Thanks to Roger Layton for opening this discussion. I believe he is correct when he says it is time for a repositioning of the discipline. Clearly the time is here for a serious discussion of the issues he raises.

Collectively, macromarketers have made important contributions to the field of marketing by defining our task as the study of the interaction of marketing systems and the physical, social, economic, cultural, institutional, and political contexts that we label, collectively, as the environment. We have gone where others feared to tread by focusing on the effects of marketing on the environment – the externalities, if you prefer. But, that being said, it is time for renewed attention to the other half of that interaction – the effect of the environment on marketing systems. This is not a call for a refocusing of effort, just an addition.

Major changes are occurring in the environment and, while they move at a slow pace, their effects will be enormous. Specifically we can expect climate change, the aging of the world's population, and major shifts in the distribution of personal incomes will have significant and enduring implications for marketing systems, and by extension marketing practice.

It seems apparent that climate change will change our very geography due to rising ocean levels, changes in the production of various crops, and significant migrations of people in response to

these changes. All will induce changes in marketing systems, and attempts to mitigate the role of human activities, especially those involving energy consumption, will be especially noticeable. Some of these effects will be direct (emergence of markets for greenhouse gases) and some will be indirect (reorganization of risk markets as climatic shifts affect inland and coastal flooding).

In demographic terms, the relative growth of the older segment of any society's population is the inevitable result of economic development's contribution to reduced birth rates and better public health. It is hard to think of a good or service whose consumption is not in some way related to the age of the consumer. As the relative importance of various age groups change, changes in marketing systems are bound to follow.

In the economic environment, while it may be argued that an increasingly uneven distribution of income is an effect and not a cause of modern exchange systems, its effects on marketing systems cannot be ignored. Perhaps the study of marketing history can be our guide to understanding the likely consequences of the growing divide between rich and poor.

In short we live in a world of change and those changes, gradual as they may be, will alter the very nature of marketing systems. I don't think it's unfair to say that our more managerially oriented colleagues are inclined to look at environmental factors only as they exist at a point in time, seeing them as limitations on managerial strategies and, only occasionally, as opportunities. If that observation is correct, it follows that any serious study of the environment will be left to those of us who think of ourselves as macromarketing scholars.

An increased emphasis on the environment of marketing will force us, as marketing scholars, to turn to other disciplines, putting Roger's call for an increased cooperation between and among the social sciences and marketing right on the mark.

Comments on Roger Layton's "There may be more to marketing than you might have thought."

Robert A. Mittelstaedt, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, USA

Roger Layton is to be commended for his call for a repositioning of the discipline of Marketing. As marketing scholars we have always been borrowers, but we have much to contribute and the time has come to explore ways for intellectual interchange with other disciplines as a partner. That being said, I believe there are several lessons we need to remember as we embark on this ambitious undertaking and I wish to share three of concerns with you.

First, communicating with another discipline requires a common language. Unfortunately, we marketers have exhibited a tendency to borrow terms from other disciplines, and then the concepts they represent to fit what we see as our needs. We end up using the same words as the other disciplines, but we mean something different. For example, in spite of the discipline's roots in economics, for many years many marketing scholars used the term *economies of scale* to describe the lower costs that arise from fuller utilization of existing facilities. Thus, a manufacturing plant running at 90% percent of capacity was said to be achieving greater economies of scale than a plant running at 50%. The economic literature on economies of scale

was irrelevant to marketing because it was talking about a different concept and, understandably, economics paid no attention to whatever marketers said about economies of scale.

To take another example, in 1957, Alderson introduced the concept of the *niche* into the marketing literature. He borrowed it from the sub-discipline of biology known as ecology and it is clear that he fully understood what it meant in ecology. To put it too briefly, a niche is the multi-dimensional environment in which a species can live and propagate. Thus, every species has its niche. Every species. In marketing it has come to mean something quite different, a small, well-defined market segment a firm chooses to exploit. A text search of the *Journal of Marketing* shows that for the past decade, nearly every time the word niche appears, it is as an adjective modifying the word strategy. Failing to use the word niche as ecologists do leads to another mismatch. In marketing a *generalist* is taken to be a large firm while a *specialist* is small. To an ecologist a generalist is a member of a species with a broad niche; it is not equated with size but refers to the ability of a species to survive in a wide variety of environments. By contrast, a specialist can only survive in a very particular environment; again, it has nothing to do with size. Thus, the giant panda and the Saguaro cactus are extreme specialists while the cockroach and the dandelion are the ultimate generalists. There is an extensive ecological literature on the conditions that favor specialists over generalists but, unless one is using the terms in the same way as the ecologists, no knowledge crossover is possible.

A similar situation exists with the enormous literature on the *diffusion of innovations*. There are literally thousands of studies of the diffusion process conducted over the past 60 years in almost every part of the world. However, marketers seem to insist that every new product is an

innovation and, because we do not use that term in the same way as diffusion scholars, their literature is largely irrelevant to marketers. An occasional marketing study contains a reference to the classic diffusion literature but it is generally window dressing in a discussion about the adoption of a product that requires little or no behavioral change on the part of the adopter, often presenting its data graphed with the vertical axis labeled “sales” instead of “cumulative adopters.” This makes marketing’s *product life cycle* very different from the classic *adoption curve*, a point than appears lost on many marketing scholars. Again, little crossover is likely.

A second barrier to interdisciplinary communication reflects a lack of appreciation for the nature, and often changing nature, of other disciplines. Within any social science there is usually a mainstream of thought and any number of outliers. Some ideas catch on within a discipline and others languish. For example, for many years marketing and management authors often referenced Maslow’s *hierarchy of needs*. However, Maslow’s ideas were never widely accepted in the field of psychology and his hierarchy led to little research. Further, as in marketing, ideas come and go and the phenomena of interest change. For years after the study of *social class* had become passé in sociology it was still being discussed in the consumer behavior literature. Any interchange of ideas between marketing and sociology on this topic was unlikely.

As a third barrier to interdisciplinary communication, many social sciences seem to be accepting the philosophical view that the outcomes they observe are in part, even in large part, the result of such a complex assortment of uncontrollable and interacting forces as to make the processes random-like, if not technically random. This view of the world is likely to be an anathema to most marketing scholars, running counter to the whole concept of management education. I think it safe to predict that *chaos theory*, or theories like it, will never take hold in a discipline linked to

management education, making our communication with some other disciplines difficult, if not impossible.

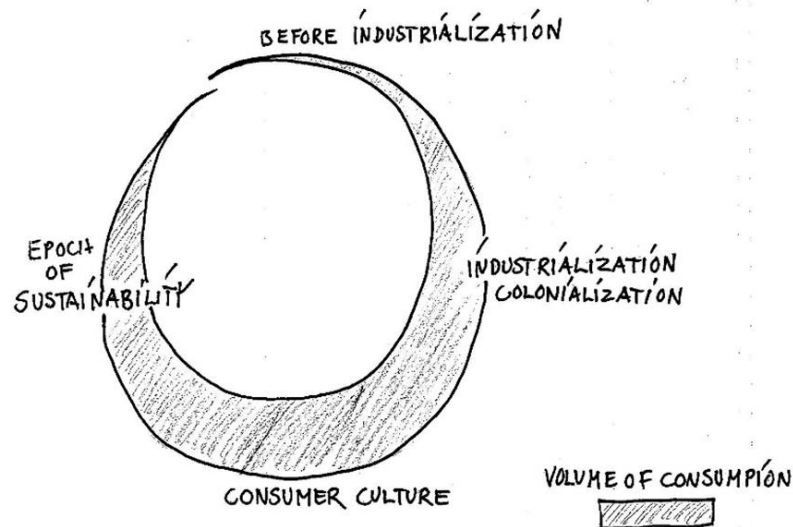
In summary, taken together, the differences in terminology, phenomena of interest, and philosophy make inter-disciplinary communication and sharing difficult. I wholeheartedly agree with Roger that we need to find opportunities to learn from and contribute to other disciplines. However, as marketing scholars we are unlikely to affect change in other disciplines, so it will be up to us to adjust our expectations and practices.

Marketing thought follows the circle of consumption

Pia Polsa, Hanken School of Economics, Finland

From the time when human beings consumed only necessities defined as goods and services necessary for survival such as food and shelter we have arrived to an era where we need loan to satisfy all the consumption needs we have. We have evolved from Homo sapiens into Homo debitus (Lazarato and Jordan 2011). However, nature that we considered as self-renewing has shown its limits in form of natural catastrophes that scientist consider human made through pollution that our consumption has created. Hence, the recent trends in consumption emerged all from ethical and sustainable consumption (Papaoikonomou et al. 2011) to extreme forms of anti-consumption to solve the problem. From minimal to maximal consumption the circle of consumption is now closing itself in the era of mega trendy sustainability (Kotler 2011; Prothero et al. 2011) as Figure I shows.

Figure I The circle of consumption



Marketing as a managerial activity and field of study (Layton 2009) has followed the circle. In the era of gathering and before the industrialization, marketing was less aggressive managerial activity as the cultivated and handmade products could not be made for surplus. Supply and demand found each other in perfect conditions and since the production time was long producers could not make too many products. All this change when industrialization and colonialization made it possible to produce too many products and services for very low prices. The era of surplus in supply begin and need to create new needs and extended needs with up and cross sales was born. Marketing as managerial activity that was more aggressive emerged in the era of consumer culture.

Marketing as a field of study (Layton 2009) have also followed the above development as the development of definition of marketing shows. While in the rise of consumer culture the definition embraced only business activities it in the twilight of consumer culture already includes “society at large”. Table 1 provides the development of definition of marketing.

Definition	Year	Implication for the society
Those <i>business</i> activities involved in the flow of goods and services from production to consumption	1937	Only “business activities”
The performance of <i>business</i> activities that direct the flow of goods and service from producers to consumers	1960	Only “business activities”
The process of planning and executing the conception, pricing, promotion and distribution of ideas, goods, and services to create exchange that satisfy <i>individual</i> and organizational goals	1985	All activities but the nature excluded
An organizational function and a set of processes for creating, communication and delivering value to consumers and for managing customer relationship in way that benefit the organization and its stakeholders	2004	Organizational function to benefit organizations/its stakeholder, Value for customers but not citizens or the nature in general
The <i>activity, set of institutions, and processes</i> for creating, communicating, delivering, and exchanging offerings that have value for <i>customers, clients, partners, and society at large</i>	2013	include society at large but “individual” has been replaced with “customer, client, partner, and society at large”

Table 1. History of definition of marketing

Until 60s the marketing definition has been that of “business activities” (Gundlach 2007) excluding both society at large, nature, and human beings as citizens thus illustrating the era of mass consumption and emergence of consumer culture. In 1985 the definition has been broader to include “all activities” but still excluding the concern of nature or society. The boarder conceptualization might have had its roots in the birth of social marketing where marketing ideas were implemented to social issues (Kotler & Zaltman 1971; Andreasen 2002). However, still in the definition marginalizes individuals into only consumers and ignores the nature. The last definition of marketing do take society at large into the consideration and talk about institutions instead of

organizations but still human beings are consumers, clients or partners but not non-economic units like citizens or individuals. However, social marketing though reaches also to individuals other than consumers, clients or partners. Hence, definition of marketing could be even boarder to address the social and environmental concerns:

The activity, set of institutions, and processes for creating, communicating, delivering, and exchanging offerings that have value for human beings, society at large, and environment.

What is the future of marketing today when many of us see the need for down sifting consumption for the shake of the nature and ourselves? I suggest two scenarios: 1) The death of modern marketing as management activity in the epoch of new ecologically and socially conscious consumers and anti-consumption human beings who have also received education in media criticality, 2) Use of marketing management tools to enhance goals of sustainability that is less covered in social marketing domain.

Marketing as marketing systems that are “...complex social networks of individuals and groups linked through shared participation in the creation and delivery of economic value through exchange” (Layton 2015, p. 303) still also embrace “economic value”, however, acknowledges quality of life as an outcome of marketing systems (Layton 2009). The generation of human beings that are more concerned about well-being of our globe than individual economic value will define quality of life beyond economic growth. Individual quality of life for this generation may be alternative food channels, local communities and businesses or other novel movements that all improve global quality of life beyond individual well-being. Therefore, the discussion about marketing systems could also include even wider systems than those of “social networks” since

marketing systems too are embedded in ecological systems of plants and animals, i.e. the environment. It is the very environment that cannot carry increased consumption without fatal consequences of collapse (Confino 2015). Furthermore, social and economic collapse will follow the ecological one, thus, we cannot ignore environment as part of the marketing system.

As Figure I suggests if consumption is diminishing due to the concerns of both our own well-being and the nature around us then what is the role of marketing as a management tool and consequently discipline? This paper proposed following thesis:

Combination of social marketing and macromarketing to promote and research issues of new alternative lifestyles that go beyond growth, consumption, and individual well-being in order to save the planet.

Use our power of macromarketers to promote social issues to profit making firms that still consider shareholders as their only stakeholders.

Extend our study of markets and marketing systems to involve the possibility of degrowth.

To discuss and propose definitions of marketing and marketing systems that include also ecological systems into the definitions.

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A Brief Reflection on “There could be more to marketing than you may have thought.”

William Redmond, Indiana State University

Congratulations to Professor Layton for offering a stimulating, insightful and thought-provoking essay on future directions for marketing. This reviewer is fully in sympathy with the author’s call for a repositioning of marketing as a discipline of the social sciences. Comments below are somewhat nit-picky, intended to examine the concept of social science and are not a critique of the meaning or intent of the essay. The overall point is that the social sciences are not a monolithic enterprise, so that some care must be taken in choosing appropriate models.

First, what of the *social* aspect of a social science? While the author expresses a preferences for certain variants within the wide field of economics, other sections of the essay refer simply to “economics”. The difficulty here is that many readers associate this term with mainstream, or neoclassical, economics. But neoclassical is the least social of sciences, its focus being on individual maximization and its primary orientation being known as methodological *individualism*. Thus it is wise to distinguish what is and what is not an “adjacent” discipline in the social sciences. Fields such as economic anthropology, economic sociology, history, institutionalism and political economy are much more capable of informing marketing scholarship.

Second, what is the *science* part of a social science? The essay makes repeated reference to empirical regularities as the preferred mode of inquiry. Certainly, empirical knowledge is a vital component of a science. But this is not the only way to generate insights into a phenomenon of

interest. The author acknowledges a need for a “deep understanding” of exchange, but this may require qualitative, subjectivist or interpretive methods to understand the motivations which result in measurable activities and structures. Pluralism has clear benefits for a deep understanding of multifaceted phenomena. Besides, many may construe the emphasis on empirical regularities to be a renewed call for positivism, which will not be uniformly welcomed by our colleagues in adjacent social sciences.

Again, thanks to Professor Layton for sharing the fruits of his erudition and wide-ranging scholarship. A cross-fertilization of ideas between marketing and other social sciences could provide an important stimulus for moving forward.

In Response to Dr Layton's Think Piece: The Case Instead for Creeping Incrementalism

Stanley J. Shapiro, Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, Canada

It is with considerable reluctance and even greater academic concern that I find myself taking issue with an intellectual position taken by Roger Layton whose academic range and resulting contributions to marketing thought are in my opinion now approaching those of my academic guru of a half century ago, Wroe Alderson. Both of these scholars, each in his time, repeatedly demonstrated their ability to overwhelm me academically with both the breath and the depth of their thinking. Occasionally, however, Alderson left me with a feeling that he was intellectually trying to accomplish too much too quickly. Slow down for us mere mortals. Let's take one intellectual step at a time.

Similarly, and with all due respect, I don't think our primary concern at this stage of marketing's intellectual development should be to reposition our discipline as a social science. Rather, I would view this as a desirable, perhaps even attainable, intellectual objective, one hopefully achieved over a considerable number of years. It takes time to reorient and with it comes considerable disruption as a review of the history of first the quantitative and then the behavioral impact on the discipline of marketing will show. How much longer will it take to absorb into our discipline's mainstream all that a wide range of social sciences can and, I agree, should contribute? How much intra-disciplinary fueding will go on before doctoral programs reintroduce the marketing theory and thought courses that would have to be both the academic home of such thinking and the intellectual launching pads for any subsequent major repositioning of our discipline?

The above notwithstanding, I don't consider myself to be an academic naysayer, but rather, and fifty years later, still someone who advocates a "one step at a time" approach to intellectual progress. There are indeed a few among us capable of big picture academic breakthroughs but most of us do best researching within such seminal concepts, refining, polishing and occasionally reshaping one intellectual component or another. And that is exactly the strategy that I believe should be followed, not as we reposition marketing as a social science but rather as we again, and remember it was done in the past, draw upon the literature of the social sciences to obtain new insights on the exchange processes upon which marketers, at least macromarketers, should be focusing.

Fortunately Dr. Layton has identified some of the most useful concepts upon which we can draw. His discussion of "field theory", for example, is an introduction to a method of analysis of obvious

relevance both to the functioning of markets and, as well to “the politics of distribution”.

Hopefully, younger scholars will now travel this intellectual trail as well as the others that Roger has identified in his seminal paper. I expect major contributions to marketing thought would follow in due course without our having to expend all the time and effort necessary to reposition an entire discipline. I'd much rather we view the other sciences as the home of new concepts and approaches that would help us focus more productively on what macromarketing, in my opinion at least, is all about--the study of both how and how well, in economies of all sorts and during both the past and the present, marketing has served as society's provisioning technology.

Rebirth and Reconsideration of Marketing Systems: Toward Sustainable Peace, Prosperity and QOL

Clifford J. Shultz, II, Loyola University Chicago, USA

The study of marketing systems was, is and will be integral to the field of marketing (e.g., Alderson 1965; Bartels and Jenkins 1977; Fisk 1981; Hunt 2002; Mittelstaedt et al. 2014; Shultz 2007).

Roger Layton's many contributions the last decade are greatly responsible for a rebirth in systemic analyses of marketing phenomena (e.g., Layton 2007, 2009, 2011, 2015), as marketing scholars struggle to make significant contributions to community, societal and global well-being. This renaissance has implications for the research, practice, policy, direction and impact of our field, not to mention outcomes for the countless stakeholders beyond the academy (e.g., Shultz 2015).

The purpose of this presentation is to revisit some fundamental tenets of marketing, and marketing-systems framing and analysis, to revisit why systemic research is vital not only to macromarketing scholarship but to sustainable societal/global well-being, to identify factors to consider when conducting large-scale research on some of the world's most vexing problems. Of particular interest is the opportunity for some form of integrative framing for scholarly understanding by focusing on communities, broadly and holistically defined, and as independently urged by Layton (2016) and Shultz, Rahtz and Sirgy (in press). Examples from longitudinal studies in devastated and fragile economies (e.g., Shultz 2015; World Bank 2016), and evolving models (Shultz, Rahtz and Sirgy in press), will be shared to make key points, with hopes to pay tribute to Roger Layton and to inspire a redoubling of efforts to study marketing-systems, one of the pillars of (macro) marketing thought (see also Wilkie and Moore 2006).

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Putting the Macro Back into Sustainability III

The role of fashion vs. style orientation on sustainable apparel consumption: An Update

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Abstract

This study examines whether style (versus fashion) orientation can be an alternative approach to promote sustainable fashion consumption, and, if so, what factors might influence consumers' attitudes toward style or fashion orientation. Based on data collected from 6,386 consumers across five countries (the US, the UK, the Netherlands, Germany, and Sweden), we find a strong relationship between style orientation and sustainable apparel behaviors, thus suggesting style as a potential to improve sustainable apparel consumption. We also find that consumers with high levels of materialism tend to be more fashion oriented, whereas hedonism has no differential influence on the two orientations. Further, knowledge and information play a vital role as consumers with higher environmental concerns and higher skepticism towards sustainable product claims tend to be more style oriented. Further analyses also suggest that factors of style

and fashion orientation differ by country, as differences are also found between the countries regarding style and fashion orientation and apparel consumption behavior. The study provides various public policy implications that may foster style orientation and sustainable apparel consumption.

Introduction

Any industry based on planned obsolescence, as is the fashion industry, is susceptible to criticism of its ethical conduct. The practices of the fashion industry, especially the recently developed fast fashion segment, are largely indefensible from a societal perspective. The fashion industry creates many environmental concerns due to production, maintenance, and disposal. Sustainable consumption in the fashion industry seems unlikely, as the planned obsolescence underlying most fashion models results in destructive consumption. This study investigates one alternative approach for enhancing sustainable fashion: emphasizing style orientation instead of fashion orientation.

Wastage is especially true of fast fashion. Technology has facilitated the textile industry in its development of the fast fashion phenomenon, led by retailers such as Inditex (owner of renowned fast fashion brand, Zara), Primark, and H&M. Often within two weeks of a new design being shown in the fashion houses of the world, knock-off versions have been manufactured and distributed in limited numbers to retail outlets throughout the world. These fast fashion retailers, by introducing new merchandise almost weekly and deliberately manipulating the supply of merchandise, treat fashion like food that spoils quickly or, as has been stated by an industry expert, “fast fashion retailers treat fashion as produce” (Paco Underhill, personnel communication, July 10, 2012). The

relatively low prices and manipulated scarcity of the items make them “must have” to young consumers (predominantly females), despite the fact that fast fashion garments are expected to be used less than ten times (Birtwistle and Moore 2007). In Scandinavia, for example, each consumer purchases about 15 kg of textiles per year – and only 0.6% are second-hand clothes (Deloitte 2013). Approximately 5.8 million tons of textile waste are discarded every year in the European Union, with 75% going to incineration or landfills and only 25% being recycled (European Commission 2010; FoEE 2013). From a standard economic stance, the fashion industry would seem to be hard to justify and quite easy to point fingers at for being socially and environmentally irresponsible.

The practices adopted by fashion industry foster overconsumption which is both unproductive and unsustainable. There are many possible means of enhancing sustainable apparel consumption. In general, there are three main groups of actors that influence sustainability of private consumption: consumers, governments, and business (Thøgersen 2005). Though governmental policies and efficient business practices are effective, they cannot be considered as the only tools for changing overconsumption patterns (De Gues 2003; Fuchs and Lorek (2005); Thøgersen 2005). Consumer responsibility is also important for enhancing sustainable apparel consumption. Some solutions that may motivate consumers’ motivation to adopt sustainable apparel consumption practices include using sustainable fibers, changing consumer behavior toward the care of the garment in the use phase (i.e., washing, drying, ironing, and mending), and/or recycling. However, another approach to propagate sustainable apparel consumption is to shift consumer focus from quantity to quality, i.e., to reduce the purchasing of apparel (sufficiency) (Princen 2005); in other words, a shift in consumer focus from buying

fashion to buying style is needed. Style and fashion are often used synonymously, but in reality they have different meanings (Bly, Gwozdz, and Reisch 2015; Gregory 1948). With reference to clothing, style is any distinctive mode of tailoring, while fashion is the style prevailing at any given time. A style evolves slowly and reflects people's ways of life and is true to the wearer, whereas fashion is a chameleon, ever changing and thus creating a high rate of obsolescence. While fashion articulates newness, style resonates more personal meanings and reflects one's attitude and lifestyle. Therefore, consumers are more likely to keep style-items that reflect their own individuality longer, thereby reducing their consumption. Thus, buying styles, rather than buying fashion, would reduce consumption, which is one of the three R's (reduce, reuse, and recycle) and becomes one possible solution to ethical fashion consumption.

Given that fashion and style have different meanings and may lead to different apparel consumption patterns, the objective of this study is to examine whether style orientation leads to more sustainable behaviors than fashion orientation. We collect data from five countries (the US, the UK, the Netherlands, Germany, and Sweden) as these industrialized, richer countries face serious issues with the overconsumption of apparel. We also investigate the various antecedents that influence these two orientations which we identified based on a consumer behavior model from Vermeir and Verbeke (2006). These antecedents include involvement and values (values, needs, and motivations), uncertainty (information and knowledge), and perceived availability effectiveness (behavioral control) on consumer attitudes and behavior. This knowledge may then serve to guide subsequent research on the most effective public policies that could encourage style adoption and reduced consumption.

Method

Data

To investigate the above hypotheses, we draw on representative samples of consumers aged 16 to 35 years from five countries: Sweden, the Netherlands, Germany, the U.K., and the U.S. The data were collected within the Mistra Future Fashion study – a four years interdisciplinary project that aimed to improve the fashion section's environmental performance. The sample is representative by sex, age, region, and education within the given age group and country. The survey addressed aspects of general fashion consumption with regard to purchase and disposal as well as aspects of sustainable fashion consumption. For further information on the survey, see Farsang et al. (2015).

Measures

To measure our theoretical concepts, we employed validated instruments whenever available. The answer categories are standardized, whenever applicable, to 1 'completely disagree' to 5 'completely agree' – exceptions are noted below.

Attitudes: Fashion and style orientation

To measure *fashion orientation*, we draw on items from Sproles and Kendall (1986), who developed an instrument for measuring the fashion consciousness of consumers.

To measure *style orientation*, we draw on scales developed by Tai (2005) and Tiggemann and Lacey (2009). Specifically, we use one item from Tai (2005) and two items from Tiggemann and Lacey's (2009) scale on the individuality function of clothing.

Reported behavior

All behaviors are self-reported by consumers, which are split into three categories: 1) buying behavior, 2) sustainable apparel consumption, and 3) disposal behavior.

Buying behavior is measured by shopping frequency and acquisition mode. The question for *shopping frequency* is phrased as follows: “On average, how frequently do you buy clothes?” The answer categories range from 1 ‘less often than a few times per year’ to 5 ‘every week’. We grouped the acquisition modes in two factors: one with all first market options (high street, shopping mall, online shopping, mail-order, small boutiques, supermarket) and the second one with second market options (second-hand, swap).

Sustainable apparel consumption is measured by environmental apparel consumption and the consideration of environmental/social impact. The instrument used to measure *environmental apparel consumption* was developed by Kim and Damhorst (1998). To measure *the consideration of environmental/social impact*, we draw on the following question developed by Butler and Francis (1997): “How often do you consider the environmental and/or social impact of clothing when you make clothing purchases?”

Disposal behavior is measured by selected items from the textile attitudes instrument and by disposal frequency. The *textile recycling attitudes* instrument was developed by Domina and Koch (1999), whereof we select two dimensions (hassle and disinterest) to give us an indication of non-recycling behavior of clothes. We measure *disposal frequency* by providing predefined categories – based on Domina and Koch (1999). Given options include: resale/ consignment shops, garage sales/flea markets, charity organizations, passed on to family/friends, modified it and then used it in another form/reuse, used as rags, swapping events, and in-store recycling schemes (e.g., offered by H&M, JACK & JONES, Weekday, Marks & Spencer). The answer categories range from 1 ‘never,’ 2 ‘1-2 times,’ 3 ‘3-5 times,’ and 4 ‘more than 5 times.’

Antecedents of style and fashion orientation

The antecedents of style and fashion orientation are *personal values*, *information and knowledge* as well as *behavioral control*. We measure *personal values* by *hedonic shopping values* and *materialistic values*. *Hedonic shopping values* reflect the entertainment value of shopping for clothes and is measured by a validated instrument developed by Babin, Darden, and Griffin (1994). To measure *materialistic values*, we employ Richins and Dawson's (1992) materialism scale.

Information and knowledge incorporates two measures, namely, *environmental concern* and *skepticism towards sustainable product claims*. To measure *environmental concern*, we draw on Thøgersen and Anja's (2010) instrument consisting of five items. *Skepticism towards sustainable product claims* is measured by a scale developed by Mohr, Eroglu, and Ellen (1998).

To measure *behavioral control*, i.e. perceived external barriers regarding the accessibility, affordability, and availability of sustainable fashion, we draw on the instrument *perceived ability to promote ethical trade* developed by Uusitalo and Oksanen (2004).

Data Analysis

We employed structural equation modeling (SEM) using IBM SPSS AMOS 22.0 to investigate the relationships of style and fashion orientation with their antecedents such as personal values, information/knowledge, and behavioral control as well as the dependent/exogenous variables for reported behavior. The overall goodness of fit of the measurement model was acceptable (Hu and Bentler 1999).

In the structural model, reported behavior was predicted by style and fashion orientation and their antecedents: personal values, information/knowledge, and behavioral control. We controlled for age (years), sex (dummy), and education (OECD 2011) and carried out group comparisons by country for each model.

Results and Discussion

Fashion and Style on Behavior

If fashion and style orientation do not predict sustainable fashion differentially, then the importance of the antecedents is far less meaningful. Thus, we start by investigating the relationships of fashion and style orientation with reported behavior to identify whether a higher style orientation has the potential to increase sustainable fashion consumption and decrease fashion consumption. Results for the full sample and by country are presented in Table 1. For the full sample (Column: ALL), we find that fashion and style orientation are positively related to reported buying behavior. However, there are differences between the influences of fashion and style orientation: for example, we find a decreased *shopping frequency* for consumers with a higher style orientation ($\beta=0.178$ compared to $\beta=0.380$ for fashion orientation, confidence intervals do not overlap). Regarding *acquisition modes*, fashion and style orientation have similar relationships with buying frequency at the 1st market (e.g., high street), but a high style orientation is more strongly related to the 2nd market buying frequency (secondhand, swapping).

Thus, a high style orientation is related to a lower frequency of buying. In addition, a higher style orientation is related to shopping at second-hand alternatives. This is in line with previous research (e.g., Beaudoin, Moore, and Goldsmith 2000; Bianchi and Birtwistle 2012; Cho-Che and

Kang 1996). Cho-Che and Kang (1996), for example, point out that style-oriented consumers shop less frequently and are less interested in getting the latest fashion, which might explain the choice of secondhand alternatives.

Sustainable apparel consumption is strongly positively associated with style orientation, while it is weakly negatively associated with fashion orientation (see Table 1). This is true for both our dependent variables: *environmental apparel consumption* as well as *considering the environmental/social impact of clothing*. An explanation is that consumers with a high style orientation are interested in distinct clothes and are thus expected to keep their clothes longer, which can be realized by buying sustainable garments (e.g., Cho, Gupta, and Kim 2015; Gentry and Gupta 2013).

Disposal behaviors are reported more by consumers with high style orientations. Those consumers are also more interested in recycling and reuse of clothing than consumers with high fashion orientations, who are more likely to perceive clothing disposal as a hassle and show disinterest ($\beta=0.274$ compared to $\beta=-0.046$ for style orientation, confidence intervals do not overlap).

Table 1 about here

Values, Knowledge, and Behavioral Control on Fashion and Style

Table 2 shows the standardized path coefficients of values, knowledge, and behavioral control on fashion and style orientation for the full sample and by country. Starting with the full sample

(Column: ALL), we find that both *hedonic shopping* and *materialistic values* are positively related to fashion and style orientation. We find that a higher style orientation is not related to lower hedonic shopping values (Workman and Johnson 1993). This finding is in line with Gam (2011), who suggests that shopping enjoyment occurs when making eco-friendly clothing purchases. As we propose that buying styles rather than fashion would reduce consumption and social and environmental impacts of garments, it is reasonable to suggest that the “hunt” for a unique garment that expresses one’s identity could be joyful and entertaining and, thus, not necessarily result in lower hedonism.

For materialistic values, we find that materialistic values are more weakly related to style ($\beta=0.248$) than to fashion orientation ($\beta=0.421$), supporting that style orientation is less materialistic. This supports that, for consumers with higher style orientation, possessions and especially the number of possessions do not mean that much, which constitutes one of the main characteristics of a materialist person (Belk 1985; Richins and Dawson 1992).

Information/knowledge is generally positively related to both fashion and style orientation with one exception: *skepticism towards sustainable product claims* is not significantly related to fashion orientation. However, *environmental concern* and *skepticism towards sustainable product claims* are more strongly associated with style orientation than with fashion (see, Kim and Damhorst 1998), but not supporting existing research such as Ellen, Wiener, and Cobb-Walgren (1998), Joy et al. (2012), and Scholder et al. (1991).

Table 2 about here

Country Differences

In general, those countries higher in individualism possess a stronger need to view themselves positively (Greenwald 1980; Taylor and Brown 1988). As mentioned above, all five countries are relatively individualistic, but the Anglo-Saxon countries (the U.S. and the U.K.) are vertically individualistic whereas Scandinavia (Sweden) as well as the Benelux (the Netherlands) countries are horizontally individualistic. Vertical individualists emphasize status enhancement, whereas horizontal individualists exhibit a focus on interpersonal support and common goals. We find higher levels of *hedonism* and *materialism* in the vertically individualistic countries (the U.S.: $M_{\text{Hedonism}}=3.35$, $M_{\text{Materialism}}=3.12$ and the U.K.: $M_{\text{Hedonism}}=3.21$, $M_{\text{Materialism}}=3.18$), and lower levels in the more horizontally individualistic countries (Sweden: $M_{\text{Hedonism}}=2.63$, $M_{\text{Materialism}}=2.66$ and the Netherlands: $M_{\text{Hedonism}}=2.74$, $M_{\text{Materialism}}=2.84$)¹² (see also Shavitt et al. 2006; Shavitt, Torelli, and Reimer 2011; Singelis et al. 1995; Triandis and Gelfand 1998).

Based on vertical versus horizontal individualism, we would also expect differences between the countries regarding style and fashion orientation and apparel consumption behavior. It is interesting to note that we generally find little difference between countries regarding buying behavior (Table 1). One noteworthy finding is that consumers with a high fashion orientation in Germany, the U.K., and the U.S. have a higher shopping frequency compared to consumers with a higher style orientation (Table 1). This is not necessarily true for Sweden and the Netherlands (as confidence intervals overlap).

¹² All country differences are statistically significant at $p < 0.01$ (ANOVA).

Sustainable apparel consumption is for all countries more strongly related to style orientation than to fashion orientation. In most countries, fashion is not at all related to environmental apparel consumption– one exception is the negative relationship found in the Netherlands (see Table 1). On the other hand, the path coefficients for style orientation on environmental apparel consumption are strongly positive for all countries ($\beta > 0.400$). The dependent variable of *considering environmental/social impact of clothing* is significantly negatively related to fashion orientation in Sweden, the Netherlands and Germany ($\beta < 0.065$), but not in the U.K. and the U.S. (see Table 1). Again, style orientation is strongly positively related to the dependent variable ($\beta > 0.460$) in all countries.

Regarding disposal behavior, there are no real differences across countries. The only exception is the U.S. where style orientation and textile recycling attitudes (disinterest and hassle) are statistically negatively related ($\beta = -0.145$), meaning that consumers with a high style orientation do perceive recycling less as a hassle and are more interested in recycling issues. It is interesting to note that, while we do not find any differences in strength of the relationship between style and fashion orientation on disposal behavior for Sweden, the Netherlands, Germany and the U.K, we do find a much stronger positive relationship between style and disposal behavior than between fashion and disposal behavior in the U.S.

Limitations and Implications

There are several limitations to this study. Ideally, an analysis of style versus fashion orientation on apparel consumption behavior should use validated and reliable measurements of the main concepts. This is true for the concept fashion orientation (Sproles and Kendall 1986). However,

such a valid and reliable scale does not yet exist for style. Hence, we use a proxy to capture the meaning of style orientation. More scale development is needed to capture the essence of style orientation more effectively.

Using self-reported apparel consumption behavior can also only be seen as a proxy to real behavior. To date, self-reported behavior is the only possible approximation to real apparel consumption in large-scale surveys. To get objective data in large surveys, one would need objective measurements, for example, by using new technologies (e.g., Radio Frequency Identification RFID or Near Field Communication NFC tags). At this point in time, these technologies are not practically implementable into large-scale field work and little is known about their validity and reliability.

Our paper provides initial evidence for five Western countries that style orientation is related to more sustainable apparel consumption compared to fashion orientation, which points towards promising avenues to promote sustainable apparel consumption. Though the role of government and business is not considered primary, still these macro conditions can contribute to the effectiveness of consumer efforts. Hence governmental and business policies that increase a feeling of empowerment (or self-efficacy) will have a positive effect on consumers' motivation. Governmental policies can implement various tax initiatives to reduce overconsumption.

Monetary incentives also have an incremental effect on sustainable consumption behavior (Stern 1999). Public policy, for example, can increase the availability, accessibility, and affordability of slow fashion by helping slow fashion retailers overcome barriers such as startup and upscaling

costs. Education initiatives are another important channel which can be successfully employed to enhance style orientation and thus sustainable apparel consumption. Educational initiatives should be taken by societal institutions like governments, schools, and public interest groups to communicate the importance of dematerialism, thus facilitating a shift in values among consumers. Public policies can also support alternative ways of accessing apparel than an individual possession. The creation of physical spaces or networks of collaborative consumption, including renting and sharing schemes, could have both effects: increase wellbeing and sustainable consumption (Guillen-Royo and Wilhite 2015).

Attaining sustainable apparel consumption presents a serious dilemma as consumption of material goods like clothes is related to happiness (Aydin 2010). To attain sustainable apparel consumption behaviors, changes in consumer attitudes and behaviors are needed. Our paper provides initial evidence that consumers with a high style orientation consume clothing in a more sustainable manner. While style transmits all the desired features of fashion, a clear distinction can be made: style is about uniqueness and freedom and evolves slowly but does not carry the detrimental effects of fashion, e.g., its obsolescence, the fast cycles, or mass dictation (see Bly, Gwozdz, and Reisch 2015). Given that style is strongly related to sustainable apparel consumption, there is an opportunity to promote sustainable apparel consumption through style. Policy makers need to recognize this opportunity and implement policy changes that change consumers' attitudes towards style orientation. Instead of using guilt or altruism as arguments to induce a behavioral change towards more sustainable apparel consumption, consumers could enjoy individual benefits such as uniqueness, freedom, and wellbeing. The latter could be stronger arguments than altruism or guilt to induce a behavioral change towards more sustainable

consumption patterns. Thus, more focus on style has the potential to solve the paradox of sustainable fashion.

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Tables

Table 1. Fashion and style orientation on reported behavior by country

	ALL	Sweden	therlands	Germany	U.I
DV: Shopping frequency	R²=.255	R²=.215	R²=.240	R²=.271	R²=.271
Fashion	.380*** [.351;.415]	.319*** [.251;.392]	.321*** [.259;.382]	.393*** [.334;.444]	.393*** [.334;.444]
Style	.178*** [.144;.226]	.226*** [.149;.318]	.254*** [.182;.357]	.186*** [.086;.251]	.186*** [.086;.251]
Model fit: CFI = .936; GFI = .916; AGFI = .904; NFI = .927; RMSEA = .022					
DV: Acquisition mode – 1st market	R²=.233	R²=.243	R²=.228	R²=.131	R²=.131
Fashion	.280*** [.245;.318]	.365*** [.274;.437]	.344*** [.260;.427]	.130*** [.029;.214]	.130*** [.029;.214]
Style	.261*** [.218;.306]	.203*** [.114;.320]	.213*** [.115;.310]	.274*** [.170;.371]	.274*** [.170;.371]
Model fit: CFI = .898; GFI = .862; AGFI = .843; NFI = .881; RMSEA = .017					
DV: Acquisition mode – 2nd market	R²=.089	R²=.028	R²=.028	R²=.048	R²=.048
Fashion	.133*** [.105;.162]	.036 [-.031;.097]	.076** [.018;.141]	.152*** [.067;.199]	.152*** [.067;.199]
Style	.222*** [.186;.262]	.151*** [.077;.223]	.105*** [.045;.181]	.115*** [.042;.219]	.115*** [.042;.219]
Model fit: CFI = .902; GFI = .865; AGFI = .843; NFI = .887; RMSEA = .017					
DV: Environmental apparel consumption	R²=.337	R²=.318	R²=.283	R²=.166	R²=.166
Fashion	-.056*** [-.099;-.022]	-.042 [-.122;.012]	-.124*** [-.191;-.050]	-.003 [-.089;.068]	-.003 [-.089;.068]
Style	.548*** [.510;.587]	.574*** [.438;.656]	.542*** [.446;.635]	.404*** [.268;.533]	.404*** [.268;.533]
Model fit: CFI = .906; GFI = .864; AGFI = .844; NFI = .890; RMSEA = .016					
DV: Consider environmental/social impact of clothing	R²=.246	R²=.295	R²=.336	R²=.203	R²=.203
Fashion	-.104*** [-.136;-.071]	-.072* [-.151;-.050]	-.065* [-.126;-.009]	-.085** [-.166;-.006]	-.085** [-.166;-.006]
Style	.533*** [.500;.574]	.551*** [.395;.695]	.580*** [.507;.682]	.474*** [.330;.604]	.474*** [.330;.604]
Model fit: CFI = .899; GFI = .863; AGFI = .840; NFI = .885; RMSEA = .018					
DV: Textile recycling attitudes (disinterest, hassle)	R²=.073	R²=.033	R²=.045	R²=.075	R²=.075
Fashion	.274*** [.239;.307]	.166*** [.096;.245]	.200*** [.141;.268]	.279*** [.181;.350]	.279*** [.181;.350]

Style	-.046** [-.084;-.009]	-.072 [-.148;.029]	-.070 [-.143;.011]	-.034 [-.121;.064]	.001 [.000;.002]
Model fit: CFI = .899; GFI = .865; AGFI = .846; NFI = .890; RMSEA = .028					
DV: disposal behaviour	R²=.178	R²=.077	R²=.059	R²=.086	R²=.001
Fashion	.143*** [.090;.169]	.206*** [.127;.280]	.103** [.022;.167]	.266*** [.176;.319]	.001 [.000;.002]
Style	.326*** [.273;.382]	.134*** [.028;.211]	.198*** [.137;.276]	.062 [-.018;.187]	.001 [.000;.002]
Model fit: CFI = .898; GFI = .865; AGFI = .847; NFI = .888; RMSEA = .026					
Obs.	6,383	1,351	1,429	1,335	1,335
Note: *** p < .001; ** p < .01; * p < .05					
Standardized coefficients, Bootstrapped confidence intervals in parentheses (n=200; bias-corrected percentile confidence intervals)					
controls: age, sex, education; moderators: country CFI = Comparative Fit Index; GFI = Goodness-of-Fit Index; AGFI = Adjusted Goodness-of-Fit Index; NFI = Normed Fit Index; RMSEA = Root Mean Square Error of Approximation					

Table 2. Values, knowledge and behavioural control on fashion and style consciousness

	ALL	Sweden	Netherlands	Germany	U.K.	U.S.
DV: Fashion						
Hedonic shopping values	.376*** [.346;.415]	.337*** [.272;.402]	.377*** [.314;.449]	.344*** [.280;.423]	.325** [.238;.400]	.407*** [.344;.470]
Materialism	.421*** [.384;.449]	.383** [.320;.445]	.309* [.219;.358]	.415** [.317;.484]	.485*** [.412;.552]	.426*** [.356;.496]
Environmental concern	.103*** [.082;.140]	.029 [-.025;.092]	.015 [-.048;.071]	.147*** [.073;.218]	.175** [.104;.249]	.162* [.081;.243]
Scepticism towards product claims	-.001 [-.025;.025]	-.048 [-.096;.007]	-.108*** [-.177;-.050]	.006 [-.076;.069]	.045 [-.053;.118]	.060 [.021;.101]
Perceived barriers	-.058*** [-.097;-.024]	.013 [-.044;.080]	.055 [-.025;.126]	-.167*** [-.271;-.072]	-.114** [-.206;-.013]	-.124 [-.193;.000]
DV: Style						
Hedonic shopping values	.431*** [.373;.473]	.378** [.258;.512]	.385*** [.232;.527]	.584** [.392;.883]	.431** [.290;.550]	.415*** [.288;.602]
Materialism	.248*** [.194;.299]	.092 [-.007;.204]	-.005 [-.126;.124]	.124 [-.018;.292]	.308*** [.207;.445]	.369*** [.191;.447]

Environmental concern	.753*** [.706;.808]	.811** [.675;.958]	.807*** [.694;.976]	.917*** [.687;.997]	.626** [.515;.721]	.606*** [.442;.747]
Scepticism towards product claims	.160*** [.123;.200]	.144* [.031;.226]	.012 [-.091;.104]	.073 [-.146;.222]	.263** [.153;.362]	.265*** [.150;.370]
Perceived barriers	-.043 [-.102;.012]	.015 [-.091;.246]	.026 [-.152;.161]	-.132 [-.399;.180]	-.063 [-.220;.089]	-.143* [-.264;.001]
Obs.	6,383	1,351	1,429	1,335	1,373	898

Note: *** p < .001; ** p < .01; * p < .05

Standardized coefficients, Bootstrapped confidence intervals in parentheses (n=200; bias-corrected percentile method); controls: age, sex, education; moderators: country

Cultivating a Taste for Sustainability in the Fashion Industry: A Macromarketing Approach to the 'Sustainable Fashion' Paradox

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"It is the function ...of all action...to interrupt what otherwise would have proceeded automatically and therefore predictably' Hannah Arendt, *On Violence*

There is a long history of debating the ethics and practices of the fashion industry-from how employees in developing world contexts are treated to the general impact on the environment that such a fast moving industry engenders. A spate of fires and deaths in garment factories in countries such as Bangladesh have more recently re-invigorated these debates coupled with a growing concern about climate change. The pressure on the fashion industry to deal with such concerns is growing alongside consumer's voracious appetite for the next fashion trend, presenting the industry with the paradoxical proposition of 'sustainable fashion.' We suggest in this paper that through the cultivation of a *taste of and for sustainability* that the fashion industry can become a purveyor of and advocate for sustainable choices. In keeping with this year's conference theme, one which asks for a deeper engagement with scholarly theories that can motivate activism and applicability, we propose an unpacking of the theory of 'taste' in the context of sustainability. We argue that through an understanding of how taste can be

constructed, cultivated and ultimately, embedded in a fashion product choice might well be key to nurturing a more mainstream interest in sustainable fashion brands. Vital to this proposition is how a macro-marketing approach could well be key to this cultivation- the kind of action that will ultimately lead to real and lasting change in the sustainable fashion industry or indeed, the fashion industry writ large.

The paper will firstly address how a vision of ‘sustainability’ and sustainable behaviour has become an interesting force in both the corporate and consumer’s imaginary globally and will question how this manifests in the context of the fashion industry. Sustainability as a concept is characterized by conflicting and nebulous meanings and interpretations; it is often reduced to the social, ecological and economic as a triple bottom line in business circles. It has become as such then the connective tissue between ideas of responsibility, rationality, value, and ethics, all embedded in broader concerns for the future of the world in which we live (Dolan 2009; Assadourian 2010; Barr et al. 2011). Sustainability as many scholars advocate can be seen as the latest manifestation of a modernity seeking new modalities of competitive advantage and forms of economic growth through the demand for green technologies, green finance and other kinds of green products. In the fashion industry, this demand remains a conflicted, even troubled one – a point which underpins much of our discussion in this analysis.

Next through an overview of the scholarly literature on sustainability we highlight how contentious, even contradictory notions of sustainability and sustainable consumption can be in a world driven by materialism and overconsumption (see Banbury, Stinerock and Subrhmanyam 2012; Miller 2012). The role of marketing in generating a sustainability discourse has been

deemed ambiguous (see de Burgh–Woodman and King 2013). We note that macro-marketing has, however, advanced numerous studies of the ways in which marketing can influence the evolution of sustainability mindsets at institutional and policy levels (see Kilbourne, McDonagh and Prothero 1997; Mittelstaedt, Kilbourne, Shultz and Peterson 2014, McDonagh and Prothero 2014).

The issue of how a sustainable fashion industry can emerge and be maintained is- indeed- a problematic one. It has been said that fashion is the child of capitalism (Wilson 2003, 13). In terms of sustainability, certainly the emerging zeitgeist of fast fashion epitomizes what Marx called ‘commodity fetishism’ – the (negative) outcome resulting from the separation of production from consumption (Marx 1990 [1867]). In this vein, Sullivan notes that if fashion is to persist as a mass consumer phenomenon, it must be made and sold cheaply (Sullivan 2015, 35). How then in the complex and fast world of fashion can sustainability become a key component of a particular brand? The literature on sustainability is broad and diverse- scholarly work which examines sustainable fashion is also a fast growing area of research. Indeed, authors such as Joy, Sherry (et al. 2012) question the contradictions inherent in this very notion of sustainable fashion and wonder at the ability of fashion brands to inculcate sustainability values in consumers. Beard (2008) however maintains that it is now an economic reality for fashion brands to adapt a transparent and socially responsible approach toward all their business practices. He highlights the need for eco-fashion to become more stylish in order to infiltrate the wider consumer’s tastes and lifestyles. Beard quotes Jane Shepherdson (consultant to People Tree and Oxfam) as saying: ‘If you want someone to buy a Fair Trade dress, then make sure it looks absolutely gorgeous. You can’t expect people to do it altruistically, because they won’t. It

needs to be stylish first, and the ethical part needs to be added value' (Shepherdson in Brinton 2008, cited in Beard 2008, 464-5). It is herein that we situate our argument that an understanding of how a taste for sustainable brands can be cultivated could very well accelerate the transition towards a more sustainable and thus ethically laden fashion industry. Indeed, Ertekin and Atik (2015) in their macro-marketing study propose a variety of methods by which slow fashion can better embed sustainability values, all key concerns of our own. In particular, Ertekin and Atik (2015) highlight the necessity of collective identity formation to bring about change in the fashion industry. In this paper we explore the realm of sustainable fashion and the actors within (to include retailers, designers, marketers, consumers etc), keeping mindful of the coexisting logics of commerce and art that inform institutional practices in the fashion industry (Scaraboto and Fischer 2013, 1246). We understand the fashion industry operates for profit, and the modern consumer shops to fulfil hedonistic desires and acquire stylish clothing. If sustainability is to move out of niche markets and into the mainstream, we must assume actors within the fashion industry are not operating from an inherent, altruistic position to save the planet but operate in their traditional capacity as producers and consumers. In order to achieve mobilization in the fashion industry, Scaraboto and Fischer (2013) have suggested the creation of sustainable fashion garments that adhere to industry aesthetic ideals. Prothero (et al. 2011) bring this further by advocating education and training as imperative to cultivating conscious consumers. From this position we are interested to explore how the fashion industry can capitalise on their position as tastemakers to educate the consumer to become a more discerning fashion consumer- in terms of style, quality *and* sustainability.

How then can a taste for sustainable fashion be cultivated in theory and practice? In this paper, we propose a reading of taste in the context of sustainability and fashion through the literatures of (Arsel and Bean 2013; Blumer 1969; Bourdieu 1984; Gronow 1997; Scaraboto and Fischer 2013; Simmel 1957). Herein, we read fashion as an embodied practice that takes place in a collectively shared social space (Rocamora and Smelik 2015, 12). Since the inception of capitalism circa 18th century, with the emergence of the new hedonist and demand for novelty (Campbell 1987), new collective tastes are born and die at an increasing tempo. In a Kantian sense, the charm of novelty offered by fashion is purely aesthetic pleasure (Gronow 1997, p. 92). Similarly George Simmel (1957) proposes fashion does not recognise any objective criteria or reasons, meaning all considerations of usefulness or purposiveness are totally out of place in fashion. Herein lies the conundrum of 'sustainable fashion' – historically fashion has been more about form less than function (beyond a social function).

The concept of taste has been frequently theorized as a mechanism through which individual's judge, classify, and relate to objects and acts of consumption (Bourdieu 1984). Such mechanisms, or skills, are learned, rehearsed, and continually reproduced through everyday action (Miller 2010). Arsel and Bean (2013) argue that practices of taste are circumscribed and perpetuated through socio-historically contextualized discursive systems—they call this complex discursive system a taste regime. As such, the practice of taste as experiential action is guided not only by social class but also by people's reflexive engagement with the socio-cultural regimes embedded in these class structures. Understood as such, they extend the notion of taste from a boundary-making process to a practice that is discursively constituted and continually performed (Arsel and Bean 2013, 912). Beyond class stratification, they attribute the marketplace as a means

through which people can 'practice' taste. This is an argument we extend in our paper where we see the global fashion marketplace as a space wherein 'taste' is constructed, negotiated, and eventually formed. The fashion marketplace is thus an experimental site of taste-making, trend-setting as well as a space of democratisation, all of which have valuable implications for how a *taste for sustainable brands* might be cultivated.

Indeed, Blumer (1969) asserts the whole secret of fashion consists of the process of collective taste formation. Modern consumers engage in aesthetic consumption (Arsel and Bean 2013) within a social network of influencing factors and institutions. Fashion taste-makers (which includes fashion brands, designers, marketers etc) hold tremendous influence in guiding consumer's 'tastes' in fashion.

There is space within this, we assert, to create an aesthetic of sustainability (but what might this look like?), a challenge indeed, but one which macro-marketing might make much of.

In this final part of the paper, we ask how macro-marketers and fashion taste influencers can shift the current zeitgeist of fast fashion toward a more sustainable yet stylish fashion? (And why would they bother?) Prothero, McDonagh and Dobscha (2010) already outline a shift towards a green commodity discourse underway with consumers encouraged to consume responsibly. Beard (2008) too has stated it is an economic reality for fashion brands to thoroughly integrate sustainable practices. The current dynamic is such that consumers are becoming more aware of unethical, unsustainable business practices- while fashion brands are more cognisant of how such practices could potentially damage their business.

So we conclude by stating that sustainable fashion does indeed have the possibility of becoming a marker of good taste and value. Traditionally fashion served to display one's elevated social position, what Veblen (1899) termed conspicuous consumption. Emphasis was on the aesthetics of the clothing, while functionality in clothing was the domain of the working classes. In the 21st century we propose clothing of 'good taste' needs to appreciate a fusion of form and function – stylish, yet sustainable items. This is the business opportunity for the fashion industry to capitalise on-and for the hedonistic, pleasure-seeking customer to consume-a sustainable solution with the possibility to make everyone "happy".

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Sustainable Trajectories: exploring the alignment of sustainability and marketing

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Andy Prothero and Pierre McDonagh's call for papers suggests that sustainability has become an 'ornament.' Consequently, they invite submissions for Macromarketing 2016 that position sustainability as the central focus of macromarketing discussion. This working paper explores the alignment of marketing to sustainability, by examining mainstream consumers' interpretations of sustainability and their personal consumption priorities. Initial findings suggest that participants' consumption is framed by progressive consumption trajectories, to which global sustainability is (at best) peripheral. Certainly, global unsustainability is not regarded as an immediate, personal threat. Instead, responsibility is deferred to manufacturers and government, who are perceived to be addressing sustainability.

Sustainability

Sustainability encompasses a multitude of arenas (e.g. climate change, diminishing resources, global poverty) within the United Nation's four dimensions of sustainability; society, environment, culture and economy (UNESCO 2014). This broad focus has engendered complex, confused conceptualisations (Kilbourne 2010; McDonagh & Prothero 2014), from which the environmental dimension has emerged as the predominant focus (de Burgh-Woodman & King 2013). Sustainability is a significant societal concern, however, the threat of unsustainability has

not encouraged widespread societal change. Kilbourne, McDonagh and Prothero (1997) suggest this is because sustainability is framed by a dominant social paradigm (DSP) that prioritises economic growth, failing to acknowledge the juxtaposition of sustainability and continued growth, or that sustainability may require dramatic societal, cultural and economic change. Furthermore, action may be discouraged by the environmental focus, which marginalises uncomfortable (but potentially pertinent) future risks to society, culture and economy (de Burgh-Woodman and King 2013). Thus, western consumer lifestyles, conducive to overconsumption, continue to extend throughout the world, escalating the rate of global consumption beyond repletion (Gorge et al 2015).

Sustainability Marketing

Sustainability demands marketers' attention, particularly diminishing resources, however, there are inherent problems with sustainability strategy that requires zero or modest growth: specifically asking investors to accept these (Kotler 2011). Consequently, sustainability has typically been incorporated into traditional marketing practice, maintaining, or even encouraging, market growth. For example, green marketing, which offers environmental protection, simultaneously maintaining or growing sales. Thus, marketers address sustainability while pursuing short term, profit maximisation strategies that neglect the threat of unsustainability. However, this managerialist, micromarketing approach ignores the magnitude of sustainability (Kilbourne and Beckmann 1998).

Macromarketing extends the study of marketing to the system, the effects on society and the effects of society on marketing (Hunt 1981). A macromarketing perspective, therefore, extends

marketing knowledge beyond the focus upon micromarketing strategy to facilitate examination and critique of marketing and its impact upon society. Mittelstaedt et al (2014) identify two schools of macromarketing thought. First, a developmental school who are optimistic that marketing can positively contribute to society. Second, the critical school who suggest that marketing contributes to societal problems. The authors state that the two schools of thought are not 'mutually exclusive,' as criticism is a necessary platform for development (ibid 2014, 258). However, in the context of sustainability, it is possible that the critical school overshadows the developmental. This is not to say that their criticism is unnecessary.

Macromarketers have led the way in acknowledging and challenging the role of traditional marketing in the sustainability agenda, establishing a valuable body of literature that critiques marketers' contribution to overconsumption. However, these criticisms also demonstrate the ubiquity of consumption within society and the fundamental role of marketing as a driving force of overconsumption (Kilbourne & Mittelstaedt 2012). Thus, the critical school make evident the significant challenges facing the developmental school, who would align marketing and sustainability. Nevertheless, Prothero and McDonagh note (in their call for papers) that there has been a significant number of sustainability marketing papers. Sustainability marketing eschews short term (ornamental) sustainability strategy and instead proposes marketing strategy that embeds sustainability into practice, e.g. through longer products life cycles and consideration of the full production and consumption process (Belz & Peattie, 2012; Martin & Schouten, 2014).

However, there is limited empirical research to direct or support sustainability marketing proposals within the mainstream market system, where they must be advanced. This may be

because mainstream consumer research (with a sustainability focus) typically aligns to a managerialist paradigm that seeks to identify the variables that will maximise adoption of short term, micromarketing solutions (Chamorro et al 2011; Davis 2013; McDonagh & Prothero 2014). Alternatively, researchers who adopt a macromarketing framework often focus upon systems, groups and practices that offer insight i.e. those engaged in sustainable consumption; findings suggesting that there is potential to progress sustainability marketing through consumer pleasure and satisfaction, rather than sacrifice. For example, Dalpian, Tenzia and Rossi (2014) identify the hedonistic pleasure experienced by those cycling in protest (to driving).

Investigations into the Slow Food Movement (Chaudhury & Albinsson 2015) and Slow Fashion (Ertekin & Atil 2015) challenge contemporary consumption practices and offer attractive sustainable alternatives. Gorge et al's (2015) study of sufficiency, which reorganises priorities towards only what is needed, presents an appealing picture of sustainable consumption. Yet, it is unlikely that that sustainable consumption will organically extend to the mainstream (Prothero et al 2012). Sustainable consumption subverts normalised consumption, rejecting mainstream market systems. It is possible that proposals advocating alternative social paradigms and values may underestimate the traction of materialism in the mainstream (Burroughs 2010). The argument that materialism - whereby goods, associated with happiness are overconsumed in the pursuit of said happiness (Burroughs 2010; Kilbourne and Pickett 2008) - constitutes a barrier to sustainability is firmly established (Scott, Martin and Schouten 2014); the 'default explanation' for why individuals do not adopt sustainable consumption (Soror 2010). It is, therefore, difficult to imagine a straightforward mainstream adoption of sustainable consumption within the current DSP. Moreover, that product and services marketers (focused upon growth) would lead

this reorganisation. Certainly, knowledge of alternative behaviour is an insufficient basis for mainstream change, when there is limited supporting knowledge of the mainstream to guide strategy. Indeed, the body of managerialist sustainability consumer research suggests that mainstream consumers are committed to unsustainable consumption (Peattie 2010). This positions sustainability marketing as unlikely to align marketing and sustainability on a macro scale, and supports the perspective of the critical school.

This does not mean that we should reject sustainability marketing proposals, but instead demonstrates the necessity of understanding sustainability marketing in the context of the mainstream. This may appear self-evident, indeed the mainstream are the bastion of ongoing marketing research. However, the focus of mainstream marketing research on short term (micro) sustainability solutions, and of macro perspectives upon those engaged in sustainable consumption, may misdirect our understanding of mainstream consumption and sustainability. Thus, hindering the progress of the development school. Mainstream consumption is the bigger picture, to which sustainability is an ornament. A macromarketing perspective can provide contextualised understanding of mainstream marketing and sustainability. This contextualisation can inform the potential repositioning of sustainability as central, rather than peripheral (an ornament) to marketing.

Method

In this study, an inductive, qualitative approach is employed to explore mainstream consumers' interpretations of sustainability, personal consumption, and the relationship between personal consumption and sustainability. The population of interest (i.e. consumers engaged in

normalised consumption) is extensive and diverse, however, the study is exploratory and intended to generate knowledge of mainstream consumption, rather than to generalise findings. Purposive sampling, the selection of participants for whom the research question is significant, was, therefore, adopted (Smith & Osborne 2008). In this instance, a group of young professionals (male corporate financiers) offered a relevant starting point. These participants had recently received career bonuses and, therefore, had opportunity, ability and motivation to engage in normalised consumption. Central to the research methodology was the goal of examining personal interpretations of sustainability and personal consumption priorities. In-depth interviews facilitate data generation from the perspective of the interviewee (Kvale 1983, King 2005), therefore, this method was adopted. One researcher conducted interviews lasting 45–180 minutes. Participants were initially asked a grand tour question (McCracken 1988, 34) - ‘tell me about yourself’ - and then invited to describe their personal consumption; probing and supplementary questions were used throughout the interview to challenge and extend participant descriptions. Participants were not informed that the study was about sustainability until the end of the interview, when sustainability was introduced as a contemporary marketing consideration. This was not intended to position sustainability as an ‘add on.’ By contrast, it was intended to contextualise sustainability; participants were able to discuss sustainability at any point, however, if it did not emerge during their personal descriptions, they were asked to reflect upon their personal consumption in relation to their explanations of sustainability.

Data were recorded and transcribed. Thematic analysis undertaken at the level of the individual, group and total sample. Initial analysis identified that the young professionals described common consumption behaviour and goals; a shared consumption trajectory emerging as a

framework for their personal consumption descriptions. This trajectory presented an interesting lens from which to explore consumption, encouraging further sampling of groups who might be reasonably expected at different points on such a trajectory, and a contrasting group of non-professionals. In total, five groups were interviewed (school leavers, young professionals, new parents, retired, non-professionals) encompassing a mix of male/ female participants, consistent at a group level.

Initial Analysis

Sustainability is not aligned to personal consumption

Participants' definitions and explanations of sustainability demonstrated awareness of the dimensions of sustainability (society, environment, culture and environment) but also a significant degree of confusion and differing perspectives. These personal interpretations may thus be seen to reflect the complexity and confusion noted by academics. The environment, was discussed, however, participants' did not display overt concern, suggesting that the predominant environmental (green) sustainability focus may not resonate with all consumers. Instead, participants' explanations related to society – longevity of , improvement of, and equality within. Individuals expressed concern (e.g. concern for depleting natural resources, concern for global poverty and social disparity), however, their descriptions did not convey a sense of immediate personal threat. When asked to reflect upon their personal consumption and sustainability, responsibility was displaced to manufacturers and government. Furthermore, it was perceived that governments and manufacturers were undertaking responsibility. Recycling emerged as the only shared sustainable behaviour. This is not to suggest that participants rejected individual

responsibility, but that global sustainability was not a personal consumption priority. Indeed, it was mostly unconsidered.

Sustainability is central to personal consumption

Perceptions of personal consumption trajectories emerged across all groups, participants' descriptions referring to past, present and future consumption. Individual products/services were discussed in the context of ongoing behaviour. Common patterns were evident (weekly shops, annual holidays) and shared milestones demonstrated planned, progressive consumption, often related to life stages (e.g. setting up home, starting a family). Maintenance and progression of consumption was discussed by all participants, involving planning, management and curbing. Participants expressed satisfaction with wise choices (e.g. bargains, investments, classics) and dissatisfaction with mistakes (e.g. waste, insufficient value for money, throwaway, badly made and unrepairable products). Furthermore, participants made plans aligned to their personal trajectory (e.g. saving for new cars, kitchens, holidays). Alternatively, participants precluded consumption of products that they would never be able to afford. Thus, sustainability, defined as 'the ability to be sustained, supported, upheld, or confirmed' (Dictionary.com, 2016), of personal consumption emerged as a significant personal consumption priority.

Discussion

Findings suggest participants do not consider global sustainability to be a personal threat. Instead, participants prioritise the sustainability of personal consumption within a shared framework of ongoing and progressive consumption – a consumption trajectory. Within these trajectories participants' priorities identify potential demand for sustainably marketed products

and services (e.g. longer life cycles, repairable products, rented services), however, adoption of individual products/services should not be the goal of sustainability marketing. The alignment of sustainability and marketing requires the alignment of personal sustainability (i.e. consumption trajectories) to global sustainability. Certainly, if global sustainability remains distinct, it is likely that rates of consumption will remain constant, or even escalate further. Sustainability marketing strategy must, therefore, engage with consumers' perceptions of personal consumption trajectories, their plans and progress. Indeed, if consumers' personal consumption trajectories are perceived to have been improved, rather than challenged or even unaffected, this provides sustainability marketers a competitive advantage. This is not presented as a straightforward strategy. Sustainability marketing is unlikely to replace traditional marketing overnight, thus sustainability strategy will compete in the marketplace with established, appealing short term strategy. It may, therefore, be necessary to transcend environmental protection and instead demonstrate future risk (e.g. shortage of resources) in order to encourage consumers to recognise the relationship to personal consumption trajectories. This is, of course, a difficult proposition.

Furthermore, findings demonstrate that consumers displace responsibility (for sustainability) to manufacturers and government. This is lamentable, but must be considered. First, if consumers perceive all manufacturers as undertaking responsibility, then those manufacturers who are engaged in sustainability marketing may not be sufficiently differentiated from those who maintain short term, unsustainable strategy. Second, participants' only shared sustainable behaviour was recycling, which is described as a normalised behaviour resultant from government endorsed strategy (Rettie, Burchell & Riley 2012). Findings, therefore, suggest that

sustainability (amidst the mainstream) is encouraged by government endorsement or regulation. It may be necessary for government legislation/ regulation for consumers to even recognise the threat of unsustainability and thus remove its ornamental status.

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Evolving the Societal Marketing System to Sustainable Consumption

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Abstract

Taking a systems approach we explore answers to the question: "What are the most effective approaches for evolving a society to sustainable consumption?" We identify the participants in the societal marketing system (consumers, producers, governments, and social movements), describe each participant's decision-making processes and consider the potential success of approaches that place each participant at the center of evolving the societal marketing system to sustainable consumption. Our analysis challenges the intuitive logic that business, government, and consumers can and should be the leaders in the sustainability evolution and instead identifies social movements as the participant most likely to succeed in evolving society to sustainable consumption.

Extended Abstract

Given the importance of moving individuals (and societies) toward new norms of sustainable consumption we explore answers to the question: "What are the most effective approaches for evolving a society to sustainable consumption?" That is, considering the values and priorities of the different participants in a given society, where would the most effective approaches focus and who would they involve? Given the complexity of the network of participants, their

relationships, and their attributes, we employ a systems approach to the examination of consumption patterns at a societal-level of aggregation (Hall and Fagen 1968). Specifically, we examine the societal marketing system—the network of individuals, groups, and/or entities within a society linked directly or indirectly through sequential or shared participation in economic exchange that creates, assembles, transforms, and makes available assortments of products in response to customer demand (Layton 2007). An assortment, in this context, is a set of products, tangible and intangible, differentiated by attributes, location in space and time, or by factors such as cost, price, or quality. The effectiveness of a given societal marketing system can be identified in the contribution of the assortments generated by the system to the quality of life of the society (Layton 2007).

We identify four participants (i.e., individuals, groups, and entities that interact to produce and make available the products in the system's product assortments) in the societal marketing system:

1. Consumers, who participate in the system to satisfy their wants and needs with their exchange choices. Those choices are a function of the value they assign to the different attributes defining those exchanges.
2. Producers, who create the product assortments offered to consumers in the system and participate in the system to achieve their goals of satisfying their stakeholders' needs and expectations.
3. Government, which works to influence the product assortments offered and the exchanges made so that the system operates in a societally optimal manner.

4. Social movements, which are groups who follow a social values philosophy (e.g., Catholicism) and participate in the societal marketing system as a way of promoting and spreading their philosophy.

We describe each participant's decision-making processes and consider the potential success of approaches that place each participant at the center of evolving the societal marketing system to sustainable consumption. Importantly, we embrace the integration of new business models that increase the sustainability of available product assortments and social-values movements that increase preferences for sustainable product assortments (McDonough and Braungart 2002; Scott, Martin, and Schouten 2014) as a route to societal-level sustainable consumption. At the same time, we discount other "extreme" routes that require abandoning the dominant social paradigm (DSP) altogether (Kilbourne, McDonagh, and Prothero 1997; Prothero, McDonagh, and Dobscha 2010) on one end and those routes focusing on eco-efficiency and the business model status quo on the other.

Our analysis finds that at the atomic level, individuals are able to lead movements to greater sustainable consumption in the societal marketing system given the local/isolated situation. At the same time, a different picture emerges at the societal level when all of the interactions between system participants and their stakeholders are considered. We find basic conflicts between consumers, producers, and governments and each of their stakeholder sets resulting in decision-making that resists being first (and accepting the associated risks and costs) in making the necessary changes for sustainable consumption. Consumers, for example, lack the motivation to make changes that place them at odds with their social networks. Producers bend to pressure

from stakeholders pushing them to pursue low-risk, eco-efficiency strategies for as long as practicable and to delay adopting (costly/risky) sustainability-related business model innovations. Governments face uncertainty in their constituencies and the political regime changes across time that result in new policy regimes that extend, redirect, or even reverse previous policies. That said, we find these conflicts quickly abate when any of these participants are presented with a system evolving to sustainable consumption as a result of actions by other system participants.

In our analysis, one system participant did emerge as having the potential to successfully lead the changes needed to evolve the societal marketing system to sustainable consumption—social movements. There is a natural alignment between social movements' objectives to alter value perceptions in the exchanges facilitated by the societal marketing system and that system's need for changes in the perception of sustainability-related features/attributes in the available product assortments. Approaches that leverage and reinforce this alignment are likely to find the greatest success in evolving the societal marketing system.

Further, social movements' focus on broadening the adoption of their social values philosophy may provide an even more important advantage in evolving the system specifically for sustainable consumption. We expect that where social movements focus on an overarching philosophy whose tenets also include an enhanced valuation for sustainable consumption-related attributes/practices, those social movements can activate the beliefs, attitudes, and goals in the society that can change behavior across exchange opportunities. That is, these social

movements can create the consistent behavior change among societal marketing system participants needed to evolve the system for sustainable consumption.

Ultimately, our analysis highlights the challenges facing societies trying to evolve to sustainable consumption. It also challenges the intuitive logic that business, government, and consumers can and should be the leaders in the sustainability evolution. While each of these participants in the societal marketing system can be successful in championing sustainable consumption at the local/atomic level, the basic conflicts between these participants and their stakeholders that undermine adoption of sustainable consumption are easily seen at the aggregate, societal level. Future research should look at the power of social movements as the drivers of the societal evolution to sustainable consumption. In particular, research needs to examine how differences in the centrality of sustainable consumption tenets in a social movement's philosophy (e.g., central (the slow food movement) vs. peripheral (Islam and Catholicism)) affect that movement's ability to change consumption behaviors and practices.

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New Consumer Activisms II

Consumer or Consumption Activism? Theorising the Role and Motives of Organisations in Mediating Consumer Activism in a Political Conflict Zone: Early Findings from Ukraine

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Recent research stresses the need to broaden our understanding of the processes underlying consumer activism (used as an umbrella term for ethical, critical and political consumerism – Koos 2012). Specifically, calls have been made for examining the impact of supra-individual forces and their interplay with individual consumers on activism movements in consumption contexts (Izberk-Bilgin 2010). Indeed, so far consumer activism has been predominantly considered as consumer-initiated, cause-related acts of opposition targeting both private and public organisations with the purpose of resisting the rules dictated by these organisations as actors of the market system (Broeckerhoff 2016; Norris 2007). Prior studies underpinned by this view uncover that these acts can: 1) take a variety of forms, such as boycotting – exclusion of produce of specific origin or by specific companies/brands from own consumption; buycotting – inclusion of specific produce or by specific companies/brands based on their belonging characteristics, such as national or regional origin, into own consumption (see Lekakis 2015); and 2) range in breadth of targeting whereby acts of resistance can constitute opposition to the overall materialist/consumerist doctrine seen to be embedded in modern capitalist ideology (Iyer and Muncy 2008; Kozinets 2002; Fournier 1998; Penaloza and Price 1993), to sociocultural

imperialism of Western multinationals due to concerns for erosion of local cultural authenticity and beliefs (Ger and Belk 1996; Izberk-Bilgin 2012) and for colonial domination (Varman and Belk 2009), to produce of a certain national origin due to historic or ongoing inter-group animosity (Russell and Russell 2006; Klein, Ettenson, and Morris 1998), and to certain business practices due to economic (Lekakis 2015), environmental (Bossy 2014; Simon 2011) and ethical (Shaw, Newholm, and Dickinson 2006) concerns.

Critics point out that, whilst useful, adopting a microscopic, individual-centred perspective on motivations and resources underpinning consumer activism movements summarised above overlooks the role of other market actors and macro forces in whether and how consumer activism evolves and limits theorisations of consumer activism to acts of resistance/opposition (Koos 2012; Chalamon 2011; Beck 2000). That is, a handful of studies (e.g., Izberk-Bilgin 2010; Joseph and Kavoori 2001; Deluca 1999) indicate that consumption activism discourses can be mobilised by other market actors through articulating certain ideologies, consciousness, cultures and identities in their market rhetoric. Additionally, a few recent studies posit that consumer activism discourse is not always underpinned by the will for a radical change; rather, it can constitute a demand for market adjustment to facilitate (rather than oppose) the decisions and actions by existing institutions within the market system (Chalamon 2011).

Against this background, this paper offers an initial theorisation of the role and motivations of private organisations to engage in, facilitate and/or distort consumption activism discourse in a zone of an active inter-state conflict and evaluates implications of such mediating activities for evolution of consumer activism movements and wellbeing of individual consumers. Drawing

from an exploratory qualitative study in Ukraine, we first identify, through visual research, three forms of organisation-facilitated consumption activism (OFCA): 1) ludic activism – introduction of product/brand innovations depicting perceived conflict source(s) in an absurd form; 2) symbolic ethnocultural activism – integration of ethnocultural symbolic milieu in product and advertising designs; and 3) informing boy/buy-cott activism – visual identification and juxtaposition of the products/brands linked to the state perceived as conflict source versus those linked to own state. In-depth interviews with marketing and sales managers as well as consumers uncover a range of motivational drivers (and perceptions thereof) for OFCA, such as expression of citizenship, detachment from the cause, respect for individual consumers' freedom, and vulgarisation and exploitation of the cause. Consumer responses to OFCA also range between active support and cooperation (consumption), self-selection of middle ground and partial cooperation/opposition related to different forms of OFCA (selective consumption and anti-consumption), detachment (indifferent consumption), and/or opposition (anti-consumption). Most interestingly, we find that responses to OFCA can be in conflict with consumers' overall stance (e.g., support/detachment/opposition) to the activism cause itself. Conversely, we identify that organisational attempts to avoid being targeted by consumer activism movements through mimicry (i.e., concealment of associations with the source of conflict by re-branding) generate much more unified, oppositional responses from consumers.

Our findings highlight that conceptions of consumer activism (and political consumerism in particular) require extending to account for the agentic role of organisations in initiating, driving and diffusing/fuelling consumption activism discourses. Also, following Chalamon (2011) we posit that resistance-informed consumer activism paradigm limits our understanding of the

cooperative aspects of activism played out in consumptionscapes (Appadurai 1996). In conditions where consumers generally accept and respect market constraints and where other market actors are proactive contributors (rather than reactive targets) to consumption activism movements, the notion of consumption activism represents a cyclical and ongoing 'resistance-cooperation' interplay between actors' rhetoric and actions. We propose that adopting such a perspective opens up a potent ground for acquiring a broader, more nuanced conceptual understanding of consumer activism phenomenon and identifies fruitful avenues for future research to explore the role of market in transforming lived experiences of consumers in conditions of an active conflict.

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Consumer Activism under Occupation – Perceived challenges for a Palestinian consumer resistance movement

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“Should we try to conserve civic virtue by telling citizens to go shopping until their country
needs to call upon them to sacrifice for the common good? ”

Michael J. Sandel, *Boston Review* 2012

Throughout the history of Israeli-Palestinian relations, Palestinians have employed market and consumer activism to challenge the occupation. During the First Intifada, for example, Palestinians engaged in a variety of non-violent tactics including a wide-scale boycott of Israeli goods and companies, organised home growing and food distribution cooperatives and networks, and resisting curfews and tax and water restrictions so they could continue working their land and provide for themselves (Rigby 1991). Participation was widespread.

Joining the long history of nonviolent economic activism and resistance against the occupation (Qumsiyeh 2010), in 2005, Palestinian civil society organisations issued a call for the boycott, divestment and sanctions (BDS) of Israeli products and companies. However, while international

participation in the BDS movement has grown significantly in the 10 years since the call was issued, Palestinian participation in particular in the boycott movement remains relatively low (Darweish and Rigby 2015).

The reduction in Palestinian participation in boycott has coincided with the large-scale economic changes following the Oslo 'peace' process which placed Palestinian economic development largely in the control of the Israeli government (Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1994). The established "peace of markets" (Davidi 2000) accelerated the transformation of the Palestinian economy towards a liberal market economy. Some of its effects are evident in the proliferation of new cuisines, new products, lifestyles options, the spread of shopping malls and supermarkets in particular in the big cities of the West Bank (Samara 2000, Shikaki and Springer 2015) – catering to the emerging Palestinian consumer.

In reality, many Palestinians cannot participate in this new consumer economy, as recent economic developments and continuing occupation have increased the struggle for daily livelihoods and survival of many Palestinians (Klein 2007). In 2010, for example, one quarter of Palestinians were living below the poverty line and about the same number of people were unemployed (Palestinian Bureau of National Statistics 2010).

This paper argues that these changes to the market structures and to people's lived experience have made it more difficult for Palestinians to creatively employ non-violent economic/market tactics that challenge the politics of the occupation as the "capitalist peace" (Gartzke 2007) has encouraged a neoliberalisation of the Palestinian economy (Khalidi and Samour 2011). It has

resulted in a situation where Palestinians – in a struggle to ensure their daily livelihoods – are seemingly more likely to accept or work within the political and economic parameters of the occupation, rather than effectively be able to challenge them (El Sakka 2015).

Based on emerging findings from a 6-week qualitative study of the BDS movement in the Occupied West Bank, this paper argues that the success of Palestinian non-violent resistance may depend on resisting the consumer economy altogether (Broeckerhoff 2016). However, given the particular complexity associated with inter-state conflict, it considers whether in cases of extreme structural disadvantage working towards market adjustments (Chalamon 2011) rather than towards a new political economy may be a strategy that generates higher levels of participation and better (short-term) results.

Drawing on existing consumer resistance research on the participation in boycott movements (Yuksel 2013), it critically explores the experiences of both ordinary and activist Palestinians of market liberalisation under occupation; especially showing how it has 1) affected the perceived social solidarity that made previous non-violent resistance strategies more successful and 2) changed Palestinian perceptions of their own agency and the effectiveness of consumer resistance tactics to lead to wider political changes. As such, this paper contributes to the conversation about consumers in globalising and liberalising markets by highlighting in particular the challenges that consumer activism may face within these contexts (Izberk-Bilgin 2010, Eckhardt and Mahi 2004, Ger and Belk 1996, Üstüner and Holt 2007).

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A Social Identity Perspective on the Legalization of Recreational Marijuana in the United States

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Recently there has been a fundamental shift in public opinion regarding the use of marijuana.

What was once considered deviant is now becoming more socially acceptable. Since its prohibition, Americans' support for legalizing marijuana has steadily increased from 12% in 1969, to 58% of the population reporting that marijuana should become legal (Jones 2015).

Despite the fact that a majority of the population believes marijuana should be legal, only 7% of Americans report that they use recreational marijuana.

This study utilizes Social Identity Theory (SIT) (Tajfel and Turner 1979) to examine how and why individuals support/oppose the transition of the recreational marijuana industry from a black market to legal marketplace. This leads to the following research questions: (1) What are the perceived benefits of supporting the legalization of marijuana? (2) How does an individuals' group membership influence their level of support for legalizing recreational marijuana? (3) How does an individual's group membership influence the likelihood that he/she will engage in "non-normative" behaviors to promote/prohibit the legalization of marijuana?

Background

Marijuana Users and SIT

Marijuana has been outlawed at the federal level since 1937. Marijuana users therefore, are relegated to a lower status than non-users because their behavior is seen as socially deviant, if not illegal. In essence, non-marijuana users are instrumental in passing legislation thereby increasing the status of a group they do not belong to.

According to SIT, intergroup behaviors can be predicted based on the legitimacy and stability of status differences between groups (Tajfel and Turner 1979). When status boundaries are perceived as illegitimate or unstable (i.e. legalizing marijuana), low status group members will pursue collective actions that increase the relative status of the group. If status boundaries are perceived as permanent or stable, low status individuals will accept their status position (Wright et al. 1990).

H1: A positive relationship between marijuana use and level of support for the legalization of recreational marijuana than non-users.

H2: The relationship between marijuana use and level of support for the legalization of recreational marijuana will be mediated by the perceived benefits of legalization.

Non-Normative Behaviors

Disadvantaged group members can (1) dissociate from the low status group, (2) attempt to change the basis of comparison, and/or (3) challenge or (4) accept the status quo. In challenging the status quo, low status group members can engage in normative or non-normative behaviors

at either the individual or the group level (Wright et al. 1990). In this context, “non-normative” simply refers to individual/collective actions outside the norms of the system.

While voting for the legalization of marijuana would increase group status, not all individuals have this opportunity as many states have not considered marijuana legalization as an appropriate policy change. As a result, SIT suggests that users will engage in behaviors that challenge the status quo to improve their status and change the existing social structure.

H3: Marijuana users are more likely to engage in non-normative behaviors than non-marijuana users.

H4: There is a positive relationship between the likelihood of engaging in non-normative behaviors and level of support for the legalization of recreational marijuana.

Status Insecurity

Status insecurity (Wyatt et al. 2009) has been established as one response to membership in a disadvantaged group. Previous research has defined status insecurity as “the degree to which an individual is concerned with appearing low-class or feels uncertainty about his or her social standing” (Geiger-Oneto et al. 2013: 361). To relieve feelings of status insecurity, low status group member may engage in behaviors believed to increase their social status (i.e. conspicuous consumption). With respect to legalization, users are likely to engage in non-normative behaviors, in part, to relieve feelings of status insecurity.

H5: The relationship between marijuana use and level of support for the legalization of recreational marijuana will be mediated by both status insecurity and non-normative behaviors.

Measures

See Table 1 for descriptive statistics and scale items.

[Insert Table 1 about here]

Method

Subjects (n=432, average age 49) were recruited using a national online panel. Respondents completed an online questionnaire, which asked about their opinions on the legalization of marijuana, overall attitude towards marijuana use, current marijuana usage and demographics. Sixty-seven percent of the respondents were female (33% male). Thirteen percent reported that they currently use recreational marijuana.

Results

SEM was used to analyze the variables of interest. In order to test the mediating effects of status insecurity, direct effects were established between an individual's consumption of recreational marijuana and each of the other variables in the model. Significant direct effects were found between an individual's consumption of recreational marijuana and level of support for its legalization ($\beta=.39$, $p<.000$), status insecurity ($\beta=.22$, $p<.05$), non-normative behaviors and ($\beta=.80$, $p<.01$), and level of support for recreational marijuana legalization ($\beta=.39$, $p<.01$). Therefore, H1, H3 and H4 are supported.

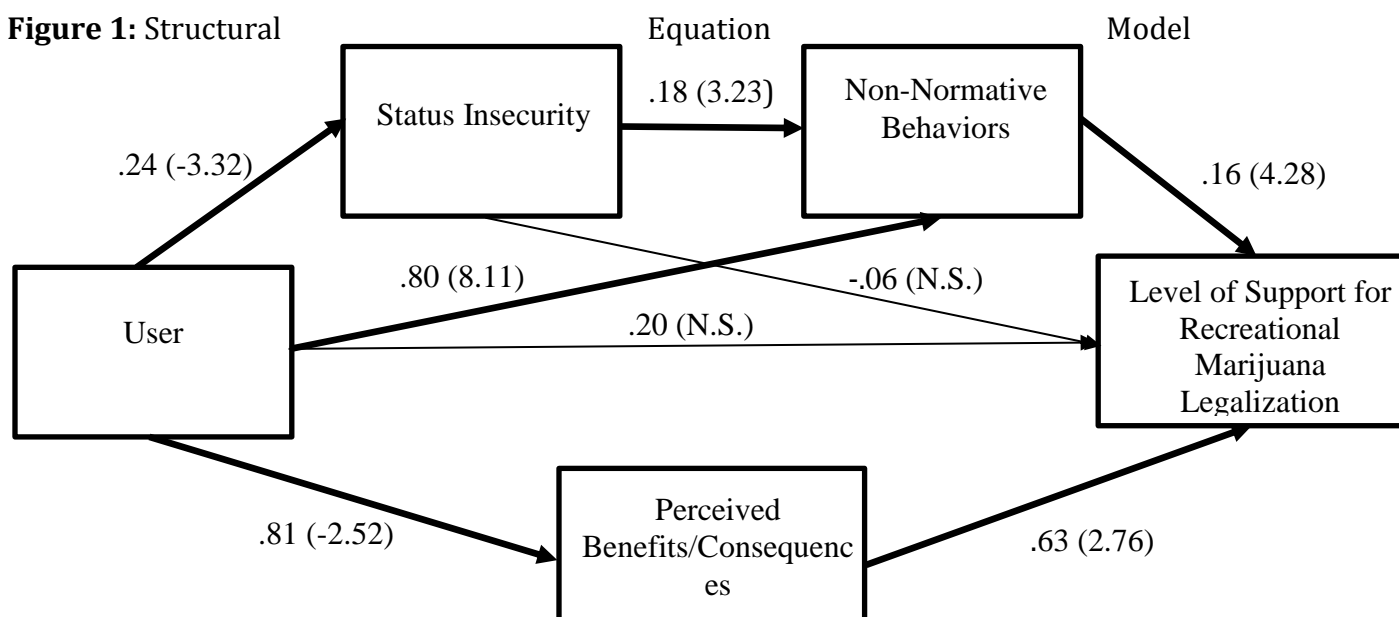
The relationship between using marijuana and level of support for its legalization was found to be mediated by the perceived benefits/consequences of its legalization, status insecurity and non-normative behaviors. Therefore, H2 is fully supported and H5 is partially supported.

[Insert Figure 1 about here]

Discussions and Implications

There are a number of important marketing and societal implications that can be drawn from this work. Consistent with SIT, marijuana users feel greater insecurity about their social status and engage in non-normative behaviors. For these low status individuals, engaging in the aforementioned activities are attempts to increase the legitimacy and status of their group within society as well as reduce feelings of status insecurity that result from their group membership.

There are also important macromarketing implications resulting from legalizing marijuana. For example, this change in market structure allows us a unique perspective into various externalities arising from this phenomenon. The legalization of marijuana has clearly given rise to burgeoning new industries, and businesses. It has also caused rifts between state and nation resulting in unforeseen policy and regulatory strife. Future studies building on this work may provide additional insights into the nature and relationship between markets, marketing and society.

Figure 1: Structural

χ^2 (203)=1457.02, $p < .000$; CFI=.90; NNFI=.87; and RMSEA=.10; and AGFI=.89

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics for Scale Items*

	Mean	SD
<i>Non-Normative Behaviors</i>		
Support research on the use of marijuana for medical and/or recreational purposes	3.79	2.37
Become involved in the industry if marijuana became legal	2.22	1.82
Discuss the legalization of marijuana with others	4.55	2.05
Attend a rally, protest, or other public meeting dealing with the legalization of marijuana	2.63	1.89
Sign a petition for or against the legalization of marijuana	4.35	2.22
Display a bumper sticker, wear and article of clothing, display a yard sign, etc.	2.46	1.92
Support the opening of a dispensary or other marijuana-related business in your neighborhood.	3.28	2.20
<i>Status Insecurity</i>		
Sometimes I have to work very hard just to prove that I am just as good as anyone else	2.66	1.31
Sometimes others view me as second class	2.37	1.34
People are biased against me sometimes	2.50	1.30
Some people look down on me because of my social status	2.21	1.29
<i>Perceived Benefits/Consequences of Legalizing Recreational Marijuana</i>		
Increased Tax Revenue	5.45	1.72
Decreased Overall Crime	3.64	2.01
Other Economic Growth	4.68	1.85
Decreased Law Enforcement Costs	4.12	2.08
Increased Number of Traffic Accidents	4.51	1.98
Increased Drug Use Overall	4.41	2.10
Personal Use	2.55	2.25
<i>Level of Support for Marijuana Legalization</i>		
I support the legalization of recreational marijuana	3.90	2.34

N=432

*1-7 scale

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‘All Cops Are Bastards’: Global Fan Resistance as Market Activism

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The current study analyses fandom practices, exploring how heterogeneous fan cultures - the ultras - construct collective identity through a variety of macro processes – specifically through a cohesive global fan resistance to market interference on fan culture. Ultras groups are defined as organized fanatical supporter’s groups, renowned for impassioned support, notable choreographed *tifosi* displays and pyrotechnics in the stand, unity, love of localism, and in some cases radical political affiliation and hooliganism (Testa and Armstrong 2010, Roversi and Balestri 2000, Podaliri and Balestri 1998, Roversi 1994, Dal Lago and De Biasi 1994). Arnould and Thompson (2005, 873) state that “consumers forge more ephemeral collective identifications and participate in rituals of solidarity that are grounded in common lifestyle interests and leisure avocations” – group identification bounded by shared ethos, beliefs, symbolic meaning, and consumption practices (Maffesoli 1996, Arnould and Thompson 2005, Muniz and O’Guinn 2001, Cova 1997). The current study focuses on how ultras groups have globally constructed a collective identity, through fan resistance practices, unifying under the mentality that ‘All Cops Are Bastards’ – an ideology proliferated through the internet, thereby creating an environment where fans are not only constructing identity based on their own experiences, but the experience of similar ‘others’.

The diffusion of ultras culture as a global phenomenon is apparent – yet ultras groups are not homogenised (Kennedy 2013). Instead, global fan practices are adopted and ‘glocalised’, incorporating native symbolic references, and representative cultural icons (Merkel 2007). For instance, Celtic FC’s Ultras group ‘The Green Brigade’ often display large *tifosi* banners (a tradition of Italian ultras groups), but adapt the fan practice through depicting imagery of Irish rebels such as Bobby Sands, a historic icon from Celtic’s adopted Irish heritage. One fan practice which has been adopted and adapted by the ultras, globally, is that of fan resistance – the primary consumption practice under investigation in this study.

In a consumer culture context, resistance can act as total rebellion against the market (Holt 2002, Penaloza and Price 1993), or as a means of forming group distinction within the market space (Penaloza and Price 1993). It is a central component in the construction of collective identity within fandom culture (King 1997, Duke 2002, Richardson and Turley 2006, King 2000). Fan resistance can involve the demonization of authoritative figures, such as the police, who are ridiculed through ritualized chanting – fans of Sheffield United frequently chanted “Ten thousand coppers...And only one Yorkshire Ripper” (Armstrong and Young 1999). Resistance in this instance acts as a mechanism to reverse marketplace power structure (Armstrong and Young 1999) – the police have no authority in the stands; fans are in control. Traditionally resistance against authority was borne out of fans own experiences. However, the author suggests that macro processes create an environment whereby the ultras are now resisting the market as one cohesive community – constructing and solidifying collective identity through a range of market resistant fan practices.

'Glocalised' fandom practices are adopted and negotiated through transnational relations (Giulianotti and Robertson 2007). However, the author identified the proliferation of the internet, primarily the use of fans forums and social media to be a dominant cause for the spread of 'ACAB' ideology, thus fan resistance as practice. One such site is www.ultras-tifo.net, where members of the ultras culture post stories, photos, fan interviews and video depicting police brutality against fans, and evidence of invasive police procedures which impose on fan culture. During fan interviews, members of prominent ultras groups will encourage a call to arms against the authorities. Similarly, members of the forum post photos and video of ultras group *tifosi* displays, fans chanting against the police, tattoo's, and merchandise – all containing the ACAB slogan. The ultras also celebrate 'ACAB day', a collaborative event which takes place annually on the 13th of December (1312 – corresponding ACAB to letters of the alphabet). These fan practices are adopted by other ultras groups globally, creating a cohesive global movement, driven by a uniform ideology - ritualized through 'glocalised' fan practices. Globally, ultras see the imposition of authority, in any country, as a combative erosion of fan culture – a hostile act, to which the ultras must respond. The ultras ideology encompasses the notion that fandom is the realm of 'the people', thus take custodianship over its defence.

The proliferation of the internet, has greatly impacted on how collective identity is constructed. Fans are no longer constructing collective identity solely based upon their own experiences, but the experiences of similar 'others'. The current study shows how fan cultures engage in fan resistance practices as they seek to align their own identities with that of the ultras culture, adopting an ultras mentality, regardless of their own relationship with the market. Thus, we see the conception of global fan

culture of resistance – the police themselves are a global entity to be opposed. The market must become aware of how ideology is constructed, and the consequences for fan practices must be realized.

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Gender, Feminism and Macromarketing I

“At least they have their clothes on”: A new framework for explaining how viewers cope with sexist ads

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Abstract

Sexist advertising still remains an issue seeing as how the sexual content in ads has increased over the years and gotten more overt. Existing research regarding advertising clutter and the link to desensitization is a possible explanation for why ads have been more explicit in their portrayals. However, claiming that clutter leads to desensitization might not be enough to recognize the intricacies and processes that occur in the viewer when seeing one sexist ad after another. The purpose of this article is to examine what other, if any, practices that can be found when viewers are exposed to an abundance of sexist ads. Through the use of empirical material gathered from focus group interviews and surveys, two more processes have been constructed: Comparison and Bargaining. These, combined with desensitization, set the foundations for the *Clutter syndrome*; a conceptual framework assuming that three different processes or practices can be used when viewing sexist adverts in an environment full of advertising clutter.

Introduction

Ads clutter our every day lives, they are everywhere; in magazines and newspapers, on bus stations and the buses themselves, on billboards and buildings, and for the last decades they are scattered all across the internet for the entire world to see, making online advertising the fastest growing advertising type (Levinson and Lautenslager, 2009). We are all the audience, whether we want to be or not (Rutledge Shields and Heinecken 2002). As part of culture, advertising communicates values, norms and beliefs in a society with stylized imagery and catchy slogans: "Advertisers give us these images and create much of what we know about the world. This is particularly evident in terms of the gender roles and power relations they construct." (Warlaumont 1993, 26). Consumers are led to believe that ads just sell the products they are created for, but more often than not, they also sell ideals and concepts, they sell images of what is "normal". Or as Lysonski and Pollay (1990) argued: ads communicate already defined concepts in the culture they are created in that are connected to success, love, sexuality and so forth, by using imagery and displaying different life-styles that people are led to believe, are meant to be followed. Kilbourne (1999) similarly claimed that even though some advertisers may argue that ads simply reflect society, ads do a great deal more: as a prevalent medium of influence and persuasion, the effects of ads are accumulative, elusive and mainly unconscious. Rutledge Shields and Heinecken (2002) also analyzed and described what part advertising plays in today's society and claimed that ads are one of "the major instigators keeping not only girls and women but the entire culture "body obsessed"." (2002, xvi). What has become apparent and is problematic is the fact that the representation of women in ads is constantly filled with stereotypes. Lazier-Smith (1989) argued that since ads are a shorthand form of communication, they must make immediate contact with the consumer, and the way they do this is through stereotypical

portrayals. And while advertisements reflect culture, the author claimed that what they actually reflect is the traditional balance of power: “They reflect critical components of our culture – its stereotypes, its bigotries, its biases – its dominant values, a tendency toward the status quo, and ongoingness of the traditional. But even more, they reflect its chauvinism and its sexism.”

(Lazier-Smith 1989, 257). As Warlaumont (1993) claimed, the imagery used in advertising constructs a reality for the viewers, especially regarding gender, and since ads are omnipresent and economically driven, adding to the exploitation of for instance women to sell products, the portrayals become established and are difficult to change in a significant way.

It seems that consumers have become so used to depictions of blatant sex that advertisers keep crossing the boundaries in order to get attention and thus breaking through all that clutter of ads (Kilbourne 2003). Forde (2014) argued that while the use of sex in some cases may shock, they nevertheless all turn to boredom after the surprise wears off. Not only has sex in ads become mundane and dull, but it is also contributing to unhealthy sexual attitudes, body image problems, and consequently, the objectification of women (Forde 2014).

The sexual content in ads has increased over the years (Söderlund 2003; Reichert 2012), and even though sexism in ads has been studied for decades, the problem persists (Kilbourne 1999, Miller 2005, Lysonski 2005, LaTour and Henthorne 2012). As Warlaumont put it: “Advertising images have a special importance to scholars of popular culture because of the “reality” they construct for the viewer, especially in terms of gender portrayals” (1993, 25), thus this subject seems as relevant as it did at the beginning of the debate, and there is still a need for more exploration into this complex matter.

One gap in the existing research has been the connection between the problem of advertising clutter and desensitization; only arguing that clutter leads to desensitization might not be enough to understand the intricacies and processes that occur in the viewer when they see one sexist ad after another. The aim of this article is thus to explore what (other than desensitization), if any, processes occur when viewing and debating sexist ads, in order to extract more insight and perhaps better understand why sexist ads may not only be accepted, but might also be getting more blatant in their portrayals. The question is thus: how do consumers cope with an abundance of sexually explicit/sexist ads? Since the debates about sexist ads and objectification are, and have been, predominantly concerned with the negative and offensive ways women are portrayed, the focus in this study has been on female viewers and their perspectives¹.

Sex & Clutter

Advertising clutter poses a practical dilemma; how are advertisers supposed to cut through all the clutter and latch the attention of their consumers? Relying on visualizing messages in order to break through (Warlaumont 1993), many advertisers have incorporated a certain type of visual strategy: Sexual imagery.

“In an effort to cut through the tremendous clutter that exists in today’s advertising space, marketers have resorted to increasingly radical tactics to capture consumer attention. One such popular tactic uses explicit sexual images in advertising, even when the sexual image has little relevance to the advertised product.” (Dahl, Sengupta and Vohs 2009, 215).

Sex has been used in ads since the 60's and has only increased in addition to becoming more and more overt in an attempt to break through the clutter (LaTour and Henthorne 1994; Söderlund 2003; Dahl, Sengupta and Vohs 2009; Reichert 2012; LaTour and Henthorne 2012). Sex is used to sell everything from clothes to accessories to perfumes and miscellaneous products that have nothing to do with sex itself. "But this sexuality is never free in itself; it is a symbol for something presumed to be larger than it: the good life in which you can buy whatever you want." (Berger 2008, 138). The sex used in ads has little to do with the real deal and is more connected to the sex found in pornography, thus it is a kind of sex that degrades, objectifies and distorts, a type of sex that is portraying women in a stylized manner that is pleasing to and desirable for (heterosexual) men (Warlaumont 1993; Lazier-Smith 1989; Kilbourne 1999; Cortese 1999; Merskin 2006; Gill 2008). Such depictions have resulted in the understanding of a male gaze, which according to Mulvey (1975) is about the sexual imbalance that the world is divided into, where the pleasure of looking is split between the active male and the passive female, thus the female figure is portrayed to fit into the fantasy of the male gaze. Similar to this logic, Berger (2008) proposed that women are divided into a surveyor-surveyed relationship, meaning that women are always watching themselves, while being watched at the same time, or in other words: "*men act* and *women appear*. Men look at women. Women watch themselves being looked at." (2008, 41). Furthermore, Mulvey (1975) claimed that due to the ruling ideology and structures the male figure cannot be objectified since he is the active one, he controls the fantasy and makes things happen, he is the one that the ideal spectator identifies with, the female figure on the other hand is the spectacle. Or as Berger (2008) put it:

“the essential way of seeing women, the essential use to which their images are put, has not changed. Women are depicted in a quite different way from men – not because the feminine is different from the masculine – but because the ‘ideal’ spectator is always assumed to be male and the image of the woman is designed to flatter him.” (Berger 2008, p.58).

Because of advertisers’ power of choosing how and whom to portray, they have the ability to maintain existing and dominant discourses, in this instance patriarchy, as well as constructing the gender ideologies and relationships; using the male gaze in sexist adverts is a choice, whether consciously made or not (Warlaumont 1993).

Advertisements are competing against each other for the viewers’ attention and this *mêlée* between advertisers has led to advertising clutter, leading to more provocative and sexual imagery based on the age-old belief of “sex sells” (LaTour and Henthorne 2012). Brooke (2003) argued that the more “spectacle” the viewers are exposed to, the less effect it has and the more technologically refined the ads become, the less impressive are the ones that do not push the boundaries. “Our mediascape fills with advertising at an unprecedented rate, and we are increasingly desensitized to the messages marketed at us.” (Brooke 2003, 133). However, Reichert (2014) claimed that using sex in ads is indeed more than just a simple ploy to get the consumers attention. Sex is used in the positioning of a brand to make it more attractive, and it is more often integrated in ads that are selling products or brands that actually have some relevance to sex, such as perfumes, clothes or beauty and personal care products. Nonetheless, he argued that there are examples of sex in advertising that cross the line and create controversy with their distasteful or degrading ads, however, this is the same as with most things in the

world; those who cross the line make it difficult for all others who are well within the limits. The argument was therefore that the use of sex must not necessarily be negative since it can in fact sell products in a non-degrading or sexist manner (Reichert 2014). Nevertheless, the use of sex in ads is seemingly more connected to the myth of “sex sells” than to actual facts; “The frequent use of sexual stimuli in advertising testifies to a widespread belief in its effectiveness. However, little research has been directed at justifying this faith or delineating the nature of the presumed benefits.” (Wilson and Moore 1979, 57). Since this claim was made, there have been several studies examining the consumers’ responses towards using sexual appeals in ads. Walsh (1994) showed that both women and men had some issues with the use of sex in ads; 70% of women and 50% of the men surveyed thought that sexually overt ads promoted some form of sexual harassment. However, it was a question of how sex was used and portrayed in the ads, as Walsh (1994) argued, it depends on what the viewer defines as sexy, and according to the study 81% of the women and 86% of the men thought that ads could be sexy without being also sexist. Sengupta and Dahl (2008) later argued that while some studies have shown that men receive sexually themed ads positively, women on the other hand have negative reactions. This could be due to the fact that ads are being more and more controversial and provocative with their use of female sexuality (Miller 2005) in an attempt to cut through the advertising clutter. Nevertheless, LaTour and Henthorne’s (2012) research showed that both women and men have ethical problems when the appeals are overtly sexual, women even more so than men.

But what then is the difference between sexy and sexist ads? Lysonski (2005) contemplated this conundrum and argued that it all boils down to one question when viewing an ad: “Is it titillating or is it offensive/demeaning?” (2005, 116). This interpretation is subjective and relative; what

was in a gray area yesterday may be undeniably offensive today and vice versa. Lysonski (2005) presented some guidelines, originally put forth by Walsh (1994), stating that the portrayed sex should not involve violence, not portray women as being inferior and also that stereotypical depictions also can be considered sexist. However, since there is no clear or collective list with criteria to help determine which category an ad falls in to, Lysonski (2005) concluded that it all depends on the “values, preferences and perceptions of the viewer, and these evolve over time” (2005, 119). Nonetheless, ads that are sexy may still also be sexist, but the difference between these are a matter of morality and culture, basically; it’s in the eyes of the beholder (LaTour and Henthorne 2012).

But whether an ad is sexist or not, ads containing sex do in fact hit people at one of their weakest spots: their insecurities about love and self-esteem (Kilbourne 1999). They may sell sometimes using this tactic, but they always attract attention and influence people (Moog 1990). Reichert (2014) also agreed that using sex in advertising grabs the viewers’ attention, however he argued that the success rate of those who use sex in their ads is more likely to become long-term if the brand or products in question do in fact have a sex-related brand benefit. Names such as Axe and Calvin Klein are two very successful brands that have been positioned as sexual-attractant enhancers, the same goes for Victoria’s Secret (Reichert 2014). So what is their secret? Well, simply put, it’s Sex:

“Suffice to say that as long as people desire to be attractive to others, and as long as people desire romance, intimacy and love, and all the wonderful feelings they involve, advertisers can

show how their products help meet those needs and desires. Whether we like it or not, products play a role in society's intimacy equation." (Reichert 2014, 111).

There are of course, counter perspectives and those who disagree with this line of thought, arguing instead that these constant depictions of sex builds up anxiety since; "The pressures to be sexy, stay sexy, and get sexier are enormous." (Moog 1990, 145). Others, like Forde (2014), are tired of all the ads using sex and suggests we get rid of the sexual appeal altogether; "We're collectively exhausted with sexual messages intended to persuade us to buy this or that, usually through tired cliché or norm-shocking visuals." (2014, 114-115). She argued that even though sex does at times sell, studies such as Nudd (2005) have shown that the use of sex in ads tend to diminish brand recall, especially for men who focus on the sexual parts of the ad rather than the product and/or brand itself, and also that most women do not care for sexual adverts. Moog (1990) also declared this by explaining how women can look at sexualized ads and at least remember the brand, while men when faced with the same imagery "can't remember *anything*—often they can't even describe what was in the ad, let alone name the products!" (1990, 149). These types of overtly sexual ads are then not that welcomed by women, and as for men, they help keeping them in the hormonal and curios stages of boyhood (Moog 1990). Likewise, Kilbourne (2003) argued that we all seem to be stuck in a state of arrested development:

"surrounded by teenage fantasies of sex and romance, a culture that idealizes the very things that make real intimacy impossible—impulsive gratification, narcissism, distance and disconnection, romanticism, and eternal youth. Sex in advertising is about a constant state of desire and arousal." (2003, 174).

The issue here is not that just some solitary ads are portraying these sexually loaded images, but rather, that so many of them have the same type of depictions. As Boddewyn (1991) claimed decades ago: "the multiplication of ads"..."and the similarity of themes and treatments are often the real sources of the problem." (1991, 28). Along these lines, Jhally (1990) referred to it as a system of images, the operative word being *system*, and argued how this system (opposed to individual ads) creates falsity; "All (or at least many) messages are about gender and sexuality. It seems that for women it is the *only* thing that is important about them." (1990, 139). Such claims, though old, are just as relevant in the present time since the system being referred to still exists; "One ad won't do it, but who sees just one ad? We see thousands of them every day. Over time, and unannounced, sexist attitudes work their way into our belief system." (Reichert 2014, 111).

In a recent study by Tehseem and Riaz (2015) concerning the sexual portrayal of women in ads, the authors concluded that most ads tend towards negative and stereotypical portrayals of women and that they are more connected to the male gaze (Mulvey 1975), i.e. represented from a male perspective. They claimed that this type of misrepresentation could have serious and harmful consequences, since: "Objectifying women in commercials and advertisements for products has desensitized people towards violence perpetrated against women." (Tehseem and Riaz 2015, 11). As Kilbourne (1999) argued, by objectifying a person it turns her/him into a thing, creating a disconnection that is usually the first step towards justifying violence towards that same person. Even though advertisements are not causing violence directly, she claimed that violent imagery and objectification might nevertheless contribute to the violence and state of terror many women experience. It may be true as Reichert (2012) put it that not all ads

containing sex cross some form of moral or sexist line, however, the vast amount of those that do clearly show that there is a problem: “All women are vulnerable in a culture in which there is such widespread objectification of women’s bodies” ...”and such blaming of the victim. When everything and everyone is sexualized, it is the powerless who are most at risk.” (Kilbourne 1999, 281).

Desensitization

The world of advertising is full of images that are shocking, titillating, offensive, sexist and so on, and the overexposure of such ads has led to the claim of desensitized viewers; Kilbourne (1999) argued that we become numb after such large exposures of sexist portrayals and Rumbo (2002) discussed the information saturation, particularly advertising clutter, as something the viewers must cope with using ad avoidance strategies in an effort to not get overwhelmed. Being desensitized could thus be viewed as a form of coping mechanism; instead of feeling anxious and distraught, one gets numb and “shuts down”. In Crase-Moritz’s (2002) study relating to the desensitization of sexually loaded ads, she found that a number of participants, when given the choice, responded that they felt “nothing”. This had, according to Crase-Moritz (2002), to do with the fact that they were so used to such images, it no longer offended them, leading to the conclusion that the participants were desensitized towards that type of imagery: “We as a people have become desensitized to negative images or provocative advertising.” ...”by responding “nothing” we are giving permission to advertisers to continue to try and shock us with inappropriate images.” (Crase-Moritz 2002, 140-141).

Consumers are increasingly used to sexually loaded ads, but thinking that these do not matter, or

even have an impact in any way, since one feels “nothing” about them, can have consequences, after all: “the most effective kind of propaganda is that which is not recognized as propaganda. Because we think advertising is silly and trivial, we are less on guard, less critical, than we might otherwise be.” (Kilbourne 1999, 27). So what happens when viewers do not get to choose the “Nothing” option?

Method

The empirical material was gathered from two focus group interviews (Wibeck 2010; Bryman 2012) and two surveys (Ekström and Larsson 2010; Bryman 2012). In total, 61 women participated in the study; nine women were divided into two focus groups (five and four each) and 52 women were divided into two surveys (26 each).

The first focus group involved four women with the average age of 36,5 years, who were all co-workers at an ad agency; these were chosen in order to have women who are currently working in advertising to discuss the subject. The second group was made up of five female friends with the average age of 25,4 years, who all had different occupations; they were chosen to get a “pedestrian” point of view. 89 ads from various brands and for various products, all including some form of sexual content, were chosen and organized into a slideshow with 60 slides. This slideshow was the basis of both focus group discussions.

Since the purpose of the study is revolving around the concept of desensitization, which according to previous research and discussions (Kilbourne 1999; Crase-Moritz 2002; Brooke 2003; Forde 2014) means that viewers eventually get numb after an abundance of sexist ads, it appeared relevant to explore how ads are perceived depending on which ads are first and which

are last in the viewing order. Therefore, two separate surveys were created to distinguish if the order of the ads had any significance in the participants' answersⁱⁱ. In total 52 women were surveyed, 26 in each group. The average age for the women in Group 1 was between 20-30 years, while for Group 2 it was between 25-30. 32 different ads were gathered using the same principles as for the focus groups. These were then placed in order from the "least" to the "most" sexist/offensive, based on the guidelines by Walsh (1994) and also based on the responses and reactions from the focus group interviews. For instance, ads using overtly sexualized women for no reason, ads using pornographic and violent imagery were categorized as being among the "most" sexist/offensive. The first survey for Group 1 remained in this order, while the second survey for Group 2 was presented with the ads in the opposite order, i.e. from "most" to "least" sexist/offensiveⁱⁱⁱ. For each ad, the participants had to answer some questions, the first being in the form of scales from 1-10, 1 being "No, not at all!" and 10 being "Yes, very!" with questions such as "Do you find this advert sexist?" or "Do you find this advert offensive"? The last question was a textbox allowing the participants to share their own thoughts and words regarding the ad (Jacobsen 2002).

Furthermore, all the different value-laden words used during both the focus group discussions and the surveys, such as: sexist/sexism, offensive, objectification and so on, were not discussed in advance with the participants or presented/explained in any way. Such words are, just as Lysonski (2005) pointed out, highly dependent on the values, perceptions etc. of the viewer, thus, it was up to each participant to decide what they deemed to be sexist, offensive or objectifying in their own eyes.

The focus group interviews were transcribed and these along with all the responses from the surveys were coded in a manner inspired by Grounded Theory. Since Grounded Theory allows for an open mind, a creative way to “discover” theory (Martin and Turner 1986), this form of methodology suited the purpose of the study well. Based on the coding, incidents were labelled, concepts were constructed and linked together, and lastly a framework took form, which will be presented and further discussed in the following sections.

Since there are four different groups that make up the empirical material a shorthand is provided and the groups will henceforth be referred to as:

- Focus group 1 = FG1
- Focus group 2 = FG2
- Survey group 1 = SG1
- Survey group 2 = SG2

Results

After going through and coding all the responses, it became evident that there were more processes occurring other than desensitization when viewing an abundance of sexually loaded ads. The participants not only responded that they felt numb at times, but they were also frequently comparing the ads with each other and using different types of bargaining strategies in order to decide whether or not an ad was sexist or offensive. Thus the results are presented and discussed under three separate concepts: *Desensitization*, *Comparison* and *Bargaining*.

Desensitization

When reviewing the responses, signs of desensitization could be found in all groups; the participants responding that they felt “nothing” towards the ad, that they were numb, used to it and so on. The findings were thus similar to Crase-Moritz’s (2002) study, however the difference was that these participants never got the “Nothing” option “served” to them, but had to formulate this response in their own words, thus, more so called labels than “nothing” could be discerned and related together under the concept of desensitization, such as “numb”, “bored”, “tired/tiresome”, “used to it” etc.

More participants in SG2 seemed to be desensitized compared to SG1, and they were also more aware of it. Even though the terminologies “desensitized” or “numb” were never presented to them, they expressed their thoughts as for instance: *“I feel desensitised to images like this, they're so common.”* and *“It’s ok normal, not funny, I’ve gotten numbed to these types of ads I guess.”*. Being desensitized does not necessarily mean that one does not find an ad sexist in any way, but the part that seems to be “lacking”, has more to do with ones own feelings towards it; the feeling of being offended, of getting upset, of caring. Finding an ad more or less sexist, but not caring about it, means that you are desensitized. The group that seemed to be the most desensitized in this sense was FG1, since compared to all the other groups, they were the ones who seemed to react the “least” to all the ads, mostly responding that the ads were boring, “normal”, since they were so used to them. At times, FG1 expressed some frustration towards some of the ads, but for the most part they did not have as big reactions as other seemed to have, and they were also the ones, compared to FG2, who made more jokes and used irony, laughing away many of the portrayals.

When at one point the participants of FG2 were asked if they felt offended by the ads, they discussed that even though they were tired of them, they do not necessarily feel offended. Instead of feeling overwhelmed by such portrayals, some participants thus use the coping mechanism of desensitization in order to not care as much about the sexist imagery they see in ads. However, as Crase-Moritz (2002) pointed out, this only makes things “worse”, since a lack of caring means giving the sexist and offensive ads permission to go on and become even more overt.

Many of the ads involved some form of nudity, and this was acknowledged by for instance participants in both SG1 and SG2, however they expressed that nudity does not surprise them anymore, seeing as how they have gotten so used to it, so numbed; it just does not make them feel much of anything. All in all, the participants in the surveys who expressed some form of desensitization frequently also gave the ads lower ratings when it came to how sexist or offensive they thought they were.

Towards the end in FG2, one of the participants made an interesting remark:

Participant 1: No but I just get so tired of this...no but really, no, now we are starting to get too...saturated, or what should I say, had this been the first image I do not think that we would think that this was the LEAST bit ok, but you get numbed.

Participant 2 and 3: Mm.

(The others nod and agree)

*Participant 1: But you do not have the **Strength** to have that “hat” on all the time, but NO, **this is not ok!***

This realization, that the more ads they viewed, the more their lines of what they thought as acceptable got stretched, was an important one which inspired the creation of the surveys (testing the significance of the viewing order), and it was only in FG2 where such a realisation was made.

Comparison

It became evident that while viewing the different ads, both individually and in a group setting, the process of comparing the ads with each other was used time and time again, in order to try and find a line between what the participants thought was acceptable, and what was not. When looking for comparisons, key-words/phrases such as: “compared to/in comparison”, “not as/that (offensive/ sexist/bad etc.)” and “better/worse than”, were coded throughout the material and labelled under the *Comparison* concept. Comments featuring these were found in all groups, however the participants of SG2 were slightly more inclined to compare ads with each other, responding: *“Not that bad if you compare with the others”, “Not as offensive as many of the other adverts”, “Not as degrading compared to the other pictures”*. Most of the participants who expressed such thoughts did not really find any of those ads very sexist or offensive when comparing them with others, this seems to have “lessened” their ratings. In SG1 on the other hand, only a few of the participants used the practice of comparison in their responses and scoring the ads with fairly low ratings, meaning not very sexist or offensive. Comparing ads can thus, in some respects, make them more acceptable since the “lesser of two evils” principle is being applied.

Nevertheless, comparisons do not always mean that the ad will fair well. For instance regarding the last ad in SG1, a participant claimed that: *“Compared to all the previous perfume*

advertisements this is the most disgusting one so far!!!". Thus, when comparing the last ad of the SG1 survey, which was from Tom Ford, with the previous ads, this was not the "less evil" of them all, but the "worst". Therefore, the process of comparison not only works in order to "lessen" the offensiveness or sexism of ads, but it can also make it clearer for the viewer, where to draw the line. The problem with this process however, is that it seems mostly to work in favour of sexist and offensive ads, since it was used in practically all instances as a way to stretch the line and accept some things that maybe should not be accepted.

Additionally, a participant in FG2 argued at one point that she, just like everyone else, is already imprinted with different sets of norms and so on and has already seen so many similar ads, which makes it basically impossible to actually view an ad "as it is", without in some way comparing it with other ads one has seen in their life-time. Just as Reichert (2012) argued, no one sees just one ad; we literally see thousands, therefore the process of comparing them with each other seems almost obvious and instinctual. However, this concept has yet to be discussed in the context of sexist advertising and clutter, perhaps since it is so seemingly "innate", it does not get noticed that easily. Still, this process is significant to discern and discuss, since it may provide further explanation for how consumers deal with sexist ads.

Bargaining

When it comes to bargaining, this process started to become apparent when coding the transcripts from the focus groups, and it was even more evident in the responses gathered from the surveys. Bargaining is manifested when a viewer starts to look for, or state, redeeming factors about an ad that they might think is sexist and offensive, yet still, they try to find a "silver

lining”, making up excuses for the ad, and thus, deeming it more acceptable than perhaps it ought to be. For instance, at one point a participant from FG2 argued that the “silver lining” she found regarding a particular ad, was that the female model in the ad was not naked, the model being dressed was thus something positive.

Most often, when stating these redeeming factors the participants used the phrase “at least”, as in the following comment from a participant of SG2: *“At least they have their clothes on.”*. The ad this participant was referring to was seen as offensive and sexist by both survey groups, but by bargaining a “silver lining” was found, seeing as how both the models involved were “at least” not naked. After seeing so much nudity in ads, one might find it refreshing when they are not exposed to so much skin. Yet, does this make the ad any more appropriate or redeeming? According to the majority of the participants, it does not, however, by comparing and bargaining, this is a good example of how the lines of appropriateness can get stretched.

In FG1, bargaining was also used, sometimes throughout an entire argument; over and over again a participant was at one point trying to cling to the “silver linings” she found for a particular ad, while some of the others tried to argue against it, however, in the end it seemed almost like they all more or less agreed to the bargaining, thinking that the ad may perhaps not be entirely appropriate, but still acceptable since: *“there is at least an ounce of sensuality and not just “hey ho let’s go!””, “she at least is wearing something.”, “she at least has something soft beneath her.”*. Compared to the other focus group, FG1 used bargaining more throughout the discussions, and even when bargaining was used in FG2, they were still not entirely sold since they all agreed that the ads were still not entirely appropriate.

Overall, when using the bargaining strategy the participants in the surveys generally gave it lower ratings than average. In one instance featuring an ad by JBS for men's underwear, which used a half naked woman wearing men's underpants, the ad was according to a participant from SG2 *"at least trying to be clever"*, which gave the ad a fairly low rating. This type of response was however not among the majority since most participants did find that ad sexist and offensive, and they instead asked themselves: *"WHY is a naked woman needed in a men's underwear ad of all ads?"* But seeing as how bargaining is so useful for these types of ads, some people can thus find the ad less sexist and offensive, just because it has a layer of "cleverness". That cleverness can still nonetheless, be seen as sexist and offensive since it is after all portraying a sexualized image of a woman, when there indeed is no real "need" for it, and this is what the majority of the participants saw and expressed. A similar view was articulated by another participant from SG2 regarding an ad by Finetti: *"At least they're trying to be clever."* While the majority found it sexist and offensive due to it's message of women being dependable of men, this participant found it a bit different (clever) than the other ads, and thus, giving it rather low ratings. According to the "principle" of bargaining, if one can find a redeeming factor in the ad, they thus find a silver lining that may lessen the negative reactions and feelings towards it. And as seen in the last two instances, if an ad is a bit clever or different in its sexism, some can thus consider it less offensive.

The bargaining practice can also seem a bit alarming since it sometimes sparks comments like: *"At least they're both painted in similar light and positions. Kind of sexy, its two people at least the female is not outnumbered"*. This was expressed by a participant from SG2 who compared a particular ad by Calvin Klein with previous ads, some portraying a "gang rape" type of imagery.

So in this sense, a woman on her back and a man on top of her, holding down her arm, seems better since she “at least” does not have three or four other men holding her down. Apparently, if there is “only” one man holding down a woman, they are portrayed in “*similar light and positions*”.

The concept of bargaining, even though it could be discerned and interpreted time and time again throughout the groups, has just like comparison, not been discussed in this context. Nevertheless, it has proven valuable since it may explain how consumers “forgive” certain ads because of the small redeeming factors they find in them, thus rating them less sexist and offensive, deeming them more acceptable.

Clutter Syndrome

Based on the results from the empirical material, it has become evident that there are in fact processes, or practices, other than desensitization, that seem to affect the consumers when seeing ad after ad with sexual content. Two additional processes that may help to explain and understand their reactions are *comparison* and *bargaining*; combined with desensitization these are merged into a framework I call the *Clutter Syndrome*. This framework has the possibility of explaining why some sexist and offensive ads are more or less accepted, and not rejected, by consumers. It may further our understanding of how consumers cope with an overload of sexually explicit advertising, it can provide explanations to why consumers accept many of the violent and pornographic portrayals in ads; how they compare, negotiate and make excuses for sexism, and how they eventually stop caring about it.

The *Clutter Syndrome* involves three processes: *desensitization*, *comparisons* and *bargaining*, and the relationship can be understood as follows: through desensitization, comparison and bargaining consumers' perceptions of ads can be affected, due to all the clutter of ads and their use of sexist/offensive imagery.

The name *Clutter Syndrome* was inspired by the term clutter, a key term defining a phenomenon that affects consumers. The second word, syndrome, was chosen since this may help to pinpoint what this framework is essentially about. Having to cope with sexist and offensive imagery every day surely must force one to unknown measures and coping mechanisms after a while, thus the term syndrome, even though medical in its roots, seemed like a fitting option since a syndrome may for instance be a predictable pattern that indicates a certain condition. In this case, the pattern refers to the three distinct processes that make up the framework.

The assumptions of the *Clutter Syndrome* are: when being exposed to numerous ads depicting sexualized, violent, pornographic imagery, the consumer will:

- a) Become desensitized after a while and thus not care (as much/at all) about the sexist/offensive portrayals, therefore allowing them to go on.
- b) Start comparing the ads with each other, in order to find where to draw the line, i.e. use the "lesser of two evils" principle, which by doing so gets stretched further and further.
- c) Begin the bargaining process, which allows the viewer to "lessen" the sexist/offensive impact of some ads when they have some form of redeeming factor, or "silver lining".

All three processes do not have to occur simultaneously or for all viewers, however the last two most often go hand in hand, and eventually, the more one compares and bargains, the more

desensitized one gets. All these processes are in some ways linked to perceptions of morality; of what one feels is “right” and “wrong”, and the more “affected” one is by the *Clutter Syndrome*, the more distorted the perceptions become.

As found in the results regarding the participants’ views on sexist ads, the lines of what they felt was acceptable to portray eventually got blurred since they started to compare the ads with each other, therefore deeming one less sexist than the other, or in other words, applying the “lesser of two evils” principle. Additionally, while the slideshow used for the focus groups contained several ads in each slide, perhaps making it easier for the participants to compare the ads, the surveys only displayed one ad at a time. Nevertheless, comparisons could be found in all four groups; the participants did so automatically, instinctively, and thus arguably making this a significant and on-going habit. This practice of comparison lead them to a type of internal negotiation; when pitting one ad over the other, one of them could almost always be declared “the worst”, i.e. the most sexist and/or offensive, thus more or less justifying the imagery used in the other ad. This, however, did not mean that the “lesser evil” of the two was an appropriate ad, but in comparison, it could glide under the radar. Likewise, when using the bargaining strategy, again there seemed to be an internal struggle to define and decide whether or not an ad was sexist and/or offensive, and in many cases participants who felt that the ads were sexist still searched for redeeming factors, or “silver linings” in order to lessen the offensiveness they felt about the portrayal. Using this type of reasoning and accepting ads that are still sexist, just not “as” sexist as others, or those that are “at least” bearable in some little respects, may thus allow the advertising industry to keep being provocative. At the same time, by comparing and bargaining, the viewers’ line of what they find to be sexist and offensive, gets stretched further

and further. But since, as Jhally (1990) already noted, it is a system of images, and due to all the clutter, it is impossible for viewers to actually view advertisements for themselves, and not in combination and comparison with others. The Clutter Syndrome thus might help to explain how this overexposure of sexist ads may allow the imagery to get more provocative.

Since the Clutter Syndrome consists of three different processes it is important to recognize how these may appear when active. As Crase-Moritz (2002) deduced, desensitization is connected to feeling “nothing”, and this principle is essentially the same concerning the Clutter Syndrome. The concept of desensitization in this sense means that the viewer does not have any strong feelings regarding an ad that should, in some sense induce some sort of reactions. Thus, when commenting that you have nothing to say, that you feel nothing, this is a sign of desensitization. This concept is also related to saturation, meaning that a high exposure of a certain type of imagery in ads may lead to desensitization since the viewer is so “used to” seeing it, thus when claiming that an ad does not affect you since you have already seen similar ads so many times, this is also a sign of desensitization. When it comes to comparisons, these are fairly easy to spot since they always include a distinction between two or more ads, for instance; “This is worse than the other”, or “compared to the other, this is better.” Comparisons can also easily lead and be linked to the last process of bargaining, which again is fairly easy to spot since it most often involves the phrase: “at least”. This simple yet significant phrase means that the viewer has made a conscious deliberation and concluded that the ad in question has some form of redeeming quality, as in: “at least they have their clothes on”.

While previous research has discussed sex and sexism in ads (Moog 1990; Kilbourne 1999; Rutledge Shields and Heineken 2002; Lysonski 2005; Forde 2014; Reichert 2014), and preceding studies have presented viewers' responses towards sexy and/or sexist portrayals (Walsh 1994; Crase-Moritz 2002; Nudd 2005; Sengupta and Dahl 2008; LaTour and Henthorne 2012), none of these have provided any explanations or possible interpretations for how viewers, *in practice*, make different distinctions and eventually come to certain conclusions; how they internally decide what they find sexy, sexist, offensive, or all of the above. Ultimately, this framework does just this: providing new ways of decoding and understanding consumers' reactions and thoughts towards sexy, sexist or offensive ads, and how they come to deem some as sexist and redeem others as acceptable. By building upon the concept of desensitization, combining it with the newly constructed concepts of comparison and bargaining, the *Clutter Syndrome* is an original framework that may prove valuable and useful; giving some possible explanations for questions such as: How do consumers deal with sexist ads? How do they decide where to draw a line? Why are sexist ads accepted? Why is sex in ads being more overt or increasing?

Explaining differences using the Clutter Syndrome

When interpreting the focus groups, it seemed that FG1 were more likely to compare and bargain their way through the ads, they also seemed to be more desensitized than FG2. Perhaps this only had to do with personal preferences, however, it might be significant to also look at some other factors. For instance, if one considers the age difference in the two groups it is evident that FG1 had older participants than FG2, the average ages were 36,5 and 25,4 years respectively. Why age should be an important factor can be simplified as: The older you are, the

more likely it is that you have been exposed more to sexist ads, thus, the more desensitized you might have become, the more “affected” by the Clutter Syndrome you may be. Of course, it is problematic to simplify it this way, thus another factor should also be included: the occupations. Since FG1 all worked together at an ad agency, they had, most likely more experience from advertising in general than FG2 when the interviews occurred. Working in advertising, may also mean having to study ads, having to look at more ads than the “average” person, thus, the chances of seeing sexist ads may again have increased due to this factor. Thus by using the Clutter Syndrome, one can understand why FG1 has responded differently than FG2 regarding the same ads; being overall more used to such ads, they are more desensitized, they have most likely compared and bargained through more ads in their lives due to age and occupation.

Regarding the survey groups, SG1 was more likely to deem an ad very sexist and offensive and the ad they found most sexist received 11,5% more 10's, (i.e. very sexist), compared to the most sexist ad for SG2; 84,6% vs. 73,1%. Another fairly big difference was found for the most offensive ad, which was deemed very offensive (10's) by 80,8% of SG1, and 73,1% of SG2, a 7,7% difference. For most of the ads, SG1 found them overall to be more sexist and/or offensive, although there were a few cases where SG2 were slightly more critical. What is interesting though, is interpreting these differences in responses. One could of course start off by saying that the majority of women in SG1 were just more inclined to deem the ads sexist and offensive due to their own personal views. However, it might not be that simple. When looking at the two survey groups, one finds that in SG1 the average age was somewhere between 20-30. In SG2 however, the average age was between 25-30. This means that SG1 consisted of a slightly younger demographic than SG2. Thus it could again be argued that the younger women of SG1

have not yet been exposed to the same amount of ads as the slightly older women in SG2. However, the age differences here were not that big, thus such an argument would be tentative at best. Instead, it is proposed that the viewing order played a larger part in the differences between the groups, than the age. Since the participants in SG2 were already exposed from the start to “the worst of the worst”, they did not have anywhere else to go. While as for SG1, the ads got more and more sexually overt, pornographic and violent. An interesting fact here is that SG1 actually found the last ad (32nd) by Tom Ford to be the most sexist and the most offensive one, while SG2 found the 8th ad, also by Tom Ford, to be the “worst of all” in all senses. When starting off with the first Tom Ford ad, SG2 almost did not know what to make of it: *“Is this for real?? Is this a real ad?? I feel a little disgusted.”*, *“Not sure if I should laugh because it's so ridiculous or feel really offended by this ad.”*. Starting the survey with such an overtly sexualized and pornographic image not only shocked the viewers, but it seemed to also have immobilized and made them unable to react the way they would in other circumstances. However, out in the “real world” there is no constructed viewing order in which consumers see ads every day; there is no telling how sexist the first ad they see when they step outside will be, or how sexist the next one is. For the participants of SG1, the same ad may have been less shocking at first since they were already exposed to 31 other directly before it with different portrayals of sexual imagery and nudity. Their responses were thus: *“For real? Could be pictures from a porn side... Compared to all the previous perfume advertisements this is the most disgusting one so far!!!”*, *“Why do they have to be this sexist? it's getting insane”* and *“One of the worst so far”*. Interpreted in these comments was the concept of comparison, however, this particular ad by Tom Ford was obviously not the “lesser of two evils” in this case, since the participants in SG1 who made the comparisons and bargaining, deemed it to be the most sexist and offensive of all. For SG2 however, the survey

started off with overtly sexualized ads, and even though the first one may have shocked them, the others that followed lead them to make many comparisons and use their bargaining skills in ways that SG1 did not, for instance: *"at least the female is not outnumbered."* After seeing ads that were inspired by "gang rape", it seemed like an improvement when it was "only" one man holding down one woman. Compared to SG1, only SG2 made such comparisons between the ads, thus deeming some of the most violent ads to be more or less acceptable, due to the circumstances of them being presented in the reversed order. Therefore, the order of the images point towards there being differences in the responses, and these differences can be linked to the fact that SG2, under the influence of the Clutter Syndrome, have made certain comparisons, have bargained in certain ways, and become desensitized earlier on in the survey, because they were exposed to the most overtly sexualized, pornographic and violent ads from the start. Consequently, the order of the ads arguably had a greater importance than the average age, since this not only explains the higher desensitization rate, but also the different types of comparisons and bargaining that the participants in SG2 made which SG1 did not.

Discussion

Sexism in advertising is alive and kicking. Even though many, if not all, have become used to it, the amount of overt nudity, violence, sex and pornography displayed in ads is both concerning and problematic. To think ads and what they explicitly and implicitly communicate do not play any importance what so ever when it comes to our culture, gender and values is truly foolish. Instead, more research should be spent on ads and their subtle, unconscious, persuasive powers. In an effort to do this, the framework of the *Clutter Syndrome* has been established, which may

fill in some missing gaps and further our understanding of the phenomenon of sexist advertising, thus contributing to the research fields of marketing and gender studies.

There is undoubtedly a clutter problem with ads, however, the attempts at breaking through it seem to get more and more provocative; when advertisers feel the need to depict gang rape in order to sell jeans one may conclude that it has gone too far. The problem is though, that it is not only the advertisers who are at fault. Even if it might be easy to place all of the blame on the advertising industry as being an authoritative system indoctrinating people with visual stimuli, that is not the complete picture. The consumers seeing the ads are also people who make the ads, who buy into what they are selling. Essentially, everyone is part of the *system*, and when falling prey to the practices of the *Clutter Syndrome*, all are responsible for choosing the “lesser of two evils” and thus, allowing the “evil” to carry on. Indeed, the consumers are also responsible for what they are seeing, ignoring, choosing and making excuses for. Nevertheless, advertisers are accountable for the images they create, since they have the power of enforcing ideals and culture (Lazier-Smith 1989; Jhally 1990; Lysonski and Pollay 1990; Warlaumont 1993; Kilbourne 1999), and if they feel inclined to they can justify and motivate any portrayal, as long as it stands out.

It can seem that due to the effects explained by the *Clutter Syndrome* advertisers appear to have a carte blanche for being as blatant, degrading and provocative as they wish, and consumers are just supposed to accept and stretch their moral lines to accommodate this. The participants in the focus groups and surveys however were not oblivious but did indeed have a lot to say and argue against these types of ads, but nonetheless, they still compared and bargained their way through them, claiming that they were used to such ads, that the ads were “boring” and did not

affect them. Indeed, determining what one feels is sexist or offensive is a slippery slope, a fine line that may be bent this way and that, depending on what one has been exposed to and how much one may feel inclined to compare and negotiate.

There have been many before that have mentioned, discussed and problematized the concept of desensitization (Kilbourne 1999; Crase-Moritz 2002; Brooke 2003; Forde 2014; Tehseem and Riaz 2015), however, this might not be enough in order to recognize the reactions towards a clutter of sexually loaded ads. Being desensitized because of all the advertising clutter is just one problematic process that many experience. However, according to previous research (such as Kilbourne 1999 and Crase-Moritz 2002) desensitization only explains the instances where consumers feel “nothing” regarding a sexually loaded ad, when they feel numb, it does not explain what other deliberate or unconscious processes that are or can be practiced. As presented in this article, the framework of the *Clutter Syndrome* includes two more processes to take into account: comparison and bargaining, which have not been included hitherto and may offer more explanations and interpretations of how consumers cope with an abundance of sexist and offensive ads.

We seem prone to make different comparisons; not only comparing ourselves with the women and men in the ads, but we also compare the ads with each other, especially when there are so many cluttering our view. These comparisons seem to be practiced intuitively, impulsively, and without any question; it does not occur as strange to compare things, but when comparing a sexist ad with another, trying to apply the “lesser of two evils” principle, it might be prudent to ask oneself: Why compare at all? Why feeling obligated to choose one over the other? Why does

any of the two “evils” have to be accepted? After all, who knows what would happen if viewers would stop comparing and instead draw a very clear and firm line? Nonetheless, it is not only the comparisons that seem to lie deep within, but also the bargaining since there seems to be a tendency to sometimes be less critical. This may be because we wish to see the best of everyone and everything; we sometimes get too caught up in making excuses for others that we perhaps should not be making at all. Thus, when under the “influence” of the *Clutter Syndrome*, the three processes work virtually exclusively in favour of sexist ads, allowing them to get more and more sexually explicit, pornographic and violent.

Furthermore, as revealed by the analysis, the differences in the responses of both survey groups can be explained by the viewing order of the ads in the surveys connected to the Clutter Syndrome. Since SG2 was exposed to the most sexualized and violent ads from the start they were thus more desensitized towards such portrayals. This lead them to make certain comparisons and bargain in certain ways that SG1 did not, more or less accepting some of the most overtly sexualized and violent ads because the previous ones had been much “worse”. Again, it is important to note that in “real life”, we cannot control in what order we are exposed to sexist ads; they just happen upon us. But it is still noteworthy to keep in mind that if, or rather, when, we see overtly sexualized and violent ads, these may in turn distort our perceptions of the next ad containing sexual imagery. Perhaps we will be more prone to accepting the latter, if the *Clutter Syndrome* has “affected” us.

Additionally, there were some interesting and discuss-worthy comments that arose, one of which concerned the stereotypical portrayals of the female models. Regarding a Calvin Klein ad

one participant said she did not feel as offended since the woman in the ad was not stereotypically portrayed. One might thus ask: is it better to create a sexist ad using stereotypical women, or non-stereotypical women? Are they not merely two sides of the same coin?

Displaying one woman lying down in the middle of a gang of men, one of which is pulling her hair, another one bending over her facing her chest, sounds like a rather sexist and violent portrayal, however this participant found the ad acceptable since the female model was not looking as a usual helpless “feminine” woman. When making such conclusions and distinctions, it could lead to even worse depictions seeing as how the violence displayed is redeemed, just because the woman looks a bit more “rough”. However, being a woman with more roughness and less stereotypical “femininity” does not necessarily mean that you can handle being attacked by three men on your own, it does not mean that you are less sexualized, it is just another sexist portrayal, with a twist.

Regarding some of the bargaining comments made by the survey participants, what is fascinating is that they in some cases gave a particular ad very high ratings (9's and 10's) both concerning the sexism of the ad and the offensiveness of it, but even so, they still felt the need to find small redeeming aspects in the ads, making excuses for the imagery. Even in instances where viewers do find ads very sexist and feel very offended by them, they can still find a “silver lining”. Though some form of redeeming factors can be found in just about any ad, we might want to consider not highlighting them, since the process of bargaining works in order to lessen the offensiveness of an ad, it works in order to make excuses for sexism and accepting it, not putting a stop to it. So next time there is an ad with one “rough” looking woman getting assaulted by four men, instead of walking past it, ignoring it because of similar ads, instead of comparing it to those ads, instead

of thinking: “*At least she looks like she can handle it*”, or “*at least it’s only four men not five*”, one might instead say: No. This is not acceptable in any way, shape or form. This needs to stop.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to investigate what processes, other than desensitization, that might be useful in order to understand how consumers cope with sexist ads. By introducing two new concepts and placing them all together under the framework of the *Clutter Syndrome*, the question has been answered accordingly: By comparing, bargaining and eventually getting desensitized by the sexual portrayals, consumers may accept some ads that are sexist, pornographic, violent and offensive.

All three processes of the Clutter Syndrome: desensitization, comparison and bargaining, could successfully be used in order to interpret how the participants in this study viewed, discussed, rated and felt about the ads. Hence, by using this framework one might realize why some viewers have come to accept some sexist and offensive ads, and why they then can get more blatant. Since the viewer gets saturated and starts comparing one offensive ad with another, deeming one of them acceptable, they thus allow the advertising industry to keep being provocative. As a participant in FG2 pointed out, if one was to view all ads for themselves, many of them would indeed not be tolerable at all at the first glance, but because of all the clutter, viewers are forced to look at so many ads and thus start comparing and bargaining through them in order to find the line, which simultaneously, gets stretched even further every time an offensive or sexist ad is found not being “as” offensive or sexist as the next one.

Further research and exploration of the Clutter Syndrome, also including male participants and other methods, could provide more and interesting results on this subject. Perhaps other processes can be constructed that could further our understanding of the complexity of viewing an abundance of sexually loaded ads, and on their cumulative effect on our societies and ourselves.

¹ It should be noted that the women included in this study can of course not account for an entire female population, also a male perspective should be included in future studies to further the results and development of this subject.

¹ No previous study was found during the literature review that had used such a method of examining the viewing order, but if this choice yields interesting results perhaps it may inspire other studies to research the importance of a viewing order.

¹ So as to achieve the most objective and accurate answers it would arguably have been necessary to use both surveys on the same women who had never before been exposed to such ads, but since one cannot “un-see” an ad, this option was impossible, and there are no such women who have not been exposed to such types of ads, at least not in a western society. Therefore the answers to both surveys were gathered from different women.

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Strong, sassy, sexy and sozzled: Alcohol advertising to women in Australia

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Background

Alcohol (and alcohol-related harm) has traditionally been seen as a predominantly male problem, as reflected in traffic and crime statistics. However, recent data indicate that alcohol consumption is becoming more common in females (particularly younger females) with this gender gap narrowing and even reversing in some age groups.

In Australia, the gender gap in monthly or more frequent risky single-occasion drinking is large for older adults (e.g., 40.2% compared to 18.6% among 40-49 year olds), but narrow among 18-19 year olds (64.6% compared to 51.2%) (AIHW 2011). In Scotland, between 1995 and 2003 women aged 16-24 years increased their consumption from an average of 8.4 units/week to 12.2 units/week, and women aged 45-54 years doubled the amount of alcohol they consume (from 5.6 to 11.2 units); men's consumption changed very little over the same period (Pykett 2009).

Consumer behavior researchers have noted the conflicts women experience in a culture of intoxication that encourages them to be 'sassy' and 'sexy' but at the same time feminine and not 'slutty' (Griffin et al 2013); and argued that the focus on individual responsibility in social marketing campaigns is unlikely to be effective in the current alcohol marketing environment

(Szmigin et al. 2011).

Alcohol marketing to women

While a wide range of factors influence women's drinking, it is likely that alcohol advertising is a part of the answer. The alcohol industry increasingly sees women as a lucrative target market and has targeted marketing to women; including the development of new products and marketing campaigns that play into social and cultural changes.

Women are increasingly targeted with a wide array of new 'female-friendly' products, including sweet and fruity wines, alcopops, low calorie variants of existing and new products, and female-targeted packaging. These product changes are accompanied by sophisticated female-targeted advertising; with appeals including luxury (e.g., "the first of its kind among alcohol beverages that allows women to pamper themselves with something truly luxurious"); weight control (e.g., "1/2 the calories. None of the guilt"); altruism (e.g., 'Pink Your Drink' (donates to breast cancer research)); and fashion (e.g., "One for wine and handbag connoisseurs, the Four Sisters Cooler Bag...")

Research on Alcohol Advertising to Women

There is surprisingly little research into recent changes in alcohol advertising to women. A study of alcohol advertising in Finnish magazines found that from the 1960s- 1980s, women were placed in the gendered position of housewife with their drinking confined to the home or

associated with socializing with other couples or their husbands' business occasions. However, from the 1990s onwards, women were shown in public spaces and drinking associated with their own time, pleasure and enjoyment (Torronen and Juslin 2010). A subsequent study of Swedish magazines found similar changes albeit with "the traditional gender system persistently reproduced" (Torronen 2011).

This study examines the extent, nature and focus of alcohol advertising in Australian magazines targeting young adult women.

Method

There are three Australian women's monthly-issue "lifestyle/general interest" magazines that have been produced continuously for a decade or more and target women aged 18-34; Cosmopolitan, Cleo and Marie Claire. We searched all issues of these three publications for the six-year period January 2007-December 2012 and collated and coded all alcohol advertisements. This period was selected because previous studies of magazine advertising have examined the period up to 2005 (Donovan et al. 2007, Jones, Hall and Munro 2008).

Identification: The magazines were searched by the second author and all advertisements photocopied for coding. A 20% random sample of the magazines was also searched independently by a research assistant; no additional advertisements were identified.

Coding: A detailed coding guide was developed and two coders trained (the second author and a

research assistant). The coding guide included general information (magazine name, year, issue, page number, ad type and ad size); product information (brand, product type – coded as sparkling wine, wine, spirit, liqueur, alcopop, beer or cider); models/actors (presence/absence, number, gender, celebrity, race, etc.); key themes (14 themes identified in previous studies; Hill et al. 2005; Minkler et al. 1987; Austin and Hust 2005); and compliance with the self-regulatory advertising code (ABAC 2014). The current paper focuses on the presence and portrayal of women and the key themes utilized in these alcohol advertisements.

Results

In total there were 400 alcohol advertisements across the three magazines from the period, 2007 – 2012 (of these, 216 were unique advertisements). There was a decrease in the number of alcohol advertisements across the period (from a mean of 1.56 ads per 100 pages in 2007 to 0.53 ads per 100 pages in 2012). There was a u-shaped pattern of alcohol advertising across the calendar year (consistent for all years of the study), with significantly more ads during the Christmas/New Year holiday period (see Figure 1).

[Insert Figure 1 about here]

Alcohol advertising was dominated by liqueurs (36.5%), sparkling wine (23.3%) and wine (19.3%); with fewer ads for alcopops (11.5%) and distilled liquor (7.8%), and very few for beer and cider. It is noteworthy that ads for sparkling wine increased significantly over the time period, from 10.8% in 2007 and peaking at 54.8% in 2011; and for liqueurs decreased, from a peak in 2008 of 52.4% to 12.9% in 2011 and 22.5% in 2012. The dominant brands advertised

were Brown Brothers (wine), Midori (liqueur) and Frangelico (liqueur) accounting for 13.8%, 12.8% and 8.8% of all advertisements respectively.

Who Drinks it?

People were shown in 62% (248) of all advertisements; 95.5% of these included females and 35.4% males. Celebrities featured in 14.4% of these 248 advertisements; including Dita Von Teese, Salma Hayek, Scarlett Johansson, Naomi Watts and the cast from Sex and the City. These ads tended to associate the product with the celebrity's image and reputation. Wine advertisements were more likely to utilise 'up and coming' fashion designers as part of a strategy of linking the alcohol brand with fashion.

Female models were frequently portrayed as sexual or sensual beings, with their attire primarily coded as suggestive (56.1%) or partially clad (23.6%) and less likely to be demure (11.8%). Males appearing in ads were more likely to be shown fully dressed and in less sexually suggestive poses, often as part of a background scene or a romantic setting.

What's the Appeal?

It was common for alcohol to be portrayed as a 'fashion' accessory that enhanced the consumer's personal image or increased their social standing. Alcohol products were associated with achievement, affluence and luxury; implying an increase in success, confidence and personal image from their consumption. Advertisements incorporated words such as 'luxury,' 'fashion,' 'royalty and all true sophisticates.'

There was an emphasis on female camaraderie and independence, with references to bonding and partying more common in advertisements that featured only females than those that included both females and males. Women were actively encouraged to let go and enjoy themselves and portrayed as in control and powerful with the ability to make choices (including the choice to drink).

Selling or informing?

Many of the ads appeared to blur the lines between advertising and editorial, further emphasizing the role of alcohol as a (necessary) part of the modern young woman's life. For example, a 2-page promotion which described how you could accessorise your look with jewelry that coordinates with your LBD (little black drink).

Discussion

Our review of alcohol advertising in three Australian women's magazines identified strong and consistent messages relating to 'freedom' and 'confidence' and focusing on glamour, attractiveness and fun. As Gill (2007) notes, advertising has responded to feminist critiques by constructing a new figure to sell to young women; active, desiring sexual subjects who please and pleasure themselves, rather than as passive objects.

Like the tobacco industry before it, the alcohol industry is increasingly positioning drinking as a sign of independence, freedom and confidence. Alcohol is promoted alcohol to women as part of their 'right' – that is the right to drink and party like men – and hence taps into many feminist ideals. This is evident in the reducing numbers of male actors in alcohol advertising to women,

the emphasis on themes of achievement, luxury, success and independence. At the same time, the subtext of these advertisements plays on women's concerns and insecurities; positioning alcohol as the solution to appearing fashionable, confident and socially successful.

This approach to selling alcohol to women is consistent with the themes identified in consumer research exploring the conflicts facing women in their decisions regarding alcohol consumption (Griffin et al. 2013; Szmigin et al. 2011): the positioning of (excessive) drinking as normative, and the message that women need to be strong, sassy, sexy and sozzled (but not slutty or unfeminine). The portrayal of alcohol as an essential tool in the construction of young women's identities as independent, attractive and successful is firmly embedded in current alcohol marketing, with marketers (and magazine editors) blurring the lines between 'advertisements' and editorial content. Addressing this issue – and curbing the increasing rates of alcohol consumption and alcohol-related harm – will require complex and comprehensive strategies across a range of sectors. There is a need for more considered approaches to the development and regulation of alcohol advertising (to reduce or prevent such messages); advertising literacy education (to 'inoculate' young women against these messages); and environmental and policy approaches to provide environments which support not drinking, address (mis)perceptions of social norms and empower young women (and men) to make safer choices.

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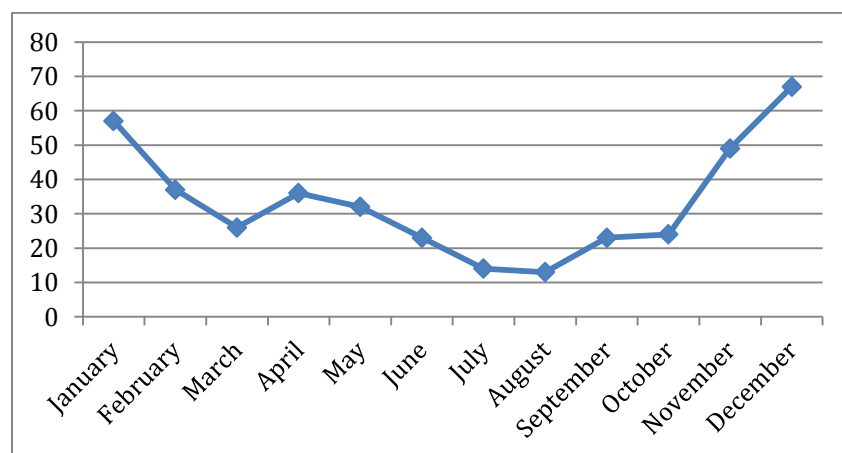
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Figure 1: Number of alcohol ads by month (6 years 2007-2012)



Portrayals of Women in Advertising: Reconciling Instrumental and Ethical Perspectives

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This paper presents two competing views of advertising: the instrumental view and the ethical view. The former is based on a traditional marketing framework that places few restrictions (beyond legalities) on images used in advertising for the sake of generating profit. The latter is based on relationship marketing, which posits that images used in advertising should not generate profit at the expense of consumers' well being. These perspectives are analyzed in the context of portrayals of women in advertising, employing case studies from the retail sector. Amid evidence that the instrumental view has championed portrayals of women that perpetuate gender bias and inequality, it is proposed that this view can be reconciled with the ethical view in order to generate profit while maintaining constructive relationships with consumers.

Introduction

Over the last 25 years, scholars have paid increased attention to the ethical implications of advertising standards and practice. This has included examination of particular advertising forms and images (Richins 1991), institutional influences (Drumwright and Murphy 2004), and societal and cultural level implications (Mitchell and Taylor 1990). Despite this attention, there is evidence that advertising practice is still driven primarily by profit motives and that many

people still view advertising as deceptive, manipulative, and untruthful. Some even suggest that the mere concept of advertising ethics is the ultimate oxymoron (Drumwright 2008).

While there has been growing attention on the ethics of advertising research, much of the work has focused on elements such as deception (Beauchamp 2001), use of fear (Latour and Zahra 1989) and sex (Latour and Henthorne 1994), specific product types (Zinkhan 1994), and disguised advertising (Nebenzahl and Jaffe 1998). Yet research that investigates the role of women in advertising and the implications of gender representations and the ethical portrayals of women in advertising is still in need of greater study. In particular, considering McCracken's (1986) argument that cultural norms are transported through media to consumers for their eventual embodiment, it is important to investigate the differences between the instrumental and ethical approach to advertising with respect to representation of women.

The current paper addresses the tension between an instrumentalist view of advertising, (where success is measured in the form of sales alone) and an ethical view (where success is measured by the value created for all stakeholders). In this paper we argue that these points of view can co-exist – that advertisements can be created in a manner that still achieves instrumental objectives while taking more of a stakeholder view of ethics. We will illustrate this with two companies whose campaigns show different representations of women in advertisements. These representations, which stem from advertisers' behavioral assumptions of women, are sameness/difference and powerlessness/powerfulness. Sameness and powerlessness (representations of women as a homogenous and objectified group) are negative, while difference and powerfulness (representations of women as diverse and

powerful) are positive. Given evidence that negative representations can incite gender bias, tension, and even violence (Capella et al. 2010) we argue in favour of positive representations because they will not contribute to such manifestations of gender inequality as per McCracken's (1986) logic. While advertisers have been keen to use negative representations of women in order to generate profit, it is possible that in many markets positive representations can have the same effect.

Theoretical Framework

Sandage and Leckenby (1980) distinguish between two types of criticism of advertising: one that is directed against individual practitioners' methods, and another that is directed against the advertising process in general. The difference is between criticism of the instruments of an institution and criticism of the institution itself. The feminist critique brought forth in this paper is one that addresses the gender bias woven into the institution of advertising.

Ultimately, the instruments of the institution (advertisements) are gender biased, too, but working "upstream" at the macro level to alleviate bias can engender a trickle-down effect in which those instruments are exchanged for ones that promote, rather than endanger, gender equality.

Feminism is a social movement with the goal of ending sexism, sexist exploitation, and oppression (hooks 1999). It envisions a world in which men and women "are not alike or even always equal," but where the two exist cooperatively (hooks 2000, x). In this way, feminism – or a liberal variant thereof – is not advocating for the advancement of women at the expense of men, but rather the advancement of women for the benefit of both parties. A liberal feminist

analysis involves seeing social phenomena through a gendered lens to critique how men and women differently experience these social phenomena, with the goal of achieving gender equality in the public sphere. Importantly, sex and gender are seen as distinctly different: “Our biological sex is given; we are born either male or female. But the way in which we become masculine or feminine is a combination of these basic building blocks and the interpretation of our biology by our culture” (Mosse 1993, 2). Therefore gender is something that we take on, much like a mask, that is used to tell others how feminine or masculine we are (Mosse 1993).

In contrast, neoclassical economics bases its understandings of women on gender essentialism, which posits that women are irrational, economically dependent on men, and generally best suited to motherhood (Hewitson 1999; Pujol 2003). The neoclassical economic man is rational, individualistic, and competitive, which allows him to “maximize the satisfaction of his personal needs, preferences, and wants to the fullest extent possible” (Burggraf 1997, 19). These portrayals still persist with examples of the weak woman juxtaposed with a strong man. Such images suppress women’s self-image at the micro level and reinforce their marginalization at the societal level. It is then seen as surprising or even suspect when women show strength or when men show weakness.

Feminism in general is concerned with these broad stereotypical portrayals and the gender bias that created them. Because gender is fluid, dividing the market into men, who are all seen to think and behave one way, and women, who are all seen to think and behave another way, is a dangerous strategy. For example, while a common assumption is that males are risk-takers

and females excel at interpersonal communication, even if such differences exist, they stem from culture, not nature (Catterall and Maclaran 2002).

As with any social institution, advertising is set in time and it evolves with time. Therefore, it must be judged relative to current social standards (O'Guinn 2008). Similarly, gender is an ever-evolving construct and a feminist theoretical framework is useful in identifying and critiquing outdated, stereotypical, and sexist understandings of women as well as offering solutions. For example, feminism has generally succeeded in banishing the trope of the helpless housewife from the advertising landscape on the grounds that it was a clearly negative portrayal of womanhood. The void left by the helpless housewife was partially filled by the businesswoman to better reflect the social changes that ushered women into the workforce.

This paper takes a liberal feminist position to identify gender bias in advertisements and offer solutions as to how the advertisements can better reflect reality and promote gender equality. In examining not only advertisements, but the understandings of women that generated them, this critique offers space for the advertising industry to get acquainted with the reality of today's women in hopes that the aforementioned trickle-down effect can take place.

Understandings of Women in Advertisements

There are a wide variety of portrayals of women in advertising that range from empowering and positive to degrading and objectifying. The latter portrayals are often stereotypical, showing women in social roles that are more traditional and thought to be typically representative of the group (Wyckham 1987). However, critics note that these portrayals are negative and gender-biased and do not fully represent the roles and interpersonal exchanges

that are consistent with equity between men and women. We suggest that portrayals of women in advertising can be evaluated through a two dimensional matrix represented by sameness and difference, and powerlessness and powerfulness. This matrix provides a means of representing these portrayals and illustrates the larger argument that the instrumental and ethical views of advertising can be reconciled. Figure 1 plots these portrayals on a four-quadrant matrix. The matrix shows that the pairings of sameness and difference, and powerlessness and powerfulness do not consist of binary concepts. Rather, they can be seen as extremes on two continuums to recognize that advertising can possess both dimensions simultaneously and fall into any of the four quadrants of the matrix.

<< Insert Figure 1 about here >>

Sameness and Powerlessness

The concept of sameness highlights the homogeneity of women in advertisements in terms of their physical attributes as well as their behaviors and lifestyles. North American lingerie retailer Victoria's Secret uses this approach extensively in their Angel campaigns. The Angels represent the Western ideal of beauty; not the average woman but rather the woman the average woman wants to be. She is not only physically stunning but has the undivided attention of the opposite sex. The Victoria's Secret Angels are an example of sameness. Aside from a few variations in hair and skin color, the models are interchangeable thanks to careful casting and digital enhancements. Emphasis on physical perfection, carnality, and sameness speaks to a longstanding cultural association of women with the body – as opposed the more “masculine” mind – and their relegation to the realm of nature rather than culture (Stevens and Maclaren

2007). Such binary thinking has “served to negate the feminine and locate women outside the realm of the subject” (Budgeon 2003, 37).

This example showcases advertisers’ attempts to sell products by appealing to a common view of womanhood at their disposal: The token beautiful woman. The beautiful woman exists in tandem with numerous other cultural tropes (e.g., the busy working mom, the prom queen) that (1) portray an ideal for women to aspire to; and (2) suggest that women whose lives do not reflect this ideal are deviants. Paradoxically, showing women the life they want but cannot have is generally known to be a common and successful advertising strategy. It is gender biased in that it works within a framework that belittles women in an effort to earn their patronage.

Despite their cultural prestige, the Angels are also an excellent example of powerlessness in that they are presented as objects for consumers to gaze upon. Because they exemplify an unachievable ideal, they are subject to great curiosity. The media discourse surrounding the Angels focuses largely on their bodies and how they achieve their immaculate physiques. The women themselves are largely left out of the conversation. Here powerlessness is manifested as objectification, but powerlessness can take many forms in advertising. Powerlessness suggests that women are more bystander than protagonist (Miller 1992). While some powerlessness can be subtle, as in when a woman’s gaze is directed away from the camera, showing removal from the social situation (Goffman 1979), in the most extreme examples of powerlessness, women cannot demonstrate power because they are victims of violence. Such portrayals reinforce the idea that women experience sexual pleasure from physical abuse or other forms of gender-based violence. This approach has the potential to increase aggression towards women,

normalize such aggression, and expose viewers to material they may find distressing (Capella et al. 2010).

Difference and Powerfulness

Advertisements demonstrating difference show a world that is racially, culturally, and sexually diverse. It shows a world where women may or may not have children, a job, a significant other, or all three. In contrast to Victoria's Secret's tactics the Aerie Real campaign from lingerie retailer Aerie that features unedited images of women of all shapes and sizes who would not be welcome at a Victoria's Secret casting call. Aside from not being rail-thin, these women have soft rolls of skin, tattoos, birthmarks, stretch marks, freckles, and creases. These "imperfections" that, for the sake of sameness would normally be Photoshopped out, were left in these advertisements to demonstrate that the models' beauty is natural. The Angels' unattainable beauty is much different from the more attainable standard set by the Aerie Real models. In addition, Aerie also has adopted a difference-focused approach for all their marketing materials.

It may seem incongruous to suggest that lingerie models can be powerful – after all, they are barely clothed, which would suggest objectification – but compared to the Angels the "real" models of the Aerie Real campaign exude power. The ambience of the photographs suggests that the models are comfortable, that they are letting the camera into their worlds. They are wearing underwear but the staging of the photos suggests that the scenes are not sexual, that they might soon get dressed for a normal day. In contrast to the Angels, who seem incredibly posed, this is powerful. A turn away from physical perfection and sameness speaks to a breaking down of the cultural association of women with the body – as opposed the more

“masculine” mind – and their relegation to the realm of nature rather than culture. In this style of advertising, women are more than their bodies or, in Budgeon’s (2003) view, subjects rather than objects.

Instrumental and Ethical Perspectives of Advertising

These portrayals of women – sameness/difference and powerlessness/powerfulness – are often dominated by negative portrayals. While the assessment here is largely that advertisements like the ones coming from Aerie are superior to those from Victoria’s Secret, there are clear reasons why they currently coexist in the marketplace. When it comes to making judgments on which characterizations should be employed and why, there are two broad and competing perspectives. Each perspective has a different view of ethics and stakeholder management in advertising. However, the manner in which each perspective views the marketing concept and its operationalization differs greatly. The instrumental view would champion the Angels, while the ethical view would support Aerie. This is not to suggest that there is a clear division in the advertising world between these two perspectives, but the division is such that a delineation of their perspectives and arguments is necessary to reach common ground and move forward in a way that appeases both an instrumental and ethical standpoint.

The Instrumental Perspective

The instrumental perspective, which emphasizes the economic functions of advertising, sees advertisements primarily as a means of generating profit. An instrumentalist would, in general, support nearly any advertisement as long as it achieves its objectives without breaking the law.

From this perspective consumers are stakeholders only insofar as they are the target of the advertising message. Advertising is seen merely as an institution responsible for sharing market information (Carey 1960) or as “the institution of abundance” (Potter 2009) charged with helping society achieve material prosperity (Sandage and Leckenby 1980, 30). A third view suggests advertising is meant to educate consumers so they can make choices that are in their best interest (Sandage 1972). These views tend to understand advertising as largely a one-sided conversation with consumers. Consumers are not asked whether the advertising efforts in question are good for them or, more broadly, ethical (Pollay 1986).

An instrumentalist would suggest that advertising holds up a picture of “the good life” for consumers to strive toward through their consumption habits (Pollay 1986). The good life in the context of women in advertising consists of the idealized versions of women’s bodies, lifestyles, and behaviors. In employing these concepts, “advertising is seen as a mirror that only reflects and exposes existing cultural values and behaviors” (Pollay 1986, 910). Therefore, to find fault with advertising is to reveal “cultural alienation” (Pollay 1986). Instrumentalists would argue that achieving this idealized life is in the consumer’s best interest. In other words, women should want to have this good life, and any negative effect of the advertising materials is either ignored or justified for the sake of profits.

This instrumentalist position is common in advertising practice. Drumwright and Murphy (2004) noted that in the advertising industry there is a sense of *moral myopia*, wherein moral vision is distorted and *moral muteness* wherein practitioners rarely discuss ethical issues. Moral myopia and muteness can partially be attributed to the informants’ faith in consumers as

advertisers conveyed strong belief that consumers are smart and will not be fooled by unethical advertising (Drumwright and Murphy 2004). Yet this is a weak rationalization as Drumwright and Murphy (2004, 11) note: “It seems somewhat surprising that people whose professional *raison d’être* is to create advertising that works would simultaneously assert the powerlessness of their endeavors.” As a result, the instrumentalist will often pass the buck, noting that the responsibility for action rests with the consumer and that advertising is not the sole influence on their behavior (Drumwright and Murphy 2004). The danger is that moral myopia or muteness can be institutionalized in workplace or industry, and when this happens it can be hard to take an alternate stance. In this way, an instrumentalist view can be adopted intentionally or reluctantly.

The instrumentalist strategy is not as universally popular as its advocates would like to think. For example, Victoria’s Secret released a campaign for its “Perfect Body” line of products in 2014. The slogan, which refers to the company’s “Body” lingerie line, appeared across a row of seductively posed Angels. However, the commercial aspirations of the slogan are lost in its larger social meaning. The “perfect body” is taken to be one on display. The use of the singular is intentional here: the models are conveniently standing in a row, making it easy to determine that they are all generally the same size and shape.

Critics and consumers were outraged by the campaign, which is said to be presenting unrealistic and homogenous standards of beauty to customers. A petition that garnered 26,000 supporters urged Victoria’s Secret to apologize and terminate the campaign. The company has not formally apologized but it has replaced the slogan on its website with: “A Body for Every

Body” (Peterson 2014). That none of the photographs associated with the campaign have been removed sends a clear message that the Angels are here to stay; that Victoria’s Secret is confident it will remain profitable even if 26,000 people are unhappy with the firm.

The Ethical View

Those who adopt an ethical view of advertising worry about what effect the of advertising could have on consumers, since its materials are persuasive, repetitive, professionally developed, and “delivered to an audience that is increasingly detached from traditional sources of cultural influence like families, churches, or schools” (Pollay 1986, 899). While ultimately still seeking profits, ethical advertising is concerned about the role of advertising in society and mitigating any damage that may come from advertisements (Polonsky and Hyman 2007). Therefore, all stakeholders are important. Polonsky and Hyman (2007, 5) assert that “firms must achieve appropriate profits while doing what society perceives is morally fair.” In this sense, society can be seen as a reflection of advertising and the instrumental view’s mirror argument misses three key points, namely: “(1) any culture is a mosaic of multiple values, (2) a culture is characterized in substantial manner by the relative importance of these values, and (3) not all cultural values are employed and echoed in advertising” (Pollay 1986, 910). An ethical view of marketing can be used to examine the appropriateness of different cultural values represented in advertising.

There are different and overlapping views of how to practice ethical marketing. Siems, Bruton and Moosmayer (2010), for example, emphasize the importance of truth, freedom, well-being, and justice. Perret and Holmlund (2013, 747) are more specific, advocating for, among other

things, marketing to “put the human being first,” and build relationships on a dialogue of transparency and mutual understanding. In general, it is to be assumed that ethical marketing does not harm consumers in any way, fosters an open dialogue about marketing practices, and ensures that the firm is held responsible for its marketing actions.

Reconciling the Instrumental and Ethical Views

Ethical advertising supports the proliferation of images demonstrating, among others, the characterizations of difference and powerfulness. Aside from showing a wide variety of body types, advertisers must depict a wide range of behaviors and lifestyles in order to support women. Effectively selling to women from an ethical perspective means embracing the changing landscape of modern social, political, and economic realms, as Aerie has accomplished with its representations of “different” and “powerful” bodies. This company has shown that it understands the difficulty women encounter when they measure themselves against the Angels’ perfection, and that such difficulty is not a mandatory part of being a consumer.

Stern (2000) has asked advertisers to express the female experience authentically in all of its varieties. Women simply want to see themselves represented in advertising materials (Barry 2013). Specifically, “[I]f a brand sells sizes 2 to 14 and the age of their target consumer is 18 to 35, the models should reflect the same size and age ranges. These consumers yearn for advertisements that will allow them to imagine genuinely how products will suit them and to feel empowered by their brands” (Barry 2013, 3-4). In this way, advertising can have a positive effect on a consumer’s mindset and identity if employed strategically and thoughtfully.

Advertising’s portrait of “the good life” can be the life a consumer already has.

As discussed, appearance is just one facet of a woman's identity. Stern (2000) asks advertisers to make their work a forum for women's voices. For example, a liberal feminist argument is that as more women participate in the workforce and in positions of leadership, people will be less surprised when women excel in behaviors once seen as masculine, such as competitiveness and assertiveness. It is up to advertising to reflect and normalize these societal changes not only as a service to women who want to see their experiences reflected in advertising, but as a means of normalizing the evolution of these experiences (Stern 2000).

Practically speaking, it is challenging to group these experiences together as they become more diverse and individualistic. As such, marketers' target markets are naturally smaller groups of the overall female population (Espeseth 2013). Peñaloza (2000, 41) writes: "Woman-ness is not as simple as it used to be. Generalizing about women's experience is only possible after thinking through intersections of gender, class and color." Certain aspects of a woman's identity change with context and need; women are multidimensional, so marketers must understand these many contexts and needs when they are seeking women's capital (Darroch 2014). These identities can be small (e.g., liking the color blue) or very large and over-arching (e.g., associating with a particular ethnic group). Many women adopt more than one big-picture identity; it is possible to identify equally as a feminist and a black woman and a lesbian (Peñaloza 2000). Advertisers must also show positive female role models (Stern 2000), meaning women who take action in a given context.

Discussion

Advertisers must be careful not to employ feminism or feminist ideas as a token gesture to consumers. Goldman and colleagues (1991) lament businesses' appropriation of popular social movements for financial gain. References to and uses of feminism in the mainstream media cause the authors to note the ways in which the ideas and icons had been de-politicized and offered to consumers in commodified formats, such as advertising (Goldman, Heath and Smith 1991). Consumers and media are quick to identify and critique this strategy. For example, McIntyre (2014) points out that the use of vaguely feminist slogans in Chanel's Paris Fashion Week show in 2014 contrasted oddly with head designer Karl Lagerfeld's defending the lack of diversity on Chanel catwalks with the statement "No one wants to see curvy women." Even Nike's believable brand of the strong, powerful, athletic woman seems incongruent with the firm's reliance on the many women and children working in their overseas sweatshops (McIntyre 2014). Moreover, Unilever has been criticized for the mismatch between its pro-women Dove campaigns and heavily stereotyped Axe Body Spray advertisements that promote opposing understandings of female consumers (Wells 2007).

If feminist ideals are to be employed, such perspectives and a respect for consumers' well being must be woven into the fabric of a company. Companies must ensure all forms of communication provide the same messaging, lest they face disdain from those who perceive such communication as disingenuous. Avoiding the kind of token gestures mentioned above is possible when employees have strong "moral imaginations" (Laczniak and Murphy 2006) and a firm's chosen organizational norms and codes have been internalized across a workplace (i.e., fully integrated into decision-makers' knowledge structures; Valentine 2009).

Numerous conceptual frameworks exist to guide advertisers in shaping ethical advertisements. Firms considering the ethical dimensions of a decision or practice can situate them within such tools in order to better guide the advertising process. Broadly speaking, ethical theories fit into two main classes: teleological ethics and deontological ethics (Hartman 2005). These philosophical perspectives highlight different normative ethical positions individuals can use to judge the “rightness” or “wrongness” of an action. In this respect, ethical decisions are evaluative processes (Hunt and Vitell 2006).

Teleological ethical positions as examining the moral rightness of actions depending on the consequences of those actions (Hartman 2005). The concern is creating the greatest benefit to the greatest number of people (Casali 2011). This perspective could be useful in cases where an image could be justifiably published if its use would be considered harmful in one context but not another. Similarly, images that may appear unethical at face value may actually have value in an advertising campaign. For example, sexuality in advertising can be useful when sexuality is related to the product, justifying its use on the grounds that consumers who respond to sexual appeals find the products advertised in this way more appealing (Gould 1994).

Alternatively, deontological ethical positions equate the moral rightness of actions with an adherence to rules (Hartman 2005). The concern is therefore independent of the consequences of those actions – the end does not justify the means (Casali 2011). This imperative implies that advertisers be held responsible for their intent, thereby eliminating the ability for advertisers to feign ignorance when managing criticism. Such a perspective would be unsympathetic to the “rightness” of an image being context-dependent or useful to some viewers. While they may be

no “correct” answer for ethical challenges, these perspectives are useful for framing discussions of representations of women in advertising.

Profit and Portrayals of Women

The instrumental point of view is not inconsistent with ethical advertising, so long as the ethical approach has a positive influence on profitability. The case of the Aerie Real campaign continues to prove useful to this gender-based analysis of advertising, not only because of its positive depictions of women, but because it has been profitable. The Aerie Real approach saw Aerie increase sales by 9 per cent in a single quarter, drawing attention to the American Eagle brand, which had been suffering in recent years (Masaryk 2014). Specifically, Aerie’s renewed profitability is an indicator that the movement started by personal care brand Dove in 2004 (see Johnston and Taylor 2008) is not only alive and well, but replicable.

It is possible in fact that the objectification of women through sameness/powerless ads may negatively affect brands. Barry (2013, 4) writes that marketers could actually sacrifice profits by using “idealized” models in part because consumers “have discovered the secrets – be it excessive diets or airbrushing – required to reach idealized beauty from media and their years of advertising experience.” This assertion is consistent with findings from Beetles and Harris (2005) that consumers are concerned about advertisers’ intentions – particularly when it comes to unnecessary nudity or sexual displays in advertising content. The authors urge marketing managers to redefine sex appeal in advertising by moving beyond what is traditionally provocative. These findings may indicate a sea change in consumer attitudes led by the aspirations of younger generations. Brennan (2013) writes that today’s young adults

believe they can change the world, so when it comes to advertisements and the products they represent, they are looking for something inspiring rather than something passive or suppressing.

The instrumental view can be reconciled with the ethical view and, as consumers grow more discerning of advertisers' tactics, this reconciliation will be imperative. As Aerie has shown, choosing difference and powerfulness as a strategy can bring financial returns. In weaving positive portrayals of women throughout its marketing materials and overhauling these materials to be more welcoming to women of all shapes and sizes, Aerie is setting a standard that can – as its principles are transported through cultural systems (McCracken 1986) – change the way consumers understand the female body and what it represents. The female body need not be relegated to a subordinated position, representing “nature” alone. Indeed, in the months and years to come, Victoria's Secret and its peers who rely on the tool of homogenizing and objectifying women to generate returns may find this strategy unviable. After all, the 26,000 signatures on a petition against Victoria's Secret's instrumentalist practices in its Perfect Body campaign is not a quiet protest. It is a sign that modern consumers know advertisers can offer them more realistic and relatable portrayals of women, and will not accept anything less.

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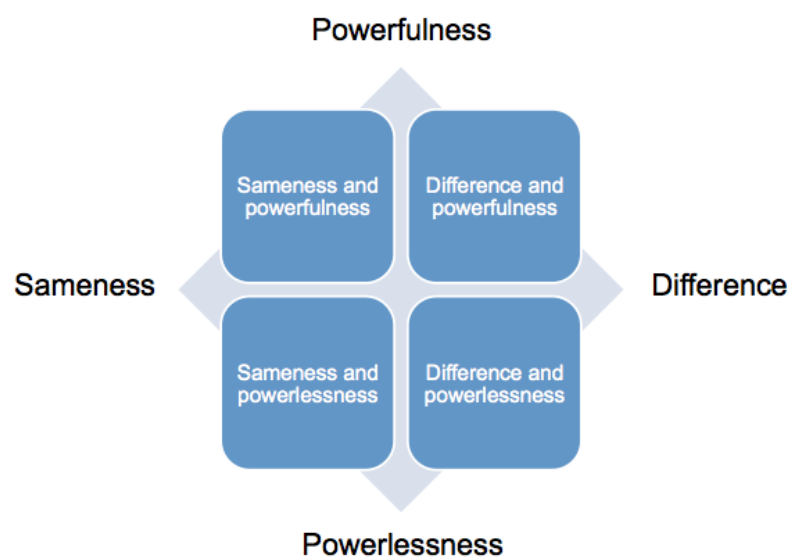
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Figure 1: Portrayals of Women in Advertising



Conflict and Constructive Engagement II

A New Brand of Citizenship? Cuban Economic Reforms, Marketing and Consumers

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Where is the Cuban market headed, and what are the implications for marketing and consumer behavior? For over 50 years, Cuban political and social ideology has emphasized collective goals amidst a globalizing world focused on consumption. As a result, marketing, as practiced in capitalist societies, is widely perceived as having little relevance to modern day Cuba. The Cuban regime limited the use of advertising to the social sphere, constrained international commercial exchanges, and thereby restricted Cuban people's access to a diversity of consumer products. Thus, Cuba seems the antithesis of a consumer society as we think about the evolution of most other places around the world. However, by opening significant swaths of the Cuban economy to individual entrepreneurs, private firms and to cooperatives, economic reforms in Cuba are challenging the historically dominant command economy and opening the way to previously unheard of marketing and consumption related activities. Market-oriented reforms inevitably shape the way in which consumers interact with the market and the nature of consumer behavior. These shifting market dynamics are accompanied by broader social changes that are in tension with, and perhaps contradict, prevailing socialist ideals, and in particular are fueling growing levels of inequality. As the systems which guide consumption opportunities and

patterns change, so too will “what it means to be a consumer” in Cuba, as markets play a driving role in the evolution of new brands of cultural, social and ideological citizenship.

In this presentation, we will discuss the relationship between structural and ideological influences on the evolving market and the ways people live their daily lives. We use as a starting point, the Lineamientos, an agenda of reforms announced in 2006 to guide the “updating” of the Cuban central planning model. These guidelines, which have been implemented to varying degrees, provide a foundation on which to consider the evolution of markets and consumers. We analyze these guidelines and the current state of implementation to identify the types of markets that are likely to be created or should be created. We link these markets changes to related structures and practices which influence the way in which people interact with various social, economic and cultural systems in society. We also consider how these dynamics challenge the egalitarian ideals fostered by more than a half century of socialism by identifying social groups that are best positioned to take advantage of these changes. Our analysis highlights important tensions and conflict between economic growth and productivity, on the one hand, and social equity and cohesion on the other. These tensions inevitably challenge core features of national identity and state ideology and transform how marketing and consumption are evolving on the island.

The Building of a Temple: Constructive Engagement in a divided Community

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John Sherry, University of Notre Dame, USA

'Our desire was to involve a cross-community workforce in making something beautiful that means something to everybody.' David Best.

Derry-Londonderry is no stranger to the concept of burning, with bonfires very much a part of both loyalist and nationalist sectarian traditions. Spaces never considered to be shared never become shared and so the decision made at the start of the Temple project was to try and overturn that by reopening areas considered as 'no go'. In March 2015, creative producers Artichoke brought Burning Man artist David Best to the city of Derry-Londonderry. Together with volunteers from across the community (loyalist and nationalist) a shared structure was built that measured 72ft high before it was ceremonially burnt (see Figure, below). The burning of the Temple turned traditional associations with bonfire burning in Northern Ireland on its head. The Temple belonged to everyone: from the Kickstarter donors around the world who supported the project to the many people across Derry-Londonderry who helped build the structure and every single visitor who experienced it. It was the result of over two years of hard work and dedication from many people across the city and beyond.

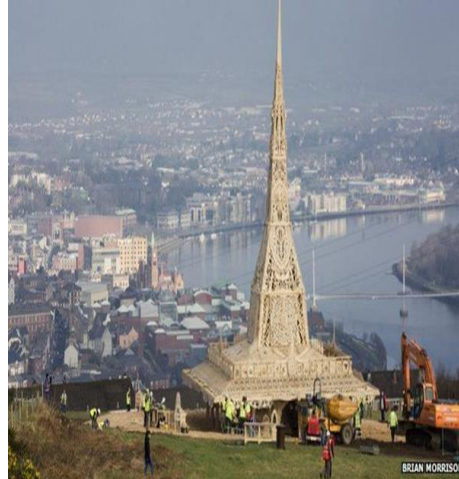


Figure: Temple in Derry-Londonderry

The Temple afforded an opportunity for Derry-Londonderry's highly divided community (a legacy of the 30 years conflict, the 'Troubles') to share in non-traditional concepts of burning; inclusivity, peace and letting go of the past. Through collaborative engagement a neutral space was created in a highly contested site close to a republican estate in the city. Everyone was invited to leave a memory behind, let go of the past and look to the future. Up to 60,000 people visited over the seven days it was open to the public, covering the inside of the structure and its pillar with personal messages. The vision of Temple was that the combined experiences of these stories, and the thousands of hours that local volunteers put into building it, would create a moving space for thought, reflection and contemplation. The objective of the project: bringing together creativity, community and real learning.

Conflicts in Donation Systems – the Case of the “Tafeln” in Germany

Doreén Pick, Freie Universität Berlin, Germany

Michaela Haase, Freie Universität Berlin, Germany

Non-profit organizations (NPOs) are powerful social actors and market makers. In our research, we focus on a particular type of NPO that creates markets for particular types of goods – goods that are not sold but distributed by non-monetary mechanisms. As we will argue, NPOs connect different kinds of actors on these markets. As other social actors, NPOs depend on resources – viz. donations in form of tangible goods, voluntary help, and money. The “Tafeln” (in English, “tafel” equals to “dining table” or “meal”) in Germany, for example, collect food that has not been sold by bakeries or supermarkets or is donated by private persons and transfer it to demanding organizations, often local parishes, who distribute it.

The donation system is built on several preconditions. We would like to highlight two of them: One, the donators’ belief in the fundamental congruence of their ends and those of the NPO to which they donate; second, the donators’ belief that the majority of their funds is used in a way that harmonizes with their ends. With every donation, people often target to support specific goals and specific groups of people. However, very often donators do not have complete control over what the NPO will do with their donations. Thus, donations might be distributed in a way that conflicts with the ends of the donators or violates their values. It is not necessarily the case that the NPO misuses resources; usually, they face alternative options and have to choose among them. Our research is not interested in the conflicts that occur for this reason. Instead, we focus

on conflicts occur after decisions have been made in favor of one option. In the case of our example, the distribution of donations by the Tafeln in some German cities, conflicts emerged from a change in the action conditions, leading to a shortage of resources that required or seems to require a change in the available distribution of donated goods.

Recently, the Dachauer Tafel in Dachau (Bavaria), came under media pressure for a decision already made in 2013 (that is, before the high increase in refugee numbers took place in Germany) that donated food should not be given to refugees or asylum seekers because of the monetary transfers they receive on the basis of a German law, the “Asylbewerberleistungsgesetz.” According to the “Asylbewerberleistungsgesetz,” the same amount of money is transferred to asylum seekers as to long-term jobless people (“Hartz IV” receivers). The true reason for the Dachauer Tafel’s policy was explained by a local chairman of the Bayerisches Rotes Kreuz BRK (Bavarian Red Cross) that controls the Dachauer Tafel: “Asylum seekers are required to learn to become good with money” and “to get as much food as one wants for one Euro runs counter to this end” (Süddeutsche Zeitung 2015). Notice the paternalistic tone in the chairman’s argumentation. As being controlled by the BRK, the situation of the Dachauer Tafel differs in part from that of other Tafeln that we include in our research as well.

The particular situation of the Dachauer Tafel notwithstanding, other Bavarian “Tafeln” found themselves as well in a situation of conflict in times of increasing numbers of refugees waiting in the line for food. They report different solutions to these conflicts such as reducing the amount of food for all (this happened in Arzberg, a small Bavarian city) or delivering food directly to the refugees’ camps to avoid conflicts between their established “clients” and the refugees (see

Süddeutsche Zeitung 2015). Generally speaking, in case of an increasing number of potential receivers of donated food and clothes, a kind of rivalry among the receivers can emerge. Thus, the question arises what is a fair distribution of donations across different groups of people and what part do play or should play the relationships between the Tafeln and what they may consider their regular clients (homeless people). In Coburg (also a Bavarian city), for example, homeless people come less often for service since the number of refugees has increased at the point of service (Süddeutsche Zeitung 2015).

Against the backdrop of this recent conflict echoed in the traditional and social media, we plan to analyze its basic structure with respect to the particular market for donations initiated and organized by the Tafeln. We are interested in the Tafeln and the demanding organizations's understanding and assessment of the above-sketched conflicts in terms of justice, in particular if there are or should be involved the values of fairness (or justice) and equity in the design and carrying out of their value-creation processes. However, an analysis that includes the NPO and their main or potential clients as addressed above would fall short. Because of the dependence of the NPO from private or public funding (or a mixture of both), the NPO is well-advised to neglect not the values of one important stakeholder group—the donators. Thus, “donation inequity” might emerge as people perceive an “unsuitable” distribution of their donations to groups which are perceived to be less in need than members of other groups. Such donators might decide against future donations of money or other items such as food or clothes. Thus, NPOs need to understand how people perceive the distribution of donations. More, for NPOs it is a challenge to balance the interests of donators, volunteers (providing time to distribute donations), demanding organizations and the general idea of helping people as their founding mission.

Drawing on equity theory (Adams 1963, 1965) and Sen's (2009) theory of justice we are interested in the comparison and assessment of results of social exchange processes or social realizations (less homeless people than before came to the food banks after the number of refugees increased), respectively the NPOs, the demanding organizations, the donators, and the public. The following questions guide our research:

What perspectives are given in the distribution of donations – do individuals have a mental ranking which persons should benefit first from donations? How perspectives on justice and equity differ eventually across donators, volunteers, people in need and observers (the public)? What conflicts might arise between refugees and homeless people in need asking for the help of at, e.g., food banks? What consequences for donators and volunteers might result from such distribution and donation conflicts? What rules of equity NPOs might need to be set and what do people suggest how to deal with the situation?

To collect data, we draw on the content analysis of text in form of national and local newspapers on this topic, starting with the press article in October 2015 (Süddeutsche 2015) where the type of conflict became public. In addition, we review reader posts with their affective and cognitive comments and recommendations for dealing with donation conflicts. Beginning in Spring 2016, we conduct interviews with representatives of the main actors groups introduced above.

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Conflict and Constructive Engagement in the Wake of Natural Disasters

Stacey Menzel Baker, Creighton University, USA

Natural disasters are ubiquitous and inevitable. How we manage them – what resources we allocate, how we allocate them, and what institutions and players must be mobilized and coordinated to engage the myriad challenges of recovery – is often steeped in conflict and dysfunction, ultimately at great cost to marketing systems and the well-being of people who reside in them or have stakes in them.

Conflicts in devastated communities and systems can arise in many forms. For example, conflict can emerge among individual people who seek and possibly fight over scarce resources of food, water, shelter and medical care. Conflicts can emerge among companies, NGOs and governments as aid is offered and administered (or not). Conflicts can emerge between/among individuals and the aforementioned institutions, again as aid is offered and administered (or not).

The purpose of this presentation is to introduce the dynamics of some of the preceding conflicts and to explore ways individuals, NGOs, private-sector organizations and governments can constructively engage and cooperate, and thus eliminate or mitigate conflict, and enhance community/system recovery and societal well-being. Findings from various case-studies will be shared to reveal particularly troublesome or insidious forms of conflict, but also to suggest best practices to eliminate or reduce conflict and to expedite disaster-recovery and community wellness. Directions and opportunities for future research will be discussed.

Panel V: Marketing and Policy

Session Chair:

Ann-Marie Kennedy, Auckland University of Technology, New Zealand

Panelists:

Stanley J. Shapiro, Simon Fraser University - Parallel Political Marketplaces

Michaela Haase, Freie Universität Berlin – Marketing Policy for Alternative Economies

Gene Laczniak, Marquette University – The Myth of Consumer Privacy

Mark Peterson, University of Wyoming – Sustainable Marketing and Policy Issues

Nuclear Energy Stakeholder Conflict: The Roles of Emotion, Knowledge, and Respect

Maureen Bourassa, University of Saskatchewan, Canada

Loleen Berdahl, University of Saskatchewan, Canada

Laura Hopkins, University of Saskatchewan, Canada

Scott Bell, University of Saskatchewan, Canada

Jana Fried, Coventry University, UK

The issue of conflict within macromarketing is not only a concern of developing countries, but is also faced by developed countries that confront “wicked problem” which “involve high and divergent societal stakes and (scientific) uncertainties” (Cuppen 2012, p. 24). In these cases, diverse stakeholders must dialogue to achieve constructive decision-making. Risk is a key characteristic, and typically gives way to two important stakeholder groups: opponents and supporters. The literature on risk perception reveals a tendency to characterize opponents of risky propositions as ‘emotional’ and supporters as ‘rational’ (Fahlquist and Roeser 2015).

We suggest that the dichotomization of emotion and rational knowledge is a source of tension impeding successful stakeholder engagement; we propose a lens of respect would facilitate engagement between these two groups. Respect is regarding a relationship partner to be valuable and to have inherent worth (Grover 2013). It also implies relationship partners view each other not as fragmented individuals, but as whole persons with multiple ways of knowing and learning, including both cognition (knowledge) and affect (emotion) (Yorks and Kasl 2002). We aim to understand the roles of knowledge, emotion, and respect in stakeholder engagement.

Although we situate our research within a nuclear energy debate, our findings may have relevance across a range of wicked problems (e.g., climate change, food and water security).

We conducted a qualitative research study using in-depth interviews to explore stakeholders' perspectives within the nuclear sector, interviewing industry insiders, community members, and individuals from community organizations – avid supporters and fervent opponents – in Saskatchewan, Canada in 2014 (n=31). The divisiveness of nuclear energy is a frequent subject in the interviews, from both proponents and opponents.

The participants touted knowledge as a way to achieve successful engagement. They described encountering people who are either against the sector or on the fence, and through discussion and question and answer, were often able to shift perceptions to be more nuclear-friendly. They pointed out the need for common sense and simple but informative education as key to shifting the tide of public opinion in favor of nuclear.

The theme of emotions was, as expected, predominantly the domain of opponents. Participants described fear as the most significant barrier to further development of the nuclear industry in their area. For the most part, these participants described feelings of fear in the general public as being related closely to safety, and perceptions of whether or not the industry operates safely.

Participants frequently described the spotted history of the nuclear industry – nuclear proliferation, weapons of mass destruction, Chernobyl, Fukushima – and framed these as reasons why some members of the public do not support the nuclear industry. As explained by one participant: “Now some people no matter what the information is will not support it. And you know they feel passionately about it. And what motivates them is generally not issues of fact or technical information. It's emotion. They're afraid – they think it's dangerous” (Interview 16).

The interview data reveal a dichotomization of knowledge and emotion. In describing the emotional states of vocal opponents, proponents argued that the strength of fears about the industry prevented many from engaging in rational discourse. One participant described an encounter with a member of the public: “I was very frustrated, because I was talking rationally but he was talking emotionally. And eventually I had to just back off, and end it...And so I felt very frustrated because, I’m giving you the facts. I’m not attaching emotion” (Interview 20).

Research demonstrates that respect eliminates anger and aggression while supporting mutual understanding and collaboration (Miller 2001). Given this, we propose a lens of respect might enable successful engagement between supporters and opponents of wicked/controversial problems. Respect requires “full recognition as a person” (Cremer and Mulder 2007, p. 440) and – from a whole person perspective – requires that we account for cognitive and affective aspects of people in interactions with them. The rhetoric that emerged in our data indicate a fragmented view of stakeholders: of supporters as rational (cognitive) and opponents as emotional (affective). This reflects what we found in the risk perception literature. To be sure, we are not suggesting that such stakeholders are intentionally disrespectful. However, if stakeholders perceive such labelling as disrespectful, this may pose a barrier to successful engagement.

Our analysis supports what we learned from the literature: that opponents are framed as emotional and supporters as rational. In order to achieve successful and mutually beneficial engagement, we draw on respect theory to suggest that purposefully fostering respect is critically important. Specifically, it is essential for all stakeholders to adopt a whole person perspective and to explicitly acknowledge both the cognitive and affective aspects of each stakeholder.

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Managing Conflict in Fragile Marketing Systems to Ensure Sustainability: The Case of Indonesia's Multi-Stakeholder Palm Oil Industry

Christopher Eldridge, Independent Scholar, Thailand and UK

An important UK government document stated in its introduction that 'Influencing behaviour is central to public policy.' ... Therefore, civil servants need to better understand the behavioural dimension of their policies and actions.'

Influencing behavior is in fact central to the work of all three sectors. While this has been explicitly recognised in the private sector for almost 200 years, particularly (though not only) in marketing, it only began to be appreciated to a significant extent by those working in the public and third sectors in the early 1970s; the document referred to above ('MINDSPACE') was only published in 2010.

As this insight has become more widely accepted, so the number of 'behavior-influence' approaches has grown, alongside the number of issues to which these approaches have been applied. They are now used, to varying extents, to address a variety of health, environmental, financial and social issues. However, they do not appear to have been applied to any significant extent to address conflict, at least not in any macro-systematic way.

The potential usefulness of a broad 'behavior-influence' approach to certain kinds of conflict is illustrated by the issue of the production of palm oil in Indonesia, its largest producer. The

world's appetite for palm oil has led to massive deforestation and turned the country into one of the world's largest emitters of greenhouse gases. In particular, it has involved the designation of 60% of the country's land as "state forest zone," legally erasing the rights of some 60 million indigenous people and other communities who have long called those lands home. This allows companies to clear natural forests and establish industrial plantations that destroy the natural environment and threaten, or altogether displace, the communities that have been managing the land sustainably. Indonesia expects to almost double the production of palm oil by the end of 2030.

However, because palm oil is extensively used in the food industry, and due to the global nature of demand for palm oil, this problem can't be addressed in the same way that the unsustainable use of more salient minerals and crops (such as 'blood diamonds') can be. A more systematic approach is needed to influence the behaviors of the many stakeholders involved. This presentation outlines some elements of such an approach; they link with a macromarketing perspective.

Predicting Involuntary Deviance: A Structural Strain Theory Perspective to Examine Conflict within the Marijuana Industry

Stephanie Geiger Oneto, University of Wyoming, USA
Travis Simkins, University of Wyoming, USA

Marijuana has been outlawed at the federal level since the Marihuana Tax Act of 1937. However, as of 2015, the use of medicinal marijuana has been legalized in 23 states and the District of Columbia, while recreational marijuana has been legalized by 4 states and the District of Columbia. Furthermore, over the next few years, recreational marijuana could be legalized in a dozen more states (Frohlich and Sauter 2015). While both the arguments for (Englesman 2003; Wodak et al. 2002; Limb 2012) and against (Caulkins et al. 2014; Wilson 1991) the legalization of marijuana are well-documented, the arguments for legalization are appearing to hold sway.

Those supporting the legalization of marijuana reference the vast social and economic costs of enforcing current marijuana laws. By legalizing marijuana use, costs associated with law enforcement and the criminal justice system will be greatly reduced (newyorktimes.com 2014). According to the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) (2012) marijuana possession accounted for 658,000 arrests as compared to 256,000 arrests for cocaine, heroin and their derivatives (Poindexter 2014). Marijuana possessions cost, on average, more than \$3.6 billion per year in addition to the hundreds of man-hours spent by police officers arresting and booking suspects (newyorktimes.com 2014). In addition, suspects often spend a night or more in the local jail, and make several court appearances to resolve the case. The ripple effects of an arrest

can also go well beyond having to appear in court: “the hundreds of thousands of people who are arrested each year but do not go to jail also suffer; their arrests stay on their records for years, crippling their prospects for jobs, loans, housing and benefits” (Poindexter 2014).

Colorado was the first state to legalize recreational marijuana in 2012 and serves as a case study for other states considering similar legislation (Sherry 2014). Data emerging from Colorado appears to support the arguments above. For example, arrests in Colorado for the possession, cultivation, and distribution of marijuana fell from 39,027 in 2011 to 2,036 cases in 2014 (95% decrease) (Ingram 2015).

However, the illegal status of marijuana at the federal law makes many vital business activities nearly impossible for the marijuana industry to engage in. Because of the conflict between state and federal laws marijuana businesses have limited, if any, access to checking accounts, savings accounts, electronic money transfers, loans, and credit card processing because banks fear possible prosecution for aiding and abetting illegal drug dealers. Furthermore, without access to banking services, marijuana businesses are compelled to deal strictly in cash, “held in safes, handed out in clipped bundles on payday, carried in brown paper bags and cardboard boxes to the tax office and the utility companies, and ferried around the state by armored vehicles and armed guards” (Richtel 2015). Consequently, these businesses and individuals participate in what we term “involuntary deviance”, or the forced engagement in often illicit and/or illegal activities to maintain standard business operations.

In short, this market and its associated systems are fraught with conflict. Conflicting policy and regulatory structures have transitioned the marijuana industry into a legitimate economy and market, yet force individuals to participate in “involuntary deviance” in order to survive. Conflict obviously exists between state and federal governments. Conflict flourishes within supporting businesses and industries. There is conflict between states that have and states that have not legalized marijuana, and conflict is evident within individuals and businesses struggling to conform to existing norms and regulations yet endeavor to participate fully within the marketplace. Utilizing structural anomie theory, the purpose of this study is to investigate “involuntary deviance” as well as the causes of, and possible market(ing) and policy solutions to this interesting social conflict that is affecting markets, marketing, society and marketing systems.

An appropriate lens in which to examine this phenomenon is structural strain theory (Merton 1938). According to this theory, structural strain occurs when an individual or institution experiences conflict arising from the blocking of legitimate methods of achieving desired goals. Institutional norms “lose their legitimacy and regulatory power” when people have difficulty achieving their goals legally (Cullen and Messner 2007). From a Macromarketing perspective it is important to note that strain is not an individual level or psychological phenomenon but rather a structural reality produced by differential access to legitimate opportunities across society. In conjunction, this theory proposes a number of adaptations that can occur in response to social systems that have anomie and/or blocked opportunities. Conformity is “the most common and widely diffused adaptation and refers to acceptance of both cultural goals, and institutional means to achieve them” (Merton, 1957, 141). In contrast, innovation describes the

individual who has assimilated the cultural emphasis upon the superordinate goal without internalizing the institutional norms governing ways and means for its attainment (Merton 1957). In other words, “innovators” are those who break the rules (and often the laws) to achieve the success goals promoted in the society. In this context, the legalizing of marijuana may have reduced criminal behavior at an individual level (consumer) but creates or fosters criminal/deviant behavior at an organizational level.

In order to better understand this phenomena, we conducted several in-depth interviews using an ethnographic approach with individuals involved in the marijuana industry in Colorado. From those interviews we have learned of deviant behavior occurring as a result of conflicting federal and state laws. In addition, organizations within this industry are vulnerable to violence and criminal behavior by outsiders because of the inability to engage in normal banking activities. Our data suggest that the policy implications and unintended consequences of legalizing marijuana are more complex than originally thought.

Since the re-appeal of alcohol prohibition in 1933, there has never been a greater opportunity to investigate the transition of a product, market, and economy from illicit to legal. Specifically, for Macromarketing scholars, this research highlights a situation in which markets, marketing, social norms and/or policy exist and are considered, yet are not well managed. Insights gained from this research could prove beneficial in dealing with future policy and regulatory issues of similar products and/or services (e.g. e-cigarettes, nutritional supplements, new pharmaceutical drugs, prostitution, etc.). Marijuana legalization is a political and societal issue that is clearly not going

away. The goal of the present research is to provide insight for those involved in resolving and/or remediating conflicting policies and regulations.

This study will expand our current understanding of structural strain theory by explaining deviant actions that result from a transforming market and economy. Moreover, this theory has not been widely utilized in extant marketing scholarship, yet its explicit emphasis on the institutional balance of power as the causally salient macro-level entity is particularly relevant to the development of Macromarketing theory. This study will further benefit scholars with a deeper understanding of conflicting policy mandates and regulatory structures effects on market actions. Additionally, the current state of this industry in Colorado can serve as an important microcosm from which marketing scholars can gain significant insights into other larger and much harder to observe markets and activities. This research would also help to advance the understanding of the relationship between deviance and innovation in the marketplace. Importantly, this research will serve as the foundation for future research investigating questions such as: (1) do the costs associated with the illegal behaviors marijuana businesses are forced to engage in outweigh the benefits of legalization? (2) what are the costs associated with the externalities of the legalization of marijuana? and (3) How do conflicting policy and regulatory structures mediate/moderate the decision to engage in illicit and/or illegal activities? The legalization of marijuana creates a unique opportunity to examine markets, marketing, and society in flux. This shift in society's views and policies merits further attention and consideration from researchers, politicians, and academics. Macromarketing scholars are uniquely positioned answer this call.

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Technology and Marketing I

Inventing the future: Blockchain technology narratives as instruments for conceptualising and marketing change

Paul Haynes, Royal Holloway, University of London

Blockchain technology and the related infrastructure that affords crypto currencies, such as Bitcoin, and new approaches to exchange and contract are robust but remain experimental and limited. The potential for such technology to alter our collective practices of exchange are immense but little understood or explored by mainstream social scientists. In this vacuum, opinion leaders have emerged, many of who present alternative visions of the economics and politics of exchange emerging from an extensive use of blockchain technology in all aspects of consumption, contract and exchange. Many of these opinion leaders, in particular through overtly political and ideological visions of a society shaped by blockchain-dependent technologies, as expressed through on-line forums, challenge many of the established notions of the role of institutions that play a key role in contemporary society. The impact of these non-mainstream visions in exploring or re-exploring social interdependencies is growing in influence. This paper will examine in detail and categorise the types of narratives presented in these forums, their influence on emerging ideologies and their use in providing alternative visions for a more technologically integrated socio-political reality and its marketing implications. Using online ethnography, in particular examining discussion forum data, this paper will examine the impact of narratives presenting blockchain technologies as a means of achieving a political agenda, ultimately as marketing. The research will also examine the tensions, conflicts,

contradictions and insights found amongst the most prominent and influential discussion topics.

The analysis presented in this paper will present the challenge that narratives addressing blockchain technology pose to conventional concepts of exchange, contract and money, the institutions and ideologies they serve and the marketing it both relies on and affords.

The practices of virtual brand co-creation; an ecological approach

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Introduction

Brands co-creation be regarded as the holy grail of marketing research and practices distinct streams of literature (i.e. brand management, consumer behaviour, socio-cultural branding) have tried to cope with such issue in different ways. In the context of the internet and web 2.0, we can witness a shift in view, from a dyadic consumer/company focus to a multi stakeholder-focus, has been argued to be more visible and practiced (Arnhold 2010). Still, in this internet (as well as post-internet) branding era (Christodoulides 2009) there is an understanding by the multi-stakehodler approach of the co-creation process as a somewhat analytically traceable and mappable practice in which consumers are empowered (e.g. Hemetsberger 2005; Kozinets, Hemetsberger and Schau 2008). Furthermore, even if characterized by conflict, chaos and opposition (e.g. Fisher and Smith 2011), such a process is seen as a manageable network of relationship (Christodoulides 2009) with possibilities for certain forms of democratic participation (Asmussen et al. 2013).

Despite, there are some research suggesting that the process of brand co-creation online, based on immaterial labour, is not necessarily democratic and less exploitative (e.g. Côté and Pybus 2007). Brand co-creation is conflictual (e.g. Laamanen and Skålen, 2014; Skålen, Pace and Cova

2015), and on the internet is not predictable because technological intervention (Zwick and Dholakia 2006); it emerges as the result of the technological and linguistic context in which it was produced (Zwick and Dholakia 2004a; 2004b).

The present paper by extending this critical view, it points out how the co-creation process of brand and stakeholder identities is less manageable, democratic and analytically traceable than the existing literature suggests. By analysing how the branding of the city of Stockholm unfolds in a network of different types of stakeholders, the present paper aims to offer a different epistemological approach (i.e. ecological) that helps analyse how the process of co-creating brand and stakeholder identity should be seen as based on political practices which involve the co-construction of visualization and materialization.

Methodology and Methods

The material on which the present analysis is performed is only a fraction collected during a longitudinal study (2011-2015) on the branding of Stockholm. More specifically, the present study is based on a series of screenshot webpages that have been collected with the help of the search engine Google in two points of time March 2011 and February 2012 by typing the words in brackets 'Stockholm The Capital of Scandinavia'.

The search, which rendered 417000 hits upon which only the webpages that have unique content for a total of 143 webpages had been displayed, an increase compared with the 108 pages from the first search. Those webpages belong to different actors (i.e. organizations, institutions, company and private bloggers) that purposefully and explicitly adopt the brand (in

terms of slogan, brand or both). The first web search was performed seven years after the official lunch of the brand.

All different screenshots have been analysed via *ecologies of the visual* (Rose and Tolia-Kelly 2012). By helping to re-materialize the visual and visualize the immaterial, this approach suggests an analysis that is attentive to the practices (and methodologies) engaged beyond pure ocular and representational assumptions. This means that rather than focusing on cognitively or linguistically created meanings (i.e. representationalism), an ecology of the visual focuses on practices (i.e. what people do with things) and point out the entanglement of processes, embodied practices and technologies as the main locus where research on the co-creation of brand and stakeholder identities should be carried out.

By privileging a focus on practices, any type of representational and individualist epistemology can be rejected; instead, a non-representational and affective epistemology can be adopted (e.g. Hill, Canniford and Mol 2014). This implies, for the sake of this study, that the analysis should not be based on singularity (i.e. singular, sequential observations as relationship), but on on multiplicity (i.e. multiple, parallel observations as practices). Similar to some of the cultural work on visual consumption (see Schroeder 2002), this study does not only suggest a shift in focus away from decision making, buying behaviour and persuasion towards analyses of experiencing (e.g. Schroeder 2002); more crucially, it suggests shifting towards the analysis of how 'experiencing' is related to politics of affects (e.g. Kim et al. , 2007).

Findings and Discussion

The analysis of the screenshots brings to the fore different practices display different power plays between the visual and material content of the webpage (i.e. text, images, colour, picture, design) the technologies of production (i.e. software, pencil, bytes) display (i.e. how content is assembled on the webpages) and performance (i.e. what the webpages express and affect in its totality). Practices here do not assume a linear intentionality or causality between the webpages and the organizations. Rather, individuals or corporations that supposedly have produced such webpages are the co-constitution of 'visual' and the 'material'; those are cultural practices which can be understood by prioritising the analytical context of what different stakeholders do with the affordances of particular objects (i.e. in this case information technology, slogans, taglines, logos, etc.) in the process of co-creating visualities upon which brand and stakeholders identities are assembled. Those practices are labelled here by the authors as contributing, esteeming, opposing and using

The analysis of the webpages allows an illumination of the process of co-creation of brand and stakeholders identities both regarding the branding literature in general and, in particular, to the literature about the multi-stakeholders approach in the virtual realm. As this paper points out, only by embracing an ecological epistemology the main shortcoming of the multi-stakeholder view, based on the inherent individualist and representationist epistemology that recognizes cognition and language as the main medium of extracting knowledge and pursuing research, can be overcome. Only by focusing on practices the present approach the approach help to overcome the dyadic view (i.e. consumer oriented view and brand management view),

and offer a more feasible analysis of the dynamic co-creation of brand and stakeholder identities (i.e. note here the plural).

The present study suggests that such interactions can be only grasped by moving towards an epistemology that privileges practices of visualization and materialization as a critical analytical lens that could be used to research the true dynamics of co-creating brand and stakeholders identities in the virtual realm where information technology and social networks are important elements to take into consideration (e.g. Pybus 2013).

As the present study helps to unfold, this is because such an approach holds *a priori* essentialist categorizations of stakeholders and brand identity. It thus relies on methods and methodology that instead of being able to map and analyse the dynamism of the co-creation process, rest upon methods that only are able to enlarge and quantify the same observations as framed by both the managerial- and consumer-oriented studies. This does not help to recognize, as the critical socio-cultural approach to branding suggests, that the dynamic co-creation of brand and stakeholder identities is truly and profoundly qualitatively and quantitatively culturally, socially and politically mediated.

The inherent assumption held by the multi-stakeholder view in the virtual realm about such processes being more democratic is also rather problematic. By holding an individualist and representational epistemology, such an approach dismisses the analysis of how the co-creation process emerges as a political co-constitution. This is a process in which different stakeholders apparently become co-workers of their own identities, but since they are subjected to free labour

(e.g. Cova, Dalli and Zwick, 2011) in a biopolitical horizon of immaterial labour (Coté and Pybus 2007), the process of co-creation in the virtual realm is a more advanced form of power aimed at generating particular forms of stakeholders actions.

In this light, the present study does not only suggest that the different practices can be seen as a way to 'grasp' the dynamism of the process co-creating brand and stakeholder identities and meanings. It further suggests that the analysis of the practices in the virtual realm has the potentiality to unfold the material (i.e. in this case cultural), nonlinear dynamic of communication that resides beyond meanings and cognitions. Taking practices as a privileged point of analysis avoids analysing the co-creation of brand and stakeholder identities as a bilateral relation among and between stakeholders. Focusing on practices also enlarges the field of research by taking into consideration the interplay of multiple flows of information endowed by an active power that determines material change (Terranova 2004, 63).

In this way, the present approach (i.e. ecologies of the visual) does not assume brand and stakeholder identities exist simply because they are in the empirical realm ready to be grasped, traced and analysed because of technological advances. Instead, it assumes that in order to understand the truly dynamic and complex features of how brand and stakeholder identities are co-created, a rather counter-intuitive understanding of technology not as a 'thing' that humans use in order to make life more efficient or enjoyable, but an understanding of technology as a 'thing' that lives and interacts with humans, where immaterial content of communication and the materiality of technology coalesce should be embraced. Ultimately, this view does not establish how the process of co-creating brand and stakeholder identities occur in the virtual realm;

rather it addresses the reverse: how it does not occur, or better, how it might happen differently. In this sense, instead of offering a view that sees such a process as complex, manageable, democratic and analytically traceable, it points out, following previous research (Pybus 2007; Zwick and Dholakia, 2004b), that such a process might be less manageable, democratic and analytically traceable than expected.

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Electronic Waste Management and Extended Producer Responsibility in India: A Macromarketing Perspective

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Introduction

Driven by technological revolution in the information and communication fields, the world has witnessed rapid increase in the consumption of electrical and electronic equipments (EEE) in the last two decades. A combination of factors such as rapidly innovating technology, introduction of newer electronic products, decreasing life span of those products, falling prices, and changing consumer consumption behaviours have led to even rapid growth in the volume of used end-of-life EEE or electronic waste (e-waste) globally (Khetriwal, Krauechi and Widmer 2009).

Responding to the ever growing quantities of e-waste, governments in Europe were amongst the first to introduce policies to manage e-waste in late 1990s. A common theme of many of these policies was that the producers were expected to play greater role in the management of e-waste. In particular, one particular policy framework, extended producer responsibility (EPR), defined as *“an environmental protection strategy that makes the manufacturer of the product responsible for the entire life cycle of the product and especially the take back, recycling, and final disposal of the product”*, has been widely used.

E-waste contains several highly toxic materials, posing danger for health and environment if not handled properly, as well as several valuable raw materials, including rare earth metals (Khetriwal, Kraeuchi and Widmer 2009; Robinson 2009). Improper and unscientific disposal practices of e-waste, such as open burning of e-waste components can be highly toxic by releasing dioxins, furans, and other toxic gases and materials in the environment (Robinson 2009).

India, one of the fastest growing economies and one of the fastest growing market for consumer EEE, had introduced a policy for management of e-waste for the first time in 2011. The Indian policy also uses EPR as the underlying framework and assigns the responsibility of sound management of e-waste to producers. However there is very limited literature evaluating the impact of the rules on the practices of producers in India (Bhaskar and Turaga 2015). The role of macromarketing in the context of EPR becomes significant as macromarketing is largely aimed at improving the human conditions using marketing as a tool (Layton 2009; Simkins and Peterson 2015). Macromarketing can be potentially used by the marketers (and producers) as a tool to influence consumption behaviour of consumers and help in addressing the issues caused by disposal of e-waste in environmentally unsound ways.

There is void in the literature, to the best of our knowledge, regarding the role marketers have in influencing e-waste disposal practices of consumers in India. In this exploratory study, by proposing a theoretical framework, we aim to explore the role that can be played by macromarketing in tackling problems due to unsafe disposal of e-waste in India in general and

impacting the consumption and disposal behaviour of consumers of electronic products in particular.

Electronic Waste Management in India: Practices & Policies

Management of e-waste in India has traditionally been carried out almost completely by the informal sector, something which is similar to management of most other streams of waste in India (Subramanian et al. 2012). Employing largely unskilled and some semi-skill men, women, and children to break and dismantle e-waste in an unscientific and improper manner causes great occupational, health and environmental hazards (Bandyopadhyay 2010; Manomaivibool 2009). Managing waste management in India by the informal sector has proved to be a key challenge for government and regulators alike in India for many years. It is important to note here that the key issue is not the informal sector per se but the practices employed by the actors in the informal sector and the scant regard to compliance with existing environmental, labour, and other regulations.

The first legislation for managing e-waste in India, e-Waste (Management & Handling) Rules 2011, was notified by the Ministry of Environment and Forests (MoEF), Government of India in May 2011. The rules, which became effective from May 2012 applied to every producer, consumer, and bulk consumer involved in the manufacture, sale, purchase, and processing of electrical and electronic equipment (EEE). The rules also applied to the different players involved in the management of e-waste, like collection centres, recyclers, and dismantlers of e-waste.

One significant aspect of the rules was that the concept of extended producer responsibility (EPR) was introduced for the first time for management of any stream of waste in India.

According to the rules, it is the “*responsibility of any producer of EEE for their products beyond manufacturing, until the environmentally sound management of their end-of-life products* (MoEF 2011:28). Through the rules, the government had expected, that awareness about the various environmental issues due to existing e-waste management practices in India can be created among the consumers by the producers. Given the backdrop of almost complete management of e-waste by informal sector in India, with scant regard to environmental and other regulations, making producers responsible for environmentally sound management of e-waste was likely to lead to more close attention being paid by the producers to consumption behaviour of their consumers. Creating awareness among consumers was seen as a step towards achieving that objective. However limited evidence suggests that producers have been slow to respond to regulations, there is a wide disparity in the actions taken by firms and the limited steps taken have proved inadequate so far (Bhaskar 2015).

The government now plans to modify the rules and for this purpose had introduced a draft version of the proposed rules in April 2015. By proposing to include more stakeholders (manufacturers, dealers, and refurbishers), and by suggesting the use of producer responsibility organization (PRO) and deposit refund system (DRS) as possible instruments for the producers, the draft rules differ from the existing rules in two main ways (Bhaskar 2015). Inclusion of manufacturers, who manufacture some or all components of EEE for the producers, and dealers, a vital arm in the sales and distribution arm of producers, is particularly significant from perspective of producers and therefore marketers. It can also lead to more prominence being

given to the principles of macromarketing as guidance by the producers to comply with the rules and promote environmentally safe disposal of e-waste.

The suggestion of instruments which can be used by the producers suggests that the government would want the producers to take more initiatives to encourage consumers to modify their consumption behaviour and channelize their waste in proper manner.

Macromarketing Perspective on Environmental Problems

Fisk (1981) mentioned the role of macromarketing as the agent facilitating overall marketing exchange with a view to positively affect societies, businesses and individuals. Marketers have often been criticized for their approach toward neglecting the impact of their actions on the environment, which is evident in the works of several researchers who highlighted the role of marketing in handling ecological crisis (e.g. Fisk 1974; van Dam and Apeldoorn 1996). Marketing is also supposed to provide the products and services to the consumers without creating externalities such as environmental degradation. Although environmental improvement by way of devising suitable product and production strategy could prove to be a profitable strategy for the firms and marketers, it largely ignores the heavy cost of mitigating imminent bigger problems which may arise once the make shift solutions with short time horizon become ineffective (van Dam and Apeldoorn 1996). Such short term solutions have been used by the producers and marketers to mitigate the risk of environmental degradation mostly at the production end. These approaches again ignore the other continuum of the value chain wherein the consumer is mostly not equipped with taking actions to mitigate the risks of environmental

degradation due to the consumption of products such as technological products, barring commensurate environmentally sustainable consumption choices in some of the instances.

We have positioned extended producer responsibility (EPR) as solution to the larger issues of environmental degradation arising out of consumption and un-scientific disposal of the technological products. In line with the Development School of Macromarketing, which perceives markets and marketing system as a tool providing solution to the human conditions (Mittelstaedt, Shultz, Kilbourne and Peterson 2014), it makes sense to discuss EPR as part of the solution to the environmental degradation. This approach has a long term time horizon covering an important part of the overall value chain ultimately leading to the sustainable way of consumption.

It is important to note that even sustainability marketing is construed as a limitation to the marketing philosophy and overall inferences percolate down to linking regulatory constraints with the market mechanism to make any initiative more effective (van Dam and Apeldoorn 1996). We believe that EPR as a regulatory mechanism would add value to the overall marketing system resulting in disposal of e-waste in a scientific manner, thus completing the entire value chain with the aim of mitigating the degree of environmental degradation. One important question to be explored at this stage would also be to look at the steps taken by producers after the introduction of rules and to understand the current awareness level of consumers on issues like e-waste disposal and regulatory instruments like EPR.

Research Questions

Based on the current literature, policy context, and the discussion on macromarketing in the context of EPR, we aim to explore following research questions:

- 1) What are the steps taken by the producers/marketers with regard to creating awareness about safe e-waste disposal practices in India?
- 2) What is the extent of consumer awareness regarding role of producers in managing e-waste?
- 3) Within the context of e-waste and EPR, how can macromarketing contribute toward solving the conundrum of consumption of technological products i.e. electrical and electronic equipments (EEE) and their environmental impact?

Research Methodology

To answer the first research question, we have explored the secondary data, i.e. publicly available information on the websites of producers of the leading brands of technology products/EEE in India. The EEE types which have been considered are televisions (TVs), mobile phones, computers and laptops, computer accessories, washing machines, refrigerators, audio systems, printers, scanners, and copiers. We have tried to understand how have the leading producers in these categories of technology products responded to the e-waste rules in terms of creating awareness by putting up information on a publicly accessible platform (websites) about proper e-waste management practices.

For answering the second research question, we have conducted an online survey among young consumers (in the age band of 20-27 years) of technological products. We have explored the

answers to the first two research questions with an idea to answer the third research question in conjunction with the relevant literature and a suitable theory. Although preliminary at this stage, we have attempted to answer the third research question by developing a comprehensive framework based on the field interviews, underpinning of stakeholder theory and guidance from the macromarketing literature.

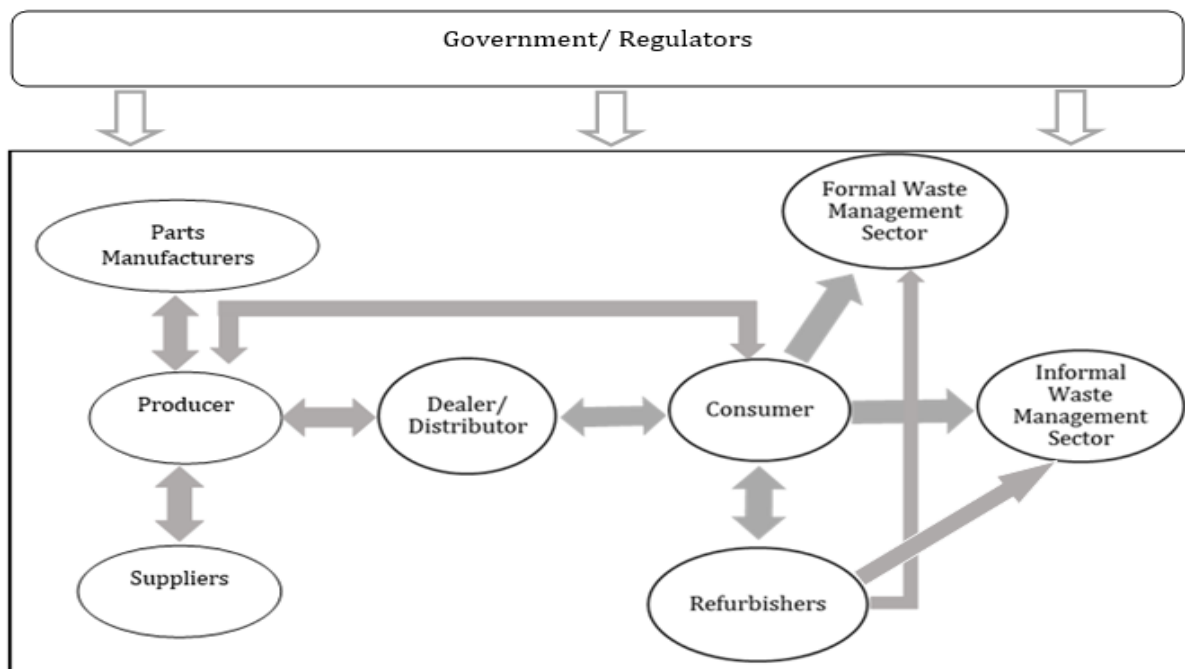
Theoretical Underpinning and Research Framework

We have used Stakeholder Theory (Freeman 1984; Donaldson and Preston 1995) to understand and identify different stakeholders like producers/marketers, regulators, parts manufacturers, dealers/distributors, consumers, refurbishers, formal waste sector (dismantling & recycling) and informal waste sector (dismantling & recycling). To understand who could be prospective stakeholders in this scenario, we followed Freeman (1994) who described stakeholders as someone who help in joint value creation in the entire system.

Even the instrumental aspect of the stakeholder theory, suggested by Donaldson and Preston (1995), explores and identifies the linkage between stakeholders and overall objectives of the firm. Within the discussion on e-waste management and the role of regulatory instruments, we have identified the major external stakeholders of a firm who are part of the value chain with specific focus on stakeholders like consumers and regulators. Such stakeholders are expected to help the producers/marketers in achieving their goal of minimization of environmental degradation due to usage of the products (technology products in this study) produced and marketed by them.

Following is the conceptual framework based on the stakeholder theory and overall understanding on the subject from the perspective of macromarketing literature. The framework was developed after a survey of existing literature and interviews with various stakeholders involved in e-waste management in India. The shaded arrows indicate the direction of flow of e-waste among different stakeholders.

Figure 1: Proposed Conceptual Framework



We have presented the conceptual framework in Figure 1 and describe it next. The framework has 9 stakeholders. We have considered the entire product cycle of technological products and have classified it in three segments: a) production, b) sales, distribution, & consumption, and c) post-consumption. The classification according to segments is for the purpose of helping in analysis of different stakeholders, their roles, and interactions with other stakeholders.

The first segment consists of stakeholders which are directly or indirectly involved in the production process. The stakeholders in this segment are a) suppliers, b) component manufacturers, and c) producers. Suppliers supply raw materials to producers and the linkage is shown as bidirectional to indicate the possibility of flow of materials in both directions. Component manufacturers make one or more components for the products and the linkage is bidirectional to allow for flow of units in both directions. Producers can return some components to component manufacturers which are not used for production due to some reason. The role of producers is to get raw materials from suppliers and components from component manufacturers and then to use those to produce or assemble the final technological products. It is this final product which is then sold under the brand of producers to consumers.

The second segment denotes the various steps in the sales, distribution, and consumption of those final products. The flow of products happens from the producers to consumers either directly or through distribution channel (dealers, distributors, and retail shops). The linkages for all the cases is bidirectional to allow for the return and exchange of products.

The third segment which we have considered comprises of stakeholders involved in the post consumption process of technological products. Post consumption of such products, the e-waste can flow from the consumers to informal e-waste management sector or formal e-waste management sector or refurbishers and repair centers. The flow of e-waste from consumers to producers directly or through the distribution channel is captured in the bidirectional flow described in the previous segment. Refurbishers and repair centers are those involved in the repair and refurbishing of end-of-life appliances, operations almost completely in the informal

sector. Refurbishers and repair centers are also linked to the formal and informal sectors as the flow of recycled materials and components happen in either directions. The linkages also exist between these stakeholders and the stakeholders involved in production processes, although the current extent and level of linkages is yet to be fully exploited.

One important stakeholder, the government or the regulator, has not been shown as a part of any one segment as it has an encompassing presence by having influence on all the three segments. The government and regulators are separate entities but have been shown as one since in India the regulator (Central Pollution Control Board) is directly under the Government (Ministry of Environment, Forests, & Climate Change). The role of government is to define and provide the regulatory ground for the various stakeholders. Of the stakeholders considered, only one (consumers) is not completely made accountable under the current and proposed e-waste rules. While bulk consumers (those consuming technological products in large quantities) fall under the purview of the rules, retail consumers (e.g. Individuals, households) are currently not explicitly held responsible.

The aim of this exploratory study is to explore the a) linkage between producers/marketers and the consumers with regard to safe disposal of e-waste under the regulatory underpinning of EPR, and b) to understand the role macromarketing can play in influencing this relationship. We have taken guidance from the macromarketing literature and pertinent discussion within it which can be used by producers in an economy to influence the post-consumption behaviour of consumers of technological products. The role of macromarketing however cannot be limited only to reducing damages to environment and promoting environmentally safe disposal of e-waste by

influencing post-consumption behaviour. A larger impact can be played by macromarketing in influencing other types of behaviour (e.g. post-purchase consumption behaviours and pre-purchase behaviours) so as to bring about changes at production stage. Therefore, according to us, gradually the role of macromarketing will move beyond post-consumption behaviour to consumption behaviour and then to pre-purchase behaviour by suggesting relevant policy mechanism at aggregate level. This move, we believe would also be a way in which macromarketing can begin to influence the production processes of producers in an economy like India.

Preliminary Results

Based on the secondary data of the producers/marketers of the leading brands of technology products/EEE in India, we came across following broad findings helping in answering research question number one.

Table 1: Publicly Available Information from Producers (Source: Websites of 21 identified producers)

Type of EPR Program			Nature of Information		
Individually Managed	Jointly Managed	None	Details of Collection Centres	Email/Help line numbers	None
13 ^a	4 ^a	5	9	7	5

^a: One firm has both individually managed and jointly managed program.

Table 2 shows the top brands of the EEE products used for the study.

Table 2: Top Brands in India (Source: Marketline, Euromonitor)

Product Type	Details	Top Producers (Brands)
Mobile	Mobile Phones	Samsung, Micromax, Nokia, Karbonn, Lava

Phones		
Computers	Computers & Laptops	HP, Lenovo, Dell, Acer, HCL
Household Appliances	Washing Machines	LG, Samsung, Videocon, Whirlpool
	Televisions	LG, Samsung, Videocon, Sony, Panasonic
	Refrigerators	LG, Samsung, Godrej, Videocon, Whirlpool, Electrolux, Haier
	Air Conditioners	Bluestar, Voltas, LG, Godrej, Carrier

Of the 21 firms, while most firms had launched some type of program, 5 firms did not have any EPR program in India. However when it comes to providing information on details of collection centres and steps to dispose of e-waste, only 9 firms provided this information. 7 firms provided either a helpline number or an email id and expected consumers to contact them to obtain information on e-waste disposal. 5 firms provided no information. These 5 firms were the same which did not have any EPR program.

Next we present the preliminary result of questionnaire sent to 248 young consumers to gauge their understanding and awareness on the issue of e-waste and EPR. The results are based on the 94 responses received so far which help in answering the research question number two.

Table 3: Brands used by Respondents

Technology Type	Product	Details	Top Producers (Brands)
Mobile Phones		Mobile Phones	Samsung, Nokia, Apple, HTC
Computers		Computers & Laptops	HP, Dell, Acer

Household Appliances	Washing Machines	Godrej, Whirlpool, IFB
	Televisions	LG, Samsung, Sony, Onida
	Refrigerators	LG, Samsung, Videocon
	Air Conditioners	Bluestar, LG

We also tried to gather information on current and past practices used by the respondents for managing e-waste. Table 4 summarizes the key findings.

Table 4: Practices to Manage E-Waste

Product Type	Details	Past and Current Practice to Manage E-waste					
		Exchange	Sold to Electronic Repair Shops	Gifted	Dumped	Stored	Any Other
Mobile Phones	Mobile Phones	45%	27%	15%	10%	-	3%
Computers	Computers & Laptops	23%	57%	15%	-	5%	-
Household Appliances	Washing Machines	65%	18%	-	-	11%	6%
	TVs	72%	22%	-	-	-	6%
	Refrigerator						
	ACs	88%	9%	-	-	-	3%

We also assessed the respondents on their awareness levels on three subjects: i) hazards due to unsafe disposal of e-waste, ii) new Indian e-waste rules, and iii) role of producers in managing e-waste under the new Indian e-waste rules. Table 5 summarizes the data on awareness levels of respondents.

Table 5: Summary of Awareness levels of Participants

Subject	Awareness
Hazards due to unsafe disposal of e-waste	Yes, but only if the disposal practices are unsafe - 61.3% Yes, irrespective of safe or unsafe disposal practices - 25.8%

	No, the disposal practices do not cause any damage - 3.2% I am somewhat aware but not aware enough to answer it - 9.7% I do not know - 3.2%
E-Waste Rules 2011	Aware - 25.8% Not Aware - 53.2% Not Sure - 21%
Role of Producers in managing e-waste	Not Aware - 38.7% Aware - 46.8% Not Sure - 14.5%

Based on the data available with us, we are in the process of elaborating on the conceptual framework depicted in figure 1 so as to move towards more concrete answer to the research question number three.

Discussion

The initial responses from producers indicate that most of them have introduced some or the other type of EPR program, whose effectiveness is however yet to be determined. The initial findings also suggest that it could be vital for the government and the regulators in incorporating provisions in the rules which encourage producers to use marketing communication to provide information and create awareness about e-waste disposal and EPR. Producers and marketers could use this information to create products which use less of virgin raw material and more of recycled products. This would not only save costs for the producers but also improve sustainability practices in the industry creating lesser damage to the environment.

The results also indicate that besides creating awareness, incentives might need to be provided for consumers to use formal channel for e-waste. Producers might need to provide incentives for consumers to dispose-off e-waste through formal channels established by them individually or

jointly. Finally the framework which has been developed helps in understanding the linkages between different stakeholders and the role macromarketing can play in influencing the relationship between stakeholders so as to reduce damage to environment.

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Social Marketing: Time to Get Critical II

Big Business: the (potential) solution, not the problem

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Abstract

In their call for papers the Track Chairs identify a "contradiction at the heart of capitalism" with its "benign focus on consumer satisfaction" which it is claimed can, simultaneously, be "enormously destructive".

The statistics advanced in support of this statement are impressive. World Bank data shows that in 2011 over 60 percent of the 175 largest global economic entities were companies not countries.... fewer than 150 companies control 40 percent of corporate wealth and 737 control 80 percent of it. However, the wealth created is not distributed equally and more than 80 percent of the world's population lives on or below the poverty line. The implications of this maldistribution are the central theme of Thomas Picketty's best-selling book *Capital in the Twenty-first Century* (2014). In essence, Picketty's analysis may be summarised by the formula $r > g$ in which r is how much wealth grows each year on average over relatively long periods of time and g represents the economic growth rate, or the annual increase in GDP (Pressman 2016). As r increases by an average of 5% per annum and g increases by 1% the inevitable consequence is that the rich get richer and the poor get poorer! Moreover, as Keynes (1936) observed, the rich

have a lower propensity to consume and a higher propensity to save so that the disparity between rich and poor is accelerating and so depresses the rate of economic growth.

The success of Picketty's book is largely attributable to its timeliness, appearing after a major recession and slow recovery, causing concern over the decline of the middle class and growing inequality. And its popularity is because it attacks free market capitalism and promotes wealth taxation based upon an intellectual analysis and argument. As an evidence-based piece of research it differs significantly from much academic theorising which is opinion-based and ideological in its opposition to "big business" and capitalism. Further, as Pressman (2016) notes "rising inequality is not just a characteristic of capitalism, but results from different growth rates for income and wealth which can occur under any type of economic system".

We reject the widely held assumption that big business and capitalism set out deliberately to exploit humankind and subscribe to the view that "marketing is concerned with the creation and maintenance of mutually satisfying and beneficial exchange relationships" (Baker 1976). Accordingly we believe that if "academic activism" is directed against capitalism and big business then the global problems associated with degradation of the environment and the inequality of the distribution of income will worsen not improve.

Marketing, in common with other professions like Architecture, Engineering and Medicine, is a synthetic discipline that combines knowledge and insights from a number of other social sciences to help understand and explain the nature and causes of consumption behaviour. In common with other professional disciplines this knowledge is intended to inform best practice

but, if it is abused or misdirected, the fault lies with the perpetrators not with the discipline itself. It follows, therefore, that the responsibility for the ethical implementation of marketing knowledge lies with practitioners operating within the guidelines approved by their customers which, in turn, should conform with social norms and expectations.

In this paper we begin by summarising the evidence that modern materialism and consumption patterns are unsustainable and that the distribution of wealth is divisive. We also confirm that less than 1000 major corporations control over 80 per cent of the wealth generated by production and that most of them are privately owned (capitalist) organisations operating in 'free' markets as advocated by Adam Smith (1776). However, unlike those advocating the need for a new model - Capitalism 2 - we argue that we need to return to the principles that underpinned Smith's original theory.

A foundational premise, described at great length in Smith's earlier book - *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) - was that humans have a moral compass that guides their behaviour. While self-interest is hard-wired into every organisms instinct for survival, in human beings (and many other species) it is accepted that co-operation and collaboration between individuals creates added value. This is enlightened self-interest - as advocated by Smith - as opposed to selfish self-interest that benefits a few at the expense of the majority.

Given that the major corporations that control so much of human wealth creation do so because they are efficient and effective, it would be self-defeating to try and replace them with some alternative kind of organisation, especially as alternative systems have all failed historically.

In extremis, activism in the form of risings and revolutions are sometimes necessary to overturn oppressive regimes that frustrate the principle of 'the greatest good of the greatest number'.

However, such activism is only successful, at least initially, on a local/national scale. If, therefore, we wish to achieve a global transformation of consumption behaviour and greater distributive justice then we need to look to the multi-national corporations that have the knowledge, skills and resources and the ability to adapt to the social, economic and legal conditions that prevail in the markets in which they work. Furthermore, these are organisations for which individuals cast their money votes daily, whereas policy makers, whether elected or not, are only held to account every few years - if ever.

It follows that if academics wish to initiate and encourage change they should concentrate their efforts more on trying to influence individuals to moderate their consumption behaviour while supporting the enactment of laws and regulations that favour ethical and fair competition and greater distributive justice.

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The Concept of Social Marketing: Analysing its Origins, Politics, and Philosophical Commitments

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"I was an academic product of the social revolution of the late sixties and early seventies and frustrated with what I was doing. My friends in Sociology and Political Science were worrying about issues like poverty, the Viet Nam war, and military recruiting on campus, and so on, while I was busy teaching my students how to market Chevrolets and Clairol Shampoo.... My 1975 encounter with [social marketing] opened my eyes to the potential for marketing to work positively for the good of society beyond merely (to use a classroom cliché of the time) 'delivering a better standard of living.'" (Andreasen 1994, p. 109)

This presentation looks to the writing of pioneering social marketing scholars, in order to elucidate the political and philosophical orientations embedded within foundational texts of the field. As seen above, the original idea of social marketing was very much a product of its time, and also of the socio-political climate in the United States, where the majority of early scholars were based. Reflecting upon these and other considerations, important questions arise about the nature of social marketing.

As noted in Kotler and Zaltman's treatise on the subject (1971), and echoed in Andreasen's quote above, the core assumption of the social marketing literature is that strategies from commercial marketing practice are directly applicable to non-profit and activist contexts. In the analysis I

present here, I have taken this assumption as my starting point, examining the implications of this logic. Ultimately, I developed significant concerns about the applicability to commercial, profit-maximising technologies to social, non-profit, and governmental aims. In the words of Audre Lorde, it seems unlikely that “the master’s tools” can ever “dismantle the master’s house,” (1984, p. 110). In short, I argue that the idea of social marketing necessarily brings with it neoliberal economic assumptions (as defined by Harvey 2007)—which might therefore make it inappropriate for some causes or political systems.

I am also interested in the political economic reality of social marketing. Borrowing a canonical example from the social marketing literature, I consider debate around smoking cessation. Specifically, I consider whether anti-tobacco activist marketers alone could ever truly defeat a powerful industry, or whether non-marketing (e.g. governmental) processes are more effective and/or required. As noted by Lee and Kotler (2011), social marketing often takes on “impossible” causes, in hope that remarkable ingenuity and marketing creativity can change society. Ultimately, this strategy is questionable, given the tremendous political and commercial power (including marketing ingenuity and creativity) that destructive industries like tobacco yield.

With such questions in mind, the goal of this presentation is to unpack the assumption that marketing is “a general function of universal applicability” (Bagozzi 1975, p. 39), and as such appropriate for the task of “planned social change” (Kotler and Zaltman 1971, p. 3). Ultimately, the presentation entertains the idea that the naysayers of the ‘broadened scope’ of marketing have always had a point—in other words, that marketing is necessarily a commercial activity

grounded in profit-maximising economic principles, and thus incommensurate or inappropriate for most social goals. In short, and in line with the conference theme, I conclude by discussing whether it is problematic or even dangerous to think of activist communications and actions in marketing terms.

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Barriers to Macro-Social Marketing Initiatives: The Case of Land Degradation in Turkey

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Introduction

Turkey has witnessed remarkable growth in the last two decades (World Bank 2015). Many consumers have access to a standard of living of which their parents never could have dreamed. However, just away from the gleam of new shopping malls and high-rise gated communities in Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir, there are unmistakable inconsistencies. While wealthy college students and professionals buy designer handbags and dine at upscale cafes, much of the population scrapes by on the minimum salary of less than \$400/month (*Today's Zaman* 2014a). The lure of an urban lifestyles draws young people away from the agricultural way of life of their parents and grandparents. In the process, agricultural land is being paved over and development is accelerating. Land degradation is rampant, just as it is all over the world (Nkonya, Mirzabaev, and von Braun 2015).

Once one of the few self-sufficient food countries in the world, Turkey has become increasingly dependent on imports to feed its growing population. Despite being the first in Europe and the seventh globally in agricultural production, food prices in Turkey have climbed to among the highest in the world (FAO 2015). One of the main causes is that from 1993 to 2003 Turkey lost

about 15 billion square meters of agricultural land. Unsuitable land use and inappropriate land management are direct culprits of land degradation (FAO 1994). Starting in around 2005, the Turkish government initiated a series of interventions to stem the loss of farmland. The strategy of the government was to tackle the problem through various interventions including regulation, legislation, international collaborations, funding, community development, education, advising, and research—in line with the conceptualization of macro-social marketing (Kennedy and Parsons 2012).

Despite these multi-faceted efforts, the farmland lost in Turkey has almost doubled from the preceding decade to about 28 billion square meters (Cinar 2014). This is approximately the size of Belgium. All told, over the last 20 years Turkey has lost around 15 percent of its total farmland (Unal 2014). This article investigates the difficulties the Turkish farmland preservation macro-social campaign has faced. Our aim is to identify and examine structural barriers that have prevented this campaign from ever gaining momentum and becoming successful. We hope that our analysis can be instrumental for researchers and policy makers confronting systemic inconsistencies in challenging contexts around the world.

Many social marketing efforts fail to bring about the intended societal change. Social marketing, “the application of commercial marketing technologies to the analysis, planning, execution, and evaluation of programs designed to influence the voluntary behavior of target audiences in order to improve their personal welfare and that of their society,” (Andreasen 1995, p. 7) is a powerful but complex means for pursuing societal well-being. Macro-social marketing, where upstream actors use social marketing within a systems approach to societal change (Domegan 2008,

Kennedy and Parsons 2012), adds additional levels of complexity. Whereas some definitions of social marketing focus on individual change (Andreasen 2002), macro-social marketing is focused on the level of structural and societal change. What limits the achievement of societal change?

The paper begins with a discussion of the literature that presents the effectiveness and challenges of social marketing and we position our work in the under-researched challenges of social marketing applied at the macro-level. We then provide details about the Turkish farmland preservation macro-social marketing campaign as our case study. After explaining our research methods and presenting our findings, we discuss the barriers Turkey experienced and offer suggestions on how positive social changes may still be pursued in difficult contexts.

Positioning in the Social Marketing Literature

We begin with a discussion of the literature that presents the effectiveness of social marketing. Some argue for the positive effects, while others take a critical approach and warn of the negative effects. We then turn to the literature that discusses the limitations of social marketing and the barriers that it faces in influencing audience behaviors. After addressing the micro challenges, we position our work in the under-researched macro-level barriers to social marketing.

The Effectiveness of Social Marketing (with Positive and Negative Outcomes)

Social marketing can have a powerful impact on society, whether for good or bad. While some argue for the positive effects and others warn of the negative effects, there are decades of

research that recognize commercial marketing principles can be applied to influence audience behaviors (Kotler and Zaltman 1971; Fox and Kotler 1980; Manoff 1985). Kennedy and Parsons (2014) argue that social engineering and social marketing are the normal activity of any government, which can be used in negative or positive ways.

A robust literature has developed since Kotler and Zaltman (1971) introduced the term “Social Marketing,” broadening the already established use of social advertising to include a wider range of marketing technologies. Social marketers use marketing skills to help develop current social action efforts into more effectively designed and communicated programs that will elicit desired audience response (Kotler and Zaltman 1971). In reviewing the first 10 years of social marketing, Fox and Kotler (1980) paint a positive picture of the accomplishments of social marketing and its road ahead. They assert the appropriateness of social marketing when there is a need for new information and practices to be disseminated, countermarketing to present the other side of a story, and activation to overcome inertia.

In the field of public health, one of the fields in which social marketing is most practiced (e.g. Manoff 1985; Grier and Bryant 2005), a well-functioning marketing operation can lead to more effective use of resources and improved customer satisfaction (Lefebvre and Flora 1988). Grier and Bryant (2005) review several case studies that point to social marketing’s effectiveness and conclude, “We believe the marketing mindset will optimize public health’s ability to create trusting relationships with consumers and make their lives healthier and more fulfilling” (p. 36). In societal issues such as obesity, social marketing is one of the most feasible interventions (Witkowski 2007).

Social marketing is supposed to be applied to achieving social good, but the determination of what is social good is in the hands of the social marketer (Andreasen 1994). The tools of social marketing can be applied to causes that a broad consensus of society would not agree is in the social good and/or there can be unintended consequences of otherwise good social marketing programs (Donovan and Henley 2010).

Brenkert (2002) explores the ethical challenges that particularly confront social marketing, such as the asymmetric relationship of social marketers with those they target, and infringement on self-determination of individuals and democracy within a society. For example, in obesity campaigns, social marketers may run the risk of paternalism or cultural disruption based on norms decided apart from the audience (Witkowski 2007).

Gurrieri, Previte, and Brace-Govan (2013) continue in a critical vein, arguing that social marketers need to be more sensitive to the unintended negative consequences of their efforts. They explore how programs that target weight loss, physical activity, or breast feeding can, in their neo-liberal fervor, ignore identity issues for women (and men). A campaign may be effective at spurring weight loss, but in the process can lead to women who cannot or will not conform to the healthism agenda being ostracized as deviant from society's definition of a desirable woman. Interestingly, such critical authors do very little to question the power social marketers wield, instead providing empirical examples of the dangers associated with social marketing.

Social Marketing Faces Micro and Macro Challenges

Other literature discusses the limitations of social marketing and the challenges that it faces in influencing audience behaviors. This is captured by the oft-repeated question, posed by G.D. Wiebe (1952, in Kotler and Zaltman 1971), “Why can’t you sell brotherhood like you sell soap?” We look first at the micro challenges, and then turn to the need for more research on the macro-level barriers to social marketing.

Drawing on the work of Lazarsfield and Merton (1949), Kotler and Zaltman (1971) explain that social marketing campaigns are much more difficult in the case of social reconditioning where new behavior patterns are being created, rather than “canalizing” existing attitudes and behaviors in a direction. The social marketer’s failure to define the change sought, segment target markets, design social products for each market that are “buyable,” and make these accessible can lead to failure (Kotler and Zaltman 1971). Lefebvre and Flora (1988) also identify a number of obstacles that hinder the adoption of a consumer orientation, including a lack of intra-organizational consensus and lack of clearly specified organizational objectives, placing territorial/professional objectives above consumer needs, organizational biases that favor expert-driven programs, and intermediaries that dilute the message before it reaches the consumer. These and other researchers provide a useful set of micro-level criteria by which to assess a social marketing program.

Andreasen (1994) emphasizes that social marketing is about programs designed to influence *behavior change*, and that social marketers should therefore be brought in as relatively short-term specialists in behavior change, only after long-term efforts to change knowledge and values

have been accomplished by educators and propagandists. While it may shield from blame, Andreasen's narrow definition risks relegating social marketing to only a small piece of creating societal change. Macro-social marketing emphasizes instead that a long-term effort from many actors to bring about society-wide change is within the purview of the field (Kennedy and Parsons 2012). We now turn to some of the macro reasons for failed social programming addressed in the literature.

Bloom and Novelli (1981) identify "Problems and Challenges in Social Marketing." Many of the challenges they identify are in fact related to macro-social marketing. For example, they point out that social marketers have to be prepared to deal with opposition from organizations that are threatened by the program, but also consider how other social organizations may act in a way that fragments the effort. Social marketers are trying to change complex behaviors over a considerable period of time, which often hinge on a number of interrelated variables. Social marketers also have challenges in trying to convince desired intermediaries to pass along and support an idea when they are typically not allowed to provide incentives and cannot control what the intermediaries will say, even if they do choose to cooperate.

Krisjanous (2014) gives a fascinating account of how General William Booth worked simultaneously on the micro and macro aspects of the marketing system to initiate social change in the harsh working conditions in London's match factories at the end of the 19th century. Booth strove to change the upstream social determinants of inhumane conditions outside of workers' control through efforts such as publicity to politicians and journalists. Some of the challenges in the social marketing campaign were consumer resistance to voluntarily pay more for matches

that were safer to produce, competitor retaliation, and factory inspectors who minimized the problem of disease associated with white phosphorous.

Chance and Desphande (2009) paint a very positive picture of how consumer-centric social marketing strategies can bring about social change in developing nations. There were substantial cultural barriers that needed to be overcome to treat HIV in South Africa, India, and Brazil. Chance and Desphande (2009) praise the cost minimization of HIV drugs and a program that can be a profitable business model in addition to a successful social program.

While we agree that “eliminating all factors which enable problem behaviors creates an environmental context where it is easy for consumers to change behavior and maintain that change” (Kennedy and Parson 2012, p. 37), there are massive barriers to it being achieved at the macro-level. Actor-oriented and institutional economic explanations are both important in understanding complex issues such as land degradation (Baumgartner and Cherlet 2016). From the macro-perspective, we are particularly interested in the institutional explanations and how they limit and influence the behavior of downstream actors. Social embeddedness, the institutional environment, governance, and resource allocation are some of the issues that should be explored in evaluating macro-level barriers (Williamson 2000). Manoff (1985) recognizes “Cultural and Structural Impediments” and encourages social marketers to know when to recognize the futility of solely educational exercises and to support public policies needed for change. Our aim is identify and examine the structural barriers that obstruct a macro-social marketing campaign, something that to date has only been piecemeal.

Methodology

Context of Land Degradation in Turkey

Land degradation is a global phenomenon, with estimates that 30 percent of global land surface has been degraded (Nkonya, Mirzabaev, and von Braun 2015). Because fertile soils take hundreds of years to replenish, degradation will have wide-ranging consequences on human security for generations to come (Nkonya, Mirzabaev, and von Braun 2015).

Our chosen research context is the macro-social marketing effort within Turkey to decrease the loss of agricultural land, which is an important factor in land degradation. Turkey's growing population and rising food prices are among the factors causing the Turkish government to recognize the risk in decreasing farmland. Once one of the few self-sufficient food countries in the world, Turkey has become increasingly dependent on imports to feed its growing population. Turkey's population has increased by 30 million in the past 30 years and is expected to swell to 100 million by 2050 (*Today's Zaman* 2008). According to Food Price Index data published by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), over the last 11 years global food prices increased by 92 percent, but in Turkey by a staggering 172 percent (*Today's Zaman* 2014a).

Weather conditions that reduce agricultural output, high production costs that make farming uneconomical, and ongoing building atop the country's fertile agricultural land have undermined Turkey's food self-sufficiency. Over the last few decades, an increasing number of especially small farmers in Turkey have abandoned farming because of it being increasingly unprofitable. The increased cost of input (seed, fertilizers, and energy), unplanned planting decisions that

creates supply-demand imbalances in markets, and high dependency on market intermediaries have suppressed profits. Experts have noted that increased demand for housing as well as unfavorable farming conditions have motivated farmers to sell off their agricultural land to developers (Cinar 2014). Indeed, most of the industrial developments (including new mining areas) and road projects have taken place in and around prime agricultural land. Such industrialization therefore affects not only the immediate land used but also their surroundings: factories and mines have created pollution and hence degraded air, water, and soil quality. Housing developments continue to spring up in the vicinity of new roads, and prime agricultural lands are being transformed into residential areas.

Macro-social marketers go about “systematically reducing the effectiveness of traditional marketing avenues for the offending product” (Kennedy and Parsons 2012, p. 40). Loss of farmland is the “offending product” to which the social marketers in our chosen context direct their efforts. When considered from the farmers’ behavior point of view, the offending product can be described as the farmers’ decision (behavior) to utilize the land for non-agricultural purposes (e.g. selling it to housing developers, energy or mining companies, or leaving idle). One critical reason for such behavior has been identified as agricultural activities’ being uneconomical for most farmers. Despite a host of measures taken in the form of a macro-social marketing campaign, farmers have increasingly preferred the “offending product.”

In an attempt to curb the problem of farmland loss, the Turkish government has initiated a series of interventions to create a positive social engineering. These interventions range from adaptation of specific laws and regulations to ban selling (distribution) of farmland for non-

farming purposes to implementing programs aimed at influencing factors in the larger environment (e.g. the perceived value of the “product-farmland”) to seek social behavior change. These efforts, we believe, are beyond Rothschild’s (1999) conceptualization of “social marketing by government” and more in line with the current conceptualization of positive social engineering where macro-social marketing has been used as a tool (Kennedy and Parsons 2014). In what follows, we summarize the main activities the government has initiated to achieve the social engineering objective of reducing farmland loss.

A critical milestone of a series of interventions was the comprehensive agriculture bill that was passed in July 2005 (called Farming Bill 5403: Law on Protection of Soil and Land Use). The main objective of the bill was to protect the current agricultural land from natural and non-natural (human-originated) threats. The law banned the use of agricultural land for non-agricultural purpose and provided guidelines for handling exceptions to the rule. The law was modified in July 2009. The modified version introduced two major policies: allowed government agencies to aggregate small size lands (land consolidation) and banned small size lands from further division. The main objective of the land consolidation effort was to trigger people’s desire to return to their villages and continue farming (Mirmahmutoğulları 2013). Land consolidation would reduce the cost of farming, improve efficiency, and as a result, increase revenue and profitability of agricultural output. The logic was that once farmers obtain sufficient returns they would be more motivated to keep their lands instead of selling to those who would use the land for non-farming purposes.

The government has implemented specific programs in order to boost farmers' financial outlook. The subsidy and financial aid programs aim to support farmers by reducing their seed, fertilizer, labor, and energy costs. Government agencies implemented over 60 different financial support programs targeting farming operations in various sizes. Annual support paid to farmers has reached to about \$4 billion (*Milliyet* 2015). In addition, as a part of the EU accession negotiation process, in 2005, the Council of Europe came to a political agreement with the Turkish Ministry of Agriculture on regulations regarding the support of rural development in Turkey by means of agricultural funds for rural development for the period 2007-2013. Through the program, officially called IPARD (Pre-Accession Assistance in Rural Development), grant aid was provided for the use of the producers operating in the agriculture, food, and livestock sectors. The program paid between 50 and 65 percent of the investments of the approved projects. During the second phase of this program (covering between 2014 and 2020), a total of 1 billion Euros will be granted for the use of farmers and food producers in Turkey (Ministry of Agriculture 2015).

In 2006, the Ministry of Agriculture introduced an "Agricultural Consultancy" program. The main objective of the program is to provide farmers opportunities to receive free advising and consultancy services regarding market trends, input and output prices, planting scheduling, labor planning, harvest timing, and so on. The individuals had to be registered in the national farmer's registration system to be eligible for this certified consultancy service. The consultants have to pass an exam offered by the Ministry to receive their certification. The consultants can have their own private practice or may be employed by producers' co-ops or farming-related NGOs.

Moreover, The Ministry of Agriculture commissioned a nationwide advertising campaign in an attempt to educate the public (including farmers, investors, and the general population) about the importance of protecting fertile farmland. More specifically, these advertisements state that the use of fertile agricultural land for nonagricultural purposes threatens the health and livelihood of future generations. The ads also indicate that there is ample land in Turkey for industrialization (e.g. housing developments, building factories, and establishing new businesses) but cautions the public that such development projects should be located in non-agricultural lands. They also warn investors about the new land protection laws by stating that projects involving construction on agricultural land would not be approved. These public announcements, which first appeared about two years ago, are still heavily shown on almost all national television channels in Turkey.

In addition, in an attempt to increase farmers' direct involvement in the distribution channels of their outputs, the government initiated projects to encourage the establishment of producer co-ops and associations. The government support for these farmer organizations included creating the legal infrastructure to support their investments and projects through grant programs and/or low interest bank loans. A specific example of this effort is the Agricultural Producers Association Act (article 5200), which was adopted in June 2004:

The purpose of this Act is to ensure that the agricultural producers come together on a product or product group basis and establish agricultural producer associations with a legal personality in order to plan the production according to the demand, improve the product quality, offer to

the market such products as complying with the applicable norms and standards provided that it does not take possession of the same, and to take measures enhancing the marketability power of the products at the national and international level (Article 1).

Despite these multi-faceted efforts, including the comprehensive agriculture bill that aims at protecting farmland, a number of measures aiming at increasing the attractiveness of farming, and efforts to educate public regarding the importance of preserving farmland, over the last 10 years Turkey has lost nearly double the amount of agricultural land compared to the previous decade. It is staggering that so much total farmland in Turkey has been lost amidst such an expansive macro-social marketing initiative. We believe this is a ripe context for exploring the macro-level challenges of generating social change, an underdeveloped area in the literature. It is our hope that identifying and discussing major structural barriers to macro-social marketing campaigns will help assess the viability of projects and enable greater focus in trying to overcome these obstacles.

Data Collection

With a complex problem such as land degradation, we sought to study the interventions and barriers at the federal, state, and local level (Kennedy and Parsons 2012). Semi-structured, in-depth interviews were conducted between October 2015 and January 2016 with stakeholders at national, provincial, and local levels as it applies to Turkey. A combination of convenience and snowball sampling techniques were chosen to select and access informants. During the interviews, each person was asked to suggest additional stakeholders who could contribute to the study, whether people or organizations. We were also careful to include among respondents

those likely to benefit from increasing development of farmland, such as a real estate agency representative, to gain insights into the different attitudes to farmland loss and urban development. All the informants were familiarized with the aims of the study and all except three respondents allowed the interview to be recorded. In all, we conducted interviews with 15 stakeholders who represent a range of actors in the system. The interviews were conducted in the national capital (Ankara), provincial capital (Izmir), and a local city (Seferihisar).

At the national level, we interviewed two officials at the “Rural Development Directorate” of the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock in Ankara, as well as the representative of the Ministry to the Izmir Province. At the provincial level, we focused on the Izmir Province, one of the agricultural centers within Turkey. Izmir, on the western coast of Turkey, is the third most populous city in the country. Due to its ideal climate, agriculture has a significant role in the economy of Izmir and the small towns in the region. We conducted four interviews with representatives of an agricultural cooperative, agriculture consultancy company, a semi-governmental development agency, and the Division of Agriculture in the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality.

In order to zoom in on the impacts of land degradation and the macro-social marketing efforts, we also did data collection in Seferihisar, the central town of a coastal district in İzmir Province. In small towns like Seferihisar, the state assigns a governor and the residents elect a mayor, both of whom we interviewed. We also interviewed five farmers and ex-farmers, as well as a real estate agent. The economy of Seferihisar is mainly based on agriculture (the production of tangerines and satsumas), and increasingly on tourism. In 2009, Seferihisar became the first

CittaSlow city in Turkey, the criteria of which involve creating environmental awareness, infrastructural policy, urban quality of life policy, preserving local production and products, hospitality and community, and creating social cohesion. Seferihisar was an ideal research site because issues of agriculture, tourism, development, and land degradation are being contested every day. We also had intimate knowledge of the city because the second author has lived in Seferihisar for at least part of the year since 1998. Her family operates a medium sized (around five hectares) tangerine farm. This insider knowledge gave us a head start in contacting informants and probing informants on the changing structure of agriculture in the region, as well as in Turkey.

In the interviews, we asked about general characteristics of the informants, their views on agriculture in Turkey and its future, their evaluation of the local and national governmental subsidies/programs/projects to support agriculture, and their thoughts on farmland loss. Participants included a range of upstream and downstream actors. The representatives at the national level, the governor, mayor, local representatives, and development agency representative act as upstream actors. Agriculture cooperatives and agriculture consultancy companies are mid-range actors that connect upstream and downstream actors. We considered farmers and ex-farmers as well as business owners as downstream actors. The interview questions were adapted according to the related stakeholder. The interviews varied between 20 to 75 minutes and with just three exceptions were recorded. The interview notes, including the interviewer's impressions and insights, and the elicited data about the stakeholders and interviewees were written up as soon as possible (Hartley 2004). The respondents were very eager to share their thoughts on farmland loss, believing that Turkey has a great potential for

better farming. Most respondents volunteered further insights and were keen to share their occupational experiences, observations, thoughts, and perceptions on the macro-social campaign regarding farmland loss. More than 10 hours of recorded interviews were transcribed, producing 260 pages of text.

Data Analysis

Our analysis of the interview data encompasses open coding and axial coding (Charmaz 1983; Miles and Huberman 1994). As part of the first stage, all the data was briefly scanned. The transcriptions were open coded separately by three researchers, and the results were triangulated in order to reduce the investigator bias (Shanton 2004). In order to validate our findings, we relied on the triangulation of multiple data sources, including interviews and numerous documentaries with different perspectives. During the first stage of data analysis we identified different barriers and problematic areas that may play a significant role in macro-social marketing campaigns failing to achieve societal change. These open codes were read and discussed by the three authors. Through discussion of relevant words, phrases, and statements that occurred repeatedly in the data, the authors determined four themes upon which to focus. The specific barriers range from certain cultural characteristics and orientations of Turkish people (including farmers), to infrastructural deficiencies, to regulatory/bureaucratic obstacles mainly derived from governmental management bodies.

The next stage of our analysis led to the emergence of an evidence-based conceptual understanding of the barriers, which was designed to allow the consideration of the determined themes in a holistic and coherent manner. Therefore, axial coding was used to identify the

relationships, responsibilities and perceptions of the upstream and downstream actors on the determined barriers. Through axial coding we arrived at sub-themes of each barrier to the achievement of societal change.

Findings

Based on a series of depth interviews conducted with various stakeholders surrounding the “offending product” (Kennedy and Parsons 2012) of loss of farmland in Turkey, we offer a list of underlying barriers that have inhibited a macro-social marketing campaign from being successful. To this end, our analysis identifies certain cultural characteristics and orientations of Turkish people (including farmers), infrastructural deficiencies, regulatory and bureaucratic obstacles, and national level political choices in agriculture and food related issues as the critical factors. The Findings section is organized to offer the reader a deeper insight into these barriers.

Cultural

Lack of collective mind:

One of the important barriers that we identify is the general cultural orientation with respect to “getting together” and “working together towards a common goal.” Farmers and producers are unable to work together efficiently. As can be seen in the excerpts below, both farmers themselves and governmental officers have come to the conclusion that the Turkish people (including the farmers) are generally incapable of working together to achieve a common goal. They instead tend to behave individually.

Getting together, being organized is very important. There is land reform, there is consolidation of small size land, and other things but being organized is as important as these efforts. But, this (getting organized) is almost impossible, I think.

Interviewer: Why do you think that way?

We are not a society who manages to work together, we like to be individualists. When you see examples from around the world, for example, the biggest bank in Japan is a co-op. Same in France. Migros (a large grocery store) is a co-op, as you know. Many large corporations in the world are co-ops. But it is not the case here (in Turkey). People look down on doing things through co-ops. (Mr. Kamil, State Agriculture Director)

Now, we are an unorganized/disorganized society. If we were (an organized society), then perhaps we could meet and exchange ideas, discuss issues, but we are not such a society. (Mr. Semih, farmer)

Organized farming (in the form of co-ops and associations) is currently about 10 percent in Turkey, among the lowest in the world (Çıkın 2011). One reason that could explain this low level of organized farming is the attitudes and beliefs people hold toward collective/organized actions. Various organized groups (such as labor unions and student associations) have frequently blamed governments for the economic and political instabilities experienced in the country, and thus, have become the target of the governing authorities. Such approaches, over time, have resulted in fear among people (farmers) who could possibly work together in a co-op and/or producer association types of collective actions. As one of our respondents (a district

governor) states, he worked months to form co-ops among farmers in central Turkey, however he failed because “people in Yozgat were afraid of getting together and doing something together.”

Selfishness and greed

In situations when an organization is finally formed, the likelihood of sustainability is small because of the managers and members becoming greedy. Such tendencies diminish the trust among the members, causing them to resign from membership.

I don't think co-ops or producer associations are successful. Because our mentality is against organized action. We only care about how much more I can make, how much more benefit I can obtain for myself. And that means individualism, thinking about yourself only, selfishness. I don't think we can get anything out of co-ops or associations unless we start to think of others, not only ourselves. (Mr.Umut, farmer)

There is also evidence of conflict among various interest groups in a community that eventually reduce the effectiveness of organized farming efforts. The excerpt below indicates how a former state agricultural director (and now owns an agricultural consulting firm) managed to form a potatoes producers association in central Turkey, but ran into a local politician who was the middle man and felt threatened by the success of the association, and thus lobbied against it. The selfishness and greed of the local politician prevented a greater good for this agricultural community.

When I worked in Nevsehir (a central Anatolian city), I organized farmers to form a potatoes producers' association... I don't know what happened to it now. The potatoes were graded, sorted, put in separate bags based on their purpose in use and sold to large grocery chains. Things were going well initially until we faced the potatoes brokers who were also local politicians. One of them was the mayor, the other one, who knows what. In my opinion, when a person is elected as mayor or parliament member, he should be banned from being involved in doing any kind of business. When not banned, this person continues doing the regional trade, and is threatened by other successful businesses (competitors)...That's what happened to us. (Mr. Taylan, agriculture consultancy)

Lack of trust

As can be seen from the preceding section, lack of trust appears as a critical factor in explaining inefficiencies of a certain type of intervention program. We classify lack of trust related issues into two: among farmers and towards the government.

At times, the proper functioning and longevity of organized farming is in jeopardy due to unfair treatments certain members receive, which create distrust among members and between members and managers, and may eventually lead to the resignation of members from the co-op and/or association. There are also concerns in terms of transparent management practices in these organizations which lead to further erosion of trust. One (former) member of a tangerine producers association notes that the managers tend to "favor" certain members, and harvest their trees in a timely fashion so that their products are sold at a higher price. Such a practice

puts other members in a disadvantageous position and creates distrust toward the management (and the association).

The association simply wasted my tangerines. They were supposed to collect them from the trees but didn't do so on time. Waited, saying that they are waiting for higher market prices. The prices eventually went up but half of my produce rotted while it was on the trees. So, no real gain. But those whose produce were collected on time didn't get hurt. None of their produce was wasted, but half of mine was. And, they didn't compensate for my loss either. But those who were on the board and those who have political power, their produce was collected on time. (Mr. Ahmet, farmer)

Members of co-ops and associations are skeptical about whether the government supports or tries to create hurdles for them. As stated by a co-op manager, the government is not really keen on supporting the development of agricultural organizations. Such perceptions create a sense of powerlessness which reduces the effectiveness of producer organizations.

This (unwillingness to help co-ops) reflects the way the government views co-ops organizations. If they really want to support and help to develop co-ops, they would take the data that comes from members seriously. They (the government) simply pretend as if they care. (Mr. Mahmut, agricultural co-op representative)

Similarly, distrust of government and governmental agencies is another critical issue that prevents some farmers from taking advantage of the subsidy and grant programs. Despite

minimal subsidy aid received, some farmers do not feel they are “being supported.” In fact, some farmers even believe that officers at governmental agencies are not even following law, rules, and regulations, but rather only following the orders received from their superiors. In turn, because of the “unlawful” environment, these farmers are not even considering applying to the grant programs.

What they offer is very limited and it does not really reach to small farmers like us. On paper, the government appears to support us but I never feel any support, any relief. They are not really supporting me. (Mr. Yunus, farmer, the 3rd person in Mr. Can interview)

District government...I don't trust them. I don't apply for any government money. State and government used to be different entities. Local managers would act in the best interest of local people. Now everything has changed. Now local managers follow orders from prime minister or from the president. They never disagree with the government even when they see an unlawful order coming from the top. (Mr. Umut, farmer)

Change in values

Over the past decades, there has been a significant change in the way Turkish people (both the younger generation of rural people and the public in general) view farming. For example, as noted by our respondents, new generations have lost a tie with the land, and as a result, have become less conscious about the loss of farmland. This cultural (value) change may explain

younger villagers' behavior of either willingness to sell their land and/or not considering farming on their land.

They (my children) are not that conscious about what happens here. They have lost the tie with the land a long time ago, I think. My older daughter, for example, studied in Ankara and is now working/living in there. She can't/won't come back here to do farming. She was never interested, she wouldn't know how to do it. (Mr. Can, real estate agent)

My son, a geophysics engineer, started his own business in Izmir. Our children don't like to be farmers. It is not appealing for them. I think, it is also related to the "illness" of wanting to become rich without working hard. This mentality is a result of the politics implemented over the last 15-20 years. People now want to become rich without working. People want to make money without working on the farm. Farming is difficult. I don't think my children would ever come back and be farmers. (Mr. Semih, farmer)

The phenomenon is not limited to the children of farmers. The general public, likewise, does not seem to be interested in issues surrounding agriculture, farmland, and farming. As indicated by our respondent, when the general public is more interested in living in newer buildings/apartments and shopping at the malls, they become less concerned about what happens to farmland. As a result, they become less critical of the implementation problems of the laws and regulations protecting farmland.

I don't think that people in general would appreciate the significance of this subject (loss of agricultural land) unless they actually work in a farm or deal with some kind of agriculture.

People who don't own a piece of (farm) land cannot appreciate its value. People live in

apartments in cities and go to the shopping malls. That's what they see. When picnicking over the weekends, they say "what a beautiful green field, what a beautiful forest" but the first chance they get, they'd destroy that greenness. They won't object to anyone who would build them a nice place in the middle of this beautiful green. That is a real paradox. (Mr. Umut, farmer)

Infrastructure

By infrastructure, we mean certain facilitators (i.e. capabilities, competencies, and resources) farmers and farmer organizations ought to have to effectively benefit from interventions put forward to prevent farmland loss. To this end, we identify four sub-themes to provide detailed understanding about the infrastructural barriers.

Lack of capable and credible managers

Our analysis reveals that certain organizational weaknesses in both co-ops and associations are creating inefficiencies, mistrust, and cynicism among the members. One such weakness, as often mentioned in our interviews, is poor management of organizations. The observation is relevant in both co-ops and associations. As indicated below, one of the important reasons why co-ops are failing is because they are managed by unskilled (or under experienced) managers and presidents. By law, co-op presidents are supposed to be elected among the member villagers. However, the concern raised by this respondent is that they usually lack management skills. The reason why co-ops are not working is...let me give you an example: when we have an opening in our agency, we place an ad in the classifieds and list the quality criteria of the potential employees. Then, we hire the best person who complies with the requirements of the work. In the case of co-ops, there is no such process, the chair and the board members have to be

chosen among the member villagers who are usually very low educated and experienced. These people usually are not the best people for the job. But they become the chairman and board members anyway. This a bit bigger task than they can handle and they usually cannot handle. These low educated people suddenly begin to manage a lot of (some government provided) money. Naturally, they are not able to run the organizations without getting themselves into corruption. Right now, I know at least 20 co-ops that are in bankruptcy due to under skilled management practices. (Mr. Taylan, agriculture consultancy)

Lack of experience in running business (lack of entrepreneurial and managerial skills):

Another problem we identified is related to lack of business experience of the farmers. For example, when a farmer receives funding or produces under a specific grant program, he/she is expected to follow the requirements of the program (i.e. produce, stock, and deliver etc., based on the guidelines provided with the program). According to a manager in the Izmir Development Agency, many farmers do not possess the qualities of “business culture” (i.e. professionalism) to comply with the funding/grant agreement.

Farmers, when they receive funding from agencies, they are expected to follow certain procedures. But they end up producing things that are not within legal standards, not eligible for export, quite low quality and unproductive. Their products are not meeting the requirements of the funding/grant agreement. He is producing it but not meeting the minimal requirements. And the problematic issue is that there are no legal sanctions to it. As a result, the products are not able to be sold to export markets with high prices. Farmers, when not following the rules of the

agreement, are not able to benefit from these grant programs at all. (Mr. Deniz, Izmir Development Agency)

Moreover, the lack of project development and execution experience appears to be another problem faced by farmer and farmer organizations. The granting agencies are frequently experiencing instances where the farmers are not able to execute the program in an effective manner due to underestimation of the required tasks at the time of grant application. As a result, they experience many problems during the execution. Such problems, in turn, reduce the effectiveness of the programs.

I see a more structural problem, that is, the problem of (lack of) project culture among the farmers. For example, the guy (farmer) is preparing an application in the office but never thinking about testing/implementing it. Only after, they start the project, they realize the problems with it. The problems may be about lack of planning, underestimating the task, underestimating the resources needed to complete the project etc. Then, obviously, the project is not completed successfully and on time. (Mr. Deniz, Izmir Development Agency)

Lack of quality support services

Farmers and farmer organizations can receive support throughout a grant program. These supports can be in the form of preparing the grant application (e.g. paid support from consultancy firms) or during execution of the program upon being granted (e.g. from the governmental agencies).

One problem with respect to the support obtained from consultancy firms is the lack of institutionalization/standardization among these firms. Since these firms are not properly monitored, their quality varies significantly. When farmers work with low quality consultancy firms, even when they receive the grant they experience many problems during the execution. Such problems are likely to reduce the benefit farmers can obtain from the programs.

We also experience problems with poorly prepared proposals and applications. For example, the farmers hire a project consultant to prepare the application. However, since project consultancy is not quite institutionalized in Turkey, the farmers are likely to end up with hiring an underqualified consultant. If the consultant performs poor quality service, farmers may end up with a project that will not help improve their business. (Mr. Deniz, Izmir Development Agency)

Lack of proper/sufficient education (lack of quality agriculture/university education):

Another impeding infrastructural issue is the low quality agriculture education at the university level. As stated by a founder and manager of a consultancy firm, since the 1990s, the quality standards of agriculture schools have decreased and therefore the quality of the graduates.

When I was studying in the agriculture school, the admission standards were quite high. People enrolling to an agricultural engineering program could easily enroll in other engineering and even medical schools in quality universities. However, especially after 1990s, the number of agriculture schools as well as their capacity has been reduced tremendously. Students who could not be placed in other programs started to enroll in agriculture schools. The increased capacity reduced the quality of incoming students. The quality of the agriculture programs also declined significantly. Students in plant protection departments for example started to graduate without seeing a single bug or meeting with a single farmer. These agriculture program graduates do not

know how to talk to a farmer; they don't know anything about their problems. Farmers don't trust them, don't even pay attention to what they say. (Mr. Taylan, agriculture consultancy)

As Mr. Taylan explain, if farmers do not trust the knowledge and experience of these consultants, not taking their advice seriously, the effectiveness of agricultural consultancy programs initiated by the government are significantly decreased.

Regulations and Bureaucracy

Our respondents frequently stated that certain regulations surrounding various interventions such as subsidy and grant programs, consultancy programs, and loan protection laws reduce the effectiveness of these efforts. As far as the subsidy and grant programs are concerned, our analysis reveals taxation, application process, and program scheduling related regulations and bureaucratic barriers. For example, as noted by a state agriculture director, the financial aids offered through national programs are subject to income tax, which significantly reduces money farmers receive.

Financial aids are increasing the tax liability of farmers. They are subject to both value added tax and stoppage tax. The government may not do much about the value added tax but perhaps they can remove the stoppage tax. The guy (the farmer) is not really spending the money for himself; he is actually using it as investment for the economy. Why are you further trimming the money with stoppage tax? When you add the two taxes together, you are simply taking one third of the support back before even the start of the project. (Mr. Kamil, State Agriculture Director)

Another respondent compares the aids received through national sources and EU agencies, and suggests that a change in regulations would benefit farmers and increase the effectiveness of the programs.

Well, as far as the difficulties we face...for example, our resources are subject to tax, unlike the EU money. As you know, the EU grants are exempt from tax but the money they give us is not. Corporate tax, value added tax, etc. This should change. (Mr. Deniz, Izmir Development Agency)

The grant program regulations are quite rigid in terms of the start and end dates which sometimes create problems for the recipient farmers. For example, a farmer may receive the grant in the middle of harvest season and normally cannot begin the program until the end of the harvest, which may take a few months. Since the program starts as soon as the aid is granted, the farmer may be faced with a situation to complete the program in a shorter time period than planned. Such time pressure may also diminish the effectiveness of the grant program.

We usually face an important timing problem particularly in processing establishments. The guy applies and is granted funding. We go out there to start the project. We sign the contract to start the project but the owner says "I am processing olives right now, I can't stop the process and start this project now, we have to wait until the processing period is over." Then we have to wait four months to start the project. This delay is a major hurdle and may make the project impossible to finish on time. Sometimes, we can still finish during the remaining eight months, but it's very risky. A better grant/funding timing and scheduling can be made to avoid these risks. (Mr. Deniz, Izmir Development Agency)

Grant programs usually have a minimum (size) requirement which prevents smaller farmers with weaker financial background to take advantage of the programs. For example, as the following respondent states, the applicants must have at least 100 decares of land owned by themselves or rented for a long period of time. The farmers are also expected to demonstrate a healthy financial situation to match the grant they apply for.

Ideally, any farmer registered through the “Farmer Registration System” is eligible to apply and receive financial aid. But, the bylaws and circulars impose restrictions. For example, the rule says that the farmer must have at least 10 cattle...or you can’t apply if you have less than 100 decares of land...and the farmer must demonstrate proof of financial stability, either the land will be your own property or you should have rented (and already paid the rent) for at least seven years. Some of these requirements cannot be met by small farmers, and then they can’t apply and benefit from these programs at all. (Mr. Kamil, State Agriculture Director)

Regulations (bylaws) surrounding the consultancy program is also blamed for its ineffectiveness. As noted below, regulations allow people with economics degree (without having any agricultural background) to serve as agricultural consultants. In fact, consultants with non-agricultural degrees are even allowed to serve more farmers than consultants with agricultural degrees. As noted by our respondent, they had to work under quite awkward and unfair regulations, which made the system inefficient and unworkable.

There are many problems about consultancy programs. We often experience difficulties. I must say there are wrong regulations. For example, the law says people with economics degrees can serve as an agriculture consultant. Not only that—the regulations further say that economists can serve even more farmers than an agriculture engineer. An economics graduate can serve 60 farmers but an agriculture engineer can serve 40 farmers. How absurd is this? We have had to deal with these non-sense regulations for years. The bylaws are quite poorly done. It is like building a house with no proper foundation or infrastructure to support it. (Mr. Taylan, agriculture consultancy)

In theory, the farmland protection law (explained in the Introduction section) is designed to protect farmland, however, as explained by a higher director at the ministry in Ankara, the exceptions (such as allowing quality farmland for industrial or housing developments) may create major loopholes in the law and lead to loss of valuable agricultural land. In addition, as noted by a real estate broker, local politicians frequently put pressure on the committees deciding on the exceptions, which in practice reduces the effectiveness of the protection laws.

There are new laws to protect...but the demand and pressure for new housing is a major problem. First, our municipality prepares a proposal for a new zoning area with all the proper paperwork, then the exceptions committee processes the proposal and usually approves it, because there is tremendous demand and they don't want to anger the voters. That is, exception committees can use these demands to play politics with the public. Approve so that the voters and developers will be pleased. (Mr. Can, real estate agent)

Political/Strategic Choices in Food and Agriculture

Our respondents (representing a wide range of stakeholders) frequently point to the food and agricultural policy “choices” that governments have made as critical barriers in the effectiveness of farmland protection efforts.

One criticism toward the political choices of governments is their focus on quantity rather than quality food and agricultural output. For example, despite years long negotiations with the EU Commission on food and agriculture related issues, and despite numerous measures taken in the attempt of EU accession process, producers and producer organizations believe that producing high quality agricultural output is still not a high priority of the government. In fact, as indicated by a former state agriculture director, the most critical problem is not having a “quality-oriented” agriculture strategy. According to him, such strategic choice is the most significant barrier to the development of agricultural organizations in Turkey.

Why do small and in fact large farmers go bankrupt? Because they are not able to create demand for what they produce. Believe me, I can show you my notes from 1980s, then we were discussing the very same problems. And, after all these years, today we are still discussing the same issues, same problems. That means, we haven't solved these problems yet. The main problem, above and beyond establishing co-ops or funding farmers, we have a lack of focus on quality products. As a country, we have to discuss how we can produce quality products. Then, we can actually create demand, sell our products, and make real

money. Since we are not quality focused, we experience these problems over and over again. (Mr. Taylan, agriculture consultancy)

Moreover, even though there are many sources of financial aid programs, it is the common belief among our respondents that these programs are mainly targeting bigger farmers and agricultural producers. Many of the important financial aid programs do not suit small farmers. As noted by the respondents, this can be a “strategic choice” of the government, however, such choices are working against small/family farms as they make them even worse off economically. When suffering from economic difficulties, small farmers are more likely to abstain from farming or sell their land to those who would use it for non-agricultural purposes.

The nationwide, governmental level agriculture policy is geared toward supporting the big producers, big farmers. Everything is structured to support the big guys; there is not much for small ones. And, that’s the political choice of the government. I don’t know the logic behind it, whether some international agreements the governments have made or something else, but that’s the situation... In the past, even when you have a couple of cows you could still be supported. Now it is all blocked. Everything is for big operations: government is not giving money to small (farms), the municipality is saying that you cannot farm here or raise cows here because the status of the village is changed, it is officially not a rural area anymore. What should the poor farmer do? (Mr. Can, real estate agent)

Another critical strategic choice that ultimately reduces the effectiveness of grant and subsidy programs is related to their focus. The programs are generally designed to improve the

production side (i.e. increase agricultural output). As the following respondent notes, one of the most important issues that would make agricultural output more valuable in the market, and thus, improves farmers financial well-being is the “marketing” of them. However, there is practically no program that supports the marketing side. As such, lack of proper understanding of marketing particularly puts the small producer in a competitively disadvantaged position. One missing part in projects, for example, there is no substantial support for the marketing side. Let’s say, our farmer Mehmet is producing X but he doesn’t know how to market it which is the main part of making money from what you produce. But, there is no such support. These grant programs should not only focus on the production, there should be items, specific calls about marketing of it, about finding new and valuable markets for these products. (Mr. Kamil, State Agriculture Director)

Another perhaps more critical problem is the changes in the duties of the responsible ministry. Previously known as the “Ministry of Agriculture and Village/Rural Affairs,” it was reorganized and then renamed as the “Ministry of Food, Agriculture, and Livestock.” As a result of this change the responsibilities of the ministry have widened to include all food, certain health (tobacco and alcohol, medicine), and all animal issues. More importantly, the focus on “Village/Rural Affairs” has reduced. Such changes in focus, as voiced by our respondent, have created problems in the implementation of laws passed to prevent farmland loss. The problems of the rural life and the villagers/farmers have become a secondary (not a critical) issue for the ministry.

When the government shut down TEKEL¹³, its entire personnel and responsibilities were transferred to the agriculture ministry. Now, even TEKEL is within the responsibility of the ministry. As you know, even the name of the ministry was changed a few years ago. And it is not just the name change; the focus of the ministry has also shifted. The “agriculture and rural affairs” ministry is no less about agriculture and rural affairs but more about food and health. It is less focused and less concerned about what happens to people who live in villages. Of course, we have to worry about the health and safety of food but the agriculture side is really being ignored, in my opinion. (Mr. Taylan, agriculture consultancy)

Other major implementation problems identified by our respondents are the overall “wrong” agricultural policy choices and lack of long-term vision (planning). As the mayor of a small western city describes, there are two “main mistakes” the state governments have made over the years: looked down on farming and farmers and supported farming done by big companies (big scales) while trying to eliminate small farmers. Because of these strategic choices, the implementation of protection laws would never achieve the intended goals (of reducing farmland loss).

Agriculture policies should be the main and the most important policy in Turkey. We, as a country, must pay much closer attention to what is happening in terms of agriculture and farming. However, I see two main mistakes about our agriculture policies: 1- farming and farmers are largely being looked down upon, not really being paid attention to, and 2- agriculture is mainly being supported at the big and industrial scale. Only the big scale farming is being encouraged. More dramatically, the production done by small farmers is

¹³ Former state monopoly for the production and distribution of alcohol and tobacco products. For more information see: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tekel>

being undermined, neglected, and gradually eliminated. On the one hand, there are laws to protect land, but on the other hand, there are other laws that change the status of villages overnight, making them a city districts instead of rural areas. These new city laws and the changing status of the villages create unfavorable conditions for small family farmers who want to continue farming. These unfavorable conditions force them to sell their land, migrate to the city center and seek employment in the mining or construction industry.

This is really wrong! (Mr. Tunc, Mayor)

Discussion

In this study, we identify important macro-level factors that challenge the effectiveness of a macro-social campaign in a developing country context. Previous research has mostly illuminated successful examples. Moreover, the research that dealt with challenges largely focused on micro-level issues. We believe that our study adds valuable knowledge to the literature in that it focuses on macro-level factors that may impede the effectiveness of macro-social marketing campaigns. Specifically, we identified four main macro-level barriers: cultural, infrastructural, regulatory, and policy choice. Before discussing each of the barriers and how they build on the literature, we will discuss the ways in which Turkey is a difficult context.

The context of a country is of critical importance to the implementation of a social marketing campaign. Each macro-social marketing campaign has to work within the challenges of the particular context. The “wicked” problems, after all, are the ones that are hard to define, constantly changing, and span multiple levels of society (Kennedy and Parson 2015). Turkey is a challenging context to understand and in which to operate. On the one hand Turkey is a

member of the OECD and G20 and has the 17th largest economy in the world. On the other hand, Turkey is alternatively called a developing country or emerging market economy (Nielsen 2011). Turkey continues to experience a great deal of political volatility and, while a democracy, has encountered more authoritarian rule (Timur 2016; Topçu 2016). The degree of tax evasion in Turkey shows a long-standing lack of trust in the Turkish government (Adaman and Çarkoğlu 2013). The 2015 general election saw the ruling AK Party win half of the popular vote and there are sharp divisions between its supporters and those of the opposition (Nasi 2016; Yilmaz 2016).

Turkey is embroiled in issues with Russians, Kurds, and Syrians (Butler 2016). Turkey is feeling the strain of absorbing almost 2 million Syrian refugees (Hogg 2015). To keep Syrian refugees in Turkey, the EU agreed to pay €3 billion to help offset the \$8 billion already paid by the Turkish government (BBC 2015). With this backdrop, we will now discuss the identified barriers and what upstream actors may be able to do to mitigate them, even in a difficult context like Turkey.

According to our findings, one of the main barriers to the success of a macro-social marketing campaign is cultural, including the lack of a collective mind, selfishness and greed, a lack of trust, and changing values. Social marketers are trying to change complex behaviors over a considerable period of time, which often hinge on a number of interrelated variables (Bloom and Novelli 1981). In institutional economics, the level of customs, norms and traditions are thought to change very slowly—to the order of millennia and centuries (Williamson 2000). Kotler and Zaltman (1971) were wise to warn that social marketing campaigns are much more difficult in the case of social reconditioning where new behavior patterns are being created, rather than

“canalizing” existing attitudes and behaviors in a direction. Cultural barriers indeed seem to be a major obstacle to the macro-social marketing efforts of the levels of Turkish government.

Although Turkey is traditionally thought to be a highly collectivist society (Hofstede Center), our findings corroborate other research that paints a much less reductionist perspective (Göregenli 1997). Turkey has the lowest interpersonal trust index of OECD countries, and one of the lowest in the entire world (Medrano 2016). A lack of trust in institutions also complicates gathering farmers into co-ops and associations (Kuzmanovic 2012). These cultural barriers are exacerbated by the difficulties within a developing country like Turkey.

Ironically, contrary to the view of slowly changing cultural value (Williamson 2000), the biggest cultural obstacle seems to be the rapid change in cultural values. Starting in the mid-1980s, Turkey’s economic development strategy changed from import substitution to an export orientation approach (Onis 1991). In the 1990s, as a result of the liberalization policies, Turkish people were exposed to many foreign brand-name products that they had not heard of before or could only have purchased previously from the black market. Five-star hotels, mansion-type living, lavish night clubs, shopping malls, high-rise office buildings, foreign cuisine restaurants, and fast food restaurants became the new landmarks of Istanbul and many other big cities. With the privatization of television and radio broadcasting, several new media outlets emerged and dramatically transformed the nature and scope of advertising and program contents. Credit cards, consumer credit, and longer-term payment options helped the development of a strong consumption base among the relatively affluent segments of the urban population. These changes in consumption and the image of the “new life” (mainly due to the exposure of the

neoliberal life through various media channels) quickly diffused among the rural people and resulted in changes in their self-concept, ideal-self, and aspirations. As in the case of many other developing countries, modernization and globalization have created changes in the value systems of urban and rural Turkish consumers (Sandikci et al. 2015).

When one of the factors which enables problem behaviors is changing cultural values, it is not so easy to create a context where it is easy for consumers to *not* change (Kennedy and Parson 2012). When the current of society is towards development and consumerism it is very difficult for social marketers to reduce the effectiveness of traditional marketers that appeal to these cultural values. In order to overcome the cultural barriers, we reason that there needs to be pervasive adjustment in cultural values. It is unreasonable to expect only farmers to adjust their values to think more collectively, be less selfish, and stop desiring a materialistic lifestyle. Something as deeply engrained as mistrust is not going to be quickly changed. However, we have modest hope based on our interviews that if confronted with the prospect of ongoing rapid diminishing of farmland and the impact this could have on society's future well-being, citizens will rethink their values. A social marketing campaign that affirms the agricultural strength of Turkey, presents farmers as heroes, and encourages citizens to buy locally could help.

Furthermore, a social marketing campaign could address the issues in a way that appeals to a person's self-interests, warning that the cost of food will continue to sky-rocket if more farmland is lost. The upstream actors must increase awareness of the problems and implore everyone to feel responsibility. The cultural barriers are indeed imposing, but a small change could be a small step toward changing the momentum of land degradation.

Another one of the main barriers to the success of a macro-social marketing campaign is infrastructural, including the lack of capable and credible managers, lack of experience in running business, lack of quality support services, and lack of proper education. In one of the few works to date on the infrastructural obstacles to social marketing, Bloom and Novelli (1981) point out that social marketers have to function in organizations where marketing activities are poorly understood. "Social marketers are often programmed for mediocre performance from the very beginning" (p. 86). The infrastructural barriers are naturally going to be more difficult in a developing country in which there is less development of human resources. When there is a weaker educational base and less expertise, the professional abilities of intermediaries to implement the programs effectively will be less. In Turkey, the educational and professional level of some civil servants is lacking (Acar and Özgür 2004). Not only is there a tendency toward favoring expert-driven programs (Lefebvre and Flora 1988), but our respondents report the experts are unqualified to even design the programs.

Compared to the cultural barriers, the infrastructural barriers seem easier to overcome. The education and skills of the co-op managers, farmers, and consultants need to be strengthened. Improving the overall education of the country is a pressing need. At all levels of education, expenditure per student is low compared to the OECD average (one third of the OECD average at the primary and secondary levels) (OECD 2015). Twice as many (36 percent) 18-24-year-olds in Turkey are neither employed, nor in education or training compared to the average across OECD countries (OECD 2015). Agriculture related undergraduate and graduate programs need to be reenergized. Continuing education programs in agriculture, marketing, and management, as well

as stipends to motivate farmers and bureaucrats to strengthen skills in weak areas can help to minimize these barriers. This will take considerable investment, but it is money well-spent when in the perspective of investment in its own human capital, the financial advantage of being a food exporter rather than importer, future food security, and Turkey's portion of the estimated \$40 billion annual worldwide cost of land degradation (FAO 2016).

The grant program regulations with rigid start and end dates that do not serve the farmers exemplify professional objectives placed above consumer needs (Lefebvre and Flora 1988). An emphasis should be placed on making policies with the end-users in mind. As Manoff (1985) pointed out, "Community based participation in the formulation of concepts and message designs is indispensable" (p. 145). More customer(farmer)-focused regulations could help undermine bureaucracy being a barrier. There is nothing more futile than devoting resources to programs that the end users do not feel are worthwhile participating in. Research on land degradation confirms that "Improved government effectiveness works especially well when it gives local communities the mandate to manage their natural resources" (Nkonya, Mirzabaev, and von Braun 2015, p. 10). Easy to follow regulations formed with the applicability to the farmer will abet eliminating this barrier.

Improved government effectiveness and rule of law enhance the adoption of sustainable land management practices (Nkonya, Mirzabaev, and von Braun 2015). There are more opportunities for addressing land degradation in countries which have shown significant improvements in government effectiveness and rule of law. Accordingly, if the government is serious about wanting to decrease land degradation, it needs to strive for credibility in governance and the rule

of law. One Turkish citizen captured the feeling about the ruling AK Party over the 2013 Gezi Park protest, “They don't like trees, because trees don't generate a profit...Even the smallest city gardens and parks are now seen as a possibility for investment” (Letsch 2014). Not pursuing projects that prioritize development over sustainability are costly decisions, but ones that can win credibility and improve citizens’ trust. The government needs to be an example of the same decisions it hopes farmers and citizens will make.

Food and agricultural policies of the government are another barrier to the social-marketing campaign to protect farmland. According to our findings, the government programs are focused on bigger farmers and the quantity rather than quality of output, typical of a “production orientation” that is about increasing output and reducing costs (Lefebvre and Flora 1988). Given the lack of a customer or marketing orientation, it is hardly surprising that respondents report a lack of support in marketing their products. In other words, there is failure at two levels: the upstream actors fail in being customer-oriented in their strategies as well as in their programs to help farmers market their products.

Social marketers have to be prepared to deal with other social organizations acting in a way that fragments the effort (Bloom and Novelli 1981). The expanding purview of the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock makes intra-organizational consensus and clearly specified organizational objectives a greater obstacle (Lefebvre and Flora 1988).

Upstream actors have to make political and strategic choices that are in line with reducing the effectiveness of traditional marketing avenues for the offending product (Kennedy and Parsons 2012). Choices that favor only large producers, as many actors we interviewed alleged, will not

stop the flow of small farmers selling their land for other purposes. Another example we discovered of contradictory policies is laws that protect the land but then zoning laws that change the status of the rural areas. Bloom and Novelli (1981) point out that social marketers struggle to sustain consistency in offered programs, resulting in consumer confusion. The government should appoint a committee formed from members of the interested ministries to provide strategic direction on strategies that encourage farmland retention. This must be balanced with many other competing priorities, but if the strategic choices do not point in the same direction, the macro-social marketing effort will be in vain. Strategic decisions must be made with holistic planning and a long-term orientation. This is, of course, more difficult in a tumultuous political environment where there is little confidence of enduring stability.

These barriers are made more daunting by the interconnected levels of social embeddedness, the institutional environment, governance, and resource allocation and employment (Williamson 2000). The barriers that we have recognized overlap with one another. The cultural barriers identified also exist at the upstream level. The lack of collective mind or mistrust, not to mention selfishness and greed, can adversely affect the political and strategic choices. As each ministry vies for separate goals, the strategy becomes fragmented in a way that obstructs consistency in strategic choices. These strategic choices in turn dictate regulations and bureaucracy that do not have the end user in mind. Insufficient infrastructure and unappealing programs confirm the mistrust farmers have and solidifies the cultural values of having to look out for one's own interests rather than the collective good. Regulations that allow economics graduates to work as agriculture consultants is a regulatory weakness, but also an infrastructural problem which leads to poor service outcomes. The barriers reinforce each other in a way that makes any one barrier

harder to identify and to deal with. Nevertheless, we hope that our identification and discussion of barriers has made each seem more surmountable.

Conclusions, Limitations, and Future Research Extensions

One of the limits of this study is that it is based on a single country context. As we have explained, Turkey has a number of macro-level dynamics that make it a unique and difficult context in which to do social marketing. We hope that other researchers will be inspired to look at the barriers to effective social marketing in other complex contexts. The qualitative methodology was well-suited for exploring the barriers to this social-marketing campaign, but we recognize its limitations. We could collect more data to test the extent to which the identified barriers are responsible for the lack of success of the upstream actors. A study that takes a wider view of the failure rate of social marketing campaigns across the globe would provide benefit that an exploratory study in a single-country context is not able to.

In the future, we would like to explore in greater depth the degree to which political divisions and domestic and international instability can stymie macro-social marketing campaigns. From a public policy perspective, we would also like to gather data from more farmers on what it would take for them to not choose the “offending product” and remain in farming. We also want to look at positive examples of communities of farmers, especially younger ones, who are choosing to remain in farming. We want to explore how micro-level successes may be able to translate into macro-level sustainability.

For macro-social marketing to realize its potential to improve the well-being of citizens, it is vital to not just debate whether the outcomes are good or bad, but to explore the reasons many macro-social marketing campaigns never gain momentum. The identification of four barriers that have held back upstream Turkish actor's ability to stymie the rate of land degradation are a step toward knowing what must be overcome. Many other countries share some of the same factors that make Turkey's context a difficult one. It is our hope that this study has contributed to Turkey and other countries' ability to implement successful macro-social marketing campaigns to limit land degradation and other complex issues.

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The empire strikes back or how big tobacco companies are back into the fashion universe through ecigs: the case of Solaris in Spain.

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Abstract

For many years the tobacco industry has been interested in women as consumers (Mackay and Amos 2003). By combining product innovation and effective advertising campaigns, companies created only for women brands like Philip Morris Virginia Slims. The positioning of the brands made reference to universes of glamour, relax, uniqueness, among others.

The World Health Organisation has fought the idea of tobacco as something fashionable, and due to a continuous work of demarketing through the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control, tobacco has become something undesirable in numerous countries that legislate against any marketing activity of tobacco products (like advertising, packaging, point of sales).

Nevertheless, in these last years we have seen the appearance of a new way of dispensing nicotine, the e-cigarette. This new product looks like a cigarette but it is just vaping, and so, it does not include the combustion when consumed. This new product is generating a debate and dividing the public health sphere (De Andrade, Hastings and Angus 2013). While this debate could be related to the central idea of harm reduction –being the ecig less damaging than the cigarette- the Industry is profiting from this by marketing this product innovation as friendly,

sexy, adventurous or glamorous (Hastings, De Andrade and Moodie 2012). Unfortunately, we might be forgetting that nicotine is the cause of a considerable number of illnesses (McKee and Capewell 2015), and that there is not that strong evidence of vaping as something completely safe (Schober et al. 2014).

The official selling tactics of e-cigarettes face to the public health are to sell it as a no harm product for those consumers addicted to nicotine or as a way to quit smoking (McKee and Capewell 2015), given the fact that drugs containing nicotine are not very effective (Etter 2013). Nevertheless, other opinions focus on how the big tobacco industry wants to re-position back nicotine in a trendy way, with the help of technology, and so, provoking dual use of consumers (cigarettes plus e-cigarettes), retarding smoking cessation, re-socialising public smoking, repositioning nicotine among young people as a benign drug and, thus, welcoming back ex-smokers (Chapman 2013). A good example of this could be the content marketing campaign developed by Solaris, the branding of the e-cigarette manufactured by Altria in Spain, by using well known bloggers –women- that appear using the product.

This research analyses a content marketing campaign designed and implemented by Solaris - *Solarisbyme*-. The methodology is based on a monitoring of the campaign, by following it in the web as well as in media related press where bloggers appeared, from November 2015 to March 2016. The social media analysis has been made by participant observation signing for the *solarisbyme* distribution list. The capture and download of all web and social media has been made with the software NCapture. These resources have been thematically coded and analysed with software CAQDAS NVivo 10.

Results show how by using bloggers (young women) Solaris is using content marketing as the main marketing communication tool. This is an innovative way to create brand value through communicating valuable, relevant, and consistent information about the product, specifically what the brand wants to position, and thus, attract and retain a well-defined audience.

Questions related to lifestyle (relax, travelling, food tendencies, restaurants, among others) are tied to the image of the e-cigarette consumption -the e-cigarette appears always in fancy pictures being consumed by the bloggers- (Figure)

This influence marketing helps to define the content marketing strategies and highly targeted calls-to-action that are more likely to convert prospects into customers in each scenario (Brown and Fiorella 2013). All this clearly reflects that Philip Morris is back in the profitable market of nicotine for women, with a product targeted for them. This campaign axis recalls of those classic ones of tobacco products only for women during the last century (Figure 2).

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Figure 2. Bloggers' activities linked to solaris ecigarette



Source: <https://solarisbyme.com/>.

Figure 2. A classic positioning of cigarettes for women



Source: downloaded from <http://vintage-cigarette-posters.tumblr.com/>

How Could Social Movements Promote Tobacco Endgames?

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Abstract

Despite their low public credibility, tobacco companies still wield considerable commercial and political power, and actively undermine policies that would restrain their marketing activities or expose the consequences these have had. Recently, several governments have set tobacco endgame goals, which respond to critical analyses of tobacco's myriad harms and reframe policy discourse from "controlling" the tobacco epidemic to ending it. Because tobacco companies' aggressive responses to endgame strategies may involve time-consuming litigation, it is timely to consider other approaches, particularly mass engagement and mobilisation of the general public. This paper discusses how different social movements have supported tobacco control initiatives and explores their potential for realising tobacco endgame goals.

Introduction

Although smoking once enjoyed wide social acceptability, evidence from the 1950s onwards documented its causal association with lung cancer and many other fatal illnesses (Banks et al., 2015; Doll & Hill, 1950). Tobacco companies responded to this evidence by disputing it, offering alternative explanations, creating spurious 'reduced harm' products, and doing their best to reassure smokers (Wipfli & Samet, 2016). Public statements made by industry spokespeople stand in striking contrast to what they and their companies privately knew (Carter & Chapman,

2003). Access to formerly secret internal tobacco company documents has revealed the unprecedented deception practised by tobacco companies and led many to regard them as corporate pariahs (Christofides, Chapman, & Dominello, 1999).

Yet despite their heavily tarnished corporate images, tobacco companies continue to wield considerable commercial and political power, which they use to impede evidence-based and proportionate tobacco control measures. Recent actions taken by tobacco companies against the Australian government illustrate the wide-ranging industry responses to regulation. In the case of plain packaging, tobacco companies have attempted to have legislation introducing plain or standardised packaging rescinded. Their actions show both the lengths to which they will go to prevent effective policy and the resources on which they may draw to mount their campaigns.

Tobacco companies' three-pronged attack on plain packaging first involved litigation alleging that the legislation breached Australia's constitution. Although resoundingly defeated in the Australian High Court (Lieberman, 2013), tobacco companies have nonetheless pursued action in international arenas. Using provisions in an Investor State Dispute Settlement agreement, Philip Morris Asia sought either discontinuation of plain packaging or substantial compensation from the Australian government. Recently, the dispute tribunal concluded that Philip Morris Asia's acquisition of shares in Philip Morris Australia *after* plain packaging had been announced was inconsistent with a good faith action (Gleeson & Friel, 2013). Nonetheless, defending actions such as the one brought is time-consuming and costly, factors that may have a chilling effect on other governments' willingness to introduce similar policies (Fooks & Gilmore, 2013). The World Trade Organisation has yet to issue its decision on whether Australia's law breaches

tobacco companies' trademark rights, though experts suggest tobacco companies are unlikely to succeed (Mitchell & Studdert, 2012). Nevertheless, some countries have decided to await the outcome before proceeding further with their plans to introduce plain packaging (Davison, 2013).

Despite the egregious nature of their claims, tobacco companies' corporate power has been largely unchallenged by members of the public, whose responses to litigation illustrate complex perspectives on choice and responsibility. Individual actions against tobacco companies have met with limited success and garnered little public sympathy (McCool, Freeman, Thomson, & Paul, 2009; Wakefield, Mcleod, & Clegg-Smith, 2003). Class actions have achieved more for plaintiffs, though even major victories may still elicit negative feedback, with some media commentaries blaming smokers themselves for the harms they have experienced (Chapman, 2002; McLeod, Wakefield, Chapman, Smith, & Durkin, 2009).

Yet although the wider public is not always sympathetic to those affected by smoking's harms, they continue to disapprove of tobacco companies. Indeed recent studies have found high levels of industry distrust among smokers (Hammond, Fong, Zanna, Thrasher, & Borland, 2006) as well as among the general public (Cummings & Proctor, 2014) and strong support for more robust policy measures (Gendall, Hoek, Maubach, & Edwards, 2013). This evidence raises the possibility that strategies capitalising on public support for more robust tobacco control measures could complement current approaches, which rely heavily on advocacy from the public health community.

Ascertaining how best to capitalise on public distaste for tobacco companies has grown increasingly important as more countries declare tobacco endgame goals. Endgame strategies represent a fundamentally different approach and shift thinking from “controlling” the tobacco epidemic to eliminating it (Malone, 2013). Thus, while endgame strategies themselves may vary, they focus on a tobacco-free future where smoking prevalence falls as near as possible to zero and tobacco availability sharply decreases (Malone, 2013; McDaniel, Smith, & Malone, 2015). Public support for this goal is often high, though it differs by how respondents interpret endgames, their personal smoking status and jurisdiction, and according to the measures proposed (Gendall, Hoek, Maubach, et al., 2013; Shahab & West, 2010; Wang, Wang, Lam, Viswanath, & Chan, 2015; Whyte, Gendall, & Hoek, 2014).

New Zealand, Ireland, Sweden and Finland have all announced endgame targets (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, 2010; New Zealand Government, 2011) while other countries have declared their intention to create tobacco-free generations (Berrick, 2013; Khoo, Chiam, Ng, Berrick, & Koong, 2010). Tobacco-free generations can be achieved directly through government regulation that redefines consumer access; however, realising endgame targets requires a more comprehensive strategy that reduces tobacco supply and availability, and fosters mass cessation. Recent modelling suggests the dramatic reductions in smoking prevalence required to achieve endgame goals will not come about following a business-as-usual approach and require fundamentally different interventions (Ikeda, Cobiac, Wilson, Carter, & Blakely, 2013; van der Deen, Ikeda, Cobiac, Wilson, & Blakely, 2014).

Researchers have not been slow to suggest measures that would intensify existing approaches, many of which have strong ascertain public support (Whyte et al., 2014). Specific proposals have included restructuring tobacco markets, for example, by moving to a non-profit model or reducing supply over time (Borland, 2003; Callard, Thompson, & Collishaw, 2005; Thomson, Wilson, Blakely, & Edwards, 2010). Other suggestions have focussed on changing tobacco products by reducing the nicotine these deliver or removing flavourings, thus making smoking less addictive and less palatable (Ferreira et al., 2015; Walker et al., 2012). Other proposals have examined how tobacco products could become less accessible via comprehensive retail regulation, or less affordable through greatly increased excise taxes (Chaloupka, Yurekli, & Fong, 2012; Henriksen, 2012; Whyte et al., 2014).

Endgame goals align logically with critical social marketing, which examines and analyses the social consequences of marketing (Hastings, 2012a, 2012b; Hastings & Saren, 2003; Lang & Raynor, 2012). Gordon's thoughtful review of social, societal and critical marketing links the search for pluralistic new systems and structures that underpin critical marketing with the applied concerns of social marketers (Gordon, 2011). He illustrates this hybrid approach by exploring tobacco control efforts, which both identify the harms caused by tobacco marketing and suggest policy responses to these.

However, while many critical social marketing analyses may culminate in up-stream (or policy) action, this is not the only response to the harms revealed by careful analyses of corporate behaviour. Although Gordon explains how critical social marketing might inform up-stream and mid-stream responses that redress harms from commercial marketing, he provides fewer

examples of down-stream responses (Gordon, 2011). Despite calls to harness public support for action that reduces commercial harms (Hastings, 2012a), few studies have examined how downstream responses might promote public health. Yet collective public calls for action are powerful, since these represent a coalition of voters that politicians are generally loathe to ignore. This paper thus explores whether and how a specific downstream response – social movements – could ameliorate harms caused by tobacco marketing and complement the innovative policies required to achieve ambitious tobacco endgame goals. Tobacco companies' aggressive reactions to policy measures suggest an overall strategy that utilises down-stream as well as up-stream interventions might better realise endgame goals.

Public disapproval of tobacco companies suggests creation of social movements could play an important role in realising tobacco endgames and challenge neo-liberal arguments promoting personal responsibility have gained traction among the general public (Dorfman et al., 2014; Mejia et al., 2014). To explore these possibilities ideas further, we examine social movements and social contagion theory, consider how public coalitions might support the rapid and very large reductions in smoking prevalence required to achieve tobacco endgames, and analyse the potential social movements offer.

Social Movements

As Brown and Fee note, social movements have a long history of advancing public health causes and take many forms, from grassroots movements through to local or even national organisations (T. M. Brown & Fee, 2014). They suggest social movements have helped to re-focus attention on the tobacco industry's role in fostering addiction by countering the rhetoric of

personal responsibility evident in political discourse (T. M. Brown & Fee, 2014). Directing attention to the vector rather than the victims, repositions smoking as an industrially spread disease that is more complex than individual choice (Gray, Hoek, & Edwards, 2016; Hoek, 2015). More importantly, highlighting tobacco companies' role as purveyors of a uniquely harmful product opens the opportunity for social movements to empower individuals and foster change.

Social movements may vary from opportunistic groups that use serendipitous gaps in political settings to obtain a stronger voice (Davis & Thompson, 1994; Soule, 2012), to more deliberative and structured enterprises. Because social movements challenge corporate goals, much of the research into their evolution and effects has occurred in organisational literature, for example, by examining how shareholder groups might affect firms' directions and strategies (Soule, 2012). However, social movements have also challenged other corporate interests, particularly those where commercial and public health goals are in direct conflict (Farrelly, Nonnemaker, Davis, & Hussin, 2009; Hastings, 2012b).

Social movements often draw on social contagion theory, which suggests change may occur via social networks that promote diffusion and adoption of new attitudes and behaviours. Lang and Raynor discuss social movements as part of a wider analysis of public health initiatives, which they argue should recognise four areas, including both cultural and social dimensions (Lang & Raynor, 2012). Their powerful challenge to researchers and advocates calls on them to understand that: *"Public health success is as much about imagination as evidence: challenging what is accepted as the so called normal, or business as usual. Public health must regain the capacity and will to address complexity and dare to confront power"* (p.4).

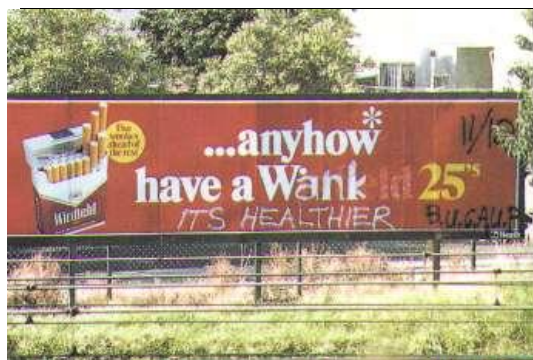
Examples of social movements used in public health include those developed and managed by NGOs, as well as those that are truly grass-roots and evolve in response to community activism. NGO-led social movements include highly successful activities such as the US Truth® campaign, which denormalised smoking and exposed the tobacco industry's deceitful practices (Farrelly, Davis, Haviland, Messeri, & Healton, 2005; Niederdeppe, Farrelly, & Haviland, 2004), and Stoptober, an intense period promoting smoking cessation initiated by ASH UK and subsequently adopted elsewhere (J. Brown et al., 2014). Grass roots movements have arisen when pioneering individuals, often people who treat health problems, grow determined to bring about change (Chapman, 2002). These latter movements may quickly attract a larger following, but often rely heavily on the initial leaders to promote and sustain the movement. This paper analyses tobacco control movements inspired by individual initiatives or created via organisational strategies, and considers their potential role in supporting endgame goals.

Individually-Led Movements

Simon Chapman provides a thoughtful and detailed analysis of a social movement that began in Australia in the late 1970s (Chapman, 1996). He explains how he and colleagues initiated *MOP UP* (Movement Opposed to the Promotion of Unhealthy Products), which proposed using conventional methods of health activism (e.g. lobbying and letter writing) to stimulate “upstream” policy action. However, as Chapman outlines, “*two in the audience became impatient and said they had not come along just to help write letters*” (p.179). These “impatient” individuals established *BUGA UP* (Billboard Utilising Graffitists Against Unhealthy Promotions), a movement whose members “re-faced” billboards, at that time a key promotion medium for tobacco

companies (BUGA UP, undated). Figure 1 provides examples of the re-facing undertaken by *BUGA UP* members.

Figure 1: *BUGA UP* Activity



ce: <http://www.bugaup.org/images/wank.jpg>



ce: <http://dhruvdamle.com/itpblog/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/manhow.jpg>



ce: <http://i.ytimg.com/vi/ZJqp8v6jHkg/hqdefault.jpg>



ce: <http://www.bugaup.org/gallery/pj.jpg>

BUGA UP attracted considerable support and went on to graffiti thousands of tobacco billboards until this promotion medium was eventually disallowed in 1994 (Chapman, 1996). Members' actions attracted considerable media attention, which both increased awareness of and support for their concerns, and helped reframe tobacco control as a problem requiring policy intervention, not merely more education (Chapman, 1996; Deitz, 2014). The focus on a clear

action – exposing government hypocrisy in allowing tobacco billboard advertising on sites it owned and calling for a ban on these promotions – honed the arguments presented and made it more difficult for politicians to deflect attention away from the proposed solution. Furthermore, the approach used - culture-jamming – which parodied and pilloried hitherto accepted elements of public discourse, had wide popular appeal that enhanced the movement's media profile (Deitz, 2014).

Movements such as *BUGA UP* rely heavily on highly motivated individuals, such as Dr Arthur Chesterfield-Evans, who helped publicise and explain members' actions. Other movements have relied less heavily on individual participants' public profile, and placed greater emphasis on establishing a clear brand that engages an audience and motivates support and action. The Truth® campaign, begun as an outcome of the US Master Settlement Agreements, has evolved into a highly sophisticated brand that represents a savvy and active social movement (Truth, 2016b). Truth's® evolution, longevity (it was launched in 2000), and continued success in a time of great media, social and political change attests to the momentum social movements may gain when anchored to a powerful brand (Evans, Wasserman, Bertolotti, & Martino, 2002). A more recent brand to have used social contagion theory to promote a movement is Stoptober, which aimed to accelerate smoking cessation during a defined period by galvanising mass action (J. Brown et al., 2014). The following section explores these campaigns and their related brands to examine how tobacco control social movements have evolved since *BUGA UP*.

Brands as Social Movements

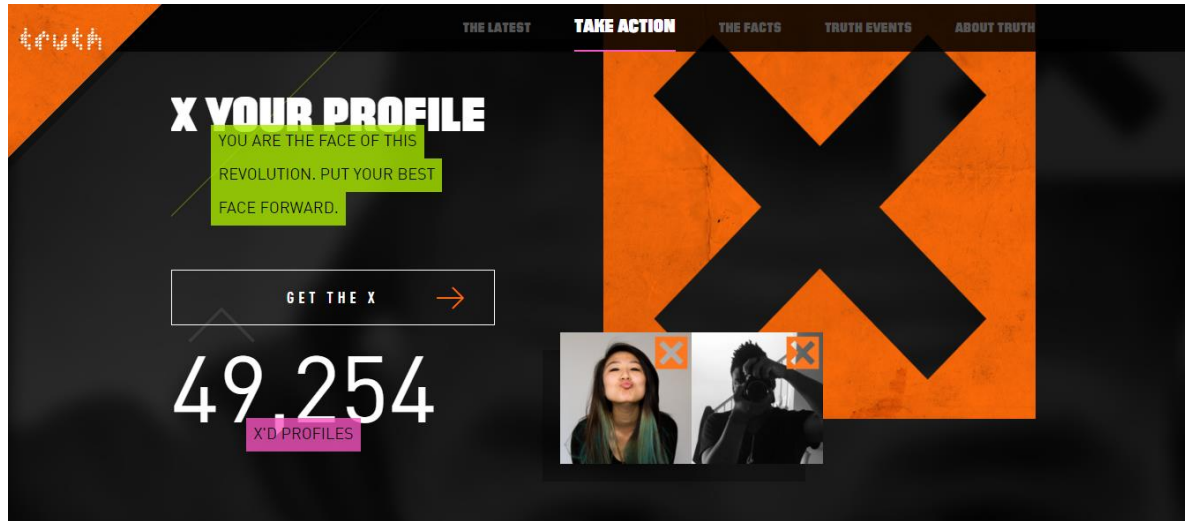
The Truth® campaign represented a radical departure from health education approaches traditionally used to promote smokefree behaviours among young people (Hersey et al., 2005). After a pilot in Florida, young people described the campaign as: "truth, a generation united against tobacco", a definition that illustrates the campaign's core strategy as a social movement rather than a didactic education message (Hicks, 2001). The campaign specifically recognised the importance young people place on controlling their destiny and positioned the tobacco industry as a direct threat to their autonomy. By exposing the deceptive behaviours widely practised by tobacco companies, Truth® engendered widespread outrage, which inculcated strong anti-smoking attitudes, shown subsequently to have reduced young people's risk of experimenting with smoking (Farrelly et al., 2005; Farrelly et al., 2009).

Although initially designed to promote awareness of and anger towards the tobacco industry's deliberate targeting of young people (despite protesting they did not encourage youth smoking), Truth® has evolved over the last fifteen years. The early focus on tobacco companies' duplicity in promoting smoking now recognises smoking prevalence has decreased among young people while their media consumption patterns have undergone fundamental changes. The launch of *#FinishIt*, a campaign that positions young people as those with the power to end the tobacco epidemic (the *Finishers*), has focussed strongly on their role in a social movement that can fundamentally change society (Truth, 2016b).

#FinishIt was launched into an environment that differed radically different from the initial launch setting and makes heavy use of social media to maintain an intensive and pervasive

media presence. The real-time media presence complements the social movement strategy; for example, the campaign encourages those who register to update their personal social media profile using the “X” symbol linked to the movement. By automatically updating the number of people who define themselves as *Finishers*, *#FinishIt* creates a cohesive group identity and illustrates how pervasive the movement has become (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: #FinishIt Social Movement



The #FinishIt website provides several opportunities for engagement, including quizzes on issues highly relevant to young people, such as the effect of smoking on pets, opportunities to submit their own ideas, calls to action, and progress reports on declines in smoking prevalence or new policy measures. In a strategy reminiscent of *BUGA UP*, #FinishIt asks young people to “erase and replace” cigarette images they see in social media, arguing that “Smoking Pics are Ridiculous. Make Them Ridiculously Awesome Instead” (Truth, 2016a).

Creating a brand has allowed young people to define and own the movement, and avoided the reactance often evident in response to more didactic education campaigns (Hersey et al., 2005). Widespread use of social media has promoted diffusion of movement concepts and values, taking full advantage of the opportunities for contagion these media present. Most importantly, social media has provided connecting points where young people may define themselves and coalesce as agents of social change who share a common opposition to tobacco industry manipulation, and are united by their agenda for change.

The *Stoptober* movement draws on similar principles of social contagion, but focusses explicitly on behaviour, which the movement catalyses in a tightly defined time period. While Truth ® has strong organic components where participants both define and drive the movement, Stoptober's concentrated timing requires a more structured approach. This movement increases the salience of smoking cessation by designating a given month as a period of intense quitting activity. Defined by ASH New Zealand as a: "social movement of people giving quitting a go for just 31-days", Stoptober recognises that the vast majority of smokers wish to quit (Fong et al., 2004), acknowledges the power of supported quitting, and creates both a stimulus and a space for mass cessation attempts (ASH New Zealand, 2015). Although the movement emphasises October as a time for quitting, smokers are encouraged to make their quit attempt early in the month, since the longer they remain smokefree, the greater the likelihood they will not relapse. Furthermore, by actively promoting smoking as a community action, Stoptober recognises that collective cessation may reduce cues to relapse present when some members of a social group try to quit while others continue smoking. The Stoptober movement also makes strong use of social media, with a Facebook page and Twitter feed providing on-going tips, support, and reasons for sustaining a quit attempt (Stoptober, 2015).

UK evidence indicates that Stoptober has been successful according to at least two different measures (J. Brown et al., 2014). First, quit attempts increased without a compensatory decrease in the following months; that is, there was no evidence that quit attempts "stockpiled" during October and subsequently decreased in November and December (J. Brown et al., 2014). Second, modelling estimated that many thousands of UK smokers responded to the Stoptober message

by trying to quit; furthermore, over 8800 of these are estimated to have succeeded (J. Brown et al., 2014).

Truth® and *Stoptober* illustrate how branded social movements can empower and activate by respectively deterring smoking initiation and promoting cessation. Brands provide visual and emotional connections that individuals use to assert their shared values and attitudes, and to bring about individual behaviour change, and reshape formerly accepted social norms. Social movements assert the power of individuals to bring about change, even when they live in societies dominated by neo-liberal discourse that privileges commercial rather than social values (Hastings, 2015). Movements make deviation from these values legitimate, while their collective nature may empower those who may feel unable to act alone.

Implications for Endgames

Social movements have arisen out of frustration with government inaction (*BUGA UP*), as a challenge to deceitful tobacco industry behaviour (*Truth®*), and to create a serendipitous opportunity for mass change (*Stoptober*). In each example reviewed, key principles of social movements and the power of social contagion are apparent and offer potentially important implications for tobacco endgames.

According to Chapman, *BUGA UP* began at a small public meeting but quickly gained media interest and wider public and political support (Chapman, 1996). By contrast, endgames and tobacco supply restrictions have wide public support, yet have gained little political traction (Gendall, Hoek, Maubach, et al., 2013; Whyte et al., 2014). Despite the best efforts of NGO actors,

the New Zealand smokefree brand does not yet have wide public uptake, the goal itself is sometimes misunderstood as meaning a ban on tobacco or prohibition of smoking, and social contagion may have fostered confusion rather than interest and support among some communities (Gendall, Hoek, & Edwards, 2013; Maubach, Hoek, Edwards, Gifford, & Erick, 2012).

While endgame goals such as New Zealand's smokefree 2025 aim are well-supported by public health and community leaders, they lack the co-ordinating strategy and resourcing that define the *Truth*® and *Stoptober* movements. An organic youth movement such as *Truth*® requires resourcing, back-room expertise, and a willingness to allow youth to lead their own movement. Against these potential costs and risks, it offers an opportunity to change social norms and ameliorate the reactance that policy measures sometimes elicit (Hersey et al., 2005).

Yet although reducing youth smoking initiation must remain a high priority, endgame goals require large increases in smoking cessation that current policy strategies have not stimulated (Ikeda et al., 2013; van der Deen et al., 2014). Dramatic new interventions such as Stoptober normalise cessation and create a protective period that supports quit attempts and allows cessation movements to become established. Evaluations showing the additional quit attempts made and sustained suggest this type of movement also has a pivotal role to play in meeting endgame goals (J. Brown et al., 2014). Normalising cessation is vital given that most quitters make multiple attempts to become smokefree and face an on-going risk of relapse. Additional initiatives could focus on cultural and social opportunities, such as New Year and Matariki, that are recognised times of change and re-growth.

Endgame thinking epitomises critical social marketing by confronting the on-going damage caused by a uniquely harmful consumer product and imagining how the resulting epidemic might be eradicated rather than merely contained. Eradication will require great creativity and resourcefulness, and must draw on Lang and Raynor's call to "*address complexity and... confront power*". By embracing diversity and embodying complexity, social movements offer a potent opportunity to expose and make more salient the corporate interests that sustain the tobacco epidemic. Their role would extend well beyond awareness; they could also amplify consumer concerns, modify social norms and policy, and catalyse realisation of what would arguably be one of the greatest public health gains of the 21st century.

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Methods and Measurement I

Contributions and Impact of Publication in the *Journal of Macromarketing*, 2006-2015

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to examine contributions to, and impact of, the field of macromarketing in the last decade. Contributions to the field are works published in the area of macromarketing, while impact is measured by the influence this work has had on other scholars, via citations. In both cases, we examine author contributions and impact of publications in the *Journal of Macromarketing* in the last decade. This study reports on contributions and impact by country, institution and individuals, for articles and commentaries published between 2006 and 2015, inclusive. The study finds that more than 400 separate authors contributed to the *Journal of Macromarketing* in this time period. These authors represent 233 institutions, from 32 countries. The majority of authors and institutions lie outside the United States, making the *Journal of Macromarketing* far more “international” than major journals in our field. Tables provide summaries and ranks of countries, institutions and scholars in terms of authorships, proportional authorships, citations, proportional citations and proportional citations per annum. This paper celebrates the breadth of contributions to this field from scholars on six continents, and points to a bright future for the *Journal* and the field of macromarketing.

Contributions and Impact of Publication in the *Journal of Macromarketing*, 2006-2015

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to examine contributions to, and impact of, the field of macromarketing in the last decade. Contributions to the field are works published in the area of macromarketing, while impact is measured by the influence this work has had on other scholars, via citations. In both cases, we examine author contributions and impact of publications in the *Journal of Macromarketing* in the last decade. The *Journal of Macromarketing* has served as the primary vehicle for macromarketing scholarship for more than three decades, and while macromarketing research appears in other outlets, we consider the *Journal of Macromarketing* to be the publication of record for this field of research.

This study reports on contributions and intellectual impact by country, institution and individual for articles and commentaries published between 2006 and 2015, inclusive. The study finds that more than 400 separate authors contributed to the *Journal of Macromarketing* in this time period. These authors represent 233 institutions, from 32 countries. The majority of authors and institutions lie outside the United States, making the *Journal of Macromarketing* far more “international” than major journals in our field. Tables provide summaries and ranks of countries, institutions and scholars in terms of authorships, proportional authorships, citations, proportional citations and proportional citations per annum. This paper celebrates the breadth of contributions to this field from scholars on six continents, and points to a bright future for the *Journal* and the field of macromarketing.

A Brief History of the *Journal of Macromarketing*

Macromarketing is the study of marketing systems, their impact on society, and the impact of society on marketing systems (Hunt 1981). Macromarketing scholarship examines questions of marketing systems, their ethics, distributive justice, institutional influences on marketing systems, the history of marketing, quality of life studies, marketing's role in economic development and reconstruction, environmental sustainability, as well as critical studies on the assumptions and consequences of marketing systems, the dominant social paradigm and marketing thought (Peterson 2012). Macromarketing scholars study the complexity of marketing systems, the origins of market complexity and the consequences of marketing decisions, from developmental and critical perspectives (Mittelstaedt, Kilbourne and Mittelstaedt 2006). The Silver Anniversary issue of the *Journal of Macromarketing* (2006) reviewed the state-of-the-discipline at the end of the *Journal's* first decade.

The *Journal of Macromarketing*, the primary outlet for macromarketing scholarship, was first published in 1981. It was the fruit of the labor of early participants in annual macromarketing conferences, which were first organized in 1977 and 1978, in Boulder, Colorado. From 1981 – 1997, the *Journal* was published by the Business Research Division of the Graduate School of Business Administration at the University of Colorado. In 1997, the *Journal* was purchased by Sage, who assumed publication responsibility in 1998. Since its inception in 1981, the *Journal* has had eight editors: George Fisk, 1981-1983; Stanley Shapiro, 1984-1987; Robert Nason, 1987-1997; Louis Dominguez, 1998-2000; Sanford Grossbart, 2001-2003; Clifford Shultz II, 2004-2009; Terrence Witkowski, 2010-2015; and Mark Peterson, 2016 - present). Editorial policy and the selection of the editor are established by the Editorial Policy Board, upon whom the editor

relies for manuscript reviews, along with the editorial review board (the latter selected by the editor). Parameters of the editorial policy board were established in 2004, when the Macromarketing Society, Inc., was formally incorporated. The Macromarketing Society is the official sponsoring body of the *Journal of Macromarketing*.

Originally, the *Journal* was published semiannually, but in 2007 went to four issues per year. In 2011, the *Journal* was selected for listing in the Social Science Citation Index, providing for an official count of citations and 2- and 5-year citation impacts. These two steps increased the number of manuscripts submitted and published. Table 1 summarizes the number of articles published, 1996 – 2015. Because of growth in the number of pages in the journal and the importance of listing in the SSCI, more articles have been published in the half-decade since 2010 than in any previous decade. Of the 562 articles and commentaries published in the *Journal of Macromarketing* since its inception, 261 (46.4%) have been published in the last decade, indicating strong growth by the *Journal*.

[Insert Table 1 Here]

Methodology

Articles and commentaries in the *Journal of Macromarketing* from 2006 to 2015 were classified according to authors, affiliated schools and nations of home institutions, proportion of authorship, and key words for all articles, commentaries and introductions to special issues, from 2006 to 2015. (Commentaries are included in the analysis, since they follow a similar review process at articles and are an important mechanism for knowledge advancement in the field. Book reviews, obituaries, and similar contributions were excluded from the analysis.) In

addition, citations per article were gathered in between December 14 and 20, 2015, from Harzing's *Publish or Perish* (www.harzing.com), which collects and reports citations from Google Scholar and Microsoft Academic Search. The latter were used to assess the impact of contributions to the *Journal of Macromarketing*.

Part I: Summary of Contributions

Intellectual contributions are calculated in two ways: in terms of contributions, and in terms of impact. Part I examines the scholar, university and national contributors to the *Journal of Macromarketing*. Part II examines the impact of these contributions, in terms of citations. Both are important to the story, as together they offer a more complete picture of the direction of the discipline of macromarketing.

National Representation in the Journal of Macromarketing, 2006-2015

Authors in the *Journal of Macromarketing* in the last decade represent universities from 33 countries, on six continents. More than half (51.6%) of authors and authorships (53.2%) come from universities outside the United States. The US accounts for 46.8% of institutions represented in the *Journal*, followed by the UK (9.2%), Australia (8.2%), Canada (5.3%), New Zealand (4.2%), Ireland (2.9%), France (2.7%), Turkey (1.8%), Denmark (1.6%) and Vietnam (1.6%).

Table 2 summarizes number and proportion of institutions by country, authorships and percentage of authorships by country, as well as cumulative proportional authorships (i.e., 1 for solo authorship, 0.5 for two authors, etc.) and percentage of cumulative proportional

authorships. Schools in the United States account for 46.8% of institutions represented in the Journal, 48.4% of authorships, and 46.8% of proportional authorships in the *Journal*. Three quarters of institutions, authorships and proportion of authorships are found in six countries – the United States, United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, France and China. The number of institutions does not represent the contribution of a country to macromarketing thought, however. Of note, New Zealand is home to only 1.7% of institutions publishing in the *Journal*, but produces 4.2% of authorships and 4.5% of proportional authorships. Similarly, Denmark is represented by less than 1% of institutions, but accounts for more than 2% of proportional authorships. Conversely, France accounts for 3.5% of institutions included in the study, but only 1.7% of proportional authorships.

[Insert Table 2 Here]

To estimate the concentration of authorships, we calculated Herfindahl-Hirshman Index (HHI) of national authorships. The HHI estimates the likelihood that any two authors drawn at random would be from the same country, and reflects the range and distribution of countries of authorship. HHI's range between 0.0 (completely diverse) to 1.0 (monopoly). The HHI score for countries of authorship for JMK, 2006-2015, was 0.24.

As comparison, HHI's were calculated for *Journal of Marketing* (63% US authors; HHI = 0.41), *Journal of Consumer Research* (69% US authors; HHI = 0.49) and *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing* (82% US authors; HHI = 0.68). By comparison to premier journals and journals appealing to similar audiences, the HHI's confirm that *Journal of Macromarketing* is the most international journal, in terms of authorships.

Institutional Affiliation of Authors in the Journal of Macromarketing, 2006-2010

Institutional affiliation was recorded for all authorships. If authors declared more than one affiliation, only the first affiliation was used. While we know some authors have moved during this time period (e.g., Pierre McDonagh from Dublin City University to the University of Bath, Giana Eckhardt from Suffolk University to Royal Holloway, John Mittelstaedt from Clemson University to the University of Wyoming), we recorded only their affiliation at time of publication (authorships follow authors in section I.3), giving credit to the institution that provided the support for the scholarly work. Between 2006 and 2015, 59 universities from fifteen countries had three or more individual authorships. Of these, authors from seventeen universities appeared six or more times. Table 3 lists the top 50 contributing universities by number of authorships. The University of Wyoming appeared the most times (19), followed by the University of Illinois (14), York University (13), Leicester University (12) and the University of Nebraska (12).

[Insert Table 3 Here]

Table 4 ranks the top 50 universities in terms of cumulative percentage authorships. The largest attributed to the University of Wyoming (6.52), York University (6.24), Leicester University (6.15), and the University of New South Wales (5.83).

[Insert Table 4 Here]

Scholars Who Published in the Journal of Macromarketing, 2006-2015

Authorships and Percentage Authorships for articles and commentaries in the *Journal of Macromarketing* were recorded, 2006-2015. "Proportional Authorship" refers to the percentage

contribution to an article, based on the number of contributors. All authors are weighted equally (i.e., no differential weight for first authorship was assigned).

A total of 82 authors published in the *Journal of Macromarketing* more than once. An additional 322 authors published just once in the *Journal*, 2006-2015. Authors with two or more authorships in the *Journal of Macromarketing* between 2006 and 2015, ranked by authorships, are found in Table 5. The most productive scholars, in terms of authorships, were Mark Peterson (University of Wyoming) and Clifford J. Shultz II (Loyola University Chicago) with seven authorships, followed by Roger Layton (University of New South Wales), Mark Tadajewski (University of Durham), Gene Laczniaik (Marquette University) and Pierre McDonagh (now of the University of Bath) with six authorships. Five other authors (Russell Belk of York; John Mittelstaedt of Wyoming; Richard Varey of Waikato; Madhu Viswanathan of Illinois; and Ben Wooliscroft of Otago) were authors on five publications. When summing proportional authorships, the most productive authors were Roger Layton, Richard Varey, Mark Peterson, Shelby Hunt (Texas Tech University), Mark Tadajewski and Gene Laczniaik. (Editorial Policy Board members are marked with *; Emeritus Board Members are marked with ^.)

[Insert Table 5 Here]

These findings can serve merely as league tables or vanity statistics. However, the authors of this report believe they can provide guidance to the Editorial Policy Board as they make decisions about additions and replacements to the board. Regular contribution, over a sustained period of time, should factor into such decisions.

Part II. Impact of Contributions

This portion of the report looks at impact of articles published in the *Journal of Macromarketing*, 2006-2015. Impact is measured in terms of citations of work published in the Journal during the last decade. Citations were collected from Google Scholar, via Harzing's Publish or Perish, during the third week of December, 2015. Citation Impact was measured three ways:

- *Citations*: citations of papers on which the country, university or scholar were recorded as an author,
- *Proportional Citations*: citations of papers on which country, university or scholar were recorded as an author, adjusted for proportional authorship, and
- *Proportional Citations per Annum*: citations of papers on which country, university or scholar were recorded as an author, adjusted for proportional authorship and divided by the number of years since publication.

Proportional citations were used to tie citations to the relative contributions of authors, universities and countries. Citations per Annum was used to eliminate the advantage a paper might have for being available longer for citation. Proportional Citations per Annum adjusts for both. In all cases, citations are summed (by author, university or country) to reflect contributions over the ten year period.

Impact of Countries

Table 6 below summarizes the findings of citations by country. The plurality of citations are from scholars at universities in the United States, followed by scholars in Australia, Canada, the

United Kingdom and New Zealand. When adjusting for years published, the plurality come from scholars in the United States, followed by Australia, the United Kingdom, Canada and Australia. Primarily English speaking countries account for 82.4% of citations, and 79.9% of annualized citations.

[Insert Table 6 Here]

Impact of Institutions

Impact by institutions is measured four ways. "Citations" refers to the total number of citations by faculty claiming affiliation to the university. York University has the most attributed citations, followed by Arizona, New South Wales, Innsbruck and Clemson. "Proportional Citations" is the sum of citations, adjusted for proportion of authorship. In this case, the most impactful institutions are New South Wales, York, Texas Tech, Arizona and Marquette. "Proportional Citations per Annum" further adjusts citations for the year in which papers appeared in the Journal. The most impact institutions, when adjusted for proportional authorship and year of publication, are York, New South Wales, Waikato, Arizona and Aarhus. A summary of these findings appears in Table 7.

[Insert Table 7 Here]

Impact of Scholars

This section measures the impact of individual scholars. While some might consider this a vanity contest, it provides a basis for judging the variety of scholarly contributions in our field.

II-3.a Total Citations: Regardless of proportional contribution, we can argue that no paper gets published without critical support from each author. To this extent, we measured total impact

for work published in the *Journal of Macromarketing*, 2006-2015, for each author. Table 8 summarizes and ranks the top 50 contributors to the *Journal of Macromarketing*, 2006-2015, in terms of total citations of work on which they were authors. (A complete table can be found in the appendix.)

[Insert Table 8 Here]

Proportional Citations: A more conservative measure of impact is to consider the proportional citations for each author. These numbers reflect the impact of each scholar's contribution to a paper, summed across papers. Table 9 below ranks the top 50 contributors, in terms of proportional citations. (A complete table can be found in the appendix.)

[Insert Table 9 Here]

Proportional Citations, per Annum: The most conservative measure of impact is to consider the proportional citations for each author, adjusted for years in which papers were published. These numbers reflect the impact of each scholar's contribution to a paper, controlling for the advantage of publishing earlier in the time period (thus allowing for more time for papers to be cited). Table 10 below ranks the top 50 contributors, in terms of proportional citations, adjusted per annum. (A complete table can be found in the appendix.)

[Insert Table 10 Here]

Conclusions

The purpose of this paper is to gain a better understanding of who has published in the *Journal of Macromarketing* in the last decade. (A compendium paper will examine the intellectual

contributions of the *Journal*, 2006-2015.) Publication was examined at the national, institutional and individual levels, both in terms of contributions and impact. Contributions are important because they reflect the marketplace of scholarly ideas, and the intellectual vigor of macromarketing scholarship. Impact is important because it reflects the enduring nature of these contributions.

Almost as many articles and commentaries have been published in the *Journal of Macromarketing* in the last decade as in the first 25 years of the *Journal's* existence, indicating a strong and healthy scholarship. Scholars from every habitable continent contributed, suggesting a globalization of the field. Measures of geographic diversity indicate that the *Journal* is more open to scholars around the world than the leading journals in our field. The diversity of scholars is healthy to the field.

The breadth of institutions contributing the *Journal* indicates a broadening of macromarketing's horizons. This is healthy, as well. Finally, the number and international diversity of national and institutional affiliations indicates the global nature of macromarketing. While contributions are still primarily from scholars in the English-speaking world, the breadth of contributions across the English-speaking world is far more robust than from other journals. Further, the purposeful focus on regional development (e.g., Vietnam, China) has broadened the contributions and impact of the *Journal*.

How Can These Results be Used?

First, they can be used to promote the *Journal of Macromarketing*, itself. The journal positions itself as an accessible, constructive home for rigorous scholarship on important issues of our time. These findings should serve as a way to promote the research of the *Journal*, and to promote continued expansion of the authorship and readership.

Second, these results can be useful to the Editorial Policy Board in identifying new members to the Board. Regular contributors to the *Journal*, whose work is appreciated by fellow scholars, can be helpful to the future mission of the *Journal*.

Finally, these findings allow institutions and individuals to demonstrate the impact of their scholarship to others in our field, their colleagues and their universities. To my knowledge, this is the first study of scholarly contributions in the field of macromarketing. For a school or scholar to say “we are among the top 50, the top 25 or the top 10” will benefit them, and in doing so allow us another mechanism to spread the word about macromarketing.

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Table 1: Publications in the Journal of Macromarketing, by decade

Decade	Articles & Commentaries
1981 – 1989	108
1990 – 1999	113
2000 – 2009	165
2010 – 2015	176

Table 2: Institutions publishing in the *Journal of Macromarketing*, by country

Country	# of Schools	% of Schools	Authorships	% of Authors	Proportional Authorships	% of Proportional Authorships
United States	108	46.8%	264	48.4%	119.89	46.8%
United Kingdom	23	10.0%	51	9.3%	27.66	10.8%
Australia	19	8.2%	45	8.2%	21.88	8.5%
Canada	10	4.3%	29	5.3%	14.06	5.5%
France	8	3.5%	15	2.7%	4.26	1.7%
China	6	2.6%	9	1.6%	3.57	1.4%
Ireland	5	2.2%	16	2.9%	5.93	2.3%
New Zealand	4	1.7%	23	4.2%	11.63	4.5%
Vietnam	4	1.7%	9	1.6%	4.66	1.8%
Turkey	4	1.7%	10	1.8%	4.51	1.8%
Germany	4	1.7%	5	0.9%	3.5	1.4%
Spain	4	1.7%	6	1.1%	2.58	1.0%
Austria	3	1.3%	4	0.7%	1.83	0.7%
India	3	1.3%	6	1.1%	3.16	1.2%
Sweden	3	1.3%	7	1.3%	3.5	1.4%
Denmark	2	0.9%	9	1.6%	5.59	2.2%

Korea	2	0.9%	6	1.1%	2.16	0.8%
Finland	2	0.9%	8	1.5%	3.75	1.5%
Netherlands	2	0.9%	4	0.7%	2.66	1.0%
Israel	2	0.9%	2	0.4%	2	0.8%
Italy	1	0.4%	2	0.4%	1.5	0.6%
Hong Kong	1	0.4%	2	0.4%	0.58	0.2%
Egypt	1	0.4%	1	0.2%	0.08	0.0%
Switzerland	1	0.4%	1	0.2%	0.08	0.0%
Malawi	1	0.4%	1	0.2%	0.33	0.1%
Japan	1	0.4%	2	0.4%	1	0.4%
Singapore	1	0.4%	1	0.2%	0.5	0.2%
Croatia	1	0.4%	2	0.4%	1.25	0.5%
Thailand	1	0.4%	1	0.2%	0.09	0.0%
United Arab Emirates	1	0.4%	1	0.2%	0.5	0.2%
Peru	1	0.4%	1	0.2%	0.33	0.1%
Brazil	1	0.4%	3	0.5%	1	0.4%
Totals	230		546		256	

Table 3: Authorships, by Institution

ps Rank	University	ps
1	Wyoming, US	19
2	Illinois, US	14
3	York, Canada	13
4	Leicester, UK	12
4	Nebraska, US	12
6	Clemson, US	11
6	Otago, New Zealand	11
8	Loyola Chicago, US	8
8	New South Wales, Australia	8
10	Royal Holloway, London, UK	7
11	Baruch, US	6
11	Lille Nord de France, France	6
11	Marquette, US	6
11	Monash, Australia	6
11	North Texas, US	6

11	Quinnipiac, US	6
11	Texas-El Paso, US	6
18	Bilkent, Turkey	5
18	Dublin City, Ireland	5
18	Florida Atlantic, US	5
18	Rhode Island, US	5
18	Texas Tech, US	5
18	University College Dublin, Ireland	5
18	Virginia Tech, US	5
18	Waikato, New Zealand	5
26	Griffith, Australia	4
26	Hanken, Finland	4
26	Indian Institute of Technology, India	4
26	Long Beach, US	4

26	Macquarie, Australia	4
26	Queensland, Australia	4
26	Southern Denmark,	4

	Denmark	
26	Suffolk, US	4
26	Texas-Pan American, US	4
26	William and Mary, US	4
26	Yonsei, Korea	4
37	Aalto, Finland	3
37	Aarhus, Denmark	3
37	Arizona, US	3
37	Bath, UK	3
37	Boras, Sweden	3
37	Bournemouth, UK	3
37	Columbia, US	3
37	Dartmouth, US	3
37	Eastern Institute of Technology, New Zealand	3
37	Federal University, Brazil	3
37	HEC Montreal, Canada	3

37	Izmir University of Economics, Turkey	3
37	Liverpool John Moores, UK	3
37	Mississippi, US	3
37	National Economics University, Vietnam	3
37	Notre Dame, US	3
37	Regina, Canada	3
37	Rider, US	3
37	Toledo, US	3
37	UNLV, US	3
37	Victoria, Australia	3
37	Villanova, US	3
37	Virginia, US	3
37	Wageningen, Netherlands	3
37	Western Michigan, US	3

Table 4: Proportional Authorships, by Institution

Authorship Rank	University	Authorship Count
1	Wyoming, US	6.52
2	York, Canada	6.24
3	Leicester, UK	6.15
4	New South Wales, Australia	5.83
5	Nebraska, US	4.44
6	Otago, New Zealand	4.31
7	Clemson, US	4.01
8	Loyola Chicago, US	4.00
8	Texas Tech, US	4.00
10	Waikato, New Zealand	3.83
11	Royal Holloway, London, UK	3.76
12	Quinnipiac, US	3.50
13	Illinois, US	3.33
14	Hanken, Finland	3.00
14	Marquette, US	3.00
14	Rider, US	3.00
17	Baruch, US	2.49

17	North Texas, US	2.49
17	Rhode Island, US	2.49
20	Columbia, US	2.33
20	Florida Atlantic, US	2.33
20	Long Beach, US	2.33
23	Texas-Pan American, US	2.09
24	Aarhus, Denmark	2.00
24	Bath, UK	2.00
24	Copenhagen, Denmark	2.00
24	Indiana State, US	2.00
24	Liverpool John Moores, UK	2.00
24	Notre Dame, US	2.00
24	Toledo, US	2.00
24	Univ. of Economics, Vietnam	2.00
32	Macquarie, Australia	1.91
33	Eastern Inst. of Tech., New Zealand	1.83
33	Indian Inst. of Tech.,	1.83

	India	
33	Victoria, Australia	1.83
36	Bilkent, Turkey	1.76
36	Univ. College Dublin, Ireland	1.76
38	Monash, Australia	1.74
39	Dublin City, Ireland	1.68
40	Griffith, Australia	1.66
40	Lille Nord de France, France	1.66
40	Queensland, Australia	1.66
40	Suffolk, US	1.66
40	Virginia, US	1.66
40	Virginia Tech, US	1.66
40	Wageningen, Netherlands	1.66
40	William and Mary, US	1.66
48	Southern Denmark, Denmark	1.59
49	Boras, Sweden	1.50
49	Cardiff, UK	1.50
49	Michigan State, US	1.50

49	Milan, Italy	1.50
49	Santa Clara, US	1.50
49	Texas-El Paso, US	1.50
49	University of Economics, Vietnam	1.50
49	UNLV, US	1.50

Table 5: Authorships and Total Proportional Authorships, 2006 – 20015, by Individual

Author	University	Authorships	Authorships Rank	Proportional authorships	Proportional Authorships Rank
Peterson, Mark*	U. of Wyoming, US	7	1	3.66	3
Shultz, Clifford*	Loyola Chicago U., US	7	1	2.99	9
Layton, Roger ^	U. of New South Wales, Australia	6	3	5.00	1
Tadajewski, Mark*	U. of Durham, UK	6	3	3.42	5
Laczniak, Gene*	Marquette U., US	6	3	3.00	6
McDonagh, Pierre*	U. of Bath, USK	6	3	2.18	12
Varey, Richard	U. of Waikato, New Zealand	5	7	3.83	2

Belk, Russell	York U., Canada	5	7	2.66	10
Wooliscroft, Ben*	U. of Otago, New Zealand	5	7	2.00	15
Mittelstaedt, John*	U. of Wyoming, US	5	7	1.47	32
Viswanathan, Madhu	U. of Illinois, US	5	7	1.28	38
Hunt, Shelby*	Texas Tech U., US	4	12	3.50	4
Prothero, Andrea*	U. College Dublin, Ireland	4	12	2.33	11
Kilbourne, William ^	Clemson U., US	4	12	2.18	12
Dholakia, Nikhilesh	U. of Rhode Island, US	4	12	2.16	14
Eckhardt, Giana	Royal Holloway, U. of London, UK	4	12	1.83	20
Saren, Michael	Leicester U., UK	4	12	1.66	22
Carlson, Les	U. of Nebraska Lincoln, US	4	12	1.53	23
Lee, Dong-Jin	Yonsei U., Korea	4	12	1.16	39
Sirgy, M. Joseph*	Virginia Tech, US	4	12	1.16	39
Schwarzkopf, Stefan	U. of Copenhagen, Denmark	3	21	3.00	6
Gao, Zhihong	Rider U., US	3	21	3.00	6

Klein, Thomas ^	U. of Toledo, US	3	21	2.00	15
Branchik, Blaine	Quinnipiac U., US	3	21	2.00	15
Kadirov, Djavlenbek	Eastern Inst. of Tech., New Zealand	3	21	1.83	20
Polsa, Pia*	Hanken U., Finland	3	21	1.50	24
Varman, Rohit	Indian Inst. of Tech., India	3	21	1.33	33
Rahtz, Don*	College of William and Mary, US	3	21	1.16	41
Gurrieri, Lauren	U. of Swinburne, Australia	3	21	1.16	41
Hill, Ronald Paul*	Villanova U., US	3	21	1.08	45
Sridharan, Srinivas	Monash U., Australia	3	21	0.83	58
Beard, Fred	U. of Oklahoma, US	2	32	2.00	15
Redmond, William*	Indiana State U., US	2	32	2.00	15
Arvidsson, Adam	U. of Milano, Italy	2	32	1.50	24
Nguyen, Tho	U. of Economics, Vietnam	2	32	1.50	24
Biehl-Missal, Brigitte	U. of Aberystwyth, UK	2	32	1.50	24
Shaw, Eric	Florida Atlantic U., US	2	32	1.50	24
Nason, Robert ^	Michigan State U., US	2	32	1.50	24
Marshall, David	U. of Edinburgh, UK	2	32	1.50	24

Clampin, David	U. of Liverpool John Moores, UK	2	32	1.50	24
Witkowski, Terrence*	CSU - Long Beach, US	2	32	1.33	33
Lehman, Don	Columbia U., US	2	32	1.33	33
Ingenbleek, Paul	Wageningen U., US	2	32	1.33	33
Shapiro, Stanley ^	Simon Fraser U., Canada	2	32	1.33	33
Kravets, Olga*	Bilkent U., Turkey	2	32	1.09	43
Firat, A Fuat	U. of Texas-Pan American, US	2	32	1.09	43
Bonsu, Samuel	York U., Canada	2	32	1.00	46
Nill, Alexander*	U. of Nevada, Los Vegas, US	2	32	1.00	46
Jones, D.G. Brian	Quinnipiac U., US	2	32	1.00	46
Kjeldgaard, Dannie	U. of Southern Denmark, Denmark	2	32	1.00	46
Bengtsson, Anders	Industry, US	2	32	1.00	46
Charlebois, Sylvain*	U. of Regina, Canada	2	32	1.00	46
Davis, Judy Foster	Eastern Michigan U., US	2	32	1.00	46
Gould, Stephen J	Baruch College, CUNY, US	2	32	1.00	46
Ekstrom, Karin	Boras U., Sweden	2	32	1.00	46

Corus, Canan	Pace U., US	2	32	1.00	46
Gentry, James*	U. of Nebraska-Lincoln, US	2	32	1.00	46
Conejo, Francisco	U. of Colorado at Denver, US	2	32	1.00	46
Mittelstaedt, Robert ^	U. of Nebraska-Lincoln, US	2	32	0.83	58
Veeck, Ann	Western Michigan U., US	2	32	0.83	58
Lee, Michael*	U. of Auckland, New Zealand	2	32	0.83	58
Zinkhan, George	U. of Georgia, US	2	32	0.83	58
Cherrier, Helene	Griffith U., Australia	2	32	0.83	58
Vitell, Scott	U. of Mississippi, US	2	32	0.75	64
Zwick, Detlev	York U., Canada	2	32	0.75	64
Gonzalez-Padron, Tracy	U. of Colorado, Colo. Springs, US	2	32	0.75	64
Atik, Deniz	Izmir U. of Economics, Turkey	2	32	0.75	64
O'Driscoll, Aidan	Dublin Inst of Tech, Ireland	2	32	0.66	68
Brace-Govan, Jan	Monash U., Australia	2	32	0.66	68
Previte, Josephine	U. of Queensland, Australia	2	32	0.66	68
Minowa, Yuko	Long Island U., US	2	32	0.66	68
Maclaran, Pauline	Royal Holloway, U. of London, UK	2	32	0.66	68
Ekici, Ahmet*	Bilkent U., Turkey	2	32	0.58	73

Ozcaglar-Toulouse, Nil	Lille Nord de France, France	2	32	0.58	74
Paswan, Audhesh	U. of North Texas, US	2	32	0.58	74
Sheng, Shibin	Barry U., US	2	32	0.58	74
Robert, Isabelle	Lille Nord de France, France	2	32	0.58	74
Gau, Roland	U. of Texas-El Paso, US	2	32	0.50	78
Ramirez, Edward	U. of Texas-El Paso, US	2	32	0.50	78
Venugopal, Srinivas	U. of Illinois, US	2	32	0.45	78
Baker, Courtney	U. of Wyoming, US	2	32	0.39	81
Dorsch, Michael	Clemson U., US	2	32	0.30	82

Table 6: Citations by Nation

Country	Citations	Percent of Total Citations	Citations per Annum (CpA)	Percent of Total CpA
United States	4,879	49.5%	763.48	46.4%
Australia	968	9.8%	156.35	9.5%
Canada	854	8.7%	111.70	6.8%
United Kingdom	541	5.5%	116.10	7.1%
New Zealand	462	4.7%	95.38	5.8%
Ireland	416	4.2%	71.29	4.3%
Austria	350	3.6%	46.54	2.8%
Denmark	294	3.0%	48.72	3.0%
Korea	188	1.9%	26.79	1.6%
Italy	124	1.3%	16.54	1.0%
Vietnam	118	1.2%	26.75	1.6%
France	113	1.1%	30.43	1.8%
India	105	1.1%	16.49	1.0%
Turkey	75	0.8%	23.29	1.4%
Germany	74	0.8%	15.64	1.0%
Finland	59	0.6%	22.10	1.3%
China	41	0.4%	10.50	0.6%

Netherlands	37	0.4%	8.75	0.5%
Sweden	34	0.3%	14.00	0.9%
Spain	19	0.2%	2.83	0.2%
Hong Kong	16	0.2%	3.13	0.2%
Egypt	13	0.1%	1.63	0.1%
Switzerland	13	0.1%	1.63	0.1%
Malawi	13	0.1%	1.63	0.1%
Japan	9	0.1%	2.25	0.1%
Singapore	8	0.1%	1.00	0.1%
Croatia	7	0.1%	1.50	0.1%
Israel	6	0.1%	1.20	0.1%
Thailand	3	0.0%	3.00	0.2%
United Arab Emirates	3	0.0%	1.50	0.1%
Peru	3	0.0%	1.00	0.1%
Brazil	0	0.0%	0.00	0.0%
Totals	9,845		1,643.14	

Table 7: Citations, by institution

University	Country	Citations	Proportional Citations	Proportional Citations per Annum	Rank
York U.	Canada	657	278.59	37.54	1
University of New South Wales	Australia	379	305.86	36.92	2
University of Waikato	New Zealand	135	122.49	23.85	3
University of Arizona	United States	425	155.55	23.55	4
University of Aarhus	Denmark	141	133.00	22.83	5
Texas Tech U.	United States	334	182.50	22.09	6
Leicester U.	United Kingdom	146	88.58	18.53	7
Clemson U.	United States	343	126.64	17.14	8
University of Otago	New Zealand	238	84.32	16.60	9
University of Illinois	United States	278	67.24	16.48	10
Marquette U.	United States	260	130.00	16.09	11
University of Milano	Italy	124	121.50	15.71	12
University of Innsbruck	Austria	346	116.05	15.65	13
University of Mississippi	United States	290	137.50	14.75	14
University of Wyoming	United States	149	69.57	12.91	15
University of Nebraska	United States	274	101.89	12.28	16
University of Notre Dame	United States	198	99.00	10.50	17

al Holloway, U.					
of London	United Kingdom	79	31.90	9.60	8
f Rhode Island	United States	69	38.88	9.08	9
mouth College	United States	101	46.76	8.94	0
of Nevada, Los					
Vegas	United States	148	74.00	8.33	1
J - Long Beach	United States	72	64.99	8.14	2
. of Southern					
Denmark	Denmark	118	57.77	7.21	3
of Copenhagen	Denmark	35	35.00	7.00	4
iversity College					
Dublin	Ireland	119	32.65	6.78	5
uinipiac U.	United States	103	57.50	6.74	6
irginia Tech	United States	155	55.88	6.38	7
Griffith U.	Australia	43	18.27	6.09	8
Yonsei U.	Korea	152	54.38	6.08	9
. of Virginia	United States	67	37.52	5.91	0
Suffolk U.	United States	59	28.65	5.81	1
Hanken U.	Finland	38	20.50	5.80	2
of North Texas	United States	51	19.38	5.38	3
of New Mexico	United States	84	42.00	5.25	4
rola Chicago U.	United States	40	17.86	5.11	5

ian Institute of Technology	India	81	39.82	5.02	6
Monash U.	Australia	38	11.26	4.70	7
ei Universitat Berlin	Germany	46	23.00	4.60	8
oul National U.	Korea	36	18.00	4.50	9
of Auckland	New Zealand	27	13.16	4.39	0
University of Economics	Vietnam	34	20.50	4.38	1
ege of William and Mary	United States	86	32.12	4.24	2
U. of Victoria	Australia	38	17.61	4.03	3
Bentley U.	United States	73	24.09	4.02	4
U. of Bath	United Kingdom	9	8.00	4.00	5
ern Institute of Technology	New Zealand	31	18.49	4.00	5
U. of Utah	United States	48	24.00	3.94	7
stern Michigan U.	United States	59	24.40	3.77	8
Boras U.	Sweden	17	8.50	3.75	9
ruch College, CUNY	United States	68	26.35	3.72	0

Table 8: Total citations by author

Author	University	Country	total citations	Total Citations Rank
Layton, Roger	New South Wales	Australia	335	1
Hemetsberger, Andrea	Innsbruck	Austria	335	1
Kozinets, Robert	York	Canada	335	1
Shau, Hope Jensen	Arizona	United States	335	1
Hunt, Shelby	Texas Tech	United States	291	5
Vitell, Scott	Mississippi	United States	284	6
Laczniak, Gene	Marquette	United States	260	7
Kilbourne, William	Clemson	United States	180	8
McDonagh, Pierre	Bath	United Kingdom	157	9
Lee, Dong-Jin	Yonsei	Korea	152	10

Sirgy, M. Joseph	Virginia Tech	United States	152	10
Murphy, Patrick	Notre Dame	United States	150	12
Varey, Richard	Waikato	New Zealand	135	13
Thogersen, John	Aarhus	Denmark	125	14
Arvidsson, Adam	Milano	Italy	124	15
Bonsu, Samuel	York	Canada	115	16
Peterson, Mark	Wyoming	United States	111	17
Prothero, Andrea	University College Dublin	Ireland	107	18
Darmody, Aron	York	Canada	97	19
Mittelstaedt, John	Wyoming	United States	89	20
Grossbart, Sanford	Nebraska	United States	88	21
Tadajewski, Mark	Durham	United Kingdom	80	22
Lusch, Robert	Arizona	United States	79	23

Webster, Frederick	Dartmouth	United States	79	23
Mittelstaedt, Robert	Nebraska	United States	78	25
Nil, Alexander	UNLV	United States	76	26
Rahtz, Don	William and Mary	United States	75	27
Viswanathan, Madhubalan	Illinois	United States	74	28
Jones, D.G. Brian	Quinnipiac	United States	74	28
Dobscha, Susan	Bentley	United States	73	30
Schibrowsky, John	UNLV	United States	72	31
Wooliscroft, Ben	Otago	New Zealand	70	32
Carlson, Les	Nebraska	United States	65	33
Varman, Rohit	Indian Institute of Technology	India	64	34

Witkowski, Terrence	Long Beach	United States	62	35
Saren, Michael	Leicester	United Kingdom	62	35
Higham, James	Otago	New Zealand	62	35
Mitchell, Robert	Otago	New Zealand	62	35
Kjeldgaard, Dannie	Southern Denmark	Denmark	60	39
Schwarzkopf, Stefan	Copenhagen	Denmark	58	40
Eckhardt, Giana	Royal Holloway, London	United Kingdom	58	40
Veeck, Ann	Western Michigan	United States	55	42
Askegaard, Soren	Southern Denmark	Denmark	55	42
Richardson, Alan	York	Canada	54	44
Dholakia, Nikhilesh	Rhode Island	United States	53	45
Gau, Roland	Texas-El Paso	United States	50	46
Murphy, Patrick	Notre Dame	United States	48	47

Chaturvedi, Avinish	Illinois	United States	48	47
Seth, Anju	Illinois	United States	48	47
O'Malley, Lisa	Limerick	Ireland	44	50
Patterson, Maurice	Limerick	Ireland	44	50
de Coverly, Edd	Nottingham	United Kingdom	44	50

Table 9: Proportional citations, by author

Author	University	Country	total proportional citations	Total Proportional Citations Rank
Layton, Roger	New South Wales	Australia	291.00	1
Hunt, Shelby	Texas Tech	United States	161.00	2
Vitell, Scott	Mississippi	United States	136.00	3
Laczniak, Gene	Marquette	United States	130.00	4
Thogersen, John	Aarhus	Denmark	125.00	5
Varey, Richard	Waikato	New Zealand	122.49	6
Arvidsson, Adam	Milano	Italy	121.50	7
Hemetsberger, Andrea	Innsbruck	Austria	110.55	8
Kozinets, Robert	York	Canada	110.55	8
Shau, Hope	Arizona	United	110.55	8

Jensen		States		
Murphy, Patrick	Notre Dame	United States	75.00	11
Kilbourne, William	Clemson	United States	72.52	12
Witkowski, Terrence	Long Beach	United States	59.99	13
Schwarzkopf, Stefan	Copenhagen	Denmark	58.00	14
Bonsu, Samuel	York	Canada	57.50	15
Tadajewski, Mark	Durham	United Kingdom	57.07	16
Lee, Dong-Jin	Yonsei	Korea	54.38	17
Sirgy, M. Joseph	Virginia Tech	United States	54.38	17
Peterson, Mark	Wyoming	United States	53.07	19
Darmody, Aron	York	Canada	48.50	20
Grossbart, Sanford	Nebraska	United States	44.00	21
McDonagh, Pierre	Bath	United Kingdom	42.69	22

Lusch, Robert	Arizona	United States	39.50	23
Webster, Frederick	Dartmouth	United States	39.50	23
Nill, Alexander	UNLV	United States	38.00	25
Jones, D.G. Brian	Quinnipiac	United States	37.00	26
Schibrowsky, John	UNLV	United States	36.00	27
Dholakia, Nikhilesh	Rhode Island	United States	33.60	28
Varman, Rohit	Indian Institute of Technology	India	31.32	29
Kjeldgaard, Dannie	Southern Denmark	Denmark	30.00	30
Mittelstaedt, John	Wyoming	United States	29.42	31
Carlson, Les	Nebraska	United States	29.26	32
Prothero, Andrea	University College Dublin	Ireland	28.69	33

Saren, Michael	Leicester	United Kingdom	28.62	34
Eckhardt, Giana	Royal Holloway, London	United Kingdom	28.32	35
Belk, Russell	York	Canada	27.79	36
Askegaard, Soren	Southern Denmark	Denmark	27.50	37
Richardson, Alan	York	Canada	27.00	38
Rahtz, Don	William and Mary	United States	26.62	39
Mittelstaedt, Robert	Nebraska	United States	26.42	40
Harris, Garth	Queens	Canada	26.00	41
Dobscha, Susan	Bentley	United States	24.09	42
Murphy, Patrick	Notre Dame	United States	24.00	43
Wooliscroft, Ben	Otago	New Zealand	23.10	44
Burroughs, James	Virginia	United States	23.00	45

Veeck, Ann	Western Michigan	United States	22.40	46
Klein, Thomas	Toledo	United States	22.00	47
Golding, Kirsty	Cardiff	United Kingdom	22.00	48
Costa, Janeen	Utah	United States	21.50	49
Laverie, Debra	Texas Tech	United States	21.50	49
McDonald, Robert	Connecticut	United States	21.50	49

Table 10: Proportional citations per annum, by author

Author	University	Country	sum adjusted citations per annum	Sum Adjusted Citations per Annum Rank
Layton, Roger	New South Wales	Australia	34.36	1
Varey, Richard	Waikato	New Zealand	23.85	2
Thogersen, John	Aarhus	Denmark	20.83	3
Hunt, Shelby	Texas Tech	United States	19.70	4
Laczniak, Gene	Marquette	United States	16.09	5
Arvidsson, Adam	Milano	Italy	15.71	6
Vitell, Scott	Mississippi	United States	14.00	7
Hemetsberger, Andrea	Innsbruck	Austria	13.82	8
Kozinets, Robert	York	Canada	13.82	8
Shau, Hope Jensen	Arizona	United States	13.82	8
Schwarzkopf, Stefan	Copenhagen	Denmark	10.29	11

Kilbourne, William	Clemson	United States	10.28	12
Peterson, Mark	Wyoming	United States	8.86	13
Tadajewski, Mark	Durham	United Kingdom	8.42	14
Lusch, Robert	Arizona	United States	7.90	15
Webster, Frederick	Dartmouth	United States	7.90	15
Bonsu, Samuel	York	Canada	7.86	17
Dholakia, Nikhilesh	Rhode Island	United States	7.76	18
Murphy, Patrick	Notre Dame	United States	7.50	19
McDonagh, Pierre	Bath	United Kingdom	6.92	20
Witkowski, Terrence	Long Beach	United States	6.89	21
Saren, Michael	Leicester	United Kingdom	6.47	22
Lee, Dong-Jin	Yonsei	Korea	6.08	23
Sirgy, M. Joseph	Virginia Tech	United States	6.08	23
Darmody, Aron	York	Canada	6.06	25
Belk, Russell	York	Canada	5.72	26

Eckhardt, Giana	Royal Holloway, London	United Kingdom	5.65	27
Prothero, Andrea	University College Dublin	Ireland	5.46	28
Shultz, Clifford	Loyola Chicago	United States	5.11	29
Biehl-Missal, Brigitte	Aberystwyth	United Kingdom	5.00	30
Viswanathan, Madhu	Illinois	United States	4.83	31
Wooliscroft, Ben	Otago	New Zealand	4.73	32
Grossbart, Sanford	Nebraska	United States	4.40	33
Lee, Michael	Auckland	New Zealand	4.39	34
Nguyen, Tho	University of Economics	Vietnam	4.38	35
Nill, Alexander	UNLV	United States	4.33	36
Carlson, Les	Nebraska	United States	4.21	37
Gurrieri, Lauren	Swinburne	Australia	4.20	38
Chatzidakis, Andreas	Royal Holloway, London	United Kingdom	4.17	39
Varman, Rohit	Indian Inst. of Tech.	India	4.07	40
Mittelstaedt, John	Wyoming	United States	4.05	41

Dobscha, Susan	Bentley	United States	4.02	42
Jones, D.G. Brian	Quinnipiac	United States	4.00	43
Schibrowsky, John	UNLV	United States	4.00	43
Kadirov, Djavlenbek	Eastern Inst. of Tech.	New Zealand	4.00	43
Kjeldgaard, Dannie	Southern Denmark	Denmark	3.89	46
Burroughs, James	Virginia	United States	3.83	47
Gao, Zhihong	Rider	United States	3.67	48
Rahtz, Don	William and Mary	United States	3.55	49
Kolk, Ans	Amsterdam	Netherlands	3.50	50
Breverland, Michael	Bath	United Kingdom	3.50	50

“Macromarketing is what Macromarketers do”, so what did Macromarketers do? A bibliometric Analysis of the Journal of Macromarketing

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Gerhard Wührer, Johannes Kepler Universität Linz

What is macromarketing? Recent articles have suggested a renewed fragmentation in macromarketing thought. This research seeks to understand what themes and concepts have been most prominent in the Journal throughout its first 35 years, and to understand how the prominence of different themes and concepts has risen and fallen through that time.

Authors, such as Bartels (1962) and Sheth, Gardner and Garrett (1988), have overlaid categorizations on the history of marketing thought. Sheth et al (1988) identify Macromarketing as a distinct school of thought in the wider marketing discipline. Macromarketing is an unusual sub-discipline of marketing in that it is a membership group – you can be a member of the Macromarketing Society Inc.. Most other sub-disciplines of marketing are largely artificial post hoc constructions, with the IMP group being a notable exception.

The definition of macromarketing has received considerable attention in the past, with some of the more prominent definitions displayed in Table 1. This paper uses Fisk’s definition, that “macromarketing is what macromarketers do” as a starting point to understand what is macromarketing. What have macromarketers done in the Journal of Macromarketing, the journal

of the sub-discipline, across the first 35 years? This research investigates changes in focus across the volumes of the Journal, using editorial reigns as time categories.

<p>“Macromarketing literally deals with big/important issues, beyond comparatively simple exchanges between buyers and sellers, or even relationships between companies and customers. In a more interconnected world of markets, marketers, and their stakeholders, macromarketing is an important mechanism to study both opportunities and shortcomings of marketing, and both its intended positive effects and unintended deleterious effects. This suggests macromarketing includes an optimistic perspective; that it seeks functional mechanisms to enhance marketing processes, to the benefit of the largest number of stakeholders, the world over.” (Shultz)</p>
<p>‘...macromarketing is a multidimensional construct, (which) refers to the study of (1) marketing systems, (2) the impact and consequence of marketing systems on society, and (3) the impact and consequence of society on marketing systems” (Hunt 1981, p. 8)</p>
<p>‘networks of relationships connecting marketing actors and societal patterns or systemic relations among marketing actors” (Bagozzi, 1977)</p>
<p>Fisk (1981) added that (macro)marketing should be viewed as social process, as (1) a life-support system provisioning technology, with concerns about (2) quality and quantity of life-goals served by marketing, 2 (3) a technology for mobilizing and allocating resources and (4) is concerned about the consequences of marketing — the spillover effects of marketing — for those who may not seek or be aware of the intended or unintended activities of marketers (pp. 3, 4, 5)</p>
<p>‘macromarketing is what macromarketers do” (Fisk, online)</p>

Table 1. Definitions of Macromarketing

Recently Mittelstaedt, Shulz, Kilbourne and Peterson (2014) have noted two schools of thought in macromarketing, with ‘critical’ macromarketing a more recent emergence alongside more traditional macromarketing. In the past there have been within macromarketing focal areas on marketing history, quality of life, development, all of which lead to separate conferences and

journals, while remaining connected to Macromarketing. As these focal areas emerge into their own journals and conferences it may be expected that their presence in the Journal will wax and wane. This research ascertains to what extent that is correct.

Macromarketing involves interactions between marketing and society and will change as society changes, or different societal or market issues come to the fore. The origin of authors in the Journal also impacts on the topics of papers and it is reasonable to suggest that across 35 years authors from different countries have come and gone. Macromarketing is by its very nature a dynamic social science. This research gives insights into how dynamic the content of the Journal and thus the sub-discipline of macromarketing have been over 35 years.

Scientometric Methodology

The development of domains in science has interested many (Kuhn, 1962). Kuhn's theory of paradigms predicts the emergence of paradigms and their development until they cease to be useful to address the questions of a scientific discipline. Bettencourt et al. (2009) describes in an expansion of Kuhn (1962) the discovery and invention phase of a paradigm is affected by a small number of fields and the different fields develop independently or loosely connected to each other. The topics talked and written about form a nuclei which provide the platform for further approaches. At this stage there is no common theoretical background. The origin of the researchers and scholars working in the field is diverse, some of them may have a similar vision or goal where the scientific undertaking should go. Maybe the process starts with some seminars for specialists, where a community meets.

The ongoing process becomes different in the stage of invention. Here ideas become more clear and the scientists working and writing in the field share a common language, collaborate, exchange junior scientists, broaden the platform of meetings and mutual correspondence via private ideas exchange and/or generation of a specific publishing means. Here new ideas attract a broader scientific audience; the articles are cited, re-cited or other journals become aware of the new developments in the topic field. A paradigm shift or emergence is the outcome of this early stage of discovery and invention. Normal science is the differentiation into ever more tiny fields and topics of interest. The field is fragmented, but framed within a common understanding and accepted paradigmatic perspective. The work becomes more and more specialized before finally crisis and breakthrough generate a new paradigm. Then the discovery and invention process starts again.

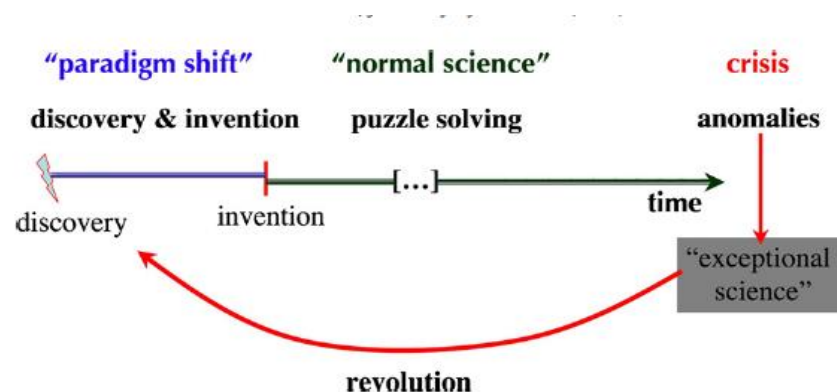


Figure 1.: Process of scientific developments (Bettencourt et al. 2009)

Recently interest in modeling scientific fields and their development has increased remarkably (Börner und Scharnhorst 2009, 2009). Models are the means to make the understanding and visualization of key issues of real world phenomena easier. Investigation of fields of science has

concentrated on models visualizing and describing the actual state more than predicting the development of next years (Scharnhorst et al. 2012), the perspective is more backwards than forwards. Longitudinal analysis of a field of science seeks to identify the trajectories of science development and their specific characteristics. Kas et al. (2012) state that the modeling of longitudinal change is one of the most encouraging areas of research. Many studies take their emphasis on the investigation of scholarly communities, their networks, the growth and evolution of fields and the diffusion of research topics over time (Börner et al. 2003), including the relationships between authors and institutions. Börner and her colleagues (Börner et al. 2011) note that models of science systems are an increasing field in scientometrics. The reasons are: better availability of data, innovative methods of data mining and modeling, novelty of visualization techniques of structure and dynamics of science at different layers. New technological tools and possibilities emerge offering a new approach of visualizing knowledge domains in information science and of mapping sciences. The digital data sources are diverse, journals, book articles, google postings e.g. blogs, grey literature, homepages, protocols, reports found in the internet, Thompsons Reuters Web of Knowledge, or Elsevier's scopus, and conference proceedings (Wuehrer und Smejkal 2013, 2013; Hofer et al. 2010; Wuehrer und Smejkal 2012).

Langhe (2013) states that there has been an advancement of network theory, agent-based modeling and the processing of scientometric data, so that additional analytical processes and knowledge gains on dynamics are now available. Scientists have the opportunity to filter the information needed and publications for analysis from databases like ISI Thompson Reuters Web of Knowledge or Elsevier's Scopus (Scharnhorst et al. op. 2012; Kas et al. 2012). 'Visualizations

that show the unfolding of scholarly activities in a ‘fast forward’ mode can help refute or confirm existing theories and trigger questions for novel research into the basic mechanisms of scientific growth’ (Scharnhorst et al. 2012, p. xiii). Börner et al. (2004), Leydesdorff and Schank (2008), Börner and Scharnhorst (2009) and Scott (2011) emphasize the need of understanding the dynamics of science.

Major contributions to the field of scientometrics stem from Robert King Merton, Derek J. de Solla Price and Eugene Garfield (Serenko et al. 2010). The focus of multivariate analysis in scientometrics was based on static investigations. This analysis does not illuminate the dynamics in science if one takes a measure at time point A, another one at point B and calculates the dynamic by examining the difference between the two points. The difference cannot be assumed to be the systems’ evolution (Park and Leydesdorff 2013). Park and Leydesdorff (2013) present entropy statistics and dynamic multidimensional scaling as non-parametric possibilities for dynamic exploration over time, available in software packages like PajekToSvgAnim (<http://vlado.fmf.uni-lj.si/pub/networks/pajek/svganim/default.htm>), Gephi (<https://gephi.org/>), Commetrix (<http://www.commetrix.de/>). Leydesdorff and colleagues propose a research program for evaluating the usefulness of animations showing developments over time (Leydesdorff et al. 2008).

Kas et al. (2012) offer another example for studying the changes of a specific scientific area over time. They use different analytical techniques for their aim – social networks centrality analysis, topological analysis, investigation of power law characteristics, time series analysis of publication and collaboration frequencies and spatiotemporal analysis (Kas et al. 2012). They

show the benefits and the contribution of each of the presented techniques in their paper for obtaining a big picture and for recognizing the dynamics in the specific field. From a sociology perspective of science, the investigation of data in a spatiotemporal way offers the possibility to provide a statement if the field is in a normal or a revolutionary phase of science. There remains no guiding structure for which technique should be used on each specific research aim to detect particular parts of the big picture. Kas et al. (2012) mention indicators and techniques such as Hamming distance, Euclidian distance, Quadratic Assignment Procedure (QAP, see Krackhardt 1987; Krackhardt 1992), Multiple Regression Quadratic Assignment Procedure (MRQAP) as a regression counterpart, while using signal processing techniques (Discrete Fourier Transform) for their study.

McCulloh (2009) presents a table where four dominant methods for longitudinal network analysis are shown – Markov Chain, multi-agent, statistical and Social Network Change Detection (SNCD) – for each stating the following parameters: the main problem addressed, its key assumptions and limitations for change detection as well as providing the strengths of the methods. He refers to the QAP as a procedure, which includes the possibility '[...] to compare the correlation between networks; [...]' (McCulloh 2009, p. 27). This work highlights the difference between concentrating on longitudinal analysis in general or if focusing on detecting changes in social networks. Social network change detection is a method that detects a significant change in a real-time network and offers the possibility to detect the point of change. This point allows conclusions on potential causes of change (McCulloh 2009), such as the disappearance of a specific scientific topic or content. It is a challenge to identify changes that are not just occurring in a stochastic way but could be identified as to be significant (McCulloh and Carley 2011). One

statistical possibility to detect such changes is that of cumulative sum (CUSUM) '[...] recommended for longitudinal network analysis' (McCulloh 2009, p. 41). This type of control chart is appropriate for detecting small changes over time. The advantage is that the detection of these small changes could be the basis for the expectation of more dramatic changes, which are not assumed to occur between short time periods. The control chart shows the most probable time point for change enabling the researcher to focus on occurrences of network change (McCulloh 2009). Current and longitudinal studies concentrate on; the temporal evolution of emerging fields in scientific disciplines (Bettencourt et al. 2008; Guo et al. 2011), the ease of scientific discovery (Arbesman 2011), networks models or scientometric analysis in relation to specific research topics like the h-index (Hirsch 2005), an index for qualification of a scholar's productivity (Gao and Guan 2012), or related to research topics like 'knowledge management and intellectual capital academic literature' (Serenko et al. 2010, p. 3).

Scientometric analysis of the Journal of Macromarketing

This research applies longitudinal scientometric analysis to the Journal of Macromarketing's contents to understand how macromarketing is represented via the concepts included in abstracts in the Journal. Using Leximancer the concepts contained in the Journal are mapped before analyzing the change in concepts in the Journal through time and editorships, to better understand the expressed coverage of the discipline of macromarketing.

Given the nature of macromarketing and the changes in society and authorship across time it is proposed that macromarketing, as a young discipline, will have changed and refined across time

and editorships. This research will determine if that is the case and at the same time enrich our understanding of our discipline and its direction(s).

Data Base and Pre-Processing

The abstracts of the Journal of Macromarketing build the source for the process of investigation the content of the journal and its development. The authors collected from the web-site (<http://jmk.sagepub.com/content/by/year>) the relevant information.

Table 1: *Structure of the Database

Years	Editor	Volume, Issue	Number of Issues	Usable Abstracts
1981 - 1983	George Fisk	1 - 3	6	40
1984 - 1987	Stanley J. Shapiro	4 - 7,1	7	39
1987 - 1997	Robert W. Nason	7,2 - 17	20	109
1998 - 2000	Luis V. Dominguez	18 - 20	6	37
2001 - 2003	Sanford Grossbart	21 - 23	6	30
2004 - 2009	Clifford J. Shultz II	24 - 29	18	131
2010 - 2015	Terrence H. Witkowski	30 - 35	24	172
Total			87	558

*Compiled from the web-site of Journal of Macromarketing, 1981 - 2015

starting from the first issue March 1981 until December 2015, volume 35, issue 4. The entire database of abstracts covers a period of 35 years and is organized following the order of the editors (see Table 1). The abstracts have been stored in folders according to the different editors. Starting with volume 27 four issues per year became standard.

For the ongoing scientometric analysis all articles' abstracts were used as they have been provided. Editors' notes and book reviews are interesting to chart the course of the contents of

the journal. In total 558 abstracts have been extracted and used. As seen from Table 1, the duration of editorships' varies between 6 and 24 issues over the years as does the number of abstracts. The range goes from 37 (editor Luis V. Dominguez) to 172 during Witkowski's editorship.

Method, Digital Screening Process and Text processing

The algorithm used by Leximancer identifies and maps themes and concepts in textual data (Smith and Humphreys 2006). It employs proximity values to analyze and visualize co-occurring keywords. By doing this it indicates what concepts are to be found in a text corpus. Depending on the frequency of co-occurrence words, most frequent words are grouped into concepts and similar concepts tend to settle together in close proximity (Cretchley et al. 2010). The concepts are grouped into a theme, and each theme is automatically named by the most prominent concept in the cluster. It is possible to rename the themes to make the conceptual visualization and map easier to interpret.

It is necessary to input the text, the abstracts, and set parameters for intersubjective confirmability before themes will be detected. Smith and Humphreys (2006) emphasize the ability of the text-mining algorithm to perform stable and reproducible results. They are equivalent to inter-coder reliability and the stochastic analysis, which starts with initially randomly strewn concepts in a multidimensional space, has been repeated to check for stable concept extraction and presentation.

The digital screening process involved setting the prose test in Leximancer to high, so that all text that is not sentence-like is excluded from analysis; titles of articles have not been included. In addition name like concepts in the analysis were excluded to focus on themes and concepts (Young et al. 2015). As there are no tables, figures and or parts are in abstracts, the entire analysis concentrates on text. In pre-processing the standard stop word list as implemented in Leximancer has been used. The parameters (for a detailed explanation of the process phase see McFadden, 2011) **'Generate concept seed'** were set as following:

'Sentences per block = 2', 'Prose text threshold = 5', 'Duplicate text sensitivity = automatic', 'Identify name like concepts = yes', 'Break at paragraph = yes', 'Auto paragraphing = yes', 'Merge word variants = yes', 'Apply folder tags = yes', 'Automatically identify concepts = yes', 'Total number of concepts = 80', 'Percentage of name like concepts = automatic', 'Concept specificity = no', 'Boiler plate cut-off = stronger'.

The following process step **'Generate Thesaurus'** was set with:

'Learn concept thesaurus = yes', 'Learning once = no', 'Concept generality = 12', 'Learning from tags = yes', 'Learning type = normal', 'Sampling = automatic', 'Phrase separation = 3', 'Sentiment lens = no', 'Concept profiling = 80', 'Themed discovery = concepts in all', 'Only discover name like concepts = no'.

In the phase **'Run Project'** the compound and concept editor was used to combine 'consumer or consumers', 'economic or economy', 'effect or effects', 'environment or environmental', 'market or markets', 'product or products', 'societal or society', and 'system or systems' as it appeared that the parameter 'merge word variants' did not realize them. The guiding principle for

parameter settings was to keep them as pre-set as possible as the manual suggested (McFadden 2011). The output of the 'Insight Dashboard' generated by Leximancer reports 1375 total context blocks, 134 concepts and 7 categories, which resemble the editors in the 35 years of the Journal of Macromarketing.

Investigation and Findings

According to the research questions an overall view of the findings and the investigation is presented before demonstrating how the field of macromarketing as presented in the Journal has emerged over 35 years. The text analysis and visualization is based on the algorithms incorporated into Leximancer.

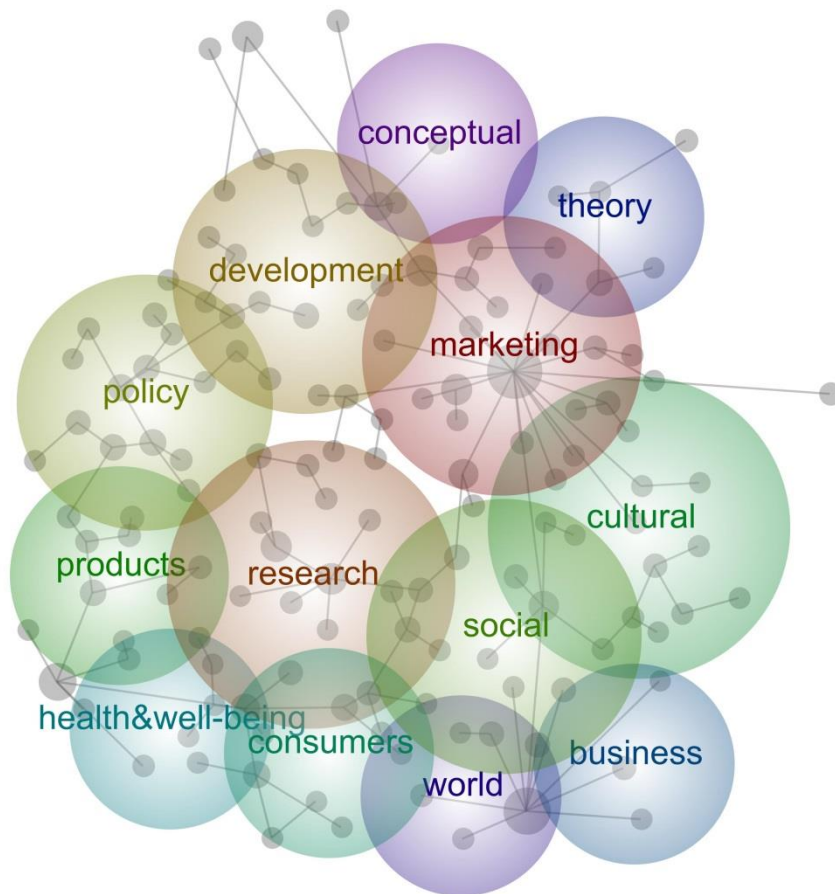
A Cross-sectional View 1981 to 2015

All volumes' abstracts are the basis of the first analysis depicted in Figure 2 and the consecutive tables. Of the 12 most prominent themes extracted, the most central is '**marketing**' - a highly complex topic, built of several concepts or keywords, each of which stands for more than the word itself. Marketing (100%) here consists of concepts like: "economic", "system", "macromarketing", "theory", "framework", "perspective", "approach", "economy", "ethical", and "political".

As the percentage indicates, the theme is connected to the following '**research**' (connectivity 57%) with the supporting keywords "study", 'system', 'consumer', "understanding", "impact", "societal", "change", "food", "examine", and "aspects". The keywords circumscribe aspects of general systems theory as the study of the complex coordination and control processes,

underpinning growth, evolution, and design of exchanges systems. The role of the general systems approach in macromarketing is examined and demonstrated by various examples, with societal, political, historical cases and studies written about. It refers to the research directions as an outcome of the Kingston meeting in 1984 at the University of Rhode Island and how to augment the field of macromarketing. Besides that the theme covers implications of future research directions and looks at them from a qualitative and quantitative perspective. Consumer well-being (CWB) and its measures are one major concern as well as the discussion of films and documentaries as highly useful pedagogic and research tools.

Figure 2: Cross-sectional View Concept Map Years 1981 to 2015



The authors of the abstracts expressed hope that macromarketing researchers will take a leadership role defining, disseminating, and evaluating the moral obligations that significantly impact the quality of people's consumer lives. Under this theme the purpose of research is to advance the understanding of the macro-systems role of marketing thereby augmenting the equivocal principle of marketing with the hypothesis that marketing has a negative indirect impact on societal welfare. Change points at strategic and organizational perspectives in transition economies where new firms will emerge after economic liberalization. The keyword 'food' points at legislation issue by the United States and European Union governments which mandates the provision of country-of-origin information at the point of purchase for a variety of goods and products. 'Examine' and 'aspects' stand for parts of abstract texts where inequities between men and women are studied or hedonic and experiential aspects of consumption have been at the agenda list of (macro)marketing researchers.

The theme '**development**' (connectivity 52%) connects with 'analysis', 'public', 'environment', 'process', and 'relationship', several process aspects. These concepts either point at reification of macromarketing as a necessary condition for the development of macromarketing as science or other aspects dealing with frameworks to develop for instance highlighting the differences between micro- and macromarketing. The theme also addresses the development process taking part in transition and emerging economies and the caveats connect to neo-liberalism as the only single model to be applied. Nation-specific factors should be taken into account. A discussion covers the relationship between economic development and the channel structure, where new approaches should be used.

'Policy' (connectivity is 52%), is a diverse theme field. It ranges from export promotions, the discussion of foreign trade zones (FTZs), the issue of consumer vulnerability as an agenda of public policy and macromarketing to quality of life. In addition the measures to enhance policy throughout the world in long term and in which role diverse stakeholders, concepts, and cross-disciplinary research may play in designing and implementing policy. Examples include how the appeal to personal health through organic products lessens environmental impacts at production sites, as well as discussion of policy implications in connection with whistleblowing. John Rawls thoughts on distributive justice and the research on it on consumption adequacy provides ideas for policy makers.

The **'ethical perspective'** in the issues of Journal of Macromarketing (connectivity of 41 %) covers dimensions like business education and the resurgence of serious interest in marketing ethics and macromarketing during the 1980s and the need to reposition business and marketing education away from a managerial and toward a more inclusive stakeholder perspective. The analytic nature and domain of macromarketing from a systems theoretic perspective are linked to theme of ethical perspective and the role of studying the complex coordination and control processes underpinning growth, evolution, and design of exchange systems.

'Social' as a theme (connectivity 45 %) links keywords like society, practices, sustainable, use, context, historical, and case together. Examples include the ability of products to be more sustainable than others, the role of waste and how we maintain control by encouraging to keep waste in its place out of sight and out of mind. This is achieved through our socialization against waste, the role of trashcans, and the work of garbage collectors. Something different occurs

under this theme, when it connects the benefits from corporate involvement with social issues and the potential pitfalls associated with merging social and corporate objectives.

'Products' as topical theme (connectivity of 30 %) is generated by keywords like life, behavior, environment, industry, quality, and well-being. Within this theme are found the generation of more friendly products enhancing the quality of life, or the purchasing roles of American households from the colonial area to the mid-nineteenth century, as well as the environmental friendliness of goods and how it can be measured.

'Cultural' (connectivity of 28%) is also a diverse theme. It deals with, for example, the unique culture of India as a land of contradictions and contrasts and how international franchising may create social pressure, cultural clashes, and perceived challenges to national cultures. Frameworks discuss to assess the potential economic and social benefits and costs of international franchising.

The theme **'consumer/s'** (connectivity of 28%) is characterized by the keywords 'consumption', 'global', and 'advertising'. It includes articles discussing why consumers act fairly towards companies, even if they have no obligation to do so. Another abstract speaks about particular aspects of consumption and consumers' experiences during the Great Depression, using observations of their behavior as preserved in archival reports. The 'global' aspect is linked by the role certain agricultural centers have in producing food for the country and global food consumer.

'**Health & well-being**' (connectivity of 10%) are less connected than the theme 'consumer' and include the health aspect of the protection of smokers and the sudden reduction of consumption from circulating a draft set of Cigarette Advertising Guides by the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) and the enforcement in the Fifties of the last century.

'Business', 'theory', 'world', and 'conceptual' are stand alone and address very specific aspects which are not covered by the more complex themes already mentioned. To give an example, business is here seen in the context of business-channels and the substantial power which can be exercised within, why the Robinson-Patman Act is going to remain a law, or why a model tested via structural equation analysis gives input for further conceptual themes.

The cross-sectional view (Figure 2) gives a first insight into the content structure of the abstracts, the longitudinal development will extend the results.

Longitudinal Perspective and Development

Figure 3 gives a holistic overview with the editorships during the 35 year period, with two lines of development. The first is a linking line the starting year with the last editorship; the second covers a lateral topical movement. There is a development time-line from the founding editors starting with Fisk (1981 – 1983), then Shapiro (1984 - 1986, inclusive 1st issue in 1987), Nason with 1987 – 1997 to Witkowski (2010 to 2015). The lateralization is indicated by the editors Dominguez (1998-2000) Grossbarth (2001 – 2003), and Shultz in the years 2004 to 2009. If the development of themes was direct, the theme development line would be straight from the first to the last year respectively from the first to the last editor. As new themes branch

out, and do not refer to topics or keywords stated previously, the visualization becomes differentiated and lateral.

Figure 3: * Longitudinal View Concept Map Years 1981 to 2015

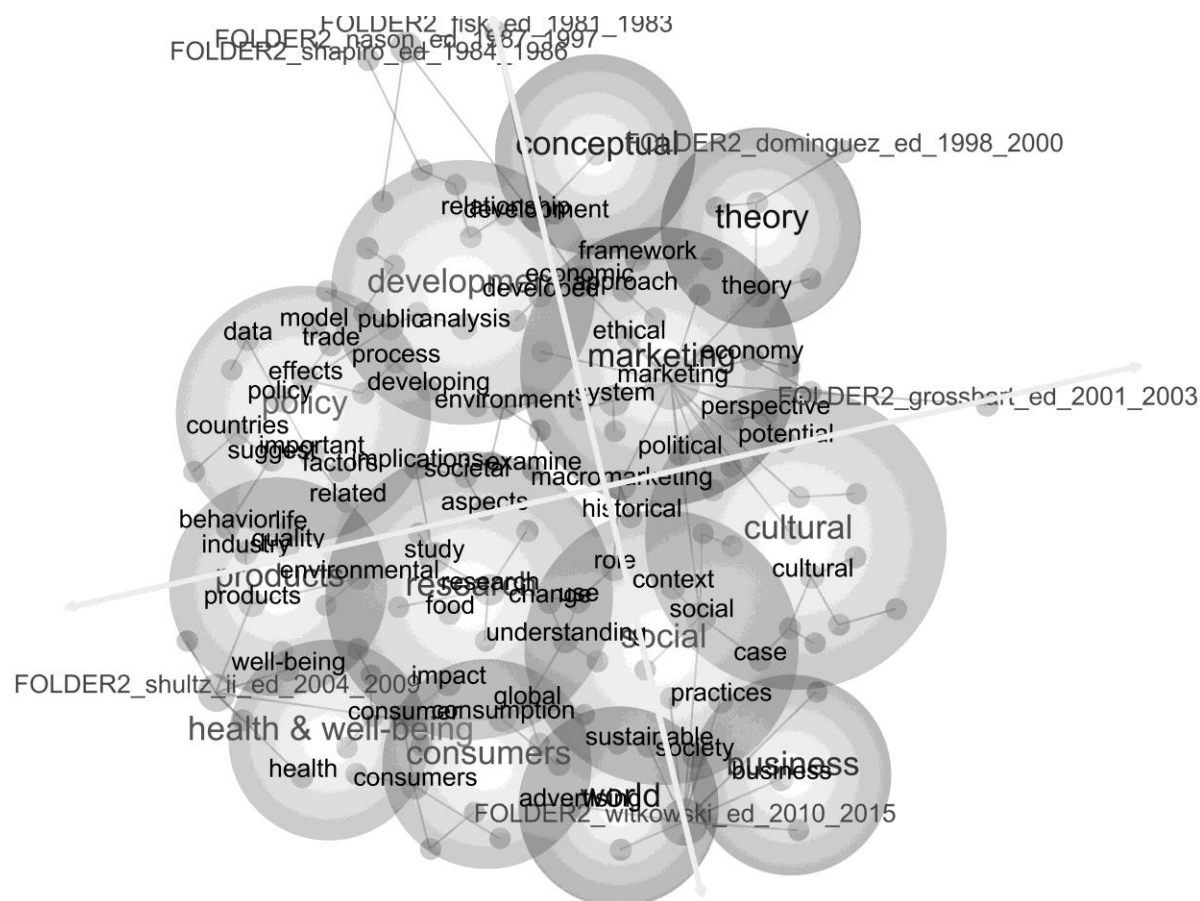


Table 2 shows the top ten most prominent keywords of each editorship-area and indicates the relative importance within the list. 'Prominence scores are absolute measures of correlation between category and attribute, and can be used to make comparisons over time' (McFadden 2011, p. 130) ; here to be interpreted, the higher the figure the stronger the correlation between the period and keyword. The prominence scores vary between 0.6 and 3.3, hence some of the correlations are comparatively low. The range of the top keywords' prominence ranges from

1.4/1.2 (consumer/s) to 3.3 (business). The prominence of keywords changes through time, and new keywords arose thematically. The most prominent keywords form a line which starts with 'ethical' (1983) – 'countries' (1986) – 'development' (1997) – 'theory' (2000) – 'business' (2003) – 'consumer/s' (2009) and ends with 'sustainable' (2015). The ten most prominent keyword sets change over the last 35 years. Some of them occurred only once e.g. 'business' or 'analysis' others like 'marketing' are present every decade, 'economic' (except the last five years), and some show alternating patterns of presence and absence, where the intervals of prominence status are of different length, for instance 'system'. 'System' showed continuing presence in the early years of the Journal, disappeared for some time, and regained prominence in the last decade.

Ethical makes up the top keyword when Fisk was editor. The related concepts, which are linked closely to it span from advertising, where the organizational environments and inter-organizational network potentially influence ethical/unethical behavior of decision-makers. Connected to that the question comes up, whether advertising agencies and their client corporations have similar standards of ethical behavior? Ethical frameworks are discussed which were drawn from moral philosophy including Adam Smith's 'invisible hand' and moral works.

Table 2: Editorship's Years and Prominence of Concepts

	1981 1983	1984 1986	1987 1997	1998 2000	2001 2003	2004 2009	2010 2015	
Business	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.3	0.0	0.0	
Macro		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.0	0.0	0.0
Ethical		2.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Countries	0.0	2.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Sustainable	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.9	

System		1.9	1.3	0.9	0.0	0.0	1.0	1.2
Framework	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Effects		0.0	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Consumption		0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	1.6	0.0	0.0
Public		1.6	1.8	0.0	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
Policy		0.0	1.6	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3
Analysis	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Development		1.4	1.5	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Suggest	0.0	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3	0.0	
Understanding		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3	0.0	0.0
Products	1.3	0.0	1.2	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Theory		0.0	0.0	1.2	1.5	1.5	0.0	0.0
Marketing	1.3	1.1	1.0	0.8	1.1	1.0	1.0	
Social		0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	1.0	1.0	1.3
Economic	1.1	1.1	1.4	1.4	1.2	0.8	0.0	
Important	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Consumer/s	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.9	0.0	1.4/1.2	1.1/1.4	
Study		0.8	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.7	1.1	1.1
Macromarketing	0.8	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.0	1.3	1.1	
Research	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.7	1.2	1.2	

The following period, 1984 to 1986, has 'countries' as the most prominent keyword. Related concepts to it are the consequences of marketing activities in emerging countries, the development of retail systems, diverse systems of governmental control over consumption in historical and present countries, the influence of countries' economic status and its influence on distribution systems, and comparative country studies on various structures of marketing in different countries. Public aspects are discussed and covered by the question how regulatory failures impact public policy and marketing decisions, or how public marketing food agencies impact upon serving the consumers. Policy aspects are strongly connected to the discussion on the context of marketing of essential goods and services in developing economies. The development of retail systems is connected to it, and the data also suggest the importance of non-patrons in successful management of public food marketing. The systems aspect is stressed by the pivotal role the marketing system plays in determining the rate of increase in per capita

income, in broadening the assortment in the market-place, and in the adoption of productivity-enhancing innovations. Both micro and macro level are mentioned, the first by transaction cost analysis as means of explanation for vertical integration and macro level consequences of backward integration. Distribution and retail systems as special parts of the marketing structure and processes are discussed in comparative intention between countries. Social aspects cover a plethora of issues ranging from macromarketing's concern with intended and unintended effects of social marketing or focusing for instance on the marketing of family planning in emerging countries like India, and how social marketing can improve living conditions in transition countries as well dealing with the socially responsible consumer at last. State economic development programs and the implementation of that programs, the major social and political consequences are another aspect of the aforementioned discussion.

1987 to 1997 is largely centered on the keyword or concept 'development'. Here it is in close vicinity to words like activities, economic, institutional, process, retail, and structure. Regarding effects related keywords the abstracts of that area speak about ecological and societal consequences of marketing activities and the changes they bring about. Frameworks are proposed to examine the process of knowledge development in marketing and macromarketing. To this end, various approaches for developing new knowledge are specified and discussed: theory applications, effects application, and replication/extensions. The keyword 'economic' is related to the advantages the institutional approach has when evaluating the efficacy of paradigms. The other keywords typical for that period are of less prominence and speak loosely coupled about single issues public policy in case of waste reduction, the test of hypothesis regarding litter free environment, or the structure of historical studies dealing with food

retailing. Again the system's aspect is typical for that time span 1987 till 1997 tackling exchange and market transaction as an expression of free choice. A reference to Plato is made, when he clarifies the institutional mechanisms by which the marketing system links the economy to society and thereby acts as a framework for developing modern macromarketing thought.

The keyword 'theory' is typical for the time span 1988 till 2000. The supporting text reports about a postmodern framework for understanding the contemporary global economic and social/cultural order. Because the origins of postmodernism are so diverse and disparate, the challenge for macromarketers is to capture the key concepts that are relevant to macromarketing theory and practice. 'Public' and 'analysis' are of equal prominence. In the immediate context of 'public' the supporting text is about the consumption or use of a number of goods and services, benefits to non-users, consumption inequities within a global context, and gender aspects of consumer inequality studied using quality of life measures at the societal level. An interesting keyword in that area context is 'analysis'. It connects to the wet market system, in supermarkets, and consumer behavior. 'Economic' thought connects to consumer theory, its relationship to early marketing thought, and the uneasy relationship between marketing practitioners, marketing economists (that is, marketing academics who were economists by training and who drew primarily on the economics literature in their work) and mainstream economic theorists with respect to utility, value, consumer preference formation, and consumption.

The time span 2001 to 2003 is marked by the keyword 'business'. Prominent are the establishment of business history as an area of academic endeavor, and reviews of two key texts

by Breyer in the 1930s. The texts reveal a view of the structure and functioning of marketing systems that resonates well with modern theories of business ecology and complexity. The issues raised by the texts cover the nature of marketing systems, how marketing should be taught, and the nature of strategic problems confronting managers operating in complex adaptive systems. The 'macro' aspects in that editorship's time include (macro)marketing researchers awaking to the hedonic and experiential aspects of consumption, and conceptual reconciliation attempts between micro and macro in the context of international trade. The development of a macro measure of consumer well-being is connected through satisfaction with acquisition, possession, consumption, maintenance, and disposition of consumer goods and services.

'Consumer/s' as keywords are prominent in the years 2004 to 2009. It is a vast field and supporting text extracted by Leximancer speaks about behavior, specially about the a framework which encompasses four key areas of consumer behavior that are related to the forces of globalization and fragmentation, including environment, identity, well-being, and market structure and policy. 'System' as keyword reappears, now referring to macromarketing ethics concerned with the economic and social impact of the fair distribution of products and other resources through the marketing system, with a framework is based on organizational culture, stakeholder orientation, and distributive justice.

The last editor's abstracts, from 2010 to 2015, are typified by 'sustainability'. It is the most prominent keyword and supporting texts speak about the necessity of making consumption more sustainable and for finding long-term solutions. A special attention is given to the

commodification and marketization of water resources and how the lens of macromarketing can approach and examine economic, technological, and political dimensions emerging from that topic. Which public policies for a sustainable consumption of water can be implemented, which programs can commercialize environmental awareness, and communicate consumers' responsibilities towards the use of water? Which framework of sustainability is necessary to adopt a systemic approach to marketing that integrates three major aspects of performances, inclusive efficiency, long-term effectiveness, and distributive effectiveness? Business-level operational efficiency and marketing success may be short-sighted and will not bring an ideal consequence at the societal level – this is brought forward in case of pharmacy marketing systems. Consumer/s is another prominent keyword during the timespan 2010 to 2015 linked to the impact of COO labeling as investigated in aggregate food marketing systems.

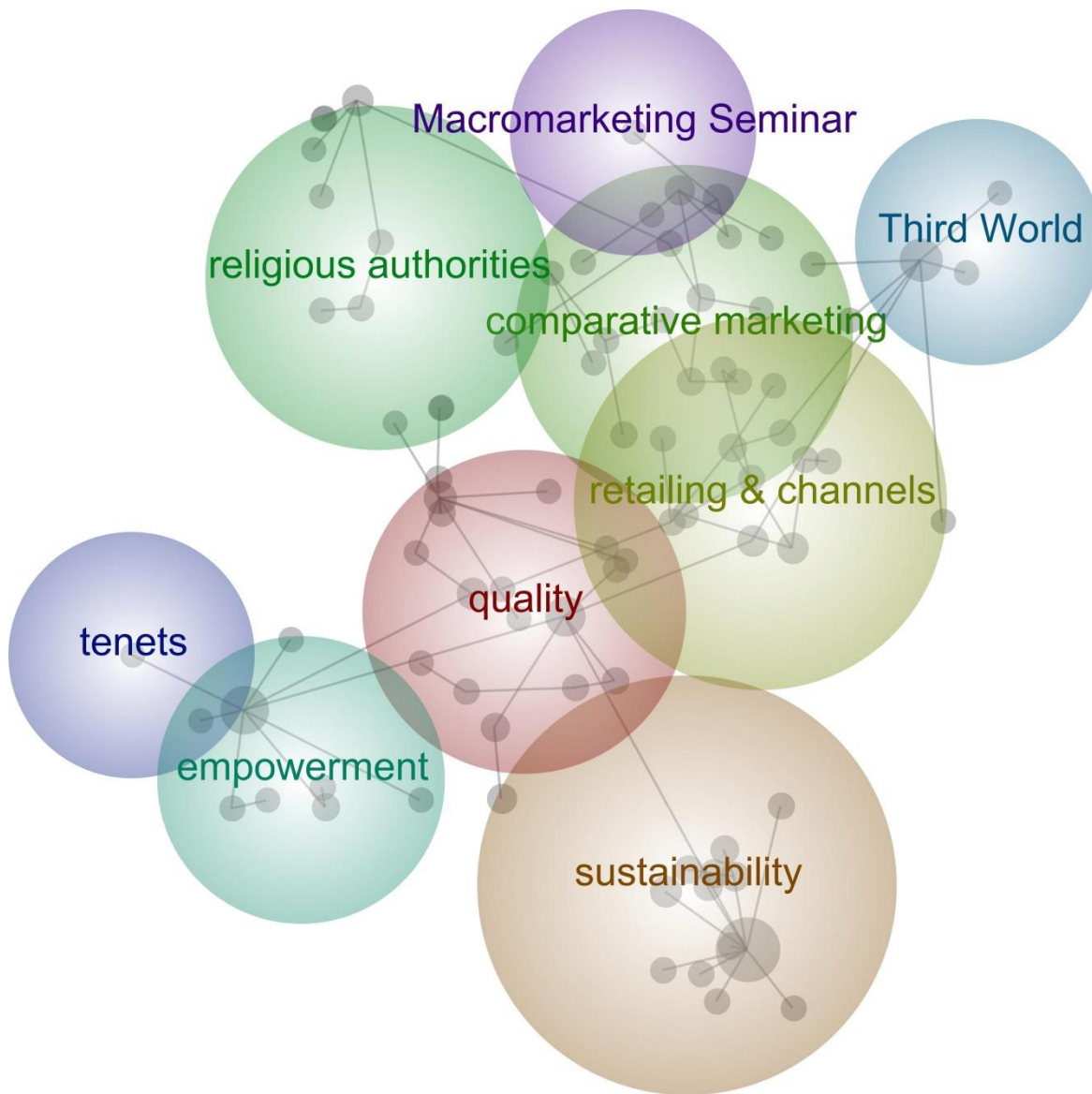
An analysis of the most prominent keywords illustrates, which keywords make up the themes or are most present in themes during the years covered. The key words show the complexities embodied in the abstracts, where keywords are combined and re-combined to shape the 13 thematic patterns visualized in figure 2 and 3. The analysis shows something of the nature of the differences by time period, but the precise nature is yet to be investigated (Young et al. 2015). Many commonly (re-)occurring concepts are similar in each period but the context changes and therefore the use of discriminant analysis (McFadden 2011) in Leximancer is used to identify the most distinguishing keywords of the seven periods of editorships in the last 35 years.

Discriminating Concepts by Years

According to the discriminant analysis (McFadden 2011) nine themes (see figure 4) differentiate between the editorships. The themes are: 'quality' (connectivity 100%), 'sustainability' (98%), 'retailing & channels' (67%), 'comparative marketing' (66%), 'religious authorities' (29%), 'empowerment' (with 22 % connectivity), and 'Third World' (3 %), 'tenets' and 'Macromarketing Seminar' with each 1 % connectivity.

The 'quality' theme comprises the concepts: quality, behaviour, quality of life, explored, comprehensive, poor, progress, capitalism, economics, appeared, postmodern, wet markets, direction, documents, and tourists. The keywords demonstrate and supporting text excerpts generated by the analysis range from the examination of changes of the quality of consumer products during life cycle, covering quality of life itself, the implications of Schumpeter's theory of economic development for marketing theory and the neglecting of them. Another abstract explores the interplay between spirituality and religion, and the forces of economics, technology, and globalization, where contemporary globalization exhibits five main trends in spirituality and religion: increasing attempts to harness religion and spirituality as means toward reterritorialization, the spirituality among consumers, the enhanced role of cyberspace in the spiritual domain, and the syncretisation of spirituality.

Figure 4: * Cross-sectional Discriminating Concept Map Years 1981 to 2015



‘Sustainability’ the theme is made up of concepts like globalization, foreign, subsistence, China, Vietnam, family, commentary to macromarketing education, socio-cultural meanings associated with meat and vegetable consumption and the role and responsibility of different actors in

achieving sustainability in advanced and emerging markets. Lifestyle and ideology make up other supporting concepts for the theme.

'Retailing & Channel' issues provide discriminating power too. Keywords and concepts leading to the topic consist of discussions how organizational structure of channels shape crucially the flow of marketing activity and how in reverse effect the marketing activity influences the organizational structure of a channel over time. An example is the shape and design of packages, which influence how handling, storage, transport are undertaken.

'Comparative Marketing' is a theme which covers keywords like tests, advantage, evaluation, subsequent, failures, hypothesis, science, laws, paradigms, economics. When looking at the text extracts supporting the theme the range is diverse. It ranges from hypothesis testing in a quantitative manner in comparison to the advantage of qualitative research approaches, specific empirical evaluation of models via time-lagged export and import variables, or how emerging descriptive theories in marketing ethics can be partially tested. The text extracts communicate a strong technical, methodological and theoretical orientation.

The theme 'religious authorities' (connectivity 29%) is quite different. Interestingly it covers historical aspects, which mention for instance Pepy's wealth during his rapid rise in status which provides an opportunity to investigate the interplay between contemporary religious teachings on which Weber's theory is based and the consumption patterns characteristic of London life after the Civil War in England.

'Empowerment' as theme (connection 22%) consists of keywords like 'information', 'consumer education programs', proliferation of customer data bases and privacy concerns of consumers, their attempt to devise information externalization strategies to maintain control over their digital identity and the ineffectiveness to do so, because such strategies are based on an obsolete ontological distinction between material identity and digital representation. Empowerment is discussed of a more critical consumer educational approach, which literacy assistance programs impact the feelings of self-esteem, empowerment, and agency of adult learners.

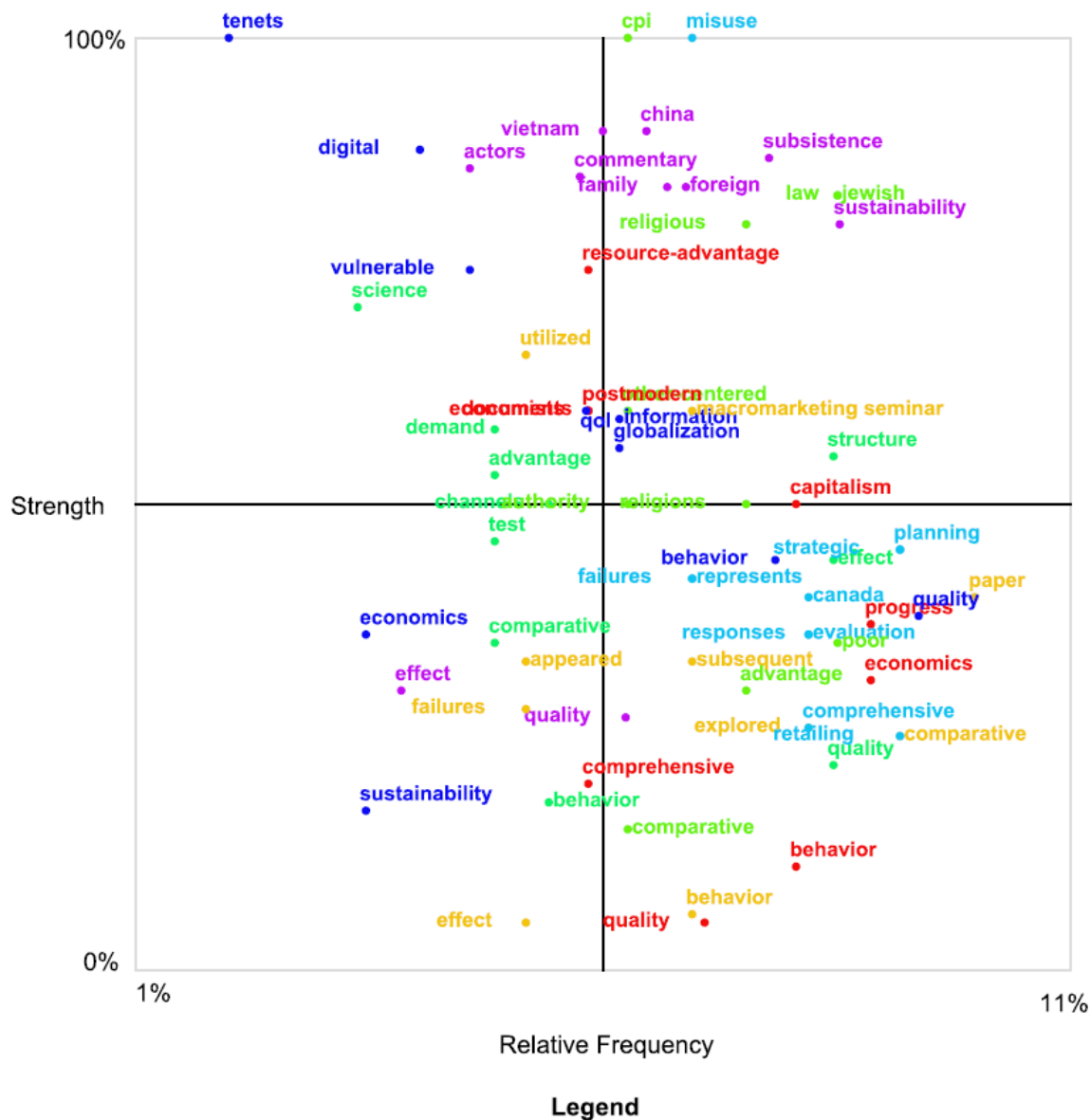
'Third World' (connectivity 3 %) is far less important and it more or less covers a discussion in articles started by (Monieson 1988) and (Dholakia 1988) where the 'positivism', and 'positivistic social science' mark the corner points of scrutiny and dispute.

'Tenets' and 'Macromarketing Seminar' play a very limited role in discriminating the years of editorships, their connectivity is low, only 1% and their appearance somehow erratic.

The quadrant-report (McFadden 2011) gives an overview to the specific years for themes. The axis are relative frequency (ranging from 1 % to 11%), and strength (0 % to 100 %). The first dimension indicates the conditional probability of a keyword or concept when searching in a certain editor's folder (colored differently) for it or how likely is it, that sustainability will be mentioned in the abstracts stored in the folder of the year 2010 to 2015? The strength indicates conditional probability of a folder, when looked at a special keyword. Both axis build up a quadrant-system. In quadrant I (high strength/high relative frequency) we see that the period 2010 to 2015 is represented by most of the keywords making up the theme of 'sustainability'.

The area is circumscribed by 'China', 'subsistence', 'foreign', and 'sustainability'. Quadrant II is populated by the keywords of high relative frequency and of low strength, which means that the likelihood of detecting a specific editorship when looking.

Figure 5: * Quadrant-Report of Discriminating Concepts Years 1981 to 2015



at a certain keyword is low. Quadrant III is low keyword probability and low folder probability, and quadrant IV is high probability of a folder, but low relative frequency of a keyword. The more disperse the keywords of a folder are distributed over all quadrants, the less the discriminating power of the abstracts during the years.

Summarizing the content of the figure 5 the position of the keywords attributed to different folders is diverse, the editorships of Fisk, Nason, Shapiro, and Grossbart emphasize 'comparative marketing', 'Third World', 'religious authorities', 'Macromarketing Seminar', and 'retail & channels', in contrast to Witkowski's editorship stressing 'sustainability'. Dominguez and Shultz intermediating between the founding editors and the later themes and concepts of 2010 to 2015.

Conclusion

The topics addressed in the Journal of Macromarketing have changed during the 35 years of the Journal. There has been both a development of the themes and a broadening. Different editors have overseen contrasting emphasis during their editorships. This analysis does not tell us where the Journal will go, or what the topics emphasized in the future will be, but it does demonstrate that macromarketing is a dynamic social science. It helps us to understand "what macromarketers have done" in the Journal, and with that what macromarketing has been and is.

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Multi-level Patterns of Efficiency and Effectiveness of a Retail Pharmacy System

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Abstract

There have been much research interests in the efficiency and effectiveness of marketing systems. With limited empirical studies available to-date, it is unclear how the performances of a marketing system at different levels, namely micro, meso, and macro link to each other in the marketplace. This research studies a simulated market system of retail pharmacy where various retailers take initiatives to adjust their offerings and price with different promptness, within different experimented customer purchasing preferences. The results demonstrate several critical linkages from customer decisions and managers' decision at micro level to the meso differentiation of marketing elements; and further to the overall consumers' accessibility, affordability, and procurability at the aggregate level. This paper reports the findings when retail pharmacy adopts localized competitive strategies whereby a manager's price and assortment decisions were made in response to competition in proximity.

Introduction

An effective retail pharmacy system (RPS) is crucial to the delivering of high-quality healthcare. An effective RPS is achieved via providing affordable pricing, easy access and versatile product assortment to the community generally. These macro-level outcomes are not a simple addition of micro outcomes, rather, the composite results of individual retailer-consumer interactions. At the individual retailer's level, retailers make pricing and assortment decisions in response to consumers' preferences and competitions, while consumers develop their patronage patterns for retailers based on the stores' specialized offerings and distinct characteristics that best suit their interests. These micro-level decisions give rise to outcomes at the meso-level, where pharmacies adjust their offerings and prices to specialize and differentiate from competitors in proximity. Therefore, to better understand how consumer choices and manager decisions at the micro level influence the store differentiation in price, customer coverage, and assortment at meso level, and the overall purchasing conditions in marketplace, an integrated framework is crucial to delineate the relationships as such.

With a focus on the meso- and macro- level pattern, this study used a simulation-based approach to develop multi-level models. This paper examines the effects of retailer's competition through price and assortment supplementation on store differentiation and specialization, and on the long run viability of store evolution. More specifically, the research questions are: (1) how is the differentiation in price level, assortment structure, and geographic coverage woven up from micro decisions? (2) How are the differentiation of retailing price, assortment uniqueness and geographic coverage radius impacted by managerial operations? (3) How does the store

differentiation aggregate to influence the overall performance of the marketing system regarding price affordability, store accessibility, and assortment availability?

Theoretical Background

System research in marketing is attracting much academic interests (Layton, 2007, 2011; Layton and Duan, 2014; Meng, 2015; Shaw, 2014), especially how a business system with multi-level structure actually functions. In the face of competition, businesses frequently compete and supplement each other to respond better to demands. To provide an integrated explanation, a marketing system is usually considered as an assemblage of demands and offers in a network that vary by magnitude and order. Meng (2015) proposes to study how the aggregate level of performance can be broken down and attributed to micro strategies and actions under different conditions. Three specific patterns linking all levels of performances under different settings provide an exploratory outcomes of a higher level and underpin the framework of this study.

Multi-level Structure of Marketing System

This paper sets the consumer decisions and managerial strategies as the start point. At the micro level, each business is free to choose any combination of strategies in a spectrum of strategies including cost-effectiveness, competitor-driven strategy, or market-oriented strategy, by using various marketing techniques. A strategic selection from the efficiency-effectiveness seeking spectrum at micro level results in a highly specialized pattern, i.e., a business with a specific role that is strengthened or weakened. Differentiation occurs at the meso level where performances should be understood as less isolated, but against a few businesses in proximity. Examples include, “how does price compare across closely located businesses?”; “do customers come to get

specialized products that are not available from other places?” and “does a store have a wider coverage radius than other neighbouring stores?” At the meso level, differentiation in the price level, assortment structure, and location of serviced customers, together with store specialization in product provision contrasting neighbourhood will be studied. With a higher level up, a marketing system is usually evaluated by its deliveries of value, including the offerings, costs and conditions of acquiring these deliveries, e.g., enriched choices, increased customer benefits, decreased transaction costs, enhanced buying condition, and lower economic/social risks associated with the acquisition in general. In the long run, a well-structured and functioned healthcare system should own a high level of self-correction and restorability if exposed to a tremendous socioeconomic shock.

Competition and Supplementation

Discussion in the current literature in regards to competition and cooperation strongly parallels the discussion in the exploration–exploitation domain, in that competition and cooperation are two contradictory yet interrelated strategies (Turner, 2015). ‘The foundational elements of ambidexterity—the concept of paradox and the balance of paradoxical behaviors’ (Turner, 2015, p.29) materialise in the context of competition and cooperation when the dualities are juxtaposed in coopetition (Lewis, 2000; Raza-Ullah et al., 2014). Coopetition involves the simultaneous pursuit of cooperation and competition between firms (Tidström, 2014), which by definition are ambidextrous. ‘While cooperation seeks value creation, a positive-sum game, and shared benefits, competition demands opportunistic behavior, a zero-sum game, and private benefits’ (Raza-Ullah et al., 2014, p. 190). As such, tensions become inherent in cooperative

relationships (Raza-Ullah et al., 2014; Tidström, 2014), and this relationship can be difficult to sustain and balance (Bengtsson & Johansson, 2014; Tidström, 2014). As summarised by Raza-Ullah et al. (2014), the coopetition context comprises industrial, relational and firm-specific factors. By leveraging on ambidextrous literature, this study aims to contribute to the discussion on 'if and how competition and cooperation are related and may need to co-exist' (Turner, 2015, p.6).

Methodology

This paper adopts a series simulated experiments with real survey data incorporated in the experiment setting. This study used survey data previously collected from over 1,800 consumers of contemporary retail pharmacy sector. It also used survey data on retail strategies collected from the managers of 114 pharmacy stores. Building on these data, it used simulated experiments with an Agent-Based-Model (ABM) to manipulate different market conditions, i.e., different numbers of competitors, customers with different preferences when selecting stores, different manager decision to adjust prices when needed, and different market responsiveness to adjust the price. The strengths of using ABM include its capability of developing a bottom-up logic, linking levels of actions of cross-sectional actors to reveal an aggregate outcome which is not easy to find via other methods. The experiment began with 2 (market saturation: High-Low) \times 2 (customer preference: Cost-Access) \times 2 (price discount: Big-Small) \times 2 (manager's adjustment threshold: Fast-Slow) groups. A few stores are designed to scatter randomly in a given space surrounded by customers which are also randomly distributed in both location and demand toward a product category. At the initial moment, each store was randomly given up to eight product categories of products, with each category fitting into a certain price range derived from

the survey data. Customer demand related to a specific product category was randomly assigned by the system.

This paper reports the evolving pattern of a retail pharmacy system caused by localized competitive strategy in different product categories, in contrast to the stores within the neighbourhood (as depicted in Table 1). The simulation is based on the idea of differentiating popular products from unpopular ones. That is, to compare the products sold in last period in every product category after every 100 runs with the average products sold. If the actual number sold is bigger than the average, the product category of that pharmacy store is considered as core category or “bestseller”, otherwise as a fringe product category. If a store’s one product category is a bestseller, the store is inclined to adopt a direct competitive strategy by reinforcing its strength in this specialized product category; if a product category is an unpopular one, the store will maintain a variety-balanced strategy against neighbour competitors to pick up consumer’s demands of long-tailed products. This study made the following assumptions: First, in a marketplace with a certain level of competition saturation, competitive strategy may not apply globally to all competitors everywhere, rather, it’s subjective to the store’s relative position to the closest competitors. Second, instead of using global price discount tactics to all product categories, stores will scan the relative competitive status against their neighbours and adopt appropriate price or assortment adjustment strategies in core products or fringe products.

In particular, price interaction takes place in store’s core product category. If the prices of a store’s core categories are higher than those of its closest competitor, then this store will adapt the price directly by copying the closest rival’s price of that specific category; otherwise, keep the

price level unchanged. In comparison, assortment interaction happens in store's fringe product category. For fringe categories, a) if the product category owned is presented in the competing pharmacy store, find the product category where beats one of the competitors in sales volume and retain that category as "on offer" otherwise indicative of being unavailable" for all the other long-tailed categories beaten by its closest competitor; b) if all the product categories are not the same with that of the store's closest competitor, then find the one category that the closest competitor does not have and applies a discount rate of 10% to that category / or to keep the original price. Table 2 depicts the inputs and outputs of the study.

These agents and agent decision rules were operationalised in the Haskell Platform (2015) which permitted rapid simulation of all variations of the model without taking computer resources for visualisation of the model interactions.

Table 1 Model Specification: Store's Localized Competitive Strategies

	Core product category (above the average sale)	Fringe product category (below the average sale)
Compare the price with that of its closest competitor	If higher, reduce to make the price equal to that of the specific category from its competitor; if lower, then keep the price	
Compare the assortment		If the assortments in the store are all available from the neighborhood

structure with that of its closest competitor		competitor, find out the category when the sale volume surpassed the competitor and label the category as “core product” and “fringe product” for all others.
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Table 2 Input and Output

Experiments		
Input		
Micro-level	Consumer	Perceived importance of cost against location (controlled
	Property	by groups)
	Store property	Price Adjustment Strategy (fixed by groups)
		Response Pattern (fixed by groups)
		Differentiated strategy of core and fringed product
	Market Property	The ratio of Store No. vs. Customer No. (fixed by groups)
<u>Interaction Rule</u>		
Agent Rule	Consumer Decision	Juggling Minimized Overall Cost (Money + Distance)
	Store Decision	<u>Neighbourhood Price Undercutting Strategy of Core</u>
		<u>Product</u>
		<u>Neighbourhood Assortment Structure Copy Startegy of</u>

		<u>Fringe Product</u>
Output		
Meso-level	Differentiation	Assortment Width on Offer
		Market Transaction Price
		Store Coverage Radius
	Specialization	Assortment Selling
		The ratio of Core Product No. Vs. Fringe Product No.
Macro-level	Availability	The Whole's System's Average Assortment No. per Store
	Affordability	The Whole System's Average Transaction Price
	Accessibility	The Whole's System's Customer Average Travel Distance
Long-term	Resilience	Restorability of Product Category's Die-out
		Recovery of Store's Die-out

Conclusions, Implications and Conclusion.

This study builds a holistic, evidence-based understanding of internal efficiency (e.g., competition between discount chains and local pharmacies, the trade-off between assortment width and depth, etc.) and external effectiveness (e.g., engagement of the pharmacies with patients in providing collaborative primary care). The findings of the project could guide policy makers in answering the following critical question: how does the evolution of the retail pharmacy system regarding assortment structure, price level, offering prosperity, transaction cost, and store covering radius affected by consumer and managerial strategies. With an improved ability to explain the market evolution, policies can then be made to steer these

strategies towards a better designed retail pharmacy system for higher efficiency and effectiveness.

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Antecedents and Effects of Aggregate Marketing Systems Across National Boundaries: Who Benefits Most?

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Abstract

From a macromarketing perspective, are the effects of globalization positive or negative?

Developmentally minded scholars, such as Wilkie and Moore (1999) focus on the role trade plays in economic and political development, peace and stability and increasing quality of life standards. Critically minded scholars worry that with winners come losers, in human and environmental terms. Who is right?

This paper's purpose is to extend this theory of aggregate marketing systems and to examine empirically the impact of marketing systems across national boundaries. The authors introduce a novel measure to the marketing literature, *trade per capita*, and argue that trade per capita (as opposed to trade as a percentage of gross domestic product) offers a robust reflection of the effects of aggregate marketing systems on the lives of average people. By examining the causes and consequences of the flows of aggregate marketing systems, the authors find that urban development and institutional strength impact the effectiveness of aggregate marketing systems, and that trade per capita serves as a good indicator of the effects of marketing systems on people's quality of life. Aggregate marketing systems contribute most to society under

conditions of established urbanization and strong institutional effectiveness, but the benefits are not even when these factors are missing.

Introduction

In their seminal article on marketing's impact on society, Wilkie and Moore (1999) argue that the societal benefits that emanate from marketing systems within and across national boundaries are especially important for economic development: "Internationally, the aggregate marketing system is a crucial contributor to the nation's balance of trade, and seeking new areas of opportunity, is a force for international development" (p. 207). Indeed, the dominant policy paradigm guiding international economic policy over the last half century promoted the integration of marketing systems across national boundaries and among nation states. Through the lowering of artificial barriers to trade, the standardization of technologies and business processes, and the integration of international financial markets, trade among nations fostered a reliance and interdependence among the marketing systems of nations that made the world more secure, as trading nations have a vested interest in peace (Alderson 1957; Arndt 1981; Layton and Grossbart 2006). But has it made people better off? Have marketing systems across national boundaries made societies' citizens healthier, wealthier and wiser?

Given the importance of marketing systems it is surprising how little empirical research and how few tools we have to understand and measure the contributions of marketing systems to our lives. While marketing scholars and practitioners have devoted a great deal of energy to quantifying the effects of marketing actions, they have given relatively little attention to measuring the larger impacts of marketing on society (Jocz and Quelch 2008; Wilkie 2005). In

part, this is because empirical examinations are challenging due to the inherent complexity of marketing systems. Metrics developed to understand the dynamics of buyer-seller relationships do not offer much insight into the depth and breadth of systemic relationships. In addition, as we will discuss, measures of macroeconomic policy that aid economists in understanding the benefits of international trade are not designed to, and do not adequately, capture the effects of marketing systems on society. In order to better understand marketing systems we need to develop “indigenous” measures appropriate to the functions of marketing, capable of describing the aggregate inflows and outflows of the network of entities comprising the marketing system (Kohli 2009). As well, these measures should demonstrate a nomological fit with the impact of marketing at the level of society, as well as the level of the firm. That is, such measures must be able to reflect that a marketing system’s function in society depends on the character of its host country, including its legal-political and economic-geographic development, as suggested by Wilkie and Moore (1999). We need metrics that reflect the capacity of marketing systems to serve the needs of their stakeholders.

The purpose of this paper is three-fold. First, we extend the theoretical foundation of aggregate marketing systems (Wilkie and Moore 1999) by proposing scholars examine the capacity of the flows that a marketing system can handle. By capturing the capacity of a marketing system, we assert that we are better able to understand the system’s potential benefits to society. Second, we methodologically contribute to the literature by analyzing the impact of these systems across national boundaries on the lives of people. In doing so, we present a novel metric to quantitatively assess aggregate marketing systems. We propose that the traditional measure of the impact of trade liberalization used in economics, *trade as a percentage of gross domestic*

product, does not capture the effects of marketing systems on the daily lives of average people. Instead, we will argue that *trade per capita* offers a better indicator of the effects of aggregate marketing systems across national boundaries on the wallets of ordinary citizens. While trade-as-a-percentage-of-GDP tells us about the health and openness of economies, trade per capita measures the health of marketing systems, due to its ability to capture the inflows and outflows of exchange among a broad swath of participants. Finally, we make advancements in analyzing aggregate marketing systems by integrating an additional theoretical framework to understand the antecedents and consequences of marketing systems (Mittelstaedt, Kilbourne and Mittelstaedt 2006), and we employ the theoretical undergirding of economic geography and institutional theory to operationalize key elements of marketing systems and conduct empirical analysis. Specifically, our empirical findings indicate that a society's institutions and its urban development play significant roles in the efficacy of its aggregate marketing system. Similarly, we quantify the impact of aggregate marketing systems on social welfare and quality of life (Klein and Nason 2001). We submit that per capita trade provides a substantial methodological contribution to the macromarketing toolbox because it captures the capacity and functioning of the marketing system and its flows on its stakeholders, and in doing so serves as a valuable indicator of marketing system's effects on a nation's quality of life. Most importantly, trade per capita allows us to capture marketing systems on a societal level, a focus rarely captured within marketing literature.

The structure of this paper is as follows. First, we provide a theoretical overview of marketing systems. Next, we build our case that trade per capita serves as a unique means to gauge aggregate marketing systems. Then, we consider demographic and institutional antecedents to

aggregate marketing systems, and their effects on aggregate marketing systems. Finally, the relationship between the aggregate marketing system and societal welfare is examined.

Theoretical Foundations and Empirical Operationalization of the Aggregate Marketing System

In 1999, Wilkie and Moore outlined the value of studying the aggregate marketing system to scholars and practitioners. Aggregate marketing systems are the sets of activities and institutions through which the invisible hand of economics reveals itself in the day-to-day lives of people. They documented the impact of marketing systems on society, emphasizing the marketing system's integral role within a society's larger economic systems. In particular, they demonstrated that marketing systems have real and positive effects on a society, enhancing its citizenry's quality of life and the country's level of economic development (Layton 2007; 2009; Layton and Grossbart 2006).

Marketing systems promote "positive changes to the daily lives of its society's members" (Wilkie and Moore 1999, p. 206), and improve people's lives by expanding assortment, the precursor of consumer choice (Mittelstaedt, Duke and Mittelstaedt 2009). As agents of free will, consumers choose the products of trade (produced both domestically and internationally) because they see these goods and services as the best opportunities to improve their well-being.

Marketing systems create the infrastructure conducive to economic development. Networks of supply and distribution are developed; environments necessary for entrepreneurial opportunity are fostered; and positive societal externalities are generated through private investments in the country's financial, medical and communication structures (Wilkie and Moore 1999). As Gaski

(2007) points out, “Through marketing transactions, capitalist economics has done much good for the world and its people, demonstrably delivering a level of widespread prosperity and liberty unmatched by rival systems” (p. 129). Most importantly, in an international context, aggregate marketing systems play a role in trade and development. This trade increases choices for consumers, opportunities for producers and employment for workers (Wilkie and Moore 1999). In summary, the theoretical underpinnings of marketing systems suggest that the value of marketing systems lie in their ability to affect a number of consequences, including that of the quality of life of its stakeholders.

As a precautionary note, Wilkie and Moore (1999) recognize that the benefits of marketing systems depend on the conditions of development in the society and its economy. Legal, political, cultural and geographic factors establish the context in which the agora functions (Mittelstaedt, Kilbourne and Mittelstaedt 2006). However, while the effects of factors such as urbanization (Fujita, Krugman and Venables 1999) and social institutions like property rights and rule of law (North 1990; Hodgson 2007) have been conceptualized, they have played little role in empirical measures of the benefits of marketing systems among and between societies.

The Measurement of Aggregate Marketing Systems

As Jocz and Quelch (2008) point out, although marketing scholars and practitioners have made significant strides in quantifying the effects of marketing actions, very little attention has been paid to testing empirically marketing’s broader societal contributions: improvements in standards of living, efficient provision of goods and services, innovativeness and new product development, and freedom of choice. The exception to this has been the scholarship of

macromarketing, which has focused much of its attention over the last quarter century on conceptualizing marketing systems (see Layton and Grossbart (2006) and Mittelstaedt, Kilbourne and Mittelstaedt (2006) for reviews of macromarketing scholarship).

In part, the lack of empirical research on marketing systems is because both marketers and economists have devoted their attention to measuring the effects of economic integration, rather than the flows inherent within aggregate marketing systems. Traditionally, international economic analysis has measured trade's impact in terms of trade as a percentage of gross domestic product (GDP) (Krugman and Obstfeld 1997). This approach offers several advantages for macroeconomic analysis, since it washes out the magnitude effects inherent across national economies. By controlling for differences in overall economic activity, economists are able to understand the systemic effects of fiscal, monetary and trade policies. Over the last half century, trade as a percentage of GDP has been used to understand purchase power parity (Summers and Heston 1981), natural resource effects (Ohlin 1933), import-substitution and growth (Lewis 1955; Bhagwati and Srinivasan 1979) and export-led growth policies, among other important topics. It is the means by which organizations such as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the United Nations track the effects of trade policy on growth and development.

Trade as a percentage of GDP (calculated as trade volume divided by gross domestic product) is concerned with the impact of trade on the economy. In contrast, we suggest that to measure aggregate marketing systems, a measure must comprise both the inflows and outflows of the numerous entities involved in the network of the marketing system. Trade per capita (trade

volume divided by population) measures the impact of the flows of marketing systems on people. The distinction is important, since the leveling nature of trade as a percentage of GDP that serves as a useful tool in macroeconomic analysis serves as a staunch weakness in understanding the effects of marketing systems.

To illustrate the distinction between trade as a percentage of GDP and trade per capita, let us consider Argentina and the United States. In terms of trade as a percentage of GDP, the two are similar (29% compared with 30%, respectively (World Bank Institute 2014)). But while Argentina and the United States have similar trade as a percentage of GDP, the dollar impact of the flow of trade on a U.S. family is more than four times that of their Argentinean relatives. This means that while trade accounts for an average \$3,909 US dollars (2014) moving through the pockets of each man, woman and child in Argentina, it represents on average \$16,560 of benefit for every person in the United States. So, while the benefits of trade are proportional, they are vastly unequal. This distinction is important: it is the amount of trade flows – not the proportion – that pays for food, shelter, clothing, transportation, education and health care, and that leads to opportunities for specialization and entrepreneurship among market participants. If consumers are able to choose freely from among the alternatives available and of which they are aware, then trade per capita reflects the material impact of the flows of marketing systems through choice on the lives of people, and of the aggregate marketing system across national boundaries. Similarly, trade per capita captures key elements of marketing systems, including its flows (Fisk 1967). The metric allows for a higher level of analysis than firm- or consumer-level measures because it encompasses the numerous flows of products, information and materials; gauges the financial actions of organizations, institutions and individuals; and includes, at some level, the

interdependence and interactions of a society's human participants (Wilkie and Moore 1999; 2002).

Calculating Trade Per Capita, 1960 - 2000

In this paper we examine the effects of international marketing systems on personal welfare from 1960 to 2000, the period reflecting the emergence of the modern globalized economy, from the end of colonialization to the fall of the Twin Towers. This period of four decades marks the era of the development of the modern nation-state political economy. French colonial rule in Africa ended in 1960, bringing to a close the era of the European empire. United Nations membership more than doubled between 1959 (82 members) and 2000 (189). In 1961, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development was formed. Membership in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade increased from 26 in 1960 (the Dillon Round) to 123 in 1986 (the Uruguay Round), and led to the formation of the World Trade Organization in 1995. European economic and political integration advanced from the formation of the European Free Trade Association, in 1960, to the formation of the European Union, in 1992. The Berlin Wall (which was constructed in 1962) fell in 1989. In short, the political world as envisioned in the Bretton Woods Agreement, at the end of the World War II, came into existence between 1960 and 2000 (Frieden 2006).

In economic terms, this period marks the formation of the modern era of globalization. Four contributing factors led to the modern global era, in trade terms: the decline of natural barriers to trade; the decline of artificial barriers to trade; the decline of internal barriers to trade; and the standardization of business processes and products (Mittelstaedt, Ward and Nowlin 2006).

Each of these contributed to the expansion of aggregate marketing systems across national boundaries.

Conceptual Model: A Marketing Systems Perspective

Are people better off because of, through, and across marketing systems? Economic theory argues that trade (domestic or international) expands market offerings, lowers prices by increasing competition, and in doing so improves consumer welfare (McCloskey 1985). But it is in the flows of marketing systems, not the theories of economics, that supply and demand are really equalized, that physical distribution gets products from producers to consumers, that ownership is assigned, and that risk is managed (Fisk 1967). And it is here that the costs and benefits of international trade emerge and that the merits of marketing systems are evaluated. Simply, marketing systems perpetuate trade and commerce and thereby facilitate a broader degree of social welfare (Shultz et al. 2005; Layton 2007). Similarly, the study of aggregate marketing systems is important to the practice of marketing (Wilkie and Moore 1999). Not only are strategic decisions made in the context of economic, political and cultural forces external to the firm (what Mittelstaedt, Kilbourne and Mittelstaedt (2006) call the modern agora), marketing systems provide a means to understand marketing's impact on society (Wilkie and Moore 1999).

The costs and benefits of marketing systems need to be understood in the context of their antecedents and consequences. In order to develop our conceptual and empirical understanding, we draw from previous work on marketing systems for a framework of analysis. Mittelstaedt, Kilbourne and Mittelstaedt (2006) argue that markets must be understood within the legal, political and social contexts in which they evolve. Antecedents can be formal (legal),

informal (social organization) or philosophic (ideological). Consequences can be economic, social and/or environmental. Using this as a framework, we can examine causes and consequences of trade in the context of marketing systems, by marrying advances in economic and marketing theory. In this case, we are interested in formal antecedents that can explain differences in the merits of international marketing systems, and the effects of these differences on human welfare.

Understanding Factors Affecting Aggregate Marketing Systems

What explains differences among nations in their level of aggregate marketing systems? Wilkie and Moore (1999) outline a number of factors impacting the character and function of a country's marketing system, including that of its urbanization and its institutions.

Simultaneously, contemporary developments in theory provide further support to the value of these antecedents and also supply us with the needed direction in operationalizing the antecedents of marketing systems.

On the one hand, recent developments in economic geography would point to differences in degrees and rates of urbanization to explain the different roles played by market systems (c.f., Krugman 1991). Economic geography has been used in various forms to guide marketing literature, including studies of relational ties, new product development (Ganesan, Malter and Rindflesich 2005), and retail location and new firm growth (Brown 1993).

The benefits of urbanization emanate from many advantages. Urban populations face lower transactions costs, attract high quality and motivated labor, and generate greater innovation

than their rural counterparts (Florida 2005). Urbanization provides us with one lens to understand the degree of a society's economic development and the character and function of the aggregate marketing system.

Alternatively, advances in institutional theory (c.f., Hodgson 2007; North 1990; 1991; Scott 2001) argue that the quality of formal institutions, such as rule of law and property rights, explains the ability of countries to engage in international trade. Elements of governance such as these provide a measure of security for investors, domestic and international, to develop the marketing systems necessary for long-term trade.

Similar to institutional theory, the conceptual foundations of aggregate marketing systems also tout the value of incorporating formal institutions into our analysis (Wilkie and Moore 1999). Aggregate marketing systems are part of broader political contexts, effectively embedded in the context of unique social forces (Shultz 2007). Marketing systems are either enhanced or tempered by government policy, which often tries to balance competing interests of growth, employment, income distribution, inflation control and balance of payments.

Overall, the economic geography and institutional theory views are complementary, the former grounded in historic conditions and the latter in future expectations of contract fulfillment. In the aggregate, both affect the propensity of people to engage in the day-to-day business of the marketplace and improve their society's provisioning system. Similarly, both provide a means to operationalize the level of economic development and the social forces which impact aggregate marketing systems. In this section we examine the effects of urbanization and good governance

on the role of trade in the daily lives of people. Let us examine both of these perspectives in order.

Urbanization and Marketing Systems

In the past few decades, a new generation of economists has re-considered the economics of geography, and have applied this thinking to issues like economic development (Easterly and Levine 2002), international trade (Krugman 1991; Krugman and Venables 1995), city formation and land use (Fujita 1988; Henderson 1988), local “milieus” and knowledge transfer (Camagni 1991; Capello 1999), and the effects of urbanization on entrepreneurship (Capello 2002). What distinguishes this “new” economic geography, as it has come to be called, from traditional economic approaches to production is its explicit consideration of the effects of increasing returns to scale stemming from geographic advantage (see Fujita, Krugman and Venables (1999) for a thorough discussion of the new economic geography).

Based on the Dixit-Stiglitz model of monopolistic competition (Dixit and Stiglitz 1977), Krugman (1991) developed a set of theoretical expectations regarding the relationship between production and transportation costs, on the one hand, and the movement of population on the other. When transportation costs are high and internal scale economies are low, industries tend to be spread out among rural, agricultural regions. This was the case in the United States through the early 19th Century and is true for much of the developing world today. However, when transportation costs fall and/or internal scale economies increase (as is the case in the age of globalization), the relationship between production and geography changes, as well.

“Then the tie of production to the distribution of land will be broken. A region with a relatively large non-rural population will be an attractive place to produce both because of the large market and because of the availability of the goods and services produced there. This will attract still more population, at the expense of the regions with smaller initial production, and the process will feed on itself until the whole of the non-rural population is concentrated in a few regions” (Krugman 1991, p.487).

This describes well the transformation of the United States in the 20th Century. As farm and non-farm productivity increased and transportation costs fell, the proportion of the urban population of the United States increased from 39.6% in 1900 to 80.1% in 1999 (United States Bureau of the Census 2007). Florida (2005; 2008) argues that the differential value of urbanization is its ability to facilitate two important drivers of growth, economic production and the environment for innovation.

Taken together, increased productivity, decreased transportation costs and “innovation that stems from a diverse pool of resources,” (Florida 2008, p. 67) make it more likely that marketing systems will be embedded in an infrastructure conducive to the expansion of its functional and economic reach (Fujita, Krugman and Venables 1999). For our purposes, urbanization serves as an indicator of the level of marketing infrastructure present in an economy. From this we conclude that with greater degrees of urbanization, a society’s marketing system can increasingly expand. Specifically we propose,

P₁ The degree of urbanization is positively related to aggregate marketing system capacity.

○ *The Importance of Initial Conditions of Urbanization on Aggregate Marketing Systems*

The theoretical underpinnings of economic geography (Krugman 1991) argue that it is not only the degree of urbanization that matters, but also its timing. Hence, we submit that late developing urbanization actually hinders the capabilities of marketing systems to serve the needs of their stakeholders. Initial conditions matter. For those societies with urbanization occurring later in their development, the expansion and function of their marketing systems will be challenged. Without earlier levels of urbanization countries will still be developing the collection of the needed assets (i.e. innovation and economic resources) (Florida 2008) that provides the necessary infrastructure in which marketing systems can develop, re-develop and potentially flourish. This suggests that,

P₂ Later degrees of urban expansion are negatively related to marketing system capacity.

Governance and its Effects on Marketing Systems

Marketing systems are situated within a political system. A marketing system's contribution and functioning is, in some part, reliant on the political policies, regulations and governance surrounding it (Wilkie and Moore 1999). In order to understand the impact of a society's political and governance system, we draw from institutional theory, which outlines the effects institutions and their governance may have on a marketing system.

“Institutions are the humanly devised constraints that structure political, economic and social interaction. They consist of both informal constraints (sanctions, taboos, customs, traditions and codes of conduct), and formal rules (constitutions, laws, property rights). Throughout history, institutions have been devised by human beings to create order and reduce uncertainty in exchange. Together with the standard constraints of economics they define the choice set and therefore determine transaction and production costs and hence the profitability and feasibility of engaging economic activity...Institutions provide the incentive structure of an economy; as that structure evolves, it shapes the direction of economic change toward growth, stagnation or decline” (North 1991, p. 97).

This “new” institutional theory is important to understanding marketing systems. DeSoto (2000), for example, finds that the lack of strong institutions creates “dead” capital in developing countries – assets that exist but cannot be leveraged for the basic functions, like assignment of title, necessary for exchange systems to work. The World Bank Institute has attempted to measure formal institutions, as part of their “Governance Matters” Project (Kaufmann, Kraay and Mastruzzi 2007). Their research demonstrates a strong relationship between multiple aspects of good governance and economic growth. From a marketing systems perspective, this indicates the strength of the social contract that governs the network of individuals, groups, and/or entities linked directly or indirectly through sequential or shared participation in economic exchange that creates, assembles, transforms, and makes available assortments of products (Layton 2007).

Extending this work into the area of marketing systems, we propose that strong institutions should enhance the effectiveness of marketing systems because institutional strength should translate into opportunities for marketing systems to function properly. Strong institutions make it easier to write enforceable contracts, to identify and assign property rights, to manage risk, to sort and assort, and as a result to match supply and demand to the benefit of all. This suggests that,

P₃ Strong formal institutions are positively related to the capacity of the aggregate marketing system.

Marketing Systems and Their Effects on Quality of Life

Scholars assert the need for understanding the link between aggregate marketing systems and quality of life (Wilkie and Moore 1999). Previous scholarship has examined the relationship between finite marketing activities, such as advertising spending and retailing indexes, and certain measures of a society's well-being (Pan, Zinkhan, and Sheng 2007). We extend this line of reasoning and suggest that when marketing systems play an increasing role in a society, they provide a number of benefits, including that of diffusing information; providing access to products and services in a timely manner (Pan, Zinkhan and Sheng 2007); and meeting the various needs of the populous (Sirgy 1991).

The benefits of the aggregate marketing systems should not be underestimated. Marketing systems contribute to both the economic development and the social and psychological welfare of a society (Wilkie and Moore 1999). While we acknowledge money is not the sole indicator of

human welfare, economic benefits over and above those produced domestically impact quality of life in many ways. Each additional dollar that flows through the aggregate marketing system holds the potential to improve healthcare, education, literacy, and employment – the keys to longer, healthier and wealthier lives. One can only speculate as to how the typical household in the U.S. would be impacted if trade flows through the aggregate marketing system were reduced by \$16,560 per head, or \$66,240 for a family of four.

Hence, we propose that flows through the aggregate marketing system translate into a higher quality of life for members of the society in which the marketing system resides. Specifically,

P₄ The greater the capacity of the aggregate marketing system, the greater the society's quality of life.

Method

Measures and Data Sources

The four propositions were measured using six variables, designed to assess the effects of urbanization, initial conditions, institutions and quality of life. A number of data sources were used to develop the database for this analysis, including the World Bank's *Development Indicators*, the World Bank Institute's measures of good governance and the United Nations *Human Development Index*. By using measures from various secondary sources, we attempted to proactively avoid the challenge presented by various biases in empirical examinations such as common method bias (Rindfleisch et al. 2008).

Aggregate marketing systems. In order to assess a country's aggregate marketing system, we measured its trade per capita. The World Bank's *World Development Indicators* (World Bank Institute 2003) data was used to calculate trade per capita and to examine the effects of urbanization in the context of globalization on trade engagement. Countries were used as the unit of analysis. Annual data used in this study ranged over time from 1960 to 2000. Trade per capita was calculated by dividing total merchandise trade, in 1995 dollars, by population. To account for the observed non-linearity, log transformations were performed to allow us to estimate the relationship between urbanization, governance and trade (Greene 2007; Judge et al. 1985).

Urbanization. Urbanization in 2000 was measured using the *World Development Indicators* (World Bank Institute 2003) measures of urbanization. Urbanization in 1973 was substituted in a second model, described below.

Initial Conditions. To measure the effects of initial conditions of urbanization, two variables were calculated: proportional change in urbanization between 1960 and 1973; and proportional change in urbanization between 1973 and 2000. We chose 1973 as a break point in the analysis because it was the year that the United States went off the gold standard (Smith 2005).

Decoupling the U.S. dollar from the United States' gold reserve effectively served to make the dollar a global currency, resulting in the globalization of financial markets and subsequently goods markets. Many historians mark this as the effective beginning of market globalization (Frieden 2006). If initial conditions matter, then urbanization leading up to globalization should affect trade per capita, and the effects of urbanization should be different before and after the advent of globalization.

Institutions. Institutional effectiveness was measured using the World Bank Institute's measures of good governance (Kaufmann, Kraay and Mastruzzi 2007). The World Bank measures six aspects of institutions important to the quality of governance: voice and accountability; regulatory quality; government effectiveness; control of corruption; political stability; and rule of law. Based on correlations among these aspects (see Table One), and the single eigenvalue that resulted from an exploratory factor analysis using principle components rotation (variance extracted = 83.975%), the six aspects were combined into a single index of institutional effectiveness.

[Insert Table One Here]

Quality of life. To operationalize this measure, we used the United Nations Human Development Index from 2002 and 2005 (United Nations Development Programme 2005) as an assessment of human welfare. The Human Development Index is a normalized measure of life expectancy, literacy, education, standard of living and per capita gross domestic product. The United Nations uses it to classify countries according to need and to track progress of economic and social programs. While it leaves aside many quality of life issues raised in the marketing literature, it provides a minimum, comparable standard for measuring human welfare.

Model Development and Estimation

To test for the proposed antecedent effects, the following model (Model 1) was tested:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Trade per Capita} &= B_0 + B_1 * \text{Urbanization in 2000} \\ &+ B_2 * \text{Change in Urbanization from 1960 to 1973} \end{aligned}$$

+ B_3 *Change in Urbanization from 1973 to 2000

+ B_4 *Quality of Institutions in 2000 + ε .

Initial urbanization and quality of institutions: To examine from foresight, as well as hindsight, the effects of initial conditions, we tested a second model (Model 2) that substitutes urbanization rates in 1973 for urbanization rates for 2000 in Model 1. In addition, we also introduce our measure of institutions into the regression model (Model 2):

Trade per Capita = $B_0 + B_1$ *Urbanization in 1973

+ B_2 *Change in Urbanization from 1960 to 1973

+ B_3 *Change in Urbanization from 1973 to 2000

+ B_4 *Quality of Institutions in 2000 + ε .

This allows us to compare the effects of initial conditions on trade per capita from multiple perspectives.

Testing the consequences of aggregate marketing systems: To test for the proposed effects of marketing systems, trade per capita was regressed on human welfare, in the absence and presence of trade as a percentage of GDP. The following models (Model 3 and 4) were tested:

Quality of life = $B_0 + B_1$ *Trade per capita + ε .

Quality of life = $B_0 + B_1$ *Trade per capita + B_2 *Trade % GDP + ε .

This allows us to assess the effects of marketing systems on quality of life, and to contrast the capabilities of trade per capita with trade as a percentage of GDP.

Findings

Table Two summarizes the findings of the first two models described above. The overall fit of the Model 1 is significant ($F_{4,138} = 131.648$), and the explanatory power of the model is strong (adjusted $R^2 = .786$). Model 2 is significant ($F_{4,138} = 109.771$), and the explanatory power of the model is strong (adjusted $R^2 = .754$). Because of significant correlations among variables of interest, we were careful to test for multicollinearity where appropriate. Variance inflation factors are all well within acceptable limits (Judge et al. 1985), indicating that multicollinearity is not a problem. Given the overall quality of the model, we proceed with interpretation of the independent variables.

[Insert Table Two Here]

Proposition 1. The effect of urbanization in 2000 on trade per capita is significant and positive ($t = 10.567$, $p < 0.001$). This indicates that as urbanization rises, so do the benefits of marketing system flows, and because of the logged nature of the dependent variable, the returns to urbanization are increasing. Similarly, significant findings in Model 2 of the effects of urbanization in 1973 on trade per capita in 2000 ($t = 8.876$, $p < 0.001$) indicate that the effects of urbanization are prolonged and sustained. These findings offer support for P_1 and indicate that urban countries are better positioned to take advantage of the globalization than their rural counterparts.

Proposition 2. The effect of the proportional change in urbanization between 1960 and 1973 on trade per capita is significant and positive ($t = 3.226$, $p < 0.01$, and $t = 3.482$, $p < 0.001$, in Models 1 and 2, respectively). The effect of the proportional change in urbanization between 1973 and 2000 on trade per capita is significant and negative ($t = -3.052$, $p < 0.01$) in Model 1, though not statistically significant when the anchor year of urbanization is set at 1973 (Model 2). The results indicate that the ability of a country to have a more developed aggregate marketing system today is positively related to their urbanization before 1973, but negatively related (or, at best, unrelated) to their urbanization after 1973. This is empirical support for the argument that initial conditions matter (Fujita, Krugman and Venables 1999). Those who were urbanized before the advent of modern globalization were well-positioned to integrate global trade through their marketing systems, but once the globalization ball started rolling, the development of the country's marketing system was disadvantaged. This was because their marketing system was embedded in an evolving urban milieu, rather than a flourishing one. We conclude that P_2 is supported.

Proposition 3. The effect of good governance on aggregate marketing systems is significant and positive ($t = 9.880$, $p < 0.001$ in Model 1; $t = 8.180$, $p < 0.001$ in Model 2). The quality of regulation, effectiveness of government, enforceability of contracts and control of corruption create the environment of trust necessary for marketing systems to operate effectively, and the spillover effects across national boundaries are substantial.

Because the effects of collinearity are minimal, we conclude that the effects of strong institutions on trade per capita are considerable and independent of the effects of urbanization. In sum, citizens of urban nations with strong government institutions benefit most from the flows within the aggregate marketing systems; citizens of rural, poorly governed nations benefit the least. We conclude that P_3 is supported.

Proposition 4. Finally, Table Three reports the correlations among trade per capita and trade as a percentage of GDP with a variety of measures of aggregate marketing systems' contributions to society. In all cases the correlation between trade per capita and the measures of the benefits of well-functioning market systems are strong, and in all cases the correlations between trade per capita and the measures of quality of life are stronger than similar correlations with trade as a percentage of GDP. Note that both of the Human Development Indices are significantly correlated with trade per capita, suggesting a relationship across time, as well as strong correlations with trade as a percentage of GDP. Also, note one additional element we have integrated into our correlational analysis. Trade as a percentage of GDP, while significantly correlated with the Human Development Indices, is not nearly as strongly related to them as trade per capita.

[Insert Table 3 Here]

Table Four reports the regression results for trade per capita regressed on human welfare, in the absence and presence of trade as a percentage of GDP. Results are reported for two temporally forward periods, 2002 and 2005. Results indicate high R^2 and adjusted R^2 measures of variance

explained and strong model fits. In addition, results indicate that, in both 2002 and 2005, the effects of trade per capita on the Human Development Index are stronger than, and independent from, trade as a percentage of GDP. These findings suggest that as aggregate marketing systems flourish, a relationship may be drawn to human development and welfare not explained by traditional macroeconomic measures. Hence, the intended effects of marketing systems can be found in providing a greater quality of life for its citizens. The results provide support for the fourth proposition.

[Insert Table 4 Here]

Discussion

The results of this study indicate the following: First, marketing systems thrive best in urban environments. Urbanization provides an environment and structure conducive to development of exchange systems. Greater levels of urbanization improve the role and efficiency of marketing systems, and across national boundaries and time, urban countries gain more benefit, per capita, from the flows throughout their aggregate marketing systems than their rural neighbors.

Second, it matters when urbanization occurs. Countries that were urban at the beginning of the modern age of globalization possessed more developed marketing systems to take advantage of the benefits of exchange flows than those that urbanized later. It isn't just that these countries possessed dense urban centers; urbanization draws together more than the masses of people. Instead, urbanization attracts collections of intellectual, technological and human capital.

Urbanization serves as a combinative mechanism in which innovation and economic production may exist or be expanded in some form (Florida 2008). These forces allow the urbanized country to encourage knowledge spillovers enhance its infrastructure—two elements critical to support growth (Bharadwaji and Srinivasan 1979) and benefit from global trade. Simply, the degree of urbanization allows marketing systems to play a different role and function within the society.

Further, the data suggests that a country cannot urbanize their way into better marketing systems; there is, in this case, a chicken (trade) and an egg (urbanization). The timing of urbanization serves as a proxy to understand a society's economic development. Further, the timing of urbanization also impacts the role and character of the society's marketing system (Layton and Grossbart 2006; Wilkie and Moore 1999).

Third, our findings align with previous theoretical recognition of the value of the social forces in which the marketing system is embedded (Wilkie and Moore 1999). Our findings indicate that those with the strongest government institutions aid their marketing systems to capture the benefits from trade. While countries may have limited control over urban growth, they possess varying degrees of capability to improve governance. Through means of governance, a society can provide its participants with a marketing system that allows constructive engagement (Shultz 2007). Governance and institutions can provide greater voice and accountability to their citizenry, improve regulatory quality and program effectiveness, and strengthen the rule of law and stamp out corruption. By doing so institutions expand the range of trade for manufacturers, wholesalers, and retailers and perpetuate the function and character of a marketing systems'

role in society (Thorelli 1996). They improve their attractiveness to foreign direct investment by reducing the risk of investment. They empower people up and down the marketing system to invest in themselves, their organizations and their nation. The global market works best for those who have trust in their government and its institutions.

Finally, our results empirically demonstrate a strong, positive relationship between aggregate marketing systems and human welfare. The greater the flows through the aggregate marketing system, the better off people appear to be. This means marketing systems improve the quality of people's lives most in those environments where aggregate marketing systems flourish. In a globally competitive environment, health, education and economic prosperity appear to work best in places where people have access to a marketing system that allows the flows of trade to flourish.

Are people better off because of marketing systems? The findings of this paper lead us to the conclusion that aggregate marketing systems improve people's lives, but that the ability of aggregate marketing systems to impact the lives of people depends on economic development (i.e. human geography, such as urbanization) and social forces (i.e. governance). In the aggregate, urbanization improves the ability of marketing systems to deliver the benefits of exchange, but this is tempered by historical context. Further, the quality of governance plays a substantial and independent role.

In our results, then, there is good and bad news. There is little countries can do about their urbanization in the short or medium run, and if initial conditions matter there may be either

limits to the effects of an urbanization policy or a sizable disadvantage for less urban countries to overcome. However, through strong domestic institutions, countries can improve the benefits they reap from marketing systems, regardless of urbanization. As Krugman (1991) suggests, the variance in marketing infrastructure means that some countries are better positioned to benefit from exchange than others. The interactive effects work best when institutional conditions favor the development of marketing systems.

Further, marketing and marketing systems appear to be necessary precursors for people to enjoy the fruits of development. The value of marketing and marketers to society manifests itself through the contributions of aggregate marketing systems. While the starting assumption of many might be that markets and marketing systems result from economic development (stimulate growth and marketing systems will take care of themselves – the assumption inherent in using trade as a percentage of GDP as an indicator of development), we believe that our analysis strengthens the argument put forward by marketing scholars that efficient and effective marketing systems are a necessary enabler for economic development (Layton 2007; Klein and Nason 2001; Shultz et al. 2005; Wood and Vitell 1986). The evidence in this paper suggests that aggregate marketing systems enable economic development best in cases where the marketing infrastructure is geographically efficient (high urbanization), and where trust and freedom are present and enforceable.

Contributions

This paper offers a number of significant contributions to marketing theory and our current understanding of aggregate marketing systems. Theoretically, this paper extends the Aggregate

Marketing System (Wilkie and Moore 1999) model across national boundaries by integrating the systems framework of the agora (Mittelstaedt, Kilbourne and Mittelstaedt 2006). While previous scholarship has outlined the challenge of measuring a marketing system's impact on the economic system (Jocz and Quelch 2008; Wilkie and Moore 1999; Wilkie 2007), we draw upon economic geography and institutional economics to provide the theoretical substantiation to develop our conceptual model and to operationalize the measures used in our examination.

Second, our paper develops a new useful methodological tool to understand an important element of the marketing system. Our introduction of trade per capita provides a means to measure the capacity of marketing systems. In doing so, we answer Kohli's (2009) call for the development of indigenous theory in marketing, and Reibstein, Day and Wind's (2009) call for more work in marketing on marketing's contributions to society. For marketing academicians, the metric gives us insight into the effects of a key element of the marketing system, trade flows, on the daily lives of people. This approach overcomes the challenges presented by trade as a percentage of GDP and its focus on the impact of trade on the economic system. Similarly, this metric is consistent with how we measure the effects of other marketing systems (e.g. retailing on a community--an exchange system geographically defined, and usually not crossing national boundaries).

Third, our other measures, including that of urbanization as a proxy for the infrastructure of marketing systems, and good governance as an indicator of the enforceability of freedom and trust, lend insight into quantifying the causes and consequences of aggregate marketing systems.

By integrating these measures into our analysis, we provide a foundation for measurement of additional relationships and theory building within the study of marketing systems.

Fourth, we utilize the lens of aggregate marketing systems to study the collective efforts of marketing. This provides a substantive contribution to the marketing literature, as the study of aggregate marketing systems is important in understanding the overall contributions of marketing (Wilkie and Moore 1999). As Smith, Drumwright and Gentile (2009) point out, the single-minded focus of marketing scholarship on the customer, to the exclusion of other stakeholders, limits marketing's ability to demonstrate its contributions to society. Our analysis at the level of national marketing systems shows the value of what they called "higher levels of analysis." Specifically, our study presents marketers with an understanding of the effects of their activities in aggregate, as well as the merits of the marketing system in which they are embedded.

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Table 1: Correlation Among Measures of Good Governance

	Voice & Accountability	Political Stability	Government Effectiveness	Regulatory Quality	Rule of Law	Control of Corruption
Voice & Accountability	1 n = 144					
Political Stability	.733** 143	1 144				
Government Effectiveness	.765** 143	.818** 144	1 144			
Regulatory Quality	.800** 143	.728** 144	.854** 144	1 144		
Rule of Law	.801** 143	.728** 144	.854** 144	.997** 144	1 144	
Control of Corruption	.749** 143	.794** 144	.933** 144	.777** 144	.783** 144	1 144

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Table Two: Estimating Urbanization, Change in Urbanization and Institution Effects on Trade per Capita

Model 1	B (SE)	β	t	Variance Inflation	Model 2	B (SE)	β	t	Variance Inflation
Constant	4.715 (.242)		19.509 ^a		Constant	4.769 (.278)		17.148 ^a	
Urbanization 2000	.040 (.004)	.513	10.567 ^a	1.566	Urbanization 1973	.045 (.005)	.590	8.876 ^a	2.549
Change in Urbanization 1960 – 1973	.516 (.160)	.174	3.226 ^b	1.931	Change in Urbanization 1960 – 1973	.594 (.171)	.201	3.482 ^a	1.915
Change in Urbanization 1973 – 2000	-.461 (.151)	-.174	-3.052 ^b	2.148	Change in Urbanization 1973 – 2000	-.028 (.185)	-.011	-0.153 ^{ns}	2.805
Good Governance 2000	.772 (.078)	.458	9.880 ^a	1.429	Good Governance 2000	.729 (.089)	.432	8.180 ^a	1.612
Model Fit (F)		131.648 ^a			Model Fit (F)		109.771 ^a		
R ²		.792			R ²		.761		
Adjusted R ²		.786			Adjusted R ²		.754		
N		142			N		142		

^a = $p < .001$, ^b = $p < .01$, ^c = $p < .05$

Table 3: Correlations Among Trade Per Capita, Trade as a Percentage of GDP and Measures of Quality of Life

	Trade Per Capita 2000 (logged)	Trade as a % of GDP 2000 (logged)	Access to Clean Water 2000	Per capita KWh of Electricity 2000 (logged)	Life Expectancy at Birth 2000	Per Capita Health Expenditures 2000 (logged)	Adult Literacy (%) 2000	UN Human Development Index 2002	UN Human Development Index 2005
Trade Per Capita 2000 (logged)	1 N = 164								
Trade as a % of GDP 2000 (logged)	.520** 164	1 168							
Access to Clean Water 2000	.687** 129	.225** 132	1 148						
Per capita KWh of Electricity 2000 (logged)	.869** 114	.302** 116	.730** 94	1 124					
Life Expectancy at Birth 2000	.766** 162	.252** 165	.694** 145	.800** 124	1 191				
Per Capita Health Expenditures 2000 (logged)	.921** 152	.205** 155	.680** 141	.843** 118	.767** 175	1 179			
Adult Literacy (%) 2000	.666** 119	.391** 121	.504** 113	.647** 95	.662** 134	.632** 124	1 135		
UN Human Development Index 2002	.873** 159	.307** 161	.719** 141	.915** 123	.924** 174	.875** 167	.820** 130	1 175	
UN Human Development Index 2005	.882** 158	.300** 160	.734** 140	.915** 122	.926** 173	.886** 166	.801** 129	.994** 174	1 174

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

Table 4: Effects of Trade per Capita on Human Development 2002 and 2005

Model	HDI 2002					HDI 2005			
	B (SE)	β	B (SE)	β	Variance Inflation	B (SE)	β	B (SE)	β
Constant	0.089 ^a (.027)		0.244 ^a (.057)			0.139 ^a (.025)		0.308 ^a (.052)	
Trade per Capita (logged)	0.087 ^a (.004)	.868	0.097 ^a (.004)	.942	1.281	0.083 ^a (.004)	.876	0.094 ^a (.004)	.962
Trade as a % of GDP (logged)			-0.051 ^a (.015)	-.147	1.281			-0.055 ^a (.013)	-.166
Model Fit (F)		527.207 ^a		278.890 ^a			562.057 ^a		316.91
R ²		.754		.780			.767		.802
Adjusted R ²				.778					.800
N		173		159			172		158

^a = p < .001, ^b = p < .01, ^c = p < .05

Panel VI: Art, Market and Marx

Panel Chair

James Fitchett, University of Leicester, UK

Panelists

Alan Bradshaw, Royal Holloway, University of London

Amanda Earley, University of Leicester, UK

Alladi Venkatesh, University of California, Irvine

Dominique Bouchet, University of Southern Denmark

Quality of Life II

Multiple Ways to High Satisfaction with Life

Alexandra Ganglmair-Wooliscroft, University of Otago, New Zealand

Ben Wooliscroft, University of Otago, New Zealand

One of (macro-)marketing's key contribution is the maintenance and improvement of Quality of Life of citizens and consumers (Wilkie & Moore, 1999). Quality of Life is a highly complex construct, with different conceptualizations and definitions stemming from different research streams (see Sirgy, 2012, for an extensive review of QOL research). In macro-marketing and psychology, explorations of Subjective Wellbeing (SWB)/subjective Consumer Wellbeing (CWB) and Life Satisfaction (LS) have played a key role (Diener, 2009; Pavot & Diener, 2008; Sirgy, et al., 2007).

Research studies generally apply statistical analysis techniques especially Multiple Regression Analysis (MRA) & Structural Equation Models (SEM) to determine variables that influence SWB. The main goal of these analysis techniques is to determine the net-effect of an individual variable (for example one life-domain's influence on LS), after separating out the influence of other variables (Woodside, 2013).

Several papers suggest that Satisfied or Happy Individuals are characterized by high levels in a combination of life domains (Sirgy & Wu, 2013; Peterson et al., 2005). The current study employs

an alternative analysis method, Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) (Ragin, 2000, 2008) that focuses on finding combinations of conditions that lead to an outcome (Wagemann, et al., 2015). In this initial investigation, different combinations of individual life domains – using Cummins et al.'s (2003) Personal Wellbeing Index – that lead to high overall life satisfaction, as measured by Diener's Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener et al., 1985) are explored.

Finding combinations of wellbeing dimensions that lead to very high (or very low) SWL for specific groups in the population enables policy makers to target complex (multi-dimensional) wellbeing interventions or campaigns. It will also result in a more sophisticated understanding of the quality of life within a society, and will enable more meaningful understanding of the impact of the market on quality of life for different segments, with their different combinations of wellbeing dimensions. Results of QCA can also be used in further analysis relating satisfaction dimension to specific consumption issues.

Analysis is currently conducted and preliminary results will be presented at the conference.

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Shopping Well-Being, Shopping Ill-Being, and Subjective Well-Being

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Abstract

Consumers hold two distinct sets of beliefs about shopping activities: Positive valence beliefs regarding the degree to which shopping contributes to quality of life (shopping well-being), and negative valence beliefs related to the degree to which shopping activities result in overspending time, effort, and money (shopping ill-being). Shopping well-being and shopping ill-being are conceptualized as independent constructs, not polar opposites. This paper reports the findings of a study designed to test the notion that shopping well-being does contribute to subjective well-being under conditions of low than high shopping ill-being. The study surveying 1,035 consumers in the UK suggests that shopping well-being has a positive predictive effect on subjective well-being. Shopping ill-being interacts with shopping well-being in that the effect of shopping well-being on subjective well-being is amplified under low compared to high conditions of shopping ill-being. The paper discusses the implications of these findings for retailers, macro-marketers, and policy makers.

Introduction

Understanding the relationship between shopping well-being and subjective well-being (or *overall life satisfaction*) is crucial both for macromarketers/policy-makers and retailers. The same can be said in regards to shopping ill-being. We define these two concepts, shopping well-being and shopping ill-being as follows: *Shopping well-being involves consumer perceptions that shopping contributes to the overall quality of life of oneself.* In contrast, *shopping ill-being involves consumer perceptions that they spend too much time, effort, and money in shopping activities as reflected by complaints from family members, friends, and co-workers about one's shopping.* As such, these constructs are not the opposite polar extreme of a unidimensional construct. They are two independent constructs. In other words, consumers can be both high on shopping well-being and shopping ill-being—they may believe that engaging in shopping activities contributes significantly and positively to their own (as well as their family's) quality of life, while at the same time may spend too much time, effort, and money doing so and being fully aware of the complaints by family members (and/or friends and co-workers) about their overspending.

To date, the interaction between shopping well-being and shopping ill-being has not been examined in relation to quality-of-life constructs (subjective well-being, overall life satisfaction, personal happiness, etc.). The research to date has focused either on the positive aspects of shopping (e.g., Arnold and Reynolds 2012; Sirgy et al. 2016) or the negative aspects (e.g., Ridgeway, Kukar-Kinney, and Monroe 2008; Roberts and Tanner 2005). In other words, past research, although very informative, fall short in recognizing the complex nature of the consequences of shopping activities. The research reported in this paper takes a rather inclusive

(and arguably more realistic) perspective. The goal is to test a model that takes into account both shopping well-being and shopping ill-being, and their interaction, on consumers' evaluation of their overall life (i.e., life satisfaction). Specifically, we argue *shopping well-being does contribute to subjective well-being, and this effect is amplified under conditions of low compared to high shopping ill-being.*

The managerial significance of the interaction effect between shopping well-being and shopping ill-being on consumer life satisfaction is obvious. Given that the data provide support for the interaction effect, retailers should not only develop programs to enhance shopping well-being but also should invest in programs to reduce shopping ill-being. In other words, retailers should strive to *not maximize* shopping well-being but to *optimize* it. That is, programs designed to enhance shopping well-being should not simultaneously produce shopping ill-being.

Macromarketers and policy makers should develop regulations to ensure that consumers do not spend much time, effort, and money on shopping activities to the detriment of their financial life, their family life, etc.

Conceptual Development

This section addresses the concepts of shopping well-being and shopping ill-being and their effects on consumer subjective well-being.

Shopping Well-Being

Past research indicates that shopping contribute to the well-being of consumers by creating hedonic enjoyment and satisfaction of self-expressive needs. Specifically, the scholars have argued that shopping is associated with hedonic value (e.g., Arnold and Reynolds 2003, 2012; Babin, Darden, and Griffin 1994), excitement and delight (e.g., Oliver, Rust, and Varki 1997; Wakefield and Baker 1998), and enjoyment (e.g., Beatty and Ferrell 1998). Shopping activities have been described as a form of 'recreation' (e.g., Backstrom 2006; Guiry, Magi, and Lutz 2006), entertainment (e.g., Moss 2007), or related to enthusiasm that creates emotional arousal and joy (e.g., Jin and Sternquist 2004; Pooler 2003).

In addition, researchers over the past decade have explored the idea that shopping activities (i.e., shopping) may help consumers express themselves (e.g., Sirgy et al. 2016; Timothy 2005). As a result, it is possible to argue that shopping activities are not only hedonically enjoyable but also self-expressive in that they consumers express their own personal identity through shopping. This involvement, in turn, may serve to actualize the consumer's potential in meeting other role expectations such as being a good mother/father, wife/husband, etc. And smart and recreational shopping do serve to meet expectations in these social roles.

In the present study and as previously mentioned, we define shopping well-being as *consumer perceptions that shopping contributes to the overall quality of life of oneself*. This concept suggests that consumers experience hedonic enjoyment and satisfaction of self-expressive needs through shopping activities. Positive affect from shopping well-being experiences are likely to spill over to other life domains including social life, family life, work life, community life, and financial life. In fact, a recent study (Sirgy et al. 2016) suggests that certain aspects of shopping, such as flow

experiences, contribute to overall life satisfaction through the mediation of self-expressiveness in shopping. Moreover, shopping well-being does indeed contribute to life satisfaction for certain people (those who are self-expressive in shopping) and under certain conditions (when shopping leads to money savings). As such, we hypothesize that shopping well-being contributes positively to shoppers' overall sense of well-being (i.e., subjective well-being or life satisfaction). Formally, we will test the following hypothesis:

H1: Subjective well-being is a positive function of shopping well-being.

Shopping Ill-Being

Even though some researchers have studied the positive consequences of shopping (i.e., shopping well-being), many others have focused on the dark-side of shopping. For example, research has linked shopping to *compulsive behavior* adversely impacting consumers' quality of life (e.g., Hosch and Loewenstein 1991; Kwak, Zinkhan, and Crask 2003; Mowen and Spears 1999; Natatajaan and Goff 1992; O'Guinn and Faber 1989; Rindfleisch, Burroughs, and Denton 1997; Roberts, Manolis, and Tanner 2003; Roberts and Tanner 2005). In addition, some retailing scholars have pointed out the negative impact of shopping when consumers perceive shopping *as work* or a "necessary evil" (e.g., Babin, Darden, and Griffin 1994; Campbell 1997; Fischer and Arnold 1990; Sherry, McGrath, and Levy 1993).

Focusing on the negative consequences of shopping, it is possible to imagine situations where shopping would result in decreased life satisfaction, particularly when the consumer spends too

much time, energy, and money on shopping at the expense of meeting other role expectations in other life domains (e.g. family life, financial life, work life, leisure life, social life). Much of this discussion is related to shopping ill-being.

As such we define shopping ill-being as *consumer perceptions that they spend too much time, effort, and money in shopping activities as reflected by complaints from family members, friends, and co-workers about one's shopping*. In other words, resources (time, money, and effort) an individual invests in shopping may come at the expense of time, money, and effort required to meet role expectations in other life domains; meeting these role expectations in other life domains is vital in maintaining a certain level of life satisfaction. This overspending (time, money, and effort) on shopping generally results in complaints among family members, relatives/friends, and/or people at work. These complaints reflect failure to meet role expectations, which in turn, contribute to a significant amount of dissatisfaction in life domains related to family life, social life, work life, and financial life. As can be seen, the notion of *shopping-ill being* is mainly 'other-centered' (rather than 'self-centered') and reflects a consumer's negative valence beliefs that result from the complaints of others the consumer has close relationships with.

Our hypothesis of the negative relationship between shopping ill-being and subjective well-being is consistent with past research (e.g., Ridgway et al. 2008). Compulsive buying may result in numerous negative consequences, such as financial problems, emotional harm (e.g., negative feelings, feelings of guilt), and social and relationship problems (Faber and O'Guinn 1992). Spending too much time on shopping may detract from opportunities to engage in other activities that can enhance the sense of social well-being, family well-being, work well-being, etc.

Furthermore, spending too much money on material acquisition is likely to lead to financial debt, which may take away from spending on other goods and services essential to social well-being, family well-being, work well-being, etc. As such, we will test the following hypothesis:

H2: Subjective well-being is a negative function of shopping ill-being.

The Interactive Effect of Shopping Well-Being and Shopping Ill-Being

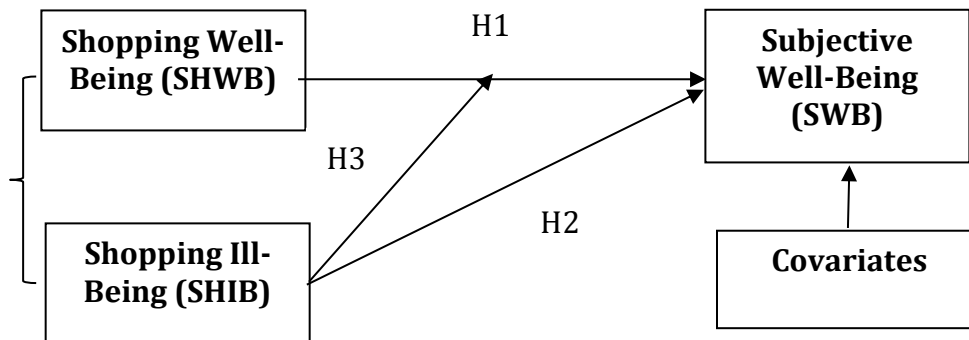
Research in other contexts suggests that the extent to which people can effectively balance their lives is positively associated with the overall sense of well-being (i.e., subjective well-being)—that is, the less the role conflict between the various life domains (e.g. work life, family life, leisure life, and financial life) the greater the overall sense of well-being (e.g., Ayree, Fields, and Luke 1999; Carlson, Kacmar, and Williams 2000; Frone, Russell, and Cooper 1992). When people experience difficulty balancing role demand stemming from various life domains, they are likely to experience low quality of life. For example, in the context of work-family balance, Greenhaus, Collins, and Shaw (2003) report that when people invest substantial time in their combined work and family roles, they are likely to experience a higher quality of life than those who spend more time in work life at the expense of family life. Other researchers also reported the link between work-family balance and well-being (e.g. Odle-Dusseau, Britt, and Bobko 2012; Grant-Vallone and Donaldson 2001; Winefield, Body, and Winefield 2014). Moreover, work-leisure conflict has been shown to reduce employees' perceived quality of life (Lin, Wang, and Ho 2013).

Similarly, we surmise that when a consumer believes to spend too many resources (time, energy, and money) on shopping activities that conflict with other roles in other life domains (family,

work, social, leisure, and financial), shopping well-being is not likely to contribute much to overall sense of well-being (i.e., subjective well-being). Conversely, when a consumer spends his/her resources (time, energy, and money) in shopping activities in such a way that do not conflict with other roles in other life domains, shopping well-being is likely to contribute positively to subjective well-being (Figure 1). In other words, we hypothesize an interaction effect between shopping well-being and shopping ill-being. As such we will test the following hypothesis:

H3: Shopping well-being is likely to contribute more to subjective well-being under conditions of low than high shopping ill-being.

Figure 1: The Conceptual Model



Method

In this section we will report on the methods used to test the three hypotheses as shown in Figure 1.

Sample and Data Collection

A survey method was used in this study. The data was collected from 1,035 online consumer panel members in the UK. The demographic profile of the sample is shown in Table 1. A total of 1,035 respondents provided a usable data.

Table 1: Sample Characteristics

Variables	U.K.
Number of Cases	N=1,035
Gender	
Male	50.7
Female	49.3
Marital Status	
Married	50.3
Single	37.8
Divorced	9.9
Widow	2.0
Work Situation	
Full-time	43.0
Part-time	21.5
Not-working	35.5
Age	
Under 25	11.0
25to30	10.1
30to49	43.3
Over50	35.6

Measures

The survey consisted of five sections. Section 1 contained the shopping ill-being measure. The measurement items were modified from Carlson et al. (2000) study on work-family conflict.

Table 2 shows dimensions of the measure. The measure is essentially a formative construct involving 15 different conditions—three resource dimensions (time, energy, and money) crossed

with five different life domains. Sample Items include: (1) “Our family and close friends often complain that I spend too much time shopping and not enough time with the family”; (2) “Our family and close friends often complain that I spend much money on shopping causing a great deal of family strife”; and (3) “Our family and close friends often complain that I spend too much energy shopping and not enough energy for family.” See the exact complete set of items in the Appendix (and the response scale).

Table 2: Dimensions of the Shopping Ill-Being (SHIB) Construct

Resource\Life Domain	Family Life	Work Life	Social Life	Leisure Life	Financial Life
Time	Time-based shopping interference with family life	Time-based shopping interference with work life	Time-based shopping interference with social life	Time-based shopping interference with leisure life	Time-based shopping interference with financial life
Energy	Energy-based shopping interference with family life	Energy-based shopping interference with work life	Energy-based shopping interference with social life	Energy-based shopping interference with leisure life	Energy-based shopping interference with financial life
Money	Money-based shopping interference with family life	Money-based shopping interference with work life	Money-based shopping interference with social life	Money-based shopping interference with leisure life	Money-based shopping interference with financial life

Sections 2 and 3 contained measurement items representing shopping well-being and subjective well-being (i.e., overall life satisfaction). The shopping well-being items were adapted from past consumption happiness measures (e.g., Nicolao et al. 2009; Van Boven and Gilovich 2003) (Alpha = 0.913). Items of shopping well-being include: (1) “Thinking about shopping, I feel that my

shopping contributes significantly to my own personal well-being”; (2) “Thinking about shopping, my quality of life would diminish significantly if I don’t shop”; (3) “Thinking about shopping, I feel that shopping makes me happy”; (4) “Thinking about shopping, I feel that shopping contributes significantly to my quality of life overall.” See Appendix for the entire list of measurement items and response scales.

Similarly, items from the Satisfaction with Life Scale or SWLS (Pavot and Diener 2008) were modified to measure subjective well-being ($\text{Alpha} = 0.916$). Items of subjective well-being include: (1) “I believe that in most ways my life is close to my ideal”; (2) “I believe that the conditions in my life are close to excellent”; (3) “I believe that I am satisfied with my life”; (4) “I can say that so far I have gotten the important things I want in life”; (5) “I can say that if I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.” See Appendix for the entire list of measurement items and response scales. Both good internal reliability and discriminant validity of the SWLS have been demonstrated consistently in the literature (Vassar 2008).

In addition to the measures pertaining to the central constructs of the study, Sections 4 and 5 include a host of measures that represent covariates (or control variables). Examples of control variables include the satisfaction in individual life domains (e.g., satisfaction with work life, satisfaction with family life, satisfaction with financial life, satisfaction with social life, satisfaction with leisure life, satisfaction with residential life, etc.) and gender. Despite similar level of subjective well-being reported between men and women (Diener 1984), studies show that, compared to men, women have higher level of shopping involvement (hedonic consumption and impulse buying), which might lead to a greater spill over from shopping well-being to

subjective well-being (Tifferet and Herstein 2012). This is a reason for including gender as a covariate.

Results

We organize the discussion of the results in two sections: (1) testing the measurement model and (2) hypothesis testing.

Testing the Measurement Model

To examine the measurement properties of the measures used in this study, we assessed the convergent and discriminant validity of the constructs by conducting a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) using LISREL VIII (Joreskog and Sorbom 1993). The CFA results indicate a satisfactory fit to the data [χ^2 (p -value) = 180.796 (.00), df = 33; CFI=0.979, GFI=0.964, NNFI=0.972, RMSEA= 0.068, SRMR=0.026]. The results also indicate that all factor loadings are significant, and composite reliabilities are greater than 0.916, and all variance extracted estimates are greater than 0.855. Shopping ill-being was conceptualized as formative constructs composed of three resource dimensions (time, energy, and money) crossed with five different life domains. The results of confirmatory factor analysis demonstrate adequate evidence of convergent validity and reliability of the measures (cf. Fornell and Larcker 1981).

To assess discriminant validity, we first tested the 95% confidence intervals of the Phi estimates and found none includes 1.0. We then ran the χ^2 difference tests for all constructs in pairs and found that the unconstrained models have significantly better fit than the models that are constrained to be equal ($p < 0.05$). We also found that the shared variance between all possible

pairs of constructs are significantly lower than the average variance extracted for the individual construct (cf. Fornell and Larcker 1981). These results provide evidence of discriminant validity.

Table3: Reliability and Validity Assessment of the Measures (CFA)

Variables	Items	Coefficient	t-value	Alpha	Average Variance Extracted	Composite Reliability
Shopping well-being	Shwb1	0.916	37.697	0.913	0.855	0.916
	Shwb2	0.765	28.498			
	Shwb3	0.816	31.393			
	Shwb4	0.915	37.623			
Shopping ill-being	SHIB	1.000	-	-	-	-
Subjective well-being	Swb1	0.940	39.766	0.916	0.900	0.918
	Swb2	0.881	35.588			
	Swb3	0.879	35.476			
	Swb4	0.758	28.297			
	Swb5	0.680	24.388			
$\chi^2(p\text{-value}) = 180.796 (.00),df= 33$ CFI=0.979, GFI=0.964, NNFI=0.972, RMSEA= 0.068, SRMR=0.026						

Table 4: Correlations among Constructs

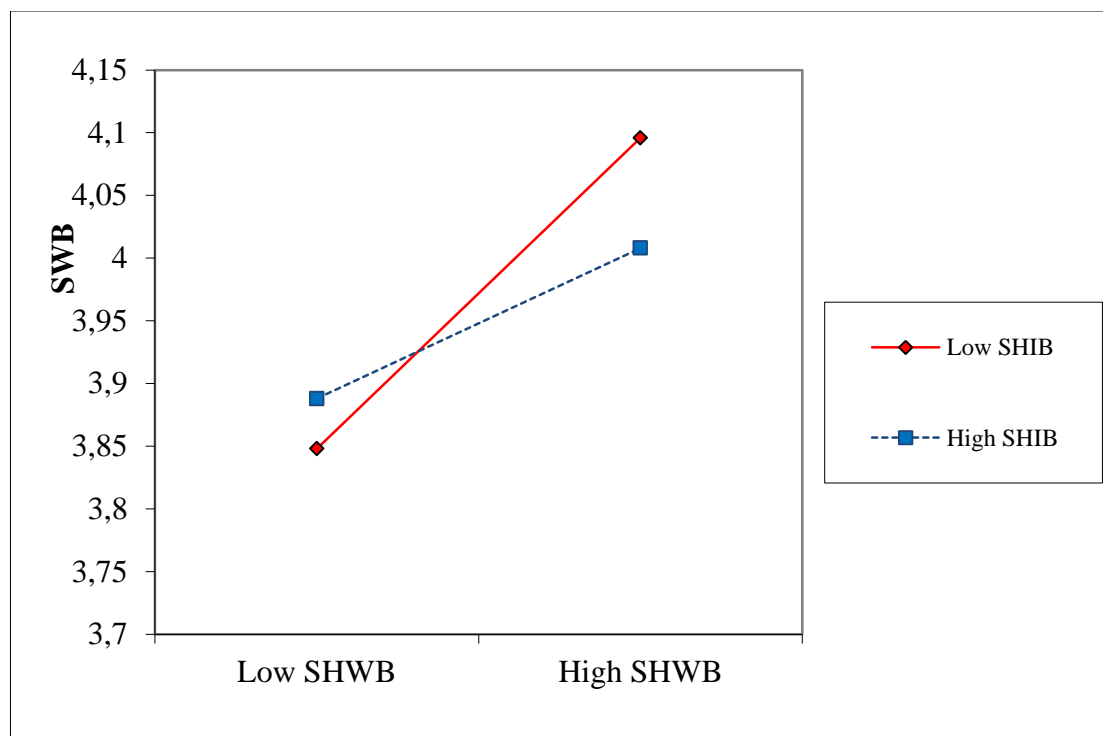
	Shopping well-being	Shopping ill-being	Subjective well-being
Shopping well-being	1.000		
Shopping ill-being	-.283	1.000	
Subjective well-being	.172	-.036	1.000

Hypotheses Testing

We tested the proposed conceptual model using regression analysis after controlling for the impact of the covariates (satisfaction with life domains and gender). All variables were mean-centered. The results of regression results are summarized in Table 5.

H1 states that shopping well-being has a positive predictive effect on subjective well-being. The results indicate that shopping well-being does indeed have a positive predictive effect on subjective well-being, supporting H1 (standardized coefficient= 0.097, $p < .05$). H2 states that shopping ill-being has a negative predictive effect on subjective well-being. The results show that shopping ill-being does not have a significantly negative effect on subjective well-being failing to support H2 (standardized coefficient= -0.011, $p > .05$). H3 posits that there is the interaction effect of shopping ill-being on the relationship between shopping well-being and subjective well-being. The results show that there indeed is a significant interaction effect, supporting H3 (standardized coefficient= -0.057, $p < .05$). The results also indicate that subjective well-being is also influenced by such covariates as family life satisfaction, work life satisfaction, financial life satisfaction, health life satisfaction, leisure life satisfaction, and emotional life satisfaction ($p < 0.05$).

Figure 2: The Interaction Effect



NOTES:

SHWB = Shopping Well-Being; SHIB = Shopping Ill-Being; SWB = Subjective Well-Being

Table 5: Moderated Regression Results

Variables		Standardized coefficient	t-value	R-squared
DV	IV			
SWB	SHWB	0.097**	3.431	0.542
	SHIB	-0.011	-0.454	
	SHWB * SHIB	-0.057**	-2.112	
	Gender	0.030	1.386	
	Family life sat	0.161**	6.126	
	Work life sat	0.107**	4.023	
	Financial life sat	0.301**	12.095	
	Health life sat	0.127**	4.680	
	Leisure life sat	0.114**	3.522	
	Social life sat	0.025	0.783	
	Emotional life sat	0.180**	6.999	
	Spiritual life sat	-0.014	-0.602	

NOTES:

SHWB = Shopping Well-Being; SHIB = Shopping Ill-Being; SWB = Subjective Well-Being

To better understand the nature of the interaction, we conducted an ANCOVA with other life domain satisfaction and gender as covariates. The results of the ANCOVA are similar to the regression results. Specifically, the results indicate that shopping well-being has a positive and significant predictive effect on subjective well-being ($F = 3.419, p < 0.10$) while shopping ill-being does not have a significant influence on subjective well-being ($F = 0.458, p > 0.05$). The cell mean test results indicate that shopping well-being has a significantly positive influence on subjective well-being under the conditions of *low* shopping ill-being ($F = 7.556, p < 0.05$). The results also indicate that shopping well-being does not have a significant influence on subjective well-being under the conditions of *high* shopping ill-being ($F = 0.001, p > 0.05$). See Table 6.

Table 6: ANCOVA Results

(1) The Main Effect of Shopping Well-Being (SHWB) on Subjective Well-Being (SWB)

DV	SHWB		Mean difference
	Low	High	
SWB	3.935(.054)	4.085(.060)	$F = 3.419 (p < 0.10)$

(2) The Main Effect of Shopping Ill-Being (SHIB) on Subjective Well-Being (SWB)

DV	SHIB		Mean difference
	Low	High	
SWB	4.037(.056)	3.983(.058)	$F = 0.458 (p > 0.05)$

(3) The Interactive Effect of Shopping Well-Being (SHWB) and Shopping Ill-Being (SHIB) on Subjective Well-Being (SWB)

DV	IV: SHWB	Moderator: SHIB	
		Low	High
SWB	Low	3.907(.082)	3.962(.069)
	High	4.167(.075)	4.003(.093)
	Mean	$F = 7.556 (p < 0.05)$	$F = 0.001 (p > 0.05)$

	difference		
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NOTES:

SHWB = Shopping Well-Being; SHIB = Shopping Ill-Being; SWB = Subjective Well-Being

In summary, we confirmed the positive predictive effect of shopping well-being on subjective well-being (H1) and the moderating role of shopping ill-being on the shopping well-being effect (H3). The results also failed to support the hypothesized direct effect of shopping ill-being on subjective well-being (H2).

Discussion

Macromarketing researchers have been interested in studying various aspects of shopping activities, including the role of shopping environment such as atmospherics and aesthetics (Biehl-Missal and Saren 2012), shopping as a playful activity (Molesworth and Denegri-Knott 2008), illegal (Philips, Alexander, and Show) and unethical (D'Rozario and Williams) aspects of shopping, and shopping in the context of community well-being (Sirgy et al. 2008). The roles that shopping activities may play in understanding consumer well-being have largely remained untouched.

To this end, we believe our research makes several contributions: First, we were able to empirically demonstrate the direct link between shopping well-being and subjective well-being. This finding is consistent with past research (e.g., El Hedhli, Chebat, and Sirgy 2013; Meadow and Sirgy 2008; Sirgy et al. 2008; Sirgy et al. 2016). Shopping well-being does indeed contribute to perceived quality of life or subjective well-being.

How does shopping well-being contribute to subjective well-being? Much research in quality-of-life studies has employed a particular theory to explain the effect of situational events on life satisfaction, namely bottom-up spillover theory of life satisfaction (Andrews and Withey 1976; Campbell, Converse, and Rodgers 1976; see reviews in Diener 1984, Sirgy 2012). Bottom-up spillover theory proposes that overall life satisfaction is determined by positive and negative experiences in important life domains. Specific events influence life satisfaction by contributing positive and negative affect in specific life domains in a context of satisfaction hierarchy. Specifically, positive and negative experiences in the marketplace activities (i.e., shopping) influence life satisfaction.

Other theories can also be used to explain the relationship between shopping well-being and overall life satisfaction. For example, using identity theory research on work engagement found that engagement in work life enhances one's overall life satisfaction because such engagement provides opportunities to make progress towards one's best potentials and life goals (Bakker and Demerouti 2008; Thoits 1991). The same can be said in relation to consumer engagement in shopping. Consumers shop around to purchase goods and services that ultimately provide opportunities to make progress towards achieving their potential and attaining meaningful life goals. There is evidence in marketing that consumer engagement in shopping plays an important role in consumer well-being (e.g., El-Hedhli et al. 2013; also see overview of this research in Sirgy, Lee, and Rahtz 2007).

Second, the study findings also demonstrated that shopping ill-being does not influence subjective well-being directly (failing to support H2) but only as a moderator (supporting H3).

That is, shopping ill-being interacts with shopping well-being in that the effect of shopping well-being on subjective well-being is amplified under low than high shopping ill-being conditions. Our results indicate that the positive influence of shopping well-being on subjective well-being disappears when shopping ill-being is high. This study finding is consistent with past research on materialism and compulsive shopping (e.g., Burroughs and Rindfleisch 2002; Richins 2013; Roberts and Clement 2007; Van Boven 2005). One explanation commonly used to explain why shopping ill-being detract from the quality of life is the notion that compulsive shopping takes away time, money, and energy that could have been devoted to nurturing social relationships, and important element in subjective well-being (Kasser 2002; Sheldon and Kasser 1998). This explanation is highly consistent with our conceptualization of the shopping ill-being construct.

Finally, the research reported here contributes to the macromarketing literature by having measured and validated the shopping ill-being construct. The concept of shopping ill-being has been discussed previously (Ekici et al. 2013; Lee et al. 2014); however, the construct was never operationalized. The present study provides evidence for construct validity.

Managerial and Policy Implications

Maximizing shopping well-being while minimizing shopping ill-being can be construed in terms of a new construct we call *shopping-life balance*. As such shopping-life balance should be the goal for both the retail institution as well as consumer advocacy organizations. The retail institution can contribute to shopping-life balance by developing programs to heighten consumer level of engagement in the marketplace, which of course it does so well in free market economies. The retail institution can do much more in those countries that do not enjoy a free market economy

by developing programs to incentivize consumers to be more active in the marketplace. For example, retail marketers can further motivate consumers to engage in self-expressive activities in the marketplace to enhance consumer engagement and life satisfaction (e.g., Bosnjak et al. 2016). Retailers make every attempt possible to provide consumers with an enjoyable shopping experience (e.g., Eroglu, Machleit, and Barr 2005; Guiry et al. 2006; Gurel-Atay, Giese, and Godek 2008; Kim and Lim 2001; Machleit, Kellaris, and Eroglu 1994; Puccinelli et al. 2009).

It is also important to empower consumers to ensure that the market system works best to deliver the fruits of a free economy (e.g., Burton 2002; Xiao et al. 2004). Such a market system is governed by high level of fair competition and empowered consumers who shop around. Consumers vote with their money to reward good businesses that are both efficient and innovative through quality products at low prices. Conversely, consumers weed out businesses that are not innovative (by not delivering a quality product) nor efficient (by not delivering a low price product).

However, as the research suggests, consumer engagement can be rampant to the point of creating much ill-being. Hence, there must be countervailing force from consumer advocacy and government organizations to ensure that this heightened sense of consumer engagement in the marketplace would not lead to consumer overspending, much debt, financial bankruptcies, and family ruin. These organizations should develop and institute shopping-life balance programs such as programs to enhance consumer literacy, financial planning, budgeting, among others. Specifically, consumer advocates and policy makers can provide financial education to enhance money management skills and to reduce financial worries (e.g., Kim, Garman, and Sorhaindo

2003; Lea, Webley, and Walker 1995; Norvilitis et al. 2006). Much can be done help consumers use credit cards in responsible ways (e.g., Hayhoe et al. 2000; Garðarsdóttir and Dittmar 2012). The concept of “anticipated regret” –whether or not regret will follow from performing or not performing a certain behavior (e.g. Abraham and Sheeran 2003; Keinan and Kivetz 2008) such as spending resources in shopping activities at the expense of other life domains may provide a solid foundation in developing effective shopping-life balance programs. Programs that reduce anticipated regret resulting from shopping experiences are likely to reduce shopping ill-being, and as a result, contribute positively to consumers’ life satisfaction.

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APPENDIX

Measures Used in This Study

Shopping Ill-Being or SHIB (Investment of Too Much Time, Money, Energy in Shopping)

1. Our family and close friends often complain that I spend too much time shopping and not enough time with the family.
2. Our family and close friends often complain that I spend much money on shopping causing a great deal of family strife.
3. Our family and close friends often complain that I spend too much energy shopping and not enough energy for family.
4. Our family and close friends often complain that I spend too much time shopping and not enough time for work.
5. Our family and close friends often complain that I spend too much money shopping and not enough money for work.
6. Our family and close friends often complain that I spend too much energy shopping and not enough energy for career.
7. Our family and close friends often complain that I spend too much time shopping and not enough time socializing with others.
8. Our family and close friends often complain that I spend too much money shopping and not enough money for social activities.
9. Our family and close friends often complain that I spend too much energy shopping and not enough energy for social activities.
10. Our family and close friends often complain that I spend too much time shopping and not enough time for leisure activities.
11. Our family and close friends often complain that I spend too much money shopping and not enough money for leisure activities.
12. Our family and close friends often complain that I spend too much energy shopping and not enough energy for leisure activities.
13. Our family and close friends often complain that I spend too much time shopping and not enough time making money by working hard.
14. Our family and close friends often complain that I spend too much money shopping creating havoc on financial life.
15. Our family and close friends often complain that I spend too much energy shopping and not enough energy for making money by working hard.

Response scale: 7-point Likert scale: strongly disagree (1) – strongly agree (7)]

Shopping Well-Being or SHWB (Belief that Shopping Contributes to One's and Family's Quality of Life)

1. Thinking about shopping, I feel that my shopping contributes significantly to my own personal well-being.
2. Thinking about shopping, my quality of life would diminish significantly if I don't shop.
3. Thinking about shopping, I feel that shopping makes me happy.
4. Thinking about shopping, I feel that shopping contributes significantly to my quality of life overall.

Response scale: 7-point Likert scale: strongly disagree (1) – strongly agree (7)]

Subjective Well-Being or SWB (Satisfaction with Life Overall)

1. I believe that in most ways my life is close to my ideal.
2. I believe that the conditions in my life are close to excellent.
3. I believe that I am satisfied with my life.
4. I can say that so far I have gotten the important things I want in life.
5. I can say that if I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing

Response scale: 7-point Likert scale: strongly disagree (1) – strongly agree (7)]

Domain Satisfaction (Perceived Well-Being in Life Domains)

Please indicate how satisfied or dissatisfied you are with your other life domains._

1. My family life (relationship w/family members)
2. Work life (relationship w/people at work)
3. My financial situation (income, debts, & assets)
4. My health (physical and mental health)
5. My leisure life (fun & leisure activities)
6. My social life (friendships & fellowship)
7. My emotional life (love, sex, intimacy, & romance)
8. My spiritual life (religious activities & spirituality)

Response scale: 7-point Satisfaction rating scale: not at all satisfied (1) – very satisfied (7)

A micro-level study of the relationship between experienced corruption and subjective well-being in Africa

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The economic consequences of corruption have been widely studied. A growing number of studies exists on the relationship between corruption and subjective wellbeing. Aside from being macro-level studies, these studies often focus on perceptions about corruption. Very few studies examine how individual experiences of corruption are correlated with subjective wellbeing. In this paper, we explore whether, and to what extent people who have ever paid a bribe, given a gift, or done a favour for a government official to obtain a document or service affects their wellbeing. In addition, we test whether being at the receiving end of corrupt practices affect wellbeing. Using data from round 3 of the Afrobarometer Surveys conducted in 18 countries in Sub-Saharan Africa between 2005 and 2006, we find that experienced corruption undermines individual wellbeing for both bribe victims and recipients. Specifically, we find that experienced corruption reduces wellbeing by between 0.05 and 0.08 units for victims, and 0.08 for bribe takers on a 5-point wellbeing scale.

"Happiness is considered by many to be the ultimate goal in life; indeed, virtually everyone wants to be happy." (Frey and Stutzer, 2002, p.402)

Introduction

The quest to provide an understanding of the factors that influence subjective well-being or quality of life both at the micro and macro levels have led to an outburst of scholarly works from disciplines such as marketing, sociology, psychology, economics, among many others (see, for instance, Easterlin, 1974; Oswald, 1997; Frey and Stutzer, 2002; Pan et al., 2007; Wang and VanderWeele, 2011; Sirgy et al. 2011). Indeed, quality of life studies have grown quite tremendously over time and this has come along with a less narrow appreciation about the determinants of quality of life.

In the past, happiness was simply linked to income or wealth. However, early empirical works have shown that happiness does not increase with an increase in income over time (Easterlin, 1974, Oswald, 1997). This brought to bear the question of what factors (other than income) have an influence on individual subjective well-being. Consequently, there has been an increased interest among researchers to empirically investigate the relationship between socio-economic factors and individual subjective well-being (see Clark and Oswald, 1994; Di Tella et al., 2003; Frey and Stutzer, 2010; Layard, 2005).

In particular, a growing body of literature examines the role of quality of government in influencing individual happiness. In a recent paper, Samanni and Holmberg (2010) used corruption as one of the measures of government quality and found that quality of government is an important correlate of happiness. Also, government institutions that are more effective, incorrupt and impartial make citizens more happy and satisfied with their lives than those that are not (see Ott, 2005; Bjørnskov et al., 2010; Helliwell and Huang, 2008; Teorell, 2009). Other

cross-country studies have established that average happiness is relatively higher in countries that are well governed (Helliwell and Huang, 2008; Ott, 2010).

Another strand of the literature maintains that citizens living in countries where corruption is widespread are relatively less happy or satisfied with their lives than those who live in countries where corruption is less common (Helliwell, 2003; Tavits, 2008; Kim and Kim, 2012). Some scholars focus specifically on the effect of bribe victimization on subjective well-being (Singer, 2013; Gillanders, 2011). These studies note that bribe victimization undermines individual well-being. In addition, James (2011) observes that unethical attitudes (such as someone finding the payment of bribe as justifiable, and so forth) are negatively associated with happiness.

As well, recent papers by Pan et al. (2007) and Sirgy et al. (2011) have sought to explain the effect of marketing activity on subjective well-being. While Pan et al.'s (2007) study focused on examining the notion that marketing activity in a society does contribute to subjective well-being (or perceived quality of life) directly as well as indirectly through economic well-being (level of wealth in particular), the study by Sirgy et al. (2011) investigated the hypothesis that both marketing activity and economic efficiency in a country (measured in terms of low levels of free trade, low levels of corruption and a small informal economy) bears significantly on a country's quality of life, and that the effect of market activity on subjective well-being is moderated and/or mediated by economic efficiency. In terms of the findings from these two papers, whereas marketing activity was found to have a significant positive influence on subjective well-being in Sirgy et al. (2011), this was not generally the case for the Pan et al.'s (2007) study.

Despite the presence of an increasing number of studies on the effect of corruption perceptions and quality of governance on subjective well-being, there is a dearth of research on how bribery (i.e., experienced corruption) affects wellbeing. Our study contributes to the literature by providing empirical evidence on the effect of bribery (both giving and receiving) on wellbeing in Africa. We believe this is important to study because Africa is believed to have some of the most corrupt countries in the world (Transparency International, 2013). Furthermore, it is argued that Sub-Saharan Africa is the least happy region in the world (Helliwell, Layard and Sachs, 2013). Therefore, an empirical investigation of whether, and to what extent, bribery influences the wellbeing of Africans is necessary.

We use data from the round 3 of the Afrobarometer Surveys to empirically examine whether people who have experienced corruption in the past year report lower wellbeing than those who did not experience corruption. We find that bribery undermines wellbeing whether the respondent was on the giving or receiving end of the practice. Specifically, our results reveal that paying a bribe, giving a gift, or doing a favour for a government official to obtain a document or permit, get a household service, medicine, medical attention, and so forth reduces wellbeing by between 0.05 and 0.08 units on a 5-point wellbeing scale. On the other hand, for respondents who received a bribe, a gift or got a favour from a government official or political party to influence their vote in the country's last election, wellbeing reduced by about 0.08 units. Thus, our study provides some empirical evidence on non-economic wellbeing costs of poor governance.

Related Literature

A stream of studies in the area of quality of life suggests that an individual's overall life satisfaction can be explained and predicted from his/her satisfaction with different life domains¹⁴ (Campbell et al., 1976; Lee et al., 2002). This is based on the concept of *bottom-up spillover* which can be conceptualized using a satisfaction hierarchy model (see, Lee and Sirgy, 1995; Sirgy et al., 1994). Canonically, the model assumes that overall life satisfaction is a function of satisfaction with all of life's domains and subdomains. In a clear and succinct manner, Lee et al. (2002) avers that:

“people may feel satisfied with life as a direct function of their satisfaction with their health, job, family, friends, community, material possessions, and so on.” (p. 159)

Apparent from the above discussion is the idea that an individual's overall quality of life is a subjective notion that hinges on satisfaction with a wide range of life domains and subdomains. Consistent with this is Andrews and Withey's (1976) model of life satisfaction that indicates that life satisfaction takes place at various levels of specificity and is determined by evaluations of individual life domains. This implies that having a greater satisfaction with life domains such as personal health, work, family, and leisure directly leads to having a greater satisfaction with life in general. Also, satisfaction with a given life domain is in turn influenced directly by satisfaction with particular events and concerns within that domain. Hence, the effect within a life domain (or subdomain) spills over *bottom-up* to the most superordinate domain (i.e. life in general), influencing life satisfaction (Lee et al., 2002).

This study adopts the bottom-up spillover model of life satisfaction to explain the relationship between experienced corruption and subjective wellbeing. The appropriateness of this model for

¹⁴ Eg., education, family, health, job, friends, leisure, community, material possessions, consumer, etcetera.

this study is derived from the fact that experienced corruption is a phenomenon or a subdomain that lies within such life domains as work, education, consumption and so on. For instance, people are likely to be engaged in corrupt practices when it comes to who wins a particular job offer, get a place in school or use a particular commodity. Satisfaction within this subdomain (corruption experience) directly affects an individual's quality of life.

Consistent with the theoretical discussions on the determinants of quality of life, scholars have sought to empirically examine link between wellbeing and a range of demographic and socioeconomic variables including income (Easterlin, 1974, Oswald, 1997), age (Oswald, 1997; Peiro, 2006), marital status (Argyle and Martin, 1991; Lee et al., 1999; Blanchflower and Oswald, 2004, Peiro, 2006), gender (Blanchflower and Oswald, 2004), unemployment (Clark and Oswald, 1994; Gerlach and Stephan, 1996; Winkelmann and Winkelmann, 1998; Peiro, 2006), health (Veenhoven, 1991; Peiro, 2006), education (Gerdtham and Johannesson, 2001; Castriota, 2006), political stability and development (Argyle, 1987; Frey and Stutzer, 2000), market activity (Pan et al., 2007; Sirgy et al. 2011), among others.

In their extensive review of the determinants of individual wellbeing, Frey and Stutzer (2010) maintain that the sources of individual wellbeing can be classified into five groups, namely, personality factors – explored extensively by psychologist; demographic factors; micro and macro-economic factors (such as per capita income, unemployment, inflation and inequality); contextual and situational factors (for example stress due to working or living conditions, relationship with family and friends and health status); and institutional conditions (including political system, design of democratic institutions, and level of freedom). Consistent with the fifth

category, some empirical studies explore the effects of the quality of institutions on subjective wellbeing despite the presence of sufficient measurement problems (Rodriguez-Pose and Maslauskaite, 2012; see Anderson and Tverdova, 2003; Warren, 2004; Tavits, 2008; Bjørnskov et al., 2010). Institutional quality is often proxied by the quality of government which, in turn, is usually proxied by the level of perceived corruption (Rodriguez-Pose and Maslauskaite, 2012). The use of perceived corruption as an appropriate measure of government quality has been widely recognised (Anderson and Tverdova, 2003; Warren, 2004; Tavits, 2008). Bjørnskov et al. (2010) examine the effect of formal institutions on subjective wellbeing using a cross-country sample of rich and poor countries. Their results show that quality of governance is significantly correlated with greater happiness in a pooled sample estimations. However, after disaggregating the sample into rich and poor countries, quality of governance did not significantly influence happiness in the group of richer countries compared to the poor sample.

Similarly, Helliwell and Huang (2008) investigate the relationship between good governance and subjective wellbeing and found that quality of government has a significant and positive effect on subjective wellbeing in the full sample. The results however differ when they divide the countries into income groups - those below and those above half of the GDP of the United States. They find that quality of governance is significant only in the group of poorer countries. They interpret this as reflecting the fact that quality of governance affects subjective wellbeing through economic growth. Thus, institutional quality has a direct influence on economic growth and this leads to a possible bias of the relationship between institutions and happiness.

Indeed, most empirical analysis of the link between quality of government and happiness have failed to disentangle the effects of institutional quality on other variables that affect wellbeing (Rodriguez-Pose and Maslauskaitė, 2012). However, Welsch (2008), in an attempt to address this problem run a system of equations: one of GDP and corruption on happiness and the other on corruption on happiness alone. The author showed that the direct welfare effect of corruption is much larger than the indirect effect through income. In addition, Teorell (2009) provides additional evidence of the positive effect of quality of governance on subjective well-being.

Other studies have examined specifically the effect of corruption on happiness and found that corruption erodes happiness generally. That is, countries where corruption is widespread are associated with lower levels of life satisfaction among the citizens (Tavits, 2008; Rodriguez-Pose and Maslauskaitė; 2012). Tavits (2008) shows that there is a negative correlation between corruption perceptions and subjective wellbeing, holding other factors constant. She notes that the effect of corruption on subjective wellbeing outweighs the effects of macro-economic factors such as inflation and income inequality. In a recent study, Rodriguez-Pose and Maslauskaitė (2012) establish that different levels of individual happiness in Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries are mostly influenced by institutional factors such as corruption, government spending and decentralization and that corruption levels have become much more detrimental to life satisfaction over time. The negative effect of corruption on subjective wellbeing can also be viewed in terms of its significantly negative consequences on economic and policy performance, increased crime, and inequality (see for example, Mauro, 1995; Montinola and Jackman, 2002; Rose-Ackerman, 1999).

In parallel, furthermore, testing the determinants of quality of life abound in the macromarketing literature. Pan et al. (2007), in their examination of the relationship between marketing activities and subjective wellbeing in a cross-national country context established that marketing activity as measured by advertising expenditure per capita is strongly related with subjective wellbeing. The effect was however not the same when the authors used the number of retail outlets for capita as a measure of marketing activity. Finally, the paper failed to find a strong influence of market activity on subjective wellbeing under a multivariate setting. In a similar fashion, Sirgy et al. (2011) investigated the hypothesis that both marketing activity and economic efficiency in a country (measured in terms of low levels of free trade, low levels of corruption and a small informal economy) bears significantly on a country's quality of life, and that the effect of market activity on subjective well-being is moderated and/or mediated by economic efficiency. The findings from their study indicate that marketing activity exerts a significant positive influence on subjective well-being.

The foregoing discussions position the corruption – happiness nexus as a macro-level phenomenon. For instance, the idea that corruption affects wellbeing through its effect on GDP, crime, income inequality, and so forth (Welsch, 2008; Tavits, 2008). However, Singer (2013) asserts that these macro-level phenomena rest strongly on several micro-level foundations. He argues that personal experiences with corruption as well as the normative costs of corruption undermine individual happiness as bribe victims may suffer some psychological costs (Singer, 2013; Welsch, 2008). Singer also notes that an individual's sense of fairness in their society is infringed upon when they have to pay a bribe to obtain a service, for instance. Consistent with this view, Gillanders (2011) demonstrates that experiences of corruption have detrimental effect

on the individual mental health. Therefore, individuals who fall victim to corrupt practices may have a higher propensity of reporting lower levels of subjective well-being (Tavits, 2008). Chrikov and Ryan (2001) note that being involved in corrupt exchanges makes people unhappy. Singer (2013) also contends that corruption may have a negative influence on happiness among individuals who have not recently been victims of bribery. He likens this to the effect of fear of crime on wellbeing. That is, the wellbeing of individuals who have not experienced crime may be affected by the awareness of someone they know having been victimized. Empirical studies confirm this; fear of crime is negatively correlated with happiness (Di Tella et al., 2008; Davies and Hinks, 2010; Sulemana, 2014). In sum, earlier research suggests that quality of governance, corruption and bribe victimization affect subjective wellbeing.

Data and Methods

We use data from the round 3 of the Afrobarometer Surveys to empirically test the effect of experienced corruption on wellbeing. These surveys are a series of cross-national surveys that seek to examine social, political and economic circumstances in Africa. The surveys are jointly sponsored by the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA), Ghana Centre for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana) and Michigan State University (MSU). The round 3 of the surveys were conducted in 18 countries between 2005 and 2006.¹⁵ The interviews were conducted on face-to-face basis in several languages in each country including local languages.

The round 4 of the surveys were conducted in 2008 while round 5 were conducted in 2012. The merged data for all the countries surveyed in round 5 is not yet publicly available. The merged

¹⁵ They include Benin, Botswana, Cape Verde, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe

data for round 4 is available. However, it contains only 3 categories of bribery incidents: Pay bribe for a document or permit, pay bribe for water or sanitation services, and pay bribe to avoid problem with police. In addition to these items, the round 3 contains 3 items (for a total of 6) discussed below. Therefore, we chose to use the round 3. Moreover, using round 3 allows us to examine whether receiving a bribe also undermines wellbeing.

Some characteristics of the respondents include the following: The average age of respondents was 36 years old (lowest=18, highest=130). About 49.5% of them were female. In terms of educational attainment, the majority of them had less than a high school education. Specifically, about 54.3 per cent of them had primary or no formal education. About 35.3 per cent of them had some or completed secondary (high school) education, 6.3 per cent of them had post-secondary qualification below university level education while only 4.1 per cent had some or completed university education (for example, degree and above). About 30 per cent of them were unemployed, and 38.7 per cent of them lived in an urban town.

Dependent Variable

Our dependent variable (subjective wellbeing) is based on the survey question that inquired about respondents living conditions: 'In general, how would you describe: Your own present living conditions?' Responses include five ordinal categories: 1=Very bad, 2=Fairly bad, 3=Neither good nor bad, 4=Fairly good, 5=Very good. For a total of 24,260 respondents, the

average wellbeing score was 2.612.¹⁶ This is below the neutral category (3=Neither good nor bad), suggesting that the average respondent reported bad living conditions.

Explanatory Variables

We use several measures of experienced corruption. We construct them in the following ways.

Respondents were asked how frequent they had experienced corruption in the past year.

Specifically, they were asked about how many times they had to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour to a government official in order to obtain a document or a service. It was presented as follows: 'In the past year, how often (if ever) have you had to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour to government officials in order to: (A) Get a document or a permit? (B) Get a child into school? (C) Get a household service (like piped water, electricity, or phone)? (D) Get medicine or medical attention? (E) Avoid problem with police?' For each item, the responses were 0=Never, 1=Once or Twice, 2=A Few Times, 3=Often, 7=No experience with this in the past year. In addition to these items, the survey contained a sixth item which taps on whether the individual had been at the receiving end of corrupt behaviors. It was worded as follows: '(F) And during the [20xx] election, how often (if ever) did a candidate or someone from a political party offer you something, like food or a gift, in return for your vote?'¹⁷

Table 1. Variable definitions and summary statistics

Variable	Description	Mean	S. D	Range
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¹⁶ The original sample size was 25,397. However, after deleting missing observations for relevant variables, we arrived at 24,260 as the total number of observations used in this study

¹⁷ As contained in the survey, the last election was 2000 in Senegal and Tanzania; 2001 in Zambia; 2002 in Cape Verde, Kenya, Lesotho, Madagascar, Mali, and Uganda; 2003 in Benin and Nigeria; 2004 in Botswana, Ghana, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, and South Africa; and 2005 in Zimbabwe

Subject wellbeing	5-point variable indicating respondent's "present living conditions" (1=Very bad, 5=Very good)	2.61	1.19	1 – 5
Experienced corruption (index)	A summed score index of the extent to which the respondent experienced corruption	1.20	2.40	0 – 18
Experienced corruption (binary)	Unity if respondent had paid a bribe, given a gift, or done a favour for a government official to obtain a document or permit, get a place in a school for a child, household service, medicine or medical attention, avoid problem with the police or if respondent was received a gift or a favour from a candidate or someone from a political party to influence their vote; zero otherwise	0.34	0.47	0 – 1
Bribe for document or permit	Number of times respondent paid bribe, gave a gift, or did a favour for a government official to obtain a document or a permit (0 = Never or no experience, 1= Once or twice, 2= A few times, 3=Often	0.20	0.59	0 – 3
Bribe for school placement	Number of times respondent paid bribe, gave a gift, or did a favour for a government official to get a place for a child in school (0 = Never or no experience, 1= Once or twice, 2= A few times, 3=Often	0.12	0.45	0 – 3
Bribe for household service	Number of times respondent paid bribe, gave a gift, or did a favour for a government official to get a household service, for example, piped water, electricity, phone, etcetera. (0 = Never or no experience, 1= Once or twice, 2= A few times, 3=Often	0.13	0.62	0 – 3
Bribe for medical attention	Number of times respondent paid bribe, gave a gift, or did a favour for a government official to get medicine or medical attention (0 = Never or no experience, 1= Once or twice, 2= A few times, 3=Often	0.22	0.62	0 – 3
Bribe to avoid problem with the police	Number of times respondent paid bribe, gave a gift, or did a favour for a government official to avoid a problem with the police (0 = Never or no experience, 1= Once or twice, 2= A few times, 3=Often	0.21	0.63	0 – 3
Bribe to influence	Number of times respondent was given food or gift, etcetera. to	0.33	0.80	0 - 3

vote	influence their vote the last election permit (0 = Never or no experience, 1= Once or twice, 2= A few times, 3=Often			
Age	Age of respondent (in years)	36.61	14.80	18-130
Age ² /1000	Age of respondent squared and divided by 1000	1.56	1.32	0.32-16.90
Female	Unity if female; zero otherwise	0.50	0.50	0 – 1
Primary or no formal education	Unity if respondent's highest education completed is primary or if they had no formal education; zero otherwise	0.54	0.50	0 – 1
Secondary education	Unity if respondent had some or completed secondary education; zero otherwise	0.35	0.48	0 – 1
Post-secondary education	Unity if respondent had post-secondary education (for example, diploma or degree from a technical, polytechnic or college institution); zero otherwise	0.06	0.242	0 – 1
University education	Unity if respondent had some or completed university education and beyond; zero otherwise	0.04	0.46	0 – 1
Unemployed	Unity if respondent was unemployed; zero otherwise	0.30	0.46	
Catholic	Unity if Roman Catholic; zero otherwise	0.27	0.44	0 – 1
Protestant	Unity if Protestant (for example, Evangelical, Pentecostal, etcetera); zero otherwise	0.28	0.45	0 – 1
Muslim	Unity if Muslim; zero otherwise	0.20	0.40	0 – 1
Other religion	Unity if respondent was not Catholic, Protestant or Muslim; zero otherwise	0.26	0.44	0 – 1
Membership in voluntary organization	Unity if respondent is a member or leader of a voluntary organization, for example, trade union, farmers association, profession or business association, etcetera.; zero otherwise	0.26	0.44	0 – 1
Urban	Unity if respondent's town of residence is urban; zero otherwise	0.39	0.49	0 – 1

Rural	Unity if respondent's town of residence is rural; zero otherwise	0.61	0.49	0 – 1
Extent of democracy	Based on the question: In your opinion how much of a democracy is [Ghana/Kenya/etc.] today? 1=Not a democracy, 2=A democracy, with major problems, 3=A democracy, but with minor problems, 4=A full democracy.	2.80	0.89	1 - 4
Fear of crime	Based on the question: Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family: Feared crime in your own?" (Value Labels: 0=Never, 1=Just once or twice, 2=Several times, 3=Many times, 4=Always)	0.72	1.16	0-4

Because items A to F indicate how often the individual had to pay bribe, give a gift or do a favour in order to obtain a service, we consider these scenarios as instances in which the individual was a 'bribe victim.' On the other hand, we construe item F as indicating whether the respondent was a 'bribe recipient.' For each item, we combine the responses 'Never' and 'No experience with this in the past year' as 0 while the remainder of the responses retain their original values (see Justesen and Bjørnskov, 2014). Thus, each item ranges from 0 to 3. We then construct an index of experienced corruption in two ways. First, the partial correlations between these variables were all positive and significant at the 0.1 percent level with a Cronbach's alpha of 0.76 for these variables as a group. Thus, we consider experienced corruption as a latent construct underlying these items. Consequently, we compute a sum score of the six items so that experienced corruption ranges from 0 to 18.

Table 2. Correlation matrix

Variable	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
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(1) Bribe for document or permit	1.00					
(2) Bribe for school placement	0.41	1.00				
(3) Bribe for household service	0.40	0.44	1.00			
(4) Bribe for medical attention	0.37	0.40	0.39	1.00		
(5) Bribe to avoid problem with the police	0.44	0.32	0.39	0.40	1.00	
(6) Bribe to influence vote	0.27	0.20	0.23	0.28	0.312	1.00

Note: Cronbach's alpha for these variables as a group is 0.76. All correlations are positive and significant at the 0.1% level.

Our second measure of experienced corruption was created as a dummy variable equal to 1 if the respondent had *ever* experienced corruption with regards to any of the instances cited and zero if they had *never* experienced corruption at all. For instance, if the individual ever paid a bribe, or given a gift or done a favour to a government official in order to obtain a document or service, but did not do these for the other items, we still score experienced corruption as 1. Thus, the only way a respondent gets 0 for experienced corruption is if they had *never* experienced corruption at all as it pertains to the six items. For all 18 countries as a group, the average score on experienced corruption (index) was 1.20. As a binary variable, about 33.57 per cent of respondents had *ever* experienced corruption.

Control Variables

We control for numerous factors which scholars have identified as significant predictors of subjective wellbeing in the literature. These include demographic characteristics (age, gender, education, and employment status), religiosity and religious denomination, membership in voluntary organizations and whether the respondent lives in an urban area. Scholars have shown

that age is negatively correlated with wellbeing, and has a U-shaped relationship with it (Blanchflower and Oswald, 2004; Gerdtham and Johannesson, 2001; Frijters and Beaton, 2012). While some scholars argue that females are happier than males (Gerdtham and Johannesson, 2001; Mookerjee and Beron, 2005), others report that males are happier than females (Clark and Oswald, 1994). Yet, some studies report that there are no significant gender differences in levels of wellbeing (Lu et al., 1997; Sulemana, 2014). Education positively influences wellbeing (Witter et al., 1984; Gerdtham and Johannesson, 2001; Botha, 2013; Helliwell, 2003) while unemployment undermines wellbeing (Helliwell, 2003; Winkelmann, 2009; Gerlach and Stephan, 1996; Blanchflower and Oswald, 2004).

Some studies suggest that religious participation enhances wellbeing (Ellison, 1991; James, 2011; Pokimica et al., 2012). In Africa, religion permeates most parts of human endeavour (Pokimica et al., 2012). In particular, because social support systems are lacking, most people resort to religion in times of distress or hardship (Pokimica et al., 2012). Also, religious participation provides an avenue for people to network and socialize. Therefore, religion may positively influence wellbeing. Consequently, we control for the respondent's religious denomination. Scholars have also argued that social capital enhances wellbeing (Putnam, 2000; Helliwell and Putnam, 2004; Bjørnskov, 2003, 2008; Portela et al., 2013). As a measure of social capital, we include a variable that captures whether the individual is a member of voluntary organizations because it serves as an indicator of social interconnectedness and civic engagement (Putnam, 2000; Portela et al., 2013).

Finally, living in an urban area relative to a rural area may positively influence wellbeing for a number of reasons. First, in Africa, urban areas have more social amenities (better schools, electricity, infrastructure, health centers, etc.) than rural areas. Second, urban dwellers tend to have more education than rural people. Since education positively influences wellbeing, then living in urban areas may positively affect wellbeing too. Finally, poverty is often higher in rural areas than in urban areas (Poku and Mdee, 2011). Since income directly influences wellbeing, urban dwellers may report higher wellbeing levels than their rural counterparts (Sulemana, 2014).

Econometric Model

We follow the precedent of wellbeing scholars by treating the respondents living conditions as the dependent variable and experienced corruption as the explanatory variable while controlling for the variables discussed in the preceding section. Therefore, our econometric model is specified as follows:

$$SWB_{ij} = \alpha + \beta * CORRUPTION_{ij} + \gamma * \sum_{i=1}^n CONTROLS_{ij} + \delta_j + \varepsilon_{ij} \quad (1)$$

where SWB denotes subjective wellbeing, *CORRUPTION* is the individual's experiences of corruption, *CONTROLS* are the control variables, α is the intercept, β is the coefficient on corruption experiences, γ is a vector of coefficients for the control variables and ε is the error term. We include δ to capture country fixed effects to control for cross-national variations (for example, differences in culture or institutional quality, etcetera). By including country fixed effects, we are able to control for time-invariant within country heterogeneities, allowing us to focus on cross-national variations (see for example, Justesen and Bjørnskov, 2014). i and j index the individual and country, respectively. Since the dependent variable has 5 ordinal categories,

ordered probit regressions would be more ideal (Greene, 2003; Ronning and Kukuk, 1996).

However, Ferrer-i-Carbonell and Fijters (2004) show that subjective wellbeing regression results do not differ significantly whether we assume cardinality or ordinality of wellbeing scores. In addition, OLS estimates are easier to interpret. Therefore, we estimate equation (1) using both OLS and ordered probit.

Results and Discussion

Figure 1 illustrates the distribution of wellbeing by country. For each country, we compute the proportion of respondents who indicated that their living conditions were either fairly good or very good. These scores range from a low of 6.93 per cent in Zimbabwe to a high of 46.90 per cent in South Africa. Of the 18 countries, only three had more than 40% of their respondents indicating fairly good or very good living conditions. In addition to South Africa, 44.71 per cent of respondents in Nigeria and 43.83 per cent in Namibia indicated fairly good or very good living conditions. Interestingly, these countries were also among the countries that had the highest per capita income in 2006. For instance, South Africa ranked second with per capita income of \$5,404.95 while Namibia came third with \$3,787.22. Nigeria had only \$847.54 and was fifth.

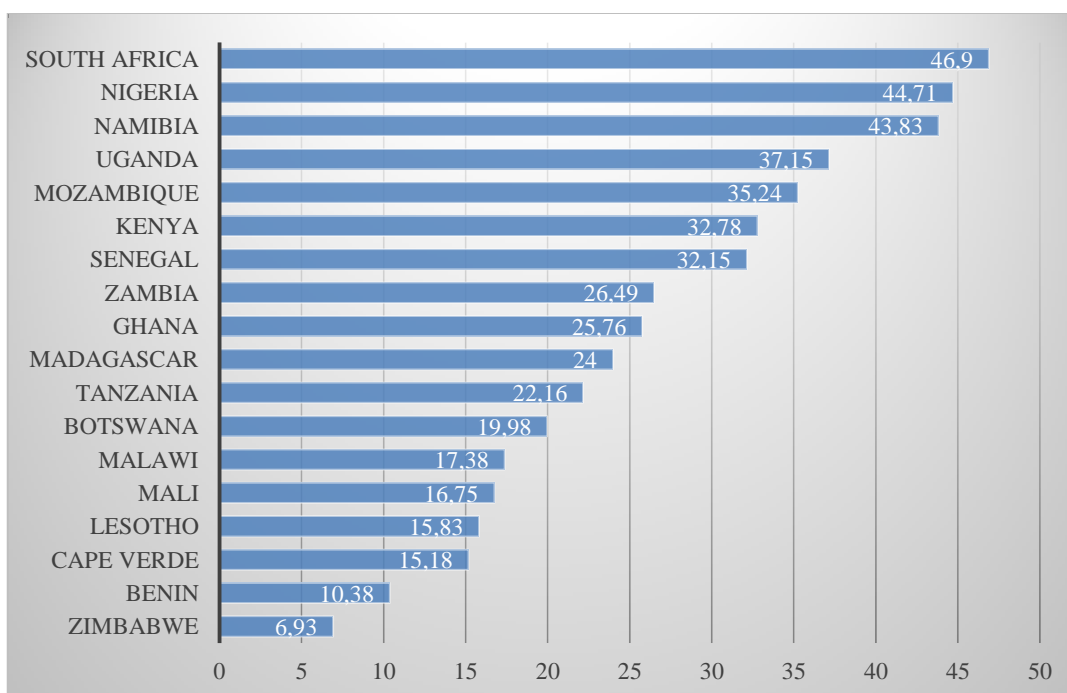


Figure 1. Proportion of respondents indicating 'Fairly good' or 'Very good' living conditions

On the other hand, the majority of the countries reporting the lowest wellbeing levels also had low GDP per capita. For example, Zimbabwe, Benin, Lesotho, Mali and Malawi and so forth all had GDP per capita below \$800. Thus, one may be tempted to conclude that the wealthiest countries in the sample also report the highest levels of wellbeing. Yet, when the proportion of respondents indicating fairly good or very good living conditions in each country are plotted against GDP per capita, the relationship is negative as shown on Figure 2. In fact, a dollar increase in GDP per capita corresponds to a 0.0012 decline in the proportion of respondents indicating fairly or very good living conditions. This contrasts sharply with the findings of Sulemana (2014). In that study, the author used the same dependent variable as in this study for 20 countries. However, the surveys (Afrobarometer round 4) were conducted in 2008. He observes that 'A unit increase in GDP per capita increases the percentage of respondents indicating 'Fairly good' or 'Very good'

by about 0.0006. Thus, it seems that the relationship between wellbeing and GDP per capita in Africa has changed dramatically between 2005 and 2008.

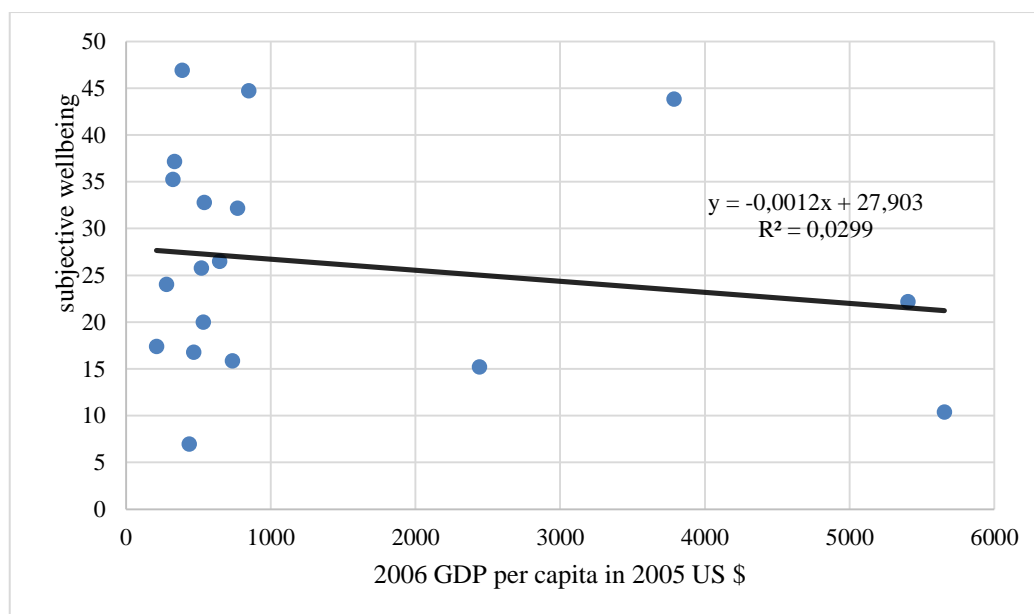


Figure 2. Relationship between country averages of subjective wellbeing and 2006 GDP per capita

Data Sources: Subjective wellbeing – Afrobarometer Round 3; GDP per capita – World Bank

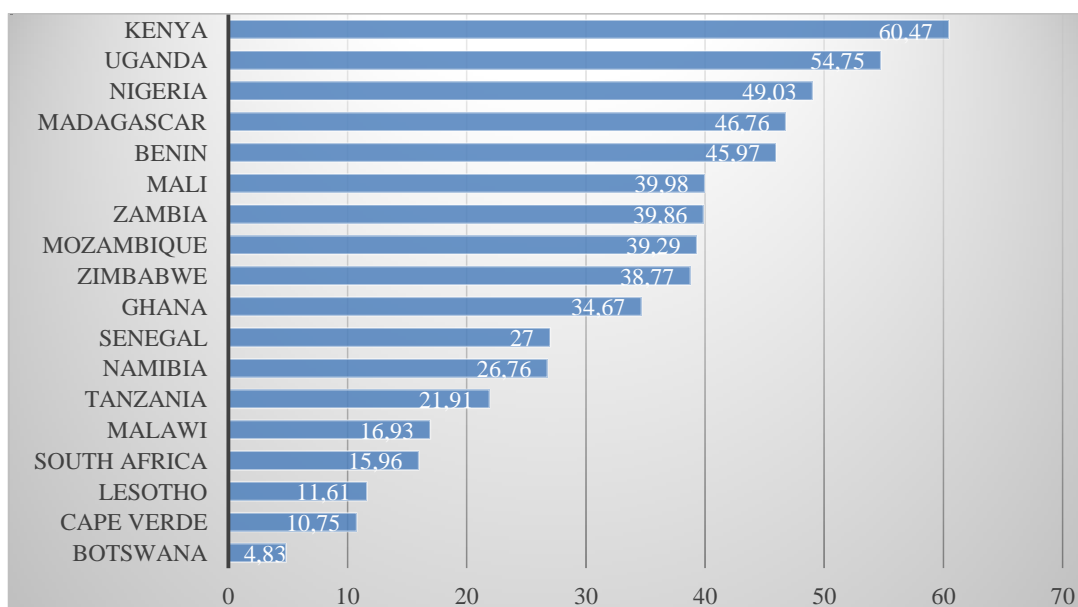


Figure 3. Proportion of respondents who have experienced corruption

Figure 3 reports the proportion of respondents in each country that had experienced corruption in the past year using experienced corruption as a binary variable. These scores range from the lowest of 4.83 per cent in Botswana to 49.03 per cent in Nigeria, 54.75 per cent in Uganda and 60.47 per cent in Kenya. Thus, like the variations in wellbeing scores, there are substantial differences in individual experiences of bribery across these countries.

We now turn to the regression results. First, we report the results for the effect of perceived corruption on wellbeing in Table 3 using the perceived corruption index. Models I and II are OLS regressions while Models III and IV are ordered probit. In Models I and III, we regressed wellbeing on experienced corruption while controlling for age, gender, education and so forth. However, country fixed effects were excluded from these models. Models II and IV extend Models I and III by including country fixed effects. The results for all these models suggest that experienced corruption is negatively and significantly correlated with subjective wellbeing at the 0.1 per cent level. A unit increase in experienced corruption reduces wellbeing by about 0.02 units (on a 5-point scale) in Model I, for instance. Thus, our results are consistent with the findings of previous studies indicating that bribery undermines individual wellbeing (Gillanders, 2011; Singer, 2013).

Table 3. Regression results for the effect of experienced corruption on subjective wellbeing

	I	II	III	IV
Variable	OLS	OLS	Ordered probit	Ordered probit

Experienced corruption (<i>index</i>)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.03*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.03*** (0.00)
Age	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.03)
Age ² /1000	0.17*** (0.03)	0.20*** (0.03)	0.15*** (0.03)	0.19*** (0.03)
Female	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)
Education (Primary or no formal education = <i>Reference</i>)				
Secondary education	0.31*** (0.02)	0.22*** (0.02)	0.28*** (0.02)	0.21*** (0.02)
Post-secondary education	0.57*** (0.03)	0.47*** (0.03)	0.51*** (0.03)	0.45*** (0.03)
University education	0.71*** (0.04)	0.57*** (0.04)	0.64*** (0.02)	0.54*** (0.04)
Employment status (Other = <i>Reference</i>)				
Unemployed	-0.17*** (0.02)	-0.19*** (0.02)	-0.15*** (0.02)	-0.18*** (0.02)
Religious denomination (Other religion = <i>Reference</i>)				
Catholic	0.10*** (0.02)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)	0.08*** (0.02)
Protestant	0.04* (0.02)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.04* (0.02)	0.089*** (0.02)
Muslim	0.26***	0.23***	0.24***	0.23***

	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Membership in voluntary organization (Non-member = <i>Reference</i>)				
Member	0.10*** (0.02)	0.14*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)	0.14*** (0.02)
City type (Rural = <i>Reference</i>)				
Urban	0.16*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)	0.14*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)
Country fixed effects	No	Yes	No	Yes
Adj-R ² / Pseudo – R ²	0.06	0.18	0.06	0.19
F-statistic / Likelihood Ratio	125.13***	176.93***	1512.93***	4876.16***

Note: Standard errors are in parentheses. N = 24260. * p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001

Aside from gender, all the control variables have their expected sign and are statistically significant. Age is positively and significantly correlated with wellbeing. It also has a U-shaped relationship with wellbeing. These results confirm the findings of previous studies (Blanchflower and Oswald, 2004; Gerdtham and Johannesson, 2001; Frijters and Beaton, 2012). Gender is positive but not significant at all. Therefore, this paper does not find support for the hypothesis that females are happier than men (Gerdtham and Johannesson, 2001; Mookerjee and Beron, 2005) or that men are happier than women (Clark and Oswald, 1994). This result is consistent with Sulemana (2014) on the effect of gender on wellbeing in Africa. Education directly influences wellbeing. Respondents who attained secondary, post-secondary, and university education reported significantly higher wellbeing levels than those who had only primary

education or did not have any formal education. The results reveal that the effect of education increases with level of educational attainment. While secondary education increases wellbeing by about 0.31 units on a 5-point scale, post-secondary and university education each increases wellbeing by about 0.57 and 0.71 units, respectively (Model I on Table 3).

Consistent with previous studies, we find that unemployment diminishes wellbeing (Helliwell, 2003; Winkelmann, 2009; Gerlach and Stephan, 1996; Blanchflower and Oswald, 2004). As mentioned earlier, religion affects almost every aspect of people's lives in Africa. Our results show that relative to people who belong to other religions or do not believe in God, Catholics, Protestants and Muslims report significantly higher levels of wellbeing. These findings corroborate the results of other scholars (Ellison, 1991; James, 2011; Pokimica et al., 2012). Membership in voluntary organizations is statistically significant at the 0.1 per cent level and increases wellbeing by between 0.10 and 0.14 units. Also, respondents who live in urban areas reported higher wellbeing levels than their rural counterparts. It may be that the relatively less poverty prevalence in urban areas (Poku and Mdee, 2011) or access to social amenities (Sulemana 2014) account for why residents in urban areas report higher wellbeing. Furthermore, urban dwellers generally have higher educational attainment. Since education positively influences wellbeing, this might partly explain why urban dwellers would report better living conditions than their rural counterparts.

As evident in Models I and II of Table 3, controlling for country fixed effects increases the wellbeing-reducing effect of experienced corruption by about 50 per cent (from 0.02 to 0.03). Including country fixed effects also increases the Adj- R^2 from 6 to 18 per cent. Considering the

fact that low Adj- R^2 s are typical in the happiness literature (for example Di Tella et al., 2008; Kuroki, 2013), our results indicate that unobserved country heterogeneities explain a lot of the variations in wellbeing. The F-statistics are also significant, suggesting that our models are valid. We also tested for multicollinearity by examining the variance inflation factors (VIFs) for Models I and II.¹⁸ All VIFs were below 4 (except Age and Age² which were about 25 each)¹⁹, suggesting that multicollinearity was absent.

Table 4 - Regression results for the effect of experienced corruption on subjective wellbeing

Variable	I	II	III	IV
	OLS	OLS	Ordered probit	Ordered probit
Experienced corruption (<i>binary</i>)	-0.14*** (0.02)	-0.13*** (0.02)	-0.12*** (0.02)	-0.12*** (0.02)
Age	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)
Age ² /1000	0.16*** (0.03)	0.20*** (0.03)	0.14*** (0.03)	0.19*** (0.03)
Female	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)
Education (Primary or no formal education = <i>Reference</i>)				
Secondary education	0.31*** (0.02)	0.22*** (0.02)	0.28*** (0.02)	0.21*** (0.02)

¹⁸ We do not report them here for economy of space

¹⁹ This is to be expected since we squared Age to obtain Age²

Post-secondary education	0.57*** (0.03)	0.47*** (0.03)	0.51*** (0.03)	0.45*** (0.03)
University education	0.71*** (0.04)	0.56*** (0.04)	0.64*** (0.04)	0.54*** (0.04)
Employment status (Other = <i>Reference</i>)				
Unemployed	0.71*** (0.02)	-0.19*** (0.02)	-0.15*** (0.02)	-0.18*** (0.02)
Religious denomination (Other religion = <i>Reference</i>)				
Catholic	0.11*** (0.02)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)	0.08*** (0.02)
Protestant	0.05* (0.02)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.04* (0.02)	0.08*** (0.02)
Muslim	0.27*** (0.02)	0.22*** (0.03)	0.24*** (0.02)	0.22*** (0.03)
Membership in voluntary organization (Non-member = <i>Reference</i>)				
Member	0.10*** (0.02)	0.14*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)	0.14*** (0.02)
City type (Rural = <i>Reference</i>)				
Urban	0.16*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)	0.14*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)
Country fixed effects	No	Yes	No	Yes
Adj-R ² / Pseudo – R ²	0.06	0.18	0.06	0.19

F-statistic / Likelihood Ratio	126.78***	176.32***	1531.43***	4859.47***
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Note: Experienced corruption is a dummy variable equal to 1 if the respondent has ever paid a bribe and zero otherwise. N = 24260. Standard errors are in parentheses. * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

We also regressed subjective wellbeing on the binary measure of experienced corruption. The results are presented in Table 5. The results are qualitatively identical to those reported in Table 3 for both OLS and ordered probit models when we exclude or include country fixed effects. In all four models, experienced corruption has a negative and significant effect on wellbeing. All the control variables have the same signs as those reported in Table 3, and are all statistically significant with the exception of gender. Therefore, we conclude that experiences of corruption undermine people's wellbeing regardless of whether they were a victim or a recipient of such corrupt acts.

Table 5. OLS regressions showing the effect of each bribery category on subjective wellbeing

Variable	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Bribe for document or permit	-0.07*** (0.01)					
Bribe for school placement		-0.06*** (0.02)				
Bribe for household service			-0.05*** (0.02)			
Bribe for medical				-0.08***		

attention				(0.01)		
Bribe to avoid problem with the police					-0.06*** (0.01)	
Bribe to influence vote						-0.08*** (0.01)
Age	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.03*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)
Age ² /1000	0.20*** (0.03)	0.20*** (0.03)	0.21*** (0.03)	0.21*** (0.03)	0.21*** (0.03)	0.20*** (0.03)
Female	0.02 (0.02)	0.03 (0.01)	0.03 (0.01)	0.03 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)
Education (Primary or no formal education = <i>Reference</i>)						
Secondary education	0.22*** (0.02)	0.21*** (0.02)	0.21*** (0.02)	0.21*** (0.02)	0.22*** (0.02)	0.22*** (0.02)
Post-secondary education	0.47*** (0.03)	0.46*** (0.03)	0.46*** (0.03)	0.46*** (0.03)	0.47*** (0.03)	0.47*** (0.03)
University education	0.71*** (0.03)	0.56*** (0.04)	0.56*** (0.04)	0.56*** (0.04)	0.57*** (0.04)	0.56*** (0.04)
Country fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Adj-R ²	0.18	0.18	0.18	0.18	0.18	0.18
F-statistic	175.06***	168.73***	173.98***	175.44***	174.62***	176.94***

Note: Each regression includes the other control variables as reported on Table 3. N = 24260.

Standard errors are in parentheses. * p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001

Finally, for further analyses of the effect of experienced corruption on wellbeing, we decomposed the effect by testing how each component of experienced corruption is correlated with wellbeing. Table 4 reports the results for this exercise. Because of the correlations among these variables (see Table 2), each measure is tested separately of the other measures while controlling for the same set of control variables as reported in Table 3. As shown on Table 4, each of the experienced corruption components has a negative and significant effect on well-being. Each is negative and significant at the 0.1 per cent level. The effect on wellbeing ranges from 0.05 to 0.08 units on a 5-point scale. Corruption associated with obtaining a document or permit, getting a place for a child in school and getting a household service reduced wellbeing by 0.07, 0.06 and 0.05 units. The wellbeing-reducing effect is 0.08, 0.06, and 0.08 units for corruption with respect to getting medicine or medical attention, avoiding a problem with the police, and incentive to influence vote, respectively.

The result that people who were bribed or given a gift to influence their vote in the last election reported lower levels of wellbeing is interesting. We would expect that people who receive bribe would report a positive effect. For example, some scholars suggest that unethical behavior may actually yield benefits for the perpetrator (Ruedy, et al., 2013; Schweitzer & Gibson 2008). Yet the results here indicate that being a bribe recipient also reduces wellbeing consistent with the results for giving bribe, and so forth. It may be that bribe recipients suffer some psychological costs because they feel their sense of independent mindedness has been compromised (Welsch, 2008; Giacalone and Promislo, 2010; Singer, 2013; Gillanders, 2011) or that receiving a bribe is immoral or unethical (James, 2011).

5. Wellbeing and experienced corruption: A potential endogeneity problem?

So far, we have assumed that bribery negatively influences wellbeing. However, there is reason to believe that wellbeing may negatively influence bribe-giving or bribe-taking. For instance, it may be that public officials who take bribes do so because they suffer some economic hardship (which causes lower well-being). Therefore, taking bribes would reduce such hardship and improve their wellbeing, *ceteris paribus*.²⁰ This is particularly true in African countries where public sector wages are mostly meager and public officials supplement their incomes by taking bribes (see e.g., Mbaku, 2010). Thus, there may be an endogeneity problem in our examination of the relationship between wellbeing and experienced corruption.

To address this potential endogeneity problem, we estimate two-stage least squares (2SLS) regressions using wellbeing and experienced corruption as dependent variables. Such estimation requires the use of instrumental variables. Our analyses follow the precedent of Sulemana (2015) in which simultaneity between subjective wellbeing and *perceived* corruption was addressed. Because democratically advanced countries are more likely to have institutions that monitor and punish public officials that engage in corruption (Gupta et al., 2002), it is argued that extent of democracy in a country is both a good instrumental variable for and predictor of corruption (Gupta et al., 2002; Treisman, 2000). We operationalize extent of democracy by examining the survey question that asked respondents to indicate the extent to which they believe their country is a democracy.²¹

²⁰ We are grateful to an anonymous referee who pointed this out to us and suggested that we test for endogeneity.

²¹ The question was presented as follows: In your opinion how much of a democracy is [Ghana/Kenya/etc.] today? 1=Not a democracy, 2=A democracy, with major problems, 3=A democracy, but with minor problems, 4=A full democracy.

The literature demonstrates a significant effect of fear of crime and crime victimization on subjective wellbeing (e.g., Di Tella et al. 2008; Powdthavee 2005; Kuroki 2013; Sulemana 2014. However, Sulemana (2015) argues that “there is no reason to believe that fear of crime would be correlated with perceived corruption.” Similarly, it could be argued that the decision to give or take a bribe is not necessarily influenced by fear of crime. Consequently, fear of crime may be a good instrumental variable for subjective wellbeing. A common rule of thumb for checking instrument strength is that the F-statistic in the first stage regression be higher than or equal to 10. As shown by the results here (see Table 6), all F-statistics are higher than 10. Therefore, we argue that our instruments are valid.

Table 6. 2SLS estimation results for subjective well-being and experienced corruption as dependent variables

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
	Subjective well-being		Experienced corruption (Index)		Subjective well-being		Experienced corruption (Binary)	
Variable	First stage	Second stage	First stage	Second stage	First stage	Second stage	First stage	Second stage
Experienced corruption		-0.85*** (0.08)				-4.63*** (0.46)		
Subjective well-being				-4.52*** (0.79)				-0.66*** (0.12)
Age	0.02*** (0.01)	-0.02*** (0.01)	-0.02*** (0.00)	0.02 (0.04)	0.01*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.01)	-0.02*** (0.00)	0.00* (0.00)
Age ² /1000	-0.32*** (0.07)	0.20** (0.07)	0.16*** (0.03)	-0.27 (0.16)	-0.09*** (0.01)	0.20** (0.07)	0.16*** (0.03)	-0.08** (0.03)
Female	-0.30*** (0.04)	0.05 (0.03)	0.06*** (0.02)	-0.30*** (0.09)	-0.06*** (0.07)	0.05 (0.04)	0.06*** (0.02)	-0.06*** (0.01)
Secondary education	0.10* (0.04)	0.38*** (0.04)	0.40*** (0.02)	0.10 (0.10)	0.02* (0.01)	0.38*** (0.04)	0.40*** (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Post-secondary	0.43***	0.67***	0.68***	0.43	0.06***	0.67***	0.68***	0.06*

education	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.03)	(0.17)	(0.01)	(0.07)	(0.03)	(0.03)
University education	0.56*** (0.09)	0.81*** (0.08)	0.82*** (0.04)	0.60** (0.21)	0.07*** (0.02)	0.81*** (0.87)	0.82*** (0.04)	0.08* (0.03)
Instrument								
Extent of democracy	-0.19*** (0.12)				-0.04*** (0.00)			
Fear of crime			-0.05*** (0.01)				-0.05*** (0.01)	
Intercept	0.97*** (0.14)	3.92*** (0.17)	2.91*** (0.06)	12.66*** (2.150)	0.28***	4.44*** (0.21)	2.91*** (0.06)	1.98*** (0.33)
Adj-R ²	0.04	0.02	0.06	0.01	0.05	0.02	0.06	0.01
F-statistic	66.15***	31.71***	118.49***	12.72***	72.24***	29.96***	118.49***	19.72***

Note: In addition to the control variables reported here, we controlled for employment status, religious denomination, membership in voluntary

organizations and the city size of the respondent. N = 19,209. Standard errors are in parentheses. * p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.00

Table 6 reports the results for the two-stage least squares regressions. If indeed there is an endogenous relationship between wellbeing and experienced corruption, then the second stage regression results should show a negative and significant effect of experienced corruption on wellbeing, and a negative and significant effect of wellbeing on experienced corruption. Consistent with earlier discussions, columns I-IV show the equations in which the experienced corruption index is used while columns V-VIII use a binary measure of experienced corruption. The results of the second stage regressions show that experienced corruption has a negative and significant effect on wellbeing (see columns II and VI) while wellbeing has a negative and significant effect on experienced corruption (see columns IV and VIII). Therefore, we conclude that there is a bicausal relationship among wellbeing and experienced corruption. In other words, while corruption may reduce an individual's wellbeing, it is also the case that lower wellbeing may be a reason why people engage in corrupt practices in the first place.

6. Summary and Conclusion

The economic consequences of corruption have been widely studied (Acemoglu and Verdier, 2000; Aidt, 2003; Mo, 2001; Olken, 2006, 2009; Gyimah-Brempong, 2002; Lambsdorff, 2003; Mauro, 1995; Montinola and Jackman, 2002; Rose-Ackerman, 1999). How corruption affects happiness has also received a substantial amount of attention (Helliwell, 2003; Tavits, 2008; Kim and Kim, 2012; Samanni and Holmberg, 2010). However, these studies mostly use corruption perceptions and address the corruption - subjective wellbeing nexus as a macro level phenomenon. Very few studies have examined how bribery (that is, experienced corruption) affects wellbeing of people (see for example Singer, 2013; Gillanders, 2011). This study empirically investigates the effect of bribery on individual wellbeing in Sub-Saharan Africa. In doing so, we operationalize experienced

corruption in several respects. First, we construct bribery as an index of five instances of bribe victimization and one instance of bribe taking. Results from OLS and ordered probit regressions indicate that experienced corruption is negatively and significantly associated with wellbeing at the 0.1 per cent level. Further, we construct experienced corruption as a binary variable if a respondent has ever experienced bribery (giving or taking) in the past year. Our regression results are consistent with the results when we operationalize experience corruption as an index. Thus, individual experiences of corruption undermine their wellbeing. Additionally, we test each of the six instances of bribery separately. The results reveal that each instance of bribery diminishes wellbeing. Interestingly, people who received bribe, a gift, or favour from a candidate or someone from political party to influence their vote also reported lower wellbeing. Thus, our results suggest that bribery hurts wellbeing irrespective of whether the individual is a victim or recipient. Finally, our analyses suggest a bicausal relationship among well-being and experienced corruption.

Our study is not without limitations. First, by including country fixed effects, we are able to increase the amount of variation in individual wellbeing our models are able to explain. For example, controlling for country fixed effects increases the Adj- R^2 from 6 per cent in Model I to 18 per cent in Model II on Table 3. This indicates that about 82 per cent of the total variation in individual wellbeing remains unexplained by the model. It is argued that such variation is largely attributable to unobserved individual characteristics such as personality and psychological traits that are often not included in surveys (see for example Kuroki, 2013). Thus, future research could incorporate personality and psychological traits that may affect the relationship between bribery experiences and wellbeing.

Second, the kinds of bribery incidents studied here tap into ‘bureaucratic corruption’ (Justesen and Bjørnskov, 2014) or ‘administrative corruption’ (Knack, 2007) as they reflect corruption experiences of ordinary people. Indeed, Blundo and Olivier de Sardan (2006) refer to these types of bribe occurrences as ‘petty corruption’, noting that ‘Daily life in Africa is governed by the ‘petty’ corruption of public officials in services such as health, transport, or the judicial system.’ Thus, our study does not cover other more serious forms of bribery such as “grand corruption” in which heads of state, ministers, senior government officials, etcetera, use their power to exploit entrepreneurs, drug barons and representatives of transnational corporations or even local chiefs (Doig and Theobald, 1999; Justesen and Bjørnskov, 2014). Thus, future research could also examine how other forms of corruption say, grand corruption, affect individual wellbeing.

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Marketing History: Thought and Practice II

Ethics in Target Market Selection: A Historical Perspective

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Abstract

Macromarketers have been concerned about ethics in marketing for several decades, one indication of academic activism. This paper focuses on the history of interest in ethics in target market selection and related research in consumer vulnerability. While much progress has been made in understanding the vulnerability that many groups face in the marketplace, the fundamental trade-off between protecting at-risk consumers vs. not labeling or marginalizing segments of consumers remains. Key questions are posed regarding the directions for future research in this thorny area.

Introduction

Ethical target market selection has been area of research in marketing for decades. With the introduction of Facebook, Twitter, and other means of targeting consumers, target marketing is a macromarketing systematic issue that demands macromarketing researchers to be proactive in solving ethical issues related to target market selection and consumer vulnerability. With many ways to target consumer groups of a few or even one, issues of inclusion and exclusion and consumer vulnerability are paramount to ethical target market selection.

In his book, *The Theory of Monopolistic Competition*, Chamberlin (1933) recognized heterogeneous demand as market segmentation rather than market imperfection and thereby introduced the concept of “product differentiation” as a strategy for gaining competitive advantage. As discussed by Klein (2010), this concept was “generally attributed to Edward Chamberlin [1933] and developed by Joe Bain [1959] whereby marketers sought a competitive advantage by claiming improvements in value assumed to be attractive to the majority of potential consumers” (p. 571).

In the growing consumer economy in the United States (U.S.) after World War II, Wendell Smith (1956) identified alternative strategies of product differentiation and market segmentation as more effective approaches to responding to divergent demand, relying upon naturally occurring market segments as mechanisms for defining market differences. Smith recognized that economic theories of perfect competition and pure monopoly had become inadequate for the current market situation where heterogeneity of demand had become the rule rather than the exception.

As the field of marketing continued to diverge from economics, adopting theory from other social sciences such as psychology, sociology, and anthropology, market segmentation and target market selection strategies became basic concepts in introductory marketing courses. The concept of market segmentation was further illuminated through research into criteria and bases for segmentation. Specific strategies were recognized as mass marketing, multi-segment, or niche market approaches.

More recently, technology has led to further advances and refinements in companies' segmentation strategies, creating vast amounts of data that allow companies, such as

Facebook, to target micro segments or customize offers to individual “segments of one.” Mobile apps give marketers the ability to locate consumers in real time to offer coupons or other deals when they are in the vicinity of a retail outlet. The Internet makes narrow segments accessible to companies that were not cost-effective to serve via physical locations.

These developments have made target marketing more sophisticated and efficient. They have also made possible greater abilities for marketers to engage in unethical practices and/or take advantage of consumers who may experience vulnerability in the marketplace. The purpose of this historical study is to trace the historical evolution of target market selection through the lenses of ethics and consumer vulnerability. Certainly the history of the world is rampant with examples of snake oil salesmen and scams. In this paper, we will focus on the historical discussion of ethics and consumer vulnerability in target market strategies within the marketing literature. We examine this issue from a macromarketing perspective, emphasizing the roles of business, government, and consumer advocacy groups in reconciling ethical issues in marketing practice.

Evolution of Ethics in Target Market Selection

Early recognition that market segmentation and target market selection sometimes brought about dysfunctional effects were reported by Caplovitz (1963) and Andreassen (1975). While earlier consumer protection movements in the U.S. focused on egregious industry actions and standards (or lack of standards) (leading to the Securities and Exchange Commission Act, the Sherman Act, the Robinson-Patman Act, the Federal Trade Commission Act, etc.), the movement of the 1960s was heralded by President John F.

Kennedy's 1962 message on Protecting the Consumer Interest (1963), in which he enunciated the consumer's four rights: (1) the right to safety, (2) the right to be informed, (3) the right to choose, and (4) the right to be heard. These rights broadly apply to everyone but set the stage for the realization of power imbalances in the marketplace that are experienced differently among market segments. These rights also set forth research based on the ethics of disadvantaged consumers. Reed Moyer's (1972) book, *Macro Marketing: A Social Perspective*, included a chapter on "ghetto marketing," explicitly illustrating how groups of consumers' differential experiences disadvantaged them.

Early work in marketing ethics identified ethical frameworks for analyzing marketing ethics (Laczniak 1983) and incorporating ethics into the organization (Laczniak and Murphy 1985). The first edition of Laczniak and Murphy's (1985) marketing ethics book outlined key areas of concern, such as advertising, sales, pricing, and market research. Later editions specifically addressed market segmentation and ethical concerns in target market practices (Murphy, Laczniak, Bowie and Klein 2005). Additionally, Hunt and Vitell (1986) developed a prescriptive marketing ethics model to help decision makers make ethical decisions. The main point of their work was the development of a positive theory of ethical decision making, compared to past normative theoretical models.

During the mid to late 1900s, marketing researchers raised various issues that relate to ethics and target markets, particularly with disadvantaged consumers. Besides Caplovitz (1963) and Andreasen's (1975) concerns about disadvantaged consumers, a great deal of attention was given to children, particularly regarding advertising targeted to them and unhealthy products created for them (sugared cereals, for example) (Barcus 1980, Paine 1993). Laczniak and Murphy (1993) suggested that groups such as children, the elderly,

and “market illiterates” (such as immigrants) might require special attention. It was noted by Smith and Quelch (1993) that public criticism of segmentation strategies seemed to be related to the types of products marketed; for example, targeting minority groups for alcohol and tobacco products sometimes elicited protest while targeting the same groups for low-interest home loans generally did not. Smith and Quelch (1993) also make the point that there may be both “inclusion” and “exclusion” issues: targeting a broader population when some people are not the audience for the product may create annoyance and frustration, while excluding people who might want the product has ethical implications as well.

Two studies explicitly examining ethics in target market selection were published in 1997: (1) Smith and Cooper-Martin’s empirical piece in the *Journal of Marketing*, and (2) Rittenburg and Parthasarathy’s conceptual piece applying Harris and Carman’s (1983, 1984) work on market failures to the issue of target market selection. Subsequently, several studies were published examining ethical issues in targeting specific segments (Ahuja, Walker and Tadepalli 2001; Bernthal 2003; Bowen 1998; Brenkert 1998; Chiang and Jackson 2012; Dewhirst, Lee, Fong, and Ling 2015; Newton, Newton, Turk, and Ewing 2013; Szmigin and O’Loughlin 2009; Szmigin and O’Loughlin 2010; Wilson and Till 2016) and more general studies examining approaches for ethical analysis related to target market selection (Cui and Choudhury 2003; Rittenburg, Valentine, and Parthasarathy 2006; Valentin 2011).

Consumer Vulnerability

Intricately related to ethics in target market selection is the concept of consumer vulnerability. Over the decades, researchers have come to use consumer vulnerability as a

lens for ethical target market selection debate. Both Smith and Cooper-Martin (1997) and Rittenburg and Parthasarathy (1997) in their original papers regarding ethics in target market selection, as well as Laczniaak and Murphy (1985) in their book on marketing ethics, raised the issue of vulnerable consumers. Interestingly, in a later study examining the effects of perceptions of product harm and consumer vulnerability on ethical evaluations of target marketing strategies, Jones and Middleton (2007) found contradictory results to Smith and Cooper-Martin's (1997) findings, suggesting that consumer vulnerability may only be relevant if consumers can accurately identify product harm. Ringold (1995) described the concept of consumer vulnerability as "somewhat illusive" (p. 584), and Brenkert (1998) called it "complex and slippery" (p. 7).

While, according to Baker, Gentry and Rittenburg (2005), any consumer can experience vulnerability in the marketplace, criticisms of targeting particular groups relate to the probability that those groups are at higher risk of vulnerability than others in a given population. Baker et al. (2005) developed a process model, based on extant literature, examining antecedents to the experience of vulnerability, the experience itself, and responses to the experience by consumers and the market. Baker and Mason (2012) further refined this model to include a triggering event that initiates the experience of vulnerability as well as ongoing tensions in resolving the vulnerability. Commuri and Ekici's (2008) response to Baker et al. called for a focus on at-risk populations, but Ringold (2005) argued against curtailing consumer prerogatives to protect vulnerable populations, instead advocating better K-12 and adult basic education reform to better prepare all consumers for the marketplace. In 2007, Baker and Gentry further argued against labeling a group of people as vulnerable, suggesting that to do so focuses on one dimension of people's selves that puts them into a minority group and marginalizes them.

This thinking is consistent with Ringold's (1995) assertion that vulnerability implies that targeted groups exhibit diminished capacity. Moreover, Baker et al. (2005) identified numerous antecedents contributing to consumers' experiences of vulnerability in a consumption context, individual characteristics composing only one category of factors.

A wealth of research into the nature of consumer vulnerability and factors contributing to it has proliferated, including literacy (Adkins and Jae 2010; Adkins and Ozanne 2005) or adequate education for the knowledge-based economy (Hogg, Howells, and Milman 2007), physical impairments (Baker, Stephens and Hill 2001; Baker and Kaufman-Scarborough 2001; Kaufman-Scarborough and Childers 2009; Pavia and Mason 2004, 2014), developmental disability (Mansfield and Pinto 2008), immigrant status (Peñaloza 1995), motherhood (VOICE Group 2010), gender identity (McKeage, Crosby, and Rittenburg 2015), rural versus urban status (Wang and Tian 2014), natural or human disaster (Baker 2009; Baker, Hunt and Rittenburg 2007; DeLorme, Zinkhan, and Scott 2004; Ikeuchi, Fujihara, and Dohi 1999; Manfredo and Shultz 2007; Sayre 1994; Shultz, Burkink, Grbac, and Renko 2005), effects of aging on elderly consumers (Alves and Wilson 2008; Lee and Geistfeld 1999; Leventhal 1997; Moschis, Mosteller, and Fatt 2011; Sudbury-Riley 2014), and susceptibility to scams and fraud (Langenderfer and Shimp 2001; Lee and Soberon-Ferrer 1997). Both Brenkert (2013) and Pavia and Mason (2014) note the temporal aspect of vulnerability, asserting that there may be differences between temporary and permanent conditions that contribute to vulnerability. The recent publication of a book on consumer vulnerability (Hamilton, Dunnett and Piacentini 2016) underscores the interest in this topic and activism on the part of academics to better understand and identify solutions to the vulnerability experienced by a variety of consumers in the marketplace.

Some of these authors have adopted the Baker et al. (2005) definition of consumer vulnerability as an imbalance of power in the marketplace. Shultz and Holbrook (2009) proffer the concepts of cultural and economic capital as mechanisms by which vulnerability is experienced. Stearn (2016) identifies consumer vulnerability as market failure, an echo of the Rittenburg and Parthasarathy (1997) approach to thinking about the issue of ethics in target market selection and considerations of at-risk populations.

Although macro solutions for responding to or preventing consumer vulnerability still elude us, progress has been made in several areas over the last couple of decades:

- Better understanding of the nature of consumer vulnerability, its causes and effects.
- Identifying a basic process model of consumer vulnerability, as well as suggested refinements to the model.
- Huge growth in research in the area, leading to a better understanding of the consumer vulnerability experienced among a wide array of groups and segments of society.

Current Thinking: A Macromarketing Perspective

Based on the history of ethics and target market selection, what does this mean for macromarketing researchers today? Current thinking is, of course, all over the map. From a macro perspective, different societies identify different remedies to market failures or problems in the marketplace. Most societies provide special protections for children, but adults are intended to be treated as equals in the marketplace. What some of the consumer vulnerability research has uncovered is a lack of equality in the marketplace,

where groups such as racial or ethnic minorities, transgender consumers, or those with physical impairments are treated differently by service providers (Brenkert 1997; McKeage, Crosby and Rittenburg 2015; Pavia and Mason 2004, 2014; Smith and Cooper-Martin 1997). As Eliza Doolittle noted in the movie *My Fair Lady*, “The difference between a flower girl and a lady isn’t in the way she behaves, it is in the way she is treated.” As Baker et al. (2005) point out, antecedents of the vulnerability experience include individual characteristics, such as biophysical or psychosocial differences; individual states, such as grief, mood, life transition; and external conditions, such as discrimination, repression, stigmatization, distribution of resources, and physical and logistical elements. However, who is a vulnerable consumer to one is not to another; the consumer may not even feel he or she is vulnerable (Baker et al. 2005). Therefore, ethical target market selection is a very difficult endeavor. Marketers have little to no control over individual characteristics or states, but often have a level of influence over some of the external conditions, and certainly have control over the consumption context in which vulnerability is experienced. Exercise of that control to create safe and welcoming market contexts and “level the playing field” for marginalized groups in societies is an active role that marketers can take.

Mindful of the cautions of Baker and Gentry (2007) and Ringold (1995) against over-protecting consumers, public policy makers tread a fine line between protecting consumers at risk of experiencing vulnerability and maintaining freedom of choice and access to information and products in the marketplace. Brenkert (2013) noted that a morally justified market requires (1) free competition, (2) open competition, and (3) deception or fraud are not used in market competition. Are these characteristics adequate

in the face of what we know of consumer vulnerability? The onus appears to be on marketers to determine an ethical path through a complex maze.

Despite progress over the last 20 years or so, key questions remain:

- To what extent can segments be identified who experience greater consumer vulnerability?
- To what extent can more vulnerable segments be protected through government policies or business self-regulation without “overprotecting” in ways that curtail individual rights and dignity?
- How can vulnerable consumers be protected when consumers can go in and out of vulnerability, and when they may not even identify as being vulnerable?
- When does target selecting a few consumers or even one consumer become unethical?
- What is the role of government in establishing public policies to address these issues?
- What is the role of consumer advocacy groups in reconciling ethical issues in target market selection?
- What is the role of marketers in using market segmentation tools responsibly?

There are trade-offs between effectiveness and privacy, efficiency and harm, consumer choice and consumer vulnerability. What guidance can we give marketers?

Where Do Macromarketers Go From Here?

The field of marketing has come a long way in its sophistication since Chamberlin's discoveries. As illustrated, target market selection has a large historical base of literature, related to ethical issues, disadvantaged consumers, and vulnerable consumers. The use of targeted marketing has been developed and refined to the profit of businesses and, at least in some cases, the benefit of consumers. Technology has played an important role in aiding development of these segmentation and targeting tools.

Consumer vulnerability is one of the dysfunctional side effects identified by macromarketers as an area of concern, and target market selection relates to this phenomenon. Future academic activism is needed to gain a clearer understanding of this phenomenon and to find viable solutions to its negative effects, without trampling on individual rights. An ethical response has been called for by some macromarketing scholars (Klein 2010; Rittenburg and Parthasarathy 1997). Additionally, Brenkert (2010) argued that a major challenge business ethics faces is the lack of an account of business organizations as they ethically develop and change both individually and systemically within social and political conditions.

While this paper is not a "guide" to ethical target marketing, it provides a historical perspective that macromarketing scholars can use to focus future research interests. Through an examination of market segmentation, marketing ethics, and consumer vulnerability, this analysis provides a structure based on the debate of individual and business rights vs. protecting vulnerable consumers. Although it will likely always be a fuzzy area, researchers, business leaders, and governmental policy makers need to

understand the history of target market selection to make ethical and informed decisions going forward. Academic activism may be a key to keeping these issues in front of researchers.

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From Hell to Heaven: The Transformation of the Brand of Wilderness

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At the time of this paper, the United States is well into its 51st year of codified Wilderness. Signed into law by President Johnson on September 3, 1964, the Wilderness Act was the first time in history that a nation put forth a legal definition of what constituted “Wilderness,” and, moreover, declared that such areas were of a higher value and required protections. However, while America has proudly marketed its wilderness as the nation’s greatest resource since the founding of the country, what this resource was and was for has changed drastically (Nash 1965; Oelschlaeger 1991; Cronon 1996). This tension of wilderness purpose and the citizen-consumer relationship with wilderness has never been a stable affair, but has rather been a dynamic, evolving relationship vacillating between antagonism and symbiosis. Additionally, the perceived value of designated wilderness has created tensions among many different citizen-consumer stakeholders. Fifty years on, the tensions over an official wilderness policy that seems to preference environments over people doesn’t seem any closer to being resolved. It only makes sense that such tension would only increase, as population in the United States has nearly doubled—from 191.89 million to 321.19 million—since the passage of the Wilderness Act of 1964 (census.gov). There is only so much space within the United States, and the identity of the United States has historically been tied to the ability to sustain a growth defined as the development of previously uncultivated areas (Nash 1965). These tensions

create a robust and fascinating context for a study on the interactions of public policy, citizen-consumers, and brands within our lives and identities.

Within this article, I demonstrate that Wilderness, as it exists under legal framework, codified definition, and with a capital W, is a legacy brand. The product, a pristine ideal of pure nature is non-existent—and it is arguable if it ever existed as such (Cronon 1996)—and what exists as protected is much removed from the original brand of American wilderness created many centuries ago. So in order to defend Wilderness, wilderness advocates have adopted a complex branding that at once embodies what has been the United States' history with wilderness and what is hoped to be its future.

This dynamic branding of “wilderness” in the United States has led to the commodity of Wilderness evolving and taking on different autobiographical functions, as is often the case with attachment and meaning (Myers 1985; Kampter 1989; Kampter 1991). As such, American wilderness has been so successful as a brand that the idea and principle has been exported to other nations (Nash 1965), meaning that American Wilderness is a powerful symbol that conveys a wide range of subtextual meanings to a variety of citizen-consumers—domestically and internationally. Using Brand Attachment as a frame to analyze Wilderness allows for a greater exploration of the meaning of Wilderness to citizen-consumers, but additionally allows for a deeper understanding of boundary conditions for different types of attachment that consumers experience during consumption, as well as reveals exciting new perspectives for how to implement wilderness and environmental policy in the United States. The context of Wilderness consumption additionally can help establish how attachment can further citizen-consumer well being and quality of life. What is wilderness to the American consumer? There seems

to be shades of agreement—even from those against expanding designated wilderness—that value exists in the lands that have been set aside. Part of the branding campaign of Wilderness50 acknowledges this with their third organizational goal: “Connect with today's youth and with non-wilderness using groups to find the thread that ties their lives to wild places so they can more directly relate to, understand, and value, wilderness” (wilderness50th.org).

In this article, I plan to first outline the theoretical framework of brand attachment versus other forms of attachment. This will inform the history of the United States’ relationship with wilderness, and I will then establish how Wilderness—with a capital W—has become a branded commodity in the United States. I will then demonstrate that because of this commoditization, the consumption of Wilderness areas exemplifies a unique context of brand attachment wherein consumers of Wilderness tie it closely to their identity.

America has long prided itself, and attempted to set itself apart from Europe, on its vast resources. Whereas European history is recorded back thousands of years, the colonizers of North America chose to set the cultural clock to zero and thereby declared the fruitful plains as frontier and the natural bounty as endless. The earliest settlers, the Puritans, viewed the wilds they encountered as challenges from God and later settlers, such as Jonathan Edwards, viewed the places where the “howling wilderness” and evil forces of nature resided as places in need of civilizing (Allen 1889). This action put the value of North America in the opportunity to tame, in contrast to the much-tamed European continent (de Tocqueville 1831). Identity against the natural settings was as much an experiment in society as was the melting pot metaphor exported to the rest of the world. However, already by the latter part of the first century of America’s existence, the

unending resources seemed more finite. The finely delineated spheres of “man” and “nature” became much more blurred as the country’s history went on, and, in order to preserve a sense of self, a more fluid view of what constituted wilderness had to be adopted and adapted.

Whereas the once unending frontier represented the absence of God, by the time the transcendentalism of Emerson and Thoreau, and the Romantic paintings of Cole and Turner, came along in the mid-19th century, America’s wilds became the residence of God and an opportunity for man to reach a truer form. Combined with this new paradigm in nature appreciation was the fear of resource depletion. Forest reserves were set aside and incorporated into the Department of Agriculture as tree farms, so as to promote better management and conservation. Landmark legislation—with the help of railroads and the promise of tourism—created Yellowstone National Park on the fringes of civilized society in 1872. By the time of Frederick Jackson Turner’s *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* in 1893, the frontier had been broken. America had tamed and bridged the wilds, and what the nation had regarded as wilderness was largely lost. The American ethos, as Turner opined, was born out of the tension of forging civilization against the elements of nature, while also remaining slightly of nature. The loss of the frontier meant that what had been the American identity had to be massaged and redefined, and with it came a push to re-understand what once had been so seductively simple: Nature and Wilderness and their place in American society.

By mid-20th century, the United States had acknowledged the environment’s inability to absorb all of modern society’s outputs with the passage of the Air Pollution Control Act in 1955. However, around the same time a victory by environmentalists to save the Grand

Canyon from being dammed was overshadowed by the unexpected loss of Glen Canyon, just north of the Grand Canyon, to damming. The despair of losing Glen Canyon, followed shortly after by the announced project to create a dam in Echo Park—in the middle of Dinosaur National Monument—became the impetus to create permanent protections for certain lands in the United States.

Howard Zahniser, head of the Wilderness Society, drafted the first iteration of the Wilderness Act and presented it to Congress in 1956. Eight years, and numerous iterations, later President Johnson signed the Wilderness Act of 1964 into law. For the first time in history, wilderness had a legal definition.

The language of the Wilderness Act of 1964 created a new paradigm of Wilderness as a social product, a branded commodity, for the citizen-consumer to simultaneously protect and consume, against some self-interest while promoting new societal interests. Indeed, a new class of citizen-consumer was created with the commodification of Wilderness, and the consequence—good or bad—of these markets have yet to be fully studied. As Sax pointed out, nature becomes a kind of status as the modernity continues to strive against nature (Sax 1980).

Make no mistake, as has been laid out, Wilderness is not an actual place, an actual thing, nor an actual entity. The *Wil doer*—that which is uncultivated and exists outside the realm of humankind—does not exist anymore (if not overtly, then by act of climate). All that Wilderness is, all that we struggle to protect and enjoy and cherish, is a brand. It's the surrounding ideas and feelings that encompass the brand name. When we go to wilderness, we want solitude and beauty, much like when we buy a pair of Levi's we want

quality and durability. What goes on behind the scenes in order to manufacture what the citizen-consumer consumes as wilderness is just as important to hide to protect the brand's image as it is for Nike to close sweatshops. Without the halo of wilderness, the lands we protect would be in danger and that in itself is a valuable tool of brand attachment. The brand of wilderness can survive in the 21st century, but in order to do so, it may, in fact, need the help of marketers and postmodern thought which so many within the wilderness advocacy network are hesitant to trust.

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A History of Gender Production and Reflection in the Fashion System in the Twentieth Century Through the Lens of Androgynous/Unisex Fashion

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Abstract

As a subsystem of the larger marketing system, the fashion system is both influenced by and influences society on many levels. Historically, fashion has strongly gendered elements, and yet we have also seen fashion engaged in the social movement to disrupt gender binaries. From blurring of lines in fashion to androgynous trends and agender clothing, this paper will examine gender identity in the fashion system over the past century.

In a historical analysis of unisex fashion in the late 1900s, Gottdiener (1977) noted that the middle space between classic male/female binary in clothing arose in conjunction with changes in women's roles following World War II. Analysis of gender identity and roles has progressed since then, and this paper examines the role of unisex/androgynous fashion history of the Twentieth Century through a similar lens, with updated perspectives on gender role shifts in society. In particular, we take a broad systems perspective to consider the factors intersecting to produce unisex/androgynous clothing and its acceptance in the marketplace. The "fashion system" involves designers/producers, retailers, celebrities/cultural leaders, and consumers; this paper

considers their various contributions to developments in fashion beyond the gender binary.

Our Obsolete Marketing Mentality

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Abstract

This paper begins by reflecting on my comments made during the Plenary Session on Macromarketing and Politics during the 2011 Macromarketing Conference. I pick up where I left off, with a comment, in a footnote, about Karl Polanyi. I then introduce Karl Polanyi to those not already familiar with him, before explaining how macromarketing fits his theoretical framework. I then explain why macromarketing ought not be afraid of embracing Polanyi and conclude by suggesting that when we accept papers for publication in the Journal of Macromarketing we insist that they be theoretically grounded but that as a discipline, macromarketing, itself, lacks theoretical grounding. As a consequence it becomes little more than an ad hoc collection of (sometimes) theoretically grounded articles and essays. The consequence is that we have internecine battles and, in the end, fall back to ground macromarketing in the discipline that we spend so much time distancing ourselves from. Karl Polanyi can help lead us out of this dark wood. Any new development in any discipline must have some continuity with some existing state of analysis to be recognizable as what it is. That applies to macromarketing, too. If we don't want that continuity to be with microeconomic theory, then we have to look elsewhere. I suggest we look toward Karl Polanyi.

A new development in physics, such as Albert Einstein's Special Theory of Relativity, must have some continuity with the existing state of physics that it advances and transforms; otherwise, it could not even be recognized as physics. Similarly, a new development in ethics, such as environmental ethics, must have some continuity with the existing state of ethics to be recognizable as ethics.

J. Baird Callicott and Robert Frodeman

I recently had the opportunity to review Fred Block and Margaret R. Somers' *The Power of Market Fundamentalism: Karl Polanyi's Critique* (2014). This provided me an opportunity to return to my intellectual roots. Let me explain by providing a little personal background.

As a master's student in anthropology I was particularly interested in economic anthropology and, in that context, was quite familiar with Polanyi and his studies of primitive and archaic economies, as George Dalton (1968) titled a collection of Polanyi essays. As a Ph.D. student in economics I considered writing my dissertation on Polanyi. I even traveled to Northwestern University to meet George Dalton and discuss possible topics.

I did not pursue that line of inquiry for my dissertation but I did write a review of Polanyi's *The Livelihood of Man* when posthumously published in 1977 (Benton 1979). Years later I contributed an entry to the *Encyclopedia of Political Economy* on Polanyi's

distinction between the substantive and formal definitions of economics (Benton 1999). I ended my review of *The Livelihood of Man* with the following:

This is a book that deserves consideration by all, whether already familiar with the writing and philosophy of Karl Polanyi or not; perhaps especially for those not so familiar.

The sentiment still applies, especially to macromarketing. That is what I hope to show.

My Plenary Comments in 2011: A Summary

I began my Plenary Comments in 2011 by reading a short passage from C.S. Lewis' "Christian Apologetics," an essay in his *God in the Dock*. I then re-read the passage, substituting *macromarketing* for *Christian*, *macromarketers* and *Christians*, and *micromarketing* for *materialism*. That passage follows:

The difficulty we are up against is this. We can make people (often) attend to the **macromarketing** point of view for half an hour or so; but the moment they have gone away from our lecture or laid down our article, they are plunged back into a world where the opposite position is taken for granted. Every newspaper, film, novel and textbook undermines our work. As long as that situation exists, widespread success is simply impossible. We must attack the enemy's line of communication. What we want is not more little books about **macromarketing**, but more little books by **macromarketers** on other subjects—with their **macromarketing orientation** latent. ... It is not the books written in direct defense of **micromarketing** that make the modern man a materialist; it is the

micromarketing assumptions in all the other books. In the same way, it is not books on **macromarketing** that will really trouble him. But he would be troubled if, whenever he wanted a cheap popular introduction to **some area of marketing**, the best work **available** was always by a **macromarketer**.

I followed this with another passage, this time from C.S. Lewis' *Is Theology Poetry?* This time I substituted *economics* for *Christianity*.

I believe in **economics** as I believe that the sun has risen. Not only because I see it, but because by it I see everything else.

My point was that every student in every class in the nation's schools of business sees *economics* everywhere and by it they see everything else (by which is meant mainstream neoclassical microeconomics). About that there can be little doubt. And it is not just students in our business school classes but most of the instructors as well, including, I offered, macromarketing types.

That brought me to my observation that ever since I have been attending macromarketing conferences, and that began somewhere around 1985, I have heard regular discussions, sometimes in presentations and sometimes over cocktails, that macromarketing is separate from micromarketing but that we have real difficulty explaining that difference to others. Similarly, we spend a considerable amount of time trying to distance ourselves from micromarketing and from microeconomic theory.

Take, for example, Mittelstaedt, Kilbourne and Mittelstaedt's "Macromarketing as

Agorology: Macromarketing Theory and the Study of the Agora" (2006). Early in their paper they point out that, in general, marketing "owes much to microeconomics," but that for intellectual and historic reasons, "macromarketing ... lies outside of this intellectual tradition" and is "distinct from neoclassical economics." They then assert that it is questionable "whether any theory that contemplates a state of equilibrium is useful" to macromarketers and, further, that "despite the debt that micromarketing owes to neoclassical economic theory, it appears that the latter is not up to the intellectual task of characterizing competition in a realistic or useful way." To be sure we don't miss their point they then add, "As we know, there have been criticisms of the 'unreality' of neoclassical economics for years" (p. 132, col. 2). That is part of the reason marketing, as a discipline, split off from economics (see, for example, Brown 1951). Mittelstaedt, Kilbourne and Mittelstaedt then immediately follow this casting off of classical neoeconomics as not very useful by stating, "we eagerly embrace neoclassical economic theory's conclusion of the superiority of markets governed by competition" (p. 132, col. 2).

Several points need to be raised at this point. One is that you cannot accept the conclusions of neoclassical economic theory if you dismiss the theory from which those conclusions come. There is widespread agreement about this. As Brown (1976, p. 174) wrote, "The scientist who develops a theory in terms of a model cannot with consistency dispense with the model as though it were a ladder to be kicked away once the new theoretical plateau has been reached. The model rather is an ingredient of the theory." Similarly, Thomas Kuhn (1980, pp. 414-415) wrote that without the underlying model "one cannot even today write down the Schrödinger equation for a complex atom or molecule, for it is to the model, not directly to nature, that various terms in that equation refer." Finally, the theologian/philosopher Austin Farrer (1948, 57-58) similarly wrote,

Theology is the analysis and criticism of revealed images; but before you can turn critic or analyst, you need a matter of images to practise upon. Theology tests and determines the sense of the images and the conclusion I draw follows from the structure of the symbol I use, not from the structure of the reality it symbolizes.

In short, *you cannot get rid of the bathtub and keep the bath water*. The conclusion that markets are superior is a theoretical conclusion.¹ No neoclassical economic theory, no clear superiority of markets. If you accept the conclusion, you must accept the theory from which it is derived—or offer a new justification. But we are intent to distance ourselves from the theory.

One more comment. By constantly using the term *market*, whether alone or imbedded in other terms, such as *the market* or *the marketing system*, and the term macromarketing, itself, macromarketers unwittingly give the high ground to micromarketers and to neoclassical economists; it is to those traditions that the “market” and its variations (*marketing*, *marketing system*, *macromarketing*) is grounded. If macromarketers want to set out on an analysis of their own, unshackled by the embedded politics of microeconomics and micromarketing, they need to redefine macromarketing as, perhaps, the discipline concerned with “the provisioning system of society,” terminology I borrow from George Fisk and about which I have more to say, below. Macromarketers need to do this without privileging one provisioning system over another (and there is more than one way by which a society can provision itself). Doing so lets the politics of the privileged drive the analysis *and* the conclusions; it colors the interpretations and the understandings of the reader without any party to the conversation intending to do so. (And please do not argue that neoclassical economics (or whatever term you want to use

to refer to that tradition) is without a political agenda. A political agenda brought it into being and a political agenda is thoroughly woven throughout it.

To the extent that macromarketers do not stop at the point where the discipline is defined as one concerned with “the provisioning system[s] of society, [period, enough said]” then any analyses that result remain encumbered by the politics of the neoclassical economic tradition. It is clear that Mittelstaedt, Kilbourne and Mittelstaedt want to move beyond microeconomics and micromarketing. They hobble themselves, however, not just with an awkward name, which nobody can say (Agorology), but with their constant reference to “the market” as well. As macromarketers we need to find a new metaphor, a different metaphor, a new framework. Until we find a replacement, we need at least to be conscious of the metaphorical nature of the thoughts we pursue, which means we need to be consciousness of the political aspects of the metaphors we use to pursue those thoughts.

So what are we to do? This brings me to my epigram and, by extension, the notion that any new development in marketing, such as macromarketing, must have some continuity with some existing state of analysis to be recognizable as what it is. If we don’t want that continuity to be with microeconomic theory, then we have to look elsewhere. My suggestion, to which I now turn, is that we look toward Karl Polanyi.

Who was Karl Polanyi?

Macromarketers are, of course, well aware of Polanyi. Since its inception, the *Journal of Macromarketing* has published 27 articles that reference or cite him. I have identified 22 citations in the *Journal of Marketing* and 20 in *Marketing Theory*. With one exception I find

none in which Polanyi is the subject of the article, or even the key element of discussion.

That one exception was Kent Byrus' CHARM presentation, "The Contribution of Karl Polanyi: Marketing as Part of the Economic Evolution in Social Change" (Byrus 2005).

Otherwise, all references to and citations of Karl Polanyi in the marketing literature, that I have looked at, are incidental.

So who *was* Karl Polanyi? No full biography of Karl Polanyi (1886-1964) exists, although two are presently being written (one by Dale 2016). Block and Somers have a brief sketch of his life (2014, pp. 4-8, 45-48), and J.R. Stanfield has a chapter-long treatment in his *The Economic Thought of Karl Polanyi* (1986). Peter Drucker (1979) has a chapter in his *Adventures of a Bystander*, but his treatment is widely recognized as inaccurate (see McRobbie 2006). There are, of course, numerous encyclopedia entries (for example, Zeisel 1968) and obituaries. And, of course, there is a Wikipedia entry. The most comprehensive biographical sketch may be that by his daughter Kari Polanyi-Levitt and Marguerite Mendell (1987).

Karl Polanyi was one of many Austro-Hungarian émigrés that fled their homeland between World War I and World War II, most between 1930-1939. Some went to Switzerland, others to Turkey. Most either went directly to or ended up in the United Kingdom or the United States. Besides Karl Polanyi, other Austro-Hungarian émigrés included his brother, Michael Polanyi, Ludwig and Richard von Mises, Walter and Victor Weisskopf, Friedrich von Hayek, Peter Drucker, Joseph Schumpeter, Bert Hoselitz, Erwin Schrödinger, Ludwig Wittgenstein, Karl Mannheim, and Leopold Kohr. There were others as well. It was a virtual brain drain!

Polanyi, himself, fled in 1933; his anti-fascist views put him in grave personal danger. He first went to England where he made a living teaching adult education courses to British workers through the Workers' Educational Association—the extramural out reach arm of the Universities of Oxford and London. Early expressions of his ideas can be seen as early as 1935 in two essays, one entitled “Marxism Restated” (1934) and the other “The Essence of Fascism” (1935). These, and others (many as yet unpublished) were developed while teaching in England. In 1940 he went to the United States where he took a position as Resident Scholar at Bennington College. It was there that he focused on the history of market society and wrote much of *The Great Transformation*. In 1943 he returned to London only to return again to the United States, in 1947, to accept an appointment as Visiting Professor of Economics at Columbia University. After retiring in 1953 he received a grant from the Ford Foundation to continue his interdisciplinary research on the “Economic Aspects of Institutional Growth.” During his years at Columbia and the period that he worked under the Ford Foundation grant, his research shifted from the specific history of market society to the analysis of archaic and primitive economies. This period resulted in *Trade and Markets in Early Empires* (Polanyi, Arensberg, and Pearson 1957), *Dahomey and the Slave Trade* (published posthumously in 1966), and *The Livelihood of Man* (edited by Harry Pearson and also published posthumously in 1977). In the 1950s he drafted the outlines for a book, never published, to be titled *The Reality of Society* (Rotstein 1990).

George Dalton collected a number of published essays, chapters from the three books (*The Great Transformation*, *Trade and Market*, and *Dahomey and the Slave Trade*), and some unpublished material under the title *Primitive, Archaic, and Modern Economies* (1968).

Polanyi's work had little impact on mainstream scholarship in the social sciences until the late 1970s. The one exception to this may be his contribution to economic anthropology and the major two-decades-long debate over the *formal* and the *substantive* meaning of *the economy* (Benton 1999). This, actually, was a continuation of an already ongoing discussion between anthropologists and economists about the universal applicability of economic theory (see Stanfield, 1976, p. 152, note 18, for bibliographic sources to the earlier debate). Polanyi's studies of Aristotle's economics and ancient Greek economies impacted the discipline of classics, particularly through the work of the classicist M. I. Finley, who had worked with Polanyi (Tompkins 2008; Dinneen 2015). Finally, Polanyi likely influenced Wallerstein's world-systems theory (Block and Somers, p. 241, fn 5).

Polanyi was an unconventional academic; he bridged history, economics, sociology, classics, and anthropology. This eclecticism may have contributed to his tenuous place in both scholarly and policy discussions. His vision of a moral social democracy also did not fit well with the polarized politics of East vs. West that dominated the 1950s and 1960s. All that may be changing as his work is today receiving increased interest and attention. For example, Cangiani, Polanyi-Levitt and Thomasberger (2002, 2003, 2005) published (in Polish) a three-volume collection of previously unpublished material, Gareth Dale published *Karl Polanyi: The Limits of the Market* (2010), and Kari Polanyi-Levitt published *From the Great Transformation to the Great Financialization: On Karl Polanyi and Other Essays* (2013). Giorgio Resta and Mariavittoria Catanzariti published a collection of previously unpublished notes, manuscript fragments, and syllabi under the title *For a New West: Essays, 1919-1958* (Polanyi 2014), a book first published in Italian (2013). "The process of publishing or republishing Polanyi's remaining writings," Block and Somers (2014 p. 244, fn. 3) note "is further advanced in other languages than English."²

Why should macromarketers be interested in Polanyi?

As I indicated above, macromarketers are looking for a way to distinguish and distance themselves and the field of macromarketing from micromarketing and from microeconomics. As is well known, the founding fathers of marketing received their education in institutional economics (Bartels 1976, Jones and Monieson 1990, Jones and Shaw 2002, Shaw and Jones 2005). Polanyi admired the traditions from which marketing emerged, both the German Historical School and the English tradition of historical economics and, indeed, identified himself and is identified by others as an institutional economist (Carroll and Stanfield 2003; Neale 1990; Polanyi 2014b). He aligned himself with institutional economics to distinguish himself from conventional mainstream economics and to make clear that social, political, and cultural institutions, not the laws of the market, that shape how economies actually work. Polanyi also refrained from using the word *capitalism*, using *market society* instead, in order to distance himself from Marxist thought.

Polanyi thereby provides a way for macromarketers to both escape any connection to neoclassical economics and to connect—or reconnect—with their own intellectual heritage.

That connection may be a reason for macromarketers to connect with Polanyi, but it is not reason enough. There is another reason to do so, and it has to do with our attempts to define the discipline. What is it that macromarketers are studying? Like all concepts, definitions abound. Reading any of the various attempts to define macromarketing as a discipline reveals its focus is on aggregations and systems, and how marketing systems affect and are affected by society (Hunt 1981, Hunt 1977, Shultz 2007, Layton 2007).

To say that macromarketing is the study of things in the aggregate and that it is all about “marketing systems” seems to say a lot, but actually leaves a lot unsaid. What, after all, is a marketing system? Rather than just invert the words and say a marketing system is a system of markets, macromarketers often turn to George Fisk, the first editor of the *Journal of Marketing*, and his expression not of what macromarketing is but of what *marketing* is (Fisk 1974, 1981). Fisk defined marketing as “the provisioning system of society,” or as a “provisioning technology.” It is, he wrote, “a technology for mobilizing and allocating economic resources” (1981, p. 3). Fisk continued with a comment that has largely been left out of the conversation, something critically important. He wrote,

The market mechanism is only one of many instruments for raising standards of living, promoting economic stability, providing sources of income, and improving the “quality of life” (Fisk 1981, p. 3).

The key idea in this passage that the market mechanism is only one of many instruments, or institutions, that can provision a society. Fisk went on to say that the marketing mechanism “is more attractive in terms of cost/benefit for many groups in society than is the proposed alternative,” suggesting, by quoting Garrett Hardin, that “the proposed alternative” is state intervention, “mutual coercion mutually agreed upon” (Hardin 1968, p. 1243, quoted by Fisk 1981, p. 3). Although Fisk had indicated the market mechanism was only one of “many,” he was still trapped, as are so many, in the dichotomy of the market vs. the state. “Many,” however, opens the door to more than just “mutual coercion, mutually agreed upon,” if by that one intends the state as the alternative.

There is a parallel between Fisk and Polanyi. Fisk’s suggestion that the “market mechanism is only one of many” ways a society may provision itself was precisely what

Polanyi was working out during his years at Columbia. Polanyi referred to the economy as an instituted process; Fisk referred to the provisioning system of society. They were on the same page: the market is one of many ways that human beings can organize and allocate the things needed to sustain human life.

Much can be gleaned from *The Great Transformation* (1944), especially from Chapter 4, "Societies and Economic Systems." More can be gleaned from *Trade & Market in the Early Empires* (1957) and from *Primitive, Archaic and Modern Economies: Essays of Karl Polanyi* (1968), especially from the two essays "The Place of Economies in Societies," and "The Economy as Instituted Process," both reprinted in each of these two books.

Polanyi can clarify and extend Fisk's notion of marketing as a provisioning technology, with emphasis on alternative ways of institutionalizing the economic process (as Polanyi phrased it), or of institutionalizing the marketing system (as macromarketers phrase it). The point of emphasis is that the market mechanism is only one of many ways, and government is not the only alternative. This theoretical perspective should be of interest to all macromarketers, but perhaps especially to those working in the fields of marketing and development, critical marketing, sustainability (especially those that include social sustainability among the areas of concern), or alternative economies.

Macromarketers Should Not be Skittish

Some might be inclined to dismiss what I propose because they see in Polanyi left-wing sympathies for an antidemocratic socialist or communist economy (see, for example, Shaw 2011).³ To be sure, Polanyi was in favor of some sort of social-democratic form of government. His concern was not with the triumph of government over the market but

with beating back the drive to institute an autonomous self-regulating market society. The target of his critique was the early nineteenth-century classical political economy of T.R. Malthus and David Ricardo. Perhaps most importantly and most influentially Polanyi challenged the idea that the market and the state were separate and autonomous entities, a premise built into the assumptions of classical and neoclassical economic theory alike (and something that continues to be taught in introductory economics classes). One of the important political arguments made by Polanyi is that the resurgent market liberalism of the 1920s was responsible for the rise of fascism and, thereby, for World War II. Both were direct results of the breakdown of market society — of the attempt to institute an autonomous, self-regulating free market economy.

So, to Polanyi, protection against both government coercion and market tyranny (or perhaps we should say *marketing* tyranny) lies not in an autonomous economy (the liberal dream) or in the withering away of the state (the Marxist dream) but in an expansion of political democracy! Only a profound commitment to democracy and democratic practices could assure that economic activity was constrained within a framework that meets the shared needs of all. “Subordinating the economy to democratic governance” Block and Somers write, “was for Polanyi a global imperative” (2014, p. 28).

Polanyi was more akin to Max Weber than to Marx. In fact Polanyi *explicitly* follows Weber (see *The Great Transformation*, Chapter 13), in that both saw political authority and power inevitably continuing into any future social order. As we know, Keynes failed to give his economic solutions a democratic grounding, favoring, instead, an active state (and economic experts and highly trained civil servants) directing the economy, something marketers were only too happy to participate in (Cochoy 1998).

Polanyi ardently argued that economic processes, whether instituted through the market or by other institutions (redistribution, reciprocity, householding) were always and everywhere embedded in social, political, ideational, cultural and moral structures *designed to preempt the logic of free market* theorists (Malthus, Ricardo, and their progeny) who move from the conceit of an autonomous self-activating economy to the normative claim that human freedom depends upon the market being the governing mechanism for all of society (today's neoliberalism). Polanyi's was a long view of democratization, a view toward bringing government under popular control and, thereby, bringing the *economy* under popular control.

Let's not misunderstand. Markets are necessary. They have existed throughout history. They are here and they are here to stay. And that is good. But markets are also fundamentally threatening to both human freedom and to the collective good, issues of importance to macromarketers. Even ardent proponents of the free market, like Hayek, acknowledge such. The difference between Polanyi and, say, Hayek is not in the fact that markets represent a threat but that Hayek says people must grin and bear it while Polanyi says no society will ever permit, and never has ever permitted, such disruption to go unchecked (see Lindsey 2015).

Markets work best when they are the means by which people distribute and redistribute those things actually produced to be sold on the market. But much, if not most of what makes life possible is not produced to be sold on the market. Treating them as though they were endangers the collective good. This is where Polanyi's concept of *fictitious*

commodities enters the conversation, the fictitious commodities being land, labor, and money.

For the economy as a whole to be autonomous and self-regulating—entirely separated from government and society—land (the environment), labor (human beings), and money (capital) must also be traded or sold in the market. Each must be treated *as if* they were commodities. This is where Polanyi’s concept of *fictitious commodities*, things not *really* produced for the purpose of being traded and sold, but treated *as if* they were, comes into play. To subject land and labor to the vagaries of the market threatens both lives and livelihoods. To subject money to the vagaries of the market threatens business stability. Polanyi saw and understood this. His opponents either didn’t see it, didn’t understand it, or simply accepted it as the price to be paid. Others, like Milton Friedman, brushed such issues and concerns aside in a dream world. In *Capitalism and Freedom* (1962) Friedman wrote something to the effect that when we (liberals) think of change they intend a speed of change that is slow and gradual.⁴ Friedman did not say what would happen, what should happen, what could happen if things didn’t change in that slow, meandering manner that permitted adjustment and accommodation. It was precisely that scenario upon which Polanyi focused.

A second point to be emphasized is that the free market celebrated by economists and political libertarians has never—and *cannot ever*—actually exist. This is what Polanyi meant when he said that the economy is always and everywhere embedded in social, political, ideational, cultural and moral structures.

This is where Polanyi goes against mainstream economists. Economists, and economics as taught, conceptualize the economy not as embedded but as an autonomous self-governing entity. Economists advocate for self-regulating system of interconnected and unfettered markets, something that to Polanyi is nothing less than a utopian ideal: utopian because it cannot possibly be realized. Polanyi's argument here is subtle and complex. It is also where Polanyi, the economic historian, comes into play in his analysis of Speenhamland. The Speenhamland system was so important to Polanyi's argument that he devoted two chapters to analyzing it in *The Great Transformation*.

Speenhamland, for those not familiar with it, was a system of poor relief which had been adopted over much of England in the late 18th and early 19th Centuries (exactly how extensively it was adopted, however, is debated). The system raised the income for poor laborers during times of stress to a level sufficient to cover the living expenses of the laborer and his family. Local parishes were responsible.

The Speenhamland system came under attack by the like of Joseph Townsend (*A Dissertation on the Poor Laws*, 1786) and Thomas Malthus (*An Essay on the Principle of Population*, 1798). They and their ilk argued that the system encouraged poor people to idle away their time – and to procreate. Because societies are always in constant danger of outgrowing their food supply, poor relief is bad policy. If eliminated, the poor would see the folly of having children that they cannot provide for, and society would move back to a lost *state of nature* when those without resources responsibly postponed sex and marriage until they were able to provide for their children. Population and food supply would then again be in balance. Remove the perverse incentives of poor relief and a labor market, with reasonable and *natural incentives*, would emerge. (Phrasing here is

important. Eliminate the perverse incentives and a labor market would spontaneously emerge.)

Polanyi's analysis of the actual historical case revealed that the system of poor relief did nothing of the sort; it did not encourage the poor to idle away their time and they did not excessively procreate. But his real concern was to show that a labor market did not arise spontaneously with the demise of the Speenhamland system. Indeed, the labor market that emerged was a social creation, something brought into existence with the passage of the Poor Law Amendment in 1834. The market for the fictitious commodity, labor, necessarily involved the state in its very creation. It did not spontaneously emerge from the dust of Speenhamland. "The road to the free market was opened and kept open by an enormous increase in continuous, *centrally organized* and controlled [state] intervention" (Polanyi 1944, p. 146, emphasis added). Designed to make the rural poor responsive to market signals, it was anything but spontaneous.

What was spontaneous was the *double movement*. As liberal economists attempted to construct their ideal world of a self-regulating market system, the destabilizing consequences set off countervailing movements by other groups in society who recognize the need to protect themselves and others from exposure to unmediated market forces. These counter movements, which are likely to be conservative, even populist and fascist, emerge as market destabilizations mobile the right no less than the left. The project of creating a self-regulating market economy is ultimately impossible and always sets into motion counter movements to protect those that suffer the consequences. Polanyi's position, his heretical view, was that actual market economies are embedded in society. That is the way it is; it cannot be otherwise.

Conclusion

Polanyi devoted *The Great Transformation* to debunking the stark utopian thinking of classical liberalism. He insisted that the human economy is always and everywhere imbedded in social, political, ideational, cultural and moral structures, perhaps, especially, embedded in the political. He had a rather idiosyncratic definition of socialism—transcending the self-regulating market by consciously subordinating it to a democratic society—and a critique of the Marxist idea that the coercive power of the state would wither away once the socialist revolution ended class exploitation.

His view was that Western societies, today, are as much shaped by culture as are tribal societies; it is just that the *content* of our cultural beliefs now reflect the core ideas of Western liberalism, a point I and others have argued (Benton 1982, 1986, 1987; Sahlins 1976; Thomasberger 2013).

Macromarketing and macromarketers have a lot to contribute to the burgeoning literature on Polanyi. Much work is yet to be done on Polanyi's concept of the embedded economy. Those macromarketers working in the areas of marketing and development, critical marketing, sustainability (especially those that include social sustainability among the areas of concern), or alternative economies have much to contribute. To take advantage of that opportunity, however, and to bring the discipline out from the shadows, macromarketers will have to move beyond their comfort zone, isolating themselves within marketing. They will have to engage in and with a larger intellectual community of scholars.

I recently read that Douglass North (the winner of the 1993 Sveriges Riksbank Prize in Economic Sciences in Memory of Alfred Nobel)⁵ commented that it is interesting and surprising that, given *the market* is such a central concept in economics that so little time and effort has actually been spent studying it. I want to point out that, in actuality, it is macromarketers that have spent a considerable amount of time and energy studying the market as it actually exists, yet do not receive due recognition for it. Macromarketers need to make their mark on this larger intellectual landscape, and they can do so, I feel, by engaging in and with Karl Polanyi.

Notes

1. Besides, they do not say to what they are superior nor do they say for what purpose they are superior.
2. The most complete source for non-English versions of Polanyi's writings I have found is <http://www.bookdepository.com/>
3. A critical point to grasp when reading Shaw's comments, for example, is that a *market economy* is not the same as a *marketing economy*, a point I emphasized thirty years ago (Benton 1987). Cochoy (1998) has fully accounted for this difference.
4. I know I can find this precise passage, but my copy of *Capitalism and Freedom* is in a box that is yet to be unpacked after moving out of my office. Trust me; this is an accurate characterization of what he wrote.
5. The prize is commonly referred to as the Nobel Memorial Prize, and popularly referred to as a Nobel Prize. According to a Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis post in 1999, entitled "The Beauty (Pageant?) of Economics," it originated as a marketing ploy (with all the negative connotations that phrase carries) by the Bank of Sweden. It was first awarded in 1968, "bootstrapped to the Nobel ... as a bit of a marketing ploy to celebrate the Bank of Sweden's 300th anniversary." In an AlterNet post on October 12, 2012 Philip

Nirowski, a professor of economics at the University of Notre Dame, who specializes in the history of economics, is quoted as having said the following, which makes it more than a simple marketing ploy: “the Bank of Sweden was trying to become more independent of democratic accountability in the late 60s, and there was a big political dispute in Sweden as to whether the bank could have effective political independence. In order to support that position, the bank needed to claim that it had a kind of scientific credibility that was not grounded in political support.” Without mentioning him, or perhaps intending implicate him, Nirowski’s comment regarding the Bank of Sweden’s actions confirmed Polanyi’s argument, to the negative. Following Polanyi’s, the Sveriges Riksbank Prize was an attempt to legitimize the impossible.

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Ideologies at Work: Forming the Marketing System for Alberta's Oil Sands

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“Although a market may simply emerge as a consequence of a flow of exchange transactions over time, it may also [...] be a social construction that can be subject to purposeful design.” (Layton 2007, p. 231).

“To design a desirable system, one may put all [...] (functional) structure together; however, without proper meaning infrastructure, this policy exercise may be doomed to failure.” (Kadirov and Varey 2011, p. 161).

Abstract

An understudied yet critical feature of marketing systems is the role ideologies play in shaping their formation. Drawing on previous work on ideology in macromarketing and the “turn to work” in organization research, this article examines the role of ideologies in forming the marketing system for Alberta's oil sands, a previously marginal resource. We focus on the way in which a group of actors (i.e., the Canadian oil industry, the Canadian federal government and the government of Alberta) conducted institutional work with the intention to make a case for the development of the marketing system for oil sands. They did so, by issuing an influential policy report, the “Declaration of Opportunity”, which proposed major changes to the political-institutional environment of the time (“Levers of Development”). These changes were justified by arguments aimed at *fabricating a national*

interest, a national identity and a public benefit around the commercialization of the oil sands, and referred to a specific set of ideologies (*economic, political, technological, and scientific*), which were put into practice to change the meaning of the oil sands. Our study offers two contributions: First, by showing that the formation of marketing systems is accompanied by intense debate on ideologies and struggles around meaning, we deepen our understanding about the symbolic processes involved in the formation of marketing systems. And second, we propose the concept of “ideological work”, construed here as the intentional deployment of ideologies in the creation of a particular system design, and to conceptualize the formation of marketing systems as collective and intentional market-making efforts.

Introduction

According to Hunt (1981), macromarketing is the study of the impact of society on marketing systems (MS) and vice versa. How can this bilateral impact be identified and described - in particular, if we consider that the society is embedded in the marketing system (Layton 2009)? In this article, we draw on what Mittelstaedt et al. (2006, p. 135) call the “three basic classes of determinants of (or antecedents to) heterogeneity: formal antecedents, informal antecedents, and philosophical antecedents.” As Mittelstaedt et al. (2006, p. 135) explain: “Formal antecedents are those that are codified in the legal and regulatory structures of nations or markets. [...] Informal antecedents are cultural, ethnic, and religious factors that shape market systems. [...] Philosophical antecedents are those factors that shape perceptions of the role of markets and marketing systems in people’s lives, directly and indirectly.” The determinants of heterogeneity are expressions of the impact of society on MS, and they illustrate the range of factors by which society influences MS. We wonder how these factors can contribute to the understanding or

explanation of the formation of MS (Layton 2007). We argue that not only the heterogeneity of MS can be related to the three classes of determinants, but also their design and social construction. Moreover, actors or groups are involved in the design of a MS according to some purpose. But at present, we know little about the specific actions actors engage in to “create” a new MS or to change an existing one.

In this article our objective is to shed light on the processes associated with the formation of MS. We identify three gaps within the existing literature, which we, by means of this paper, aim to address: The formation of MS is still under-researched (gap one); the MS approach needs linkage to an action theory (gap two), as well as a deeper consideration of the ideational and symbolic dimensions of MS (gap three). We describe how a MS was designed for the conduct of value creation processes and the role of ideologies and meaning therein, by drawing on Alberta’s oil sands and their marketing. Our aim is to show how the various factors within the three classes of determinants (Mittelstaedt et al. 2006) interact, in particular, how actors, through their actions, “connect” these factors. To grasp these actions and to better understand their underlying intentions, we adopt a work-based perspective (Lawrence and Suddaby 2006; Phillips and Lawrence 2012). Understood as the purposive and intentional effort of individuals and organizations “to affect their social-symbolic context” (Phillips and Lawrence 2012, p. 221), this approach helps us to conceptualize how meanings, construed here as “interpretations, understandings and shared beliefs” (Zilber 2008, p. 163), are produced and managed through social (inter-)action (Zilber 2006). In the case of our research object, the marketing system for oil sands (MS-OS), actors drew on a number of beliefs to change the meaning associated with the oil sands, with the intention to design the marketing system in way that is favorable to them. The fact that they “worked” toward that objective,

however, does not explain why they did so, who granted them property rights or endowed them with the power that allowed them to realize their action intentions. Our analysis shows that to legitimize their objectives, the respective actors actively put beliefs into action (Da Fonseca 1991). We are particularly interested in the symbolic dimension of MS (Kadirov and Varey 2011), hence beliefs, meaning, and “meaning-making” (Zilber 2006) related to value creation and exchange in MS (Haase and Raufflet 2012), are at the center of our study.

We address beliefs in terms of ideology. Ideologies are conceived of as frameworks of ideas and, as such, have an objective and a subjective dimension (Haase and Raufflet 2016). The objective dimension of ideology relates them to the abstract world of ideas without taking into consideration if any person recognizes any of these ideas, or believes in them. This aspect is addressed by the subjective dimension of ideology. In line with van Dijk’s perspective (2006), socially shared and fundamental belief systems express the subjective dimension of ideology. If no individual takes notice of an idea, it cannot be of relevance for action. Beliefs and, with it, the ideas to which they refer, can be put into action in several ways, such as communicating them, arguing for them, or contesting them. In this paper we want to show what ideas are referred to in the process of doing institutional work for the design of marketing systems.

As indicated, we address these questions by examining the formation of the marketing system for Alberta’s oil sands in Canada. We focus on analyzing how, in 1995, the *National Oil Sands Task Force*, an industry-government collaboration, issued a strategic policy paper arguing for oil sands development in a private-business driven way. This “Declaration of Opportunity” (henceforth referred to as the “Declaration”) envisioned

tripling oil sands production to reach 1.2 million barrels per day by 2020. This partnership between industry and government represented a controversial rupture of jurisdictional boundaries, and marked a significant departure from the traditional separation between business activity and policy making in Canada's liberal democracy. It was also accompanied by intense ideology-driven debate on the ways in which (resource) companies (should) contribute to society, and the role that politics, technology, and scientific progress (should) play in providing for the economic development of Canada. The "Declaration" promoted the oil sands, in particular, by bringing to the fore the *national interest*, a distinct *national identity*, and the *collective public benefit* for Canada and Canadians associated with their development. We identify a specific set of ideologies in the "Declaration", which were invoked to connect the envisioned commercialization of the oil sands to the overall growth of Canada's economy. We argue that the "Declaration" was an influential text, used to conduct institutional work (Lawrence and Suddaby 2006), that is, to purposefully and intentionally change the meaning of the oil sands.

Our study offers two contributions: First, by drawing on the "Declaration" we are able to show that the development of MS-OS was accompanied with intense ideological debate directed at the "making of meaning". Second, and related, we introduce the concept of "ideological work", which we consider useful to improve our understanding of the formation of MS. We can show in this paper that institutional work is, in part, "ideological work".

Ideology and Institutional Work

As Layton (2007, p. 231) has pointed out, "(a)lthough a market may simply emerge as a consequence of a flow of exchange transactions over time, it may also be considered to be

a social construction that can be subject to purposeful design.” Layton (2009, p. 353) emphasizes the role of agency in designing and setting-up MS, which can be “chosen collectively” and are based on the “decision processes and choices made by individuals, groups, and entities engaged in the voluntary exchange of service” (Layton 2008, p. 221). The design and purpose of a MS is still an under-researched aspect in the formation of MS. Although “choice” and “design” imply agency, we currently know little about how such agency translates into deliberate behavior in the formation of MS. In other words, further investigation is needed to understand which actors make what kind of decisions, how they are made, and what is the common ground of justifications or shared understandings.

Ideologies and ideological groups

Ideologies have a determining influence on the action options selected for institutional work. In this subsection, we briefly highlight the reasons for that: Both knowledge and ideology are constitutive for the belief systems of actors. Like knowledge, ideologies can be shared among individuals and groups. For Van Dijk (2006), ideology is a group phenomenon, i.e., a belief can turn into an “ideological belief” that is shared by “a collectivity of social actors” (van Dijk 2006, p. 116). Thus, ideologies play a part in the emergence of individual identities related to group affiliations (van Dijk 2006). Shared ideology can be a predisposition for action (Haase et al. 2016) and ideology may serve to legitimate and justify particular courses of action (Alverson 1986). In addition to allowing members to cohere around an ideology and to act in a way that is considered as in accordance with it, groups who base their social practices on a shared ideology are labeled “ideological group” (van Dijk 2006, p. 120). This expression will henceforth be used to characterize collectivities that put their ideologies into practice (Da Fonseca 1991).

Ideologies influence the ways in which actors understand and enact their roles in market and non-market relationships and, hence, in marketing systems “embedded in a social matrix” (Layton 2009, p. 354). In the following, we draw on van Dijk’s (2006) ideas to understand how ideological groups “use” ideologies to justify and legitimate a particular course of action, that is, “their course of action.” This is important since ideologies tend to serve the interest of those voicing them (Nafstad et al. 2007), and “are often expressed in order to influence social policy or to promote a cause” (van Dijk 2006, p. 123). But not every composition of beliefs is an ideology. What we have called the objective dimension of ideology is helpful to understand that. The ideologies of relevance for our research object are related to political and economic theories, views, or ideas; and to theories, views or ideas about technology and science.

That MS can be designed, formed, and governed, attracts attention to those actors who are willing and able to do that. The work perspective stresses micro-level dynamics and intentional action (Lawrence and Suddaby 2006; Phillips and Lawrence 2012). It helps us to understand how ideologies get translated into action, and serves as conceptual link between dispositions to act and actual actions of members or representatives of ideological groups. It provides the theoretical connection between meaning, ideologies and the formation of new MS.

The turn to work

Stemming from organizational institutionalism (Lawrence and Suddaby 2006), the “turn to work” has reoriented institutional theory’s traditional emphasis on how institutions govern action to focusing on understanding “how action affects institutions” (Lawrence, Suddaby, and Leca 2009, p. 1). By broadening its scope to non-institutionalist domains

over the years (e.g., identity work, practice work, discursive work), we now see widespread scholarly engagement with any form of work that involves “individuals and organizations purposefully and strategically expending effort to affect their social-symbolic context” (Phillips and Lawrence 2012, p. 223). The socio-symbolic dimension is important to bear in mind: “Social” means that an agent’s context (in our study, a MS) is characterized by a set of social relations. And “symbolic” means that these relations are predominantly shaped through symbolic expressions, e.g., through language. Two features make the work perspective specifically relevant for our research. First, it offers an agency-based conceptualization to study MS, by focusing on socially embedded actors who take action to influence and change social reality (Battilana & D’Aunno 2009). And second, it addresses the recursive relationship between actions and institutions (Barley and Tolbert 1997), viewing agency as embedded within the structures or social matrices it intends to influence (Battilana and D’Aunno 2009; Layton 2011). This perspective helps us in conceptualizing the ways in which ideologies are put into practice, i.e., how actors deliberately draw on ideologies to purposefully stabilize or destabilize meanings or, in our case, how a group of actors, by means of issuing a strategic policy document, makes a case to legitimate and justify the appropriateness and inevitability of designing a MS. In the next section, we show how this document – in metaphoric speech – “drafts” the arguments for – in our terms – the development of the marketing system for Alberta’s oil sands.

Research Design

Case Selection: Alberta’s oil sands “in the making”

We illustrate our arguments with a case study about the historical developments surrounding the commercialization of Alberta’s oil sands. We chose this research object for two reasons. First, although first attempts to develop the oil sands were undertaken in

the 1960s, only in the past twenty years the commercialization developed in such a way that it would meet the basic characteristics of a marketing system – including a diversity of actors, a “social matrix”, and “essential components” (Layton 2011). Our selected time frame thus provides an adequate case to study the passage from relatively uncoordinated economic activity to a developed MS, i.e., the commercial exploitation of the oil sands. And second, as in the case with many natural resource and energy projects, several economic, technical, and environmental issues surrounded the exploration and exploitation of the oil sands, which made it a good place to observe and study the ideological struggles that have taken place prior and during the formation of the MS.

The oil sands are found in three deposits in Alberta. Together they contain the third largest proven oil reserves in the world after Venezuela and Saudi Arabia (U.S. Energy Information Administration 2015). Although the first reference to Alberta’s deposits dates back to the 18th century (Chastko 2004), only about fifty years ago first attempts were made for oil sands’ technical and commercial development. Large demand for energy and economic diversification in the postwar years led the federal and provincial governments to push for innovation and experimentation – the Alberta government passed a first oil sands policy in 1962. The Great Canadian Oil Sands (GCOS) project was established a year after, followed by Syncrude in 1964, then a research consortium. However, a full commercialization never materialized. Production costs remained above market prices and technological leaps to make the resource economically viable were stagnating. In the 1980s, the development took a further hit when declining oil prices, the ongoing economic recession and the federal government’s National Energy Program (NEP) created a detriment to the commercialization. By the early 1990s, the oil sands’ outlook had become

increasingly negative (Stringham 2012). It was at this point that the *National Oil Sands Task Force* was formed, a collective of oil industry and government representatives, which laid out an ambitious 25 year-strategy in the so called “Declaration of Opportunity” to boost the profile of oil sand development.

The Declaration of Opportunity

This “Declaration” envisioned a new quality of cooperation among Canada’s federal government, the provincial government of Alberta, and the Canadian oil industry – with the outspoken objective to push for development and to advance the commercialization of the oil sands. The report identified the oil sands as “the largest potential private sector investment opportunity for the public good remaining in Western Canada” (p. 4), hoping to encourage companies to invest, to create jobs, and to increase the nation’s oil production from 450,000 barrels a day in 1995 to up to 1.2 million barrels a day by 2020. The plan entailed eight areas in which policy reform and marketization efforts were called for. These “Levers of Development” (see Table 1) and their accompanying vision rebranded the oil sands as a “knowledge-based, technology-driven, resource of substantial quality and value” (p. 6), as well as “a national treasure” (p. 4).

We chose to analyze the “Declaration” because of its acclaimed importance in the policy negotiations around the oil sands. Many of our data sources made explicit references to it, underscoring its relevance to the policy-making process but also, and importantly, pointing out the controversial break of jurisdictional boundaries this open pact between industry and government represented. Note that the “Declaration” was initiated by the oil industry, but was supported by both the federal government (signed by then Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chrétien) and the government of Alberta. Since it was also

accompanied with intense ideological struggles about the ways in which (resource) companies (should) contribute to society, and the role that politics, technology, and science (should) play in providing for the economic development of Canada, it was an instrumental setting to uncover the ways in which ideologies are justified to one another (Alverson 1986), and the role this plays in the study of MS.

Data collection

To examine the ways in which the intentional use of ideologies influenced the creation of the marketing system for oil sands, we primarily relied on a close reading of the “Declaration”. Yet since “texts do not stand alone” (Culler 1982, p. 33), we triangulated our data with additional policy reports (e.g., by environmental NGOs, research institutes, political think-tanks and industry associations), books, documentaries, and insiders’ interviews.

“Declaration of Opportunity”. As we engaged with the history of the oil sands, it became increasingly clear that the “Declaration” played an important role in shaping the post 1995-oil sand development. Hence, much of our analysis refers to the vision as laid out in this industry-government policy document, including the recommended policy changes and marketization strategies, and the justifications with which these were accompanied.

Interviews with key informants. We were able to identify key actor groups based on our readings: the Canadian oil industry (e.g., Suncor, Syncrude), government (Alberta, federal), regulatory agencies (e.g., National Energy Board, Energy Resources Conservation Board), industry associations (e.g., Canadian Energy Pipeline Association, Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers) and civil society (e.g., Greenpeace, Pembina

Institute). In 2014, we conducted 17 interviews with representatives of these actors, as well as a number of external experts (journalists and social scientists) who had observed the evolution of the oil sands' industry over time.

Additional sources of information. We supplemented our data collection with other sources of data to better understand the full context of the historical development and to further triangulate our analysis. We used books and documentaries about the oil sands, communications and reports from official agencies (both federal and provincial), as well as speeches (both historical and contemporary) given by prominent oil sands' actors. These additional sources were analyzed to better understand the "Declaration's" impact, and to identify changes in policies and meaning, if any, following the report.

Analytic strategy

Our intention was to understand the conditions that preceded the development of the marketing system for oil sands, and the processes that underpinned its structuring. Our analysis consisted of four stages, and was interpretative in nature.

Stage 1: Close reading and identification of patterns. The first stage entailed familiarizing ourselves with the "Declaration" and to read it closely. This helped to identify the underlying content of the report, as well as its patterns of argumentation. We collapsed these patterns in two categories, i.e., *what* was proposed (Stage 2), and *how* (Stage 3).

Stage 2: Deduction of policy recommendations. The second stage of analysis involved a detailed examination of the specific policy recommendations the report was vowing for. This was a straightforward task, as the report explicitly argues for eight policy areas in

which fundamental change is warranted. These recommendations are called “Levers of Development”, and are laid out in more detail in Table 1.

Stage 3: Analysis of mobilized ideologies. To distinguish between kinds of ideologies we relied on Geuss’ (1981, p. 8) distinction between an ideology’s “functional property”, i.e., how it influences action, and its “manifest content”, i.e., what the ideology is about. Accordingly, both a set of beliefs that influences economic activity (e.g., the notion of the “homo oeconomicus” in economic theory) *and* a set of beliefs that talks about economic behavior will form the category of an *economic* ideology. We proceeded by conducting a systematic content analysis of the ideologies invoked in the “Declaration”, by means of MAXQDA software analysis. We coded all passages in the text that corresponded with any of the “Levers of Development”, as indicated above, and identified the type of justifications associated therewith. This complemented our identification of the policy- and marketization strategies as proposed by the “Declaration” (the *what*) by identifying how these recommendations were rationalized (the *why*). We identified a number of recurring justifications, which we, in the next step, synthesized into four main categories of ideologies: *Political, Economic, Technological, and Scientific*.

Stage 4: Identification of policy changes. In the final stage, to identify whether and to what extent the “Declaration’s” recommendations led to actual policy changes, we proceeded in three steps: We followed the policy-making process subsequent to the “Declaration’s” publication to see what kind of changes were made, and aligned these with the proposed recommendations. We also traced the recommendations in other publications and sources of information (e.g., books, media content), as a way to crosscheck to which extent they were translated into action. And finally, we analyzed the

content of our interviews to validate, from the various actors' points of recollections, how these policies changes are to be understood regarding their impact on the commercialization the oil sands.

Findings

Policy recommendations and marketization strategies

The report argues explicitly for a number of changes for development. Labeled "Levers of Development", these eight strategies identify the changes to the existing policy framework that need to be implemented in order to "remove impediments to progress and growth" (p. 23).

Insert Table 1 about here

Ideologies

Given our aim to better understand the symbolic dimension of marketing systems and the ways in which ideational and ideological aspects affect its formation, we now turn to the identification and analysis of those ideologies articulated in the "Declaration", which we considered important in influencing the policy recommendations. Many of the proposed changes can be understood as motivated by ideology, and as a way to justify and defend the deviation from the pre-1995 institutional context. We identified a number of recurring reasons and justifications within the "Declaration", which we, after scanning them via the property-content distinction of ideologies (Geuss 1981), were able to synthesize into four main ideologies: *Political, Economic, Technological, and Scientific*. Within each domain, we distinguished between the most prevalent content of ideologies, which formed sub-categories of these ideologies (see Table 2).

Economic ideology

Trickle down. Referring to the idea that wealth accumulation benefits all parts of society, even those that are not directly linked to accumulating wealth, the trickle down ideology forms a prevalent dimension within the “Declaration”. The idea that “the creation of productivity and wealth” (DO, p. 15) due to oil sands development, will be “[...] shared widely across Canada, [...] and be a major contributor to the nation's economic growth” (DO, p. 15), stands representative of this idea.

Private investment for the collective good. A connected and recurring theme within the “Declaration” is the notion that private investment contributes, unreservedly, to the collective good. The idea being that the vast resource of oil in Alberta represents a national source of wealth, best to be developed by the private sector, to the “benefit of all Canadians” (DO, p. 4):

“The oil sands are the largest potential private sector investment opportunity for the public good remaining in Western Canada. [...] The scope in terms of jobs, wealth creation, and other economic benefits is enormous” (DO, p. 4).

It also invites to think about the notion that although the majority of oil sands is owned by the government of Alberta (Alberta Energy 2015) and thus constitutes a collective *public* good, the resource should *not* be developed by the government or by governmentally owned resource developers, but, first and foremost, by the private sector:

“With our enormous untapped resource wealth, Canada stands uniquely positioned to achieve economic growth and job creation while securing new markets for our resources. And the best news of all is that all this development can be led by the private sector.” (Former Environment Minister Jim Prentice, speech at the meeting of the Business Council of British Columbia, June 2012)

The last sentence unveils that the market-state dichotomy (Friedman 1962) is expressed in the “Declaration”, linked to the idea that the government should not interfere with market relations. Because of the long common history of economics and political science, both disciplines share a number of ideas. Thus in what is addressed below under the heading of *political ideology* intersects with *economic ideology* in a large part.

Political ideology

Nationalism. A refinement to the idea of the collective good is the invocation of a national interest and a national identity, which will be served and created, respectively, as an outcome of oil sands development. Not only will the oil sands contribute to the benefit of all Canadians (see above), but they will also make a distinct contribution to the national identity, or nationhood, of the country:

“The future development of Canada's oil sands resource is a national undertaking, both in the commitment and the cooperation required, and in the scope of its benefits that will result (DO, p. 8).” Later, the report continues: “For Canada, the timely expansion and extension of the oil sands sector will strengthen the nation economically and enhance the benefits of nationhood at a critical historical period” (DO, p. 40).

Small government. This notion refers to the “laissez-faire” idea that any kind of intervention of government in the free market is ill advised. The rationale is similar to above; it is considered a detriment to economic development:

“The industry will be private sector-driven; and government grants, subsidies and financial guarantees will not be required” (DO, p. 37). This will have the additional benefit, as the “Declaration” goes on, to “[...] free the government from direct-

investment participation in business” (DO, p. 24).

Low royalties and taxes. As indicated above, lowering royalties and taxes were considered paramount to the development of the oil sands. Behind this notion stands the idea that high taxes represent impediments to investment and economic growth, and that lowering taxes inevitably translates into economic development:

“The current fiscal regime of combined royalty and tax treatment has been identified by the industrial members of the Task Force as an impediment to new investment in the scale and of the scope needed to achieve the full potential of the resource” (DO, p. 25).

Technological ideology

Technological optimism. A third important bundle of ideologies refers to the idea that of the big challenges society faces today, e.g., environmental degradation, economic crises, many of them can be “solved” through technological progress and innovation. In the context of the oil sands, this conviction refers to the notion that in order to overcome the burden of economically unprofitable operations, increasing efficiency through technological advancement is critical:

“Technological development is central to any effort to increase economic efficiency.

The ability to produce the quality of products required by customers, at a lower cost of unit, is key to the success of the oil sands industry” (DO, p. 24).

The “application” of science. The “Declaration” views science and scientific knowledge as means toward the end of increasing efficiency and reducing production costs:

“With the right framework – including the aggressive application of science and technology [...] – capital will be attracted to the oil sands, which can then be expanded to their fullest potential for the benefit of all Canadians” (DO, p. 8). The report also argues that: “Supply costs will be reduced through the application of science and technology and continuous improvement throughout the oil sands industrial mosaic” (DO, p. 37).

Scientific ideology

Instrumentalization. Finally, the *instrumentalization* of science features prominently in the report. Although connected to the “*application*” of science, this idea goes further in reducing science to technology, and in viewing the process of knowledge generation as instrumental in achieving industry objectives. Only certain types of knowledge, e.g., technological advances to reduce production costs, are seen as legitimate scientific knowledge. This understanding is expressed in many instances throughout the report:

“If research and development continues to deliver a suite of improved technologies, which reduce supply costs, capital inputs and risk, oil sands production can compete against other energy sources if its supply base expands” (DO, p. 18).

Moreover, the “Declaration” has pointed out that “because of a number of technology successes in the last few years, there has been a significant reduction in operating costs” (p. 4), yet still calling for “additional research into science and technology to achieve further reductions in the amount of capital required [...], achieved through the collaborative research efforts of industry, government and academia working together” (p. 7).

Insert Table 2 about here

Institutional work and legitimization strategies

In addition to identifying the ideologies permeating the “Declaration”, we were also able to identify and analyze a number of strategies, or types of work, that were used to promote the legitimacy of the envisioned oil sands marketing system. Our preliminary data analysis has revealed seven strategies (Tables 3), which oil sands proponents engaged in to make a case for oil sands development.

Insert Table 3 about here

Policy Outcomes

Although it is difficult to establish a direct link between the “Declaration” and eventual policy outcomes, in this section we nevertheless try to describe the sequence and events that have taken place after the “Declaration’s” publication in 1995. In his seminal book, political journalist Andrew Nikiforuk (2010) identified five main drivers that, according to him, were critical in shaping the emerging marketing system of oil sands in Alberta: (1) the “Declaration of Opportunity”; (2) government support; (3) the regulator as promoter; (4) increasing oil demand; and (5) reduced production costs. He argues that, in sum, the emergence of commercial oil sands production was due to the interaction of changes in the functional variables of oil prices, increasing demand, and reduced production costs through technological advancements on the one hand, and collective action that capitalized on these changes through policy changes and marketization strategies, on the other.

According to our preliminary findings, we are able to add to this four equally important dimensions to understanding the formation of the MS-OS: (1) the criticality of engaging stakeholders to support the oil sands, (2) the creation of a *collective benefit*, and (3) the

invocation of a *national interest* as well as (4) a *national identity*. How and why these strategies “worked” in legitimizing the MS-OS will further be developed based on our ongoing analysis of the data.

Discussion

In this article our objective was to shed light on the processes associated with the formation of marketing systems. We identified three gaps within the literature of MS, which we addressed in this paper. Gap one relates to the knowledge about the formation of MS in general. Our analysis revealed two sets of factors that shaped and legitimated the design and purpose of MS-OS. First, the practices associated with envisioning, mobilizing support and collective action, and executing the planned policy changes (Table 3), as laid out by the “Declaration of Opportunity” (Table 1). And second, as legitimation is one of the main functions of ideologies (van Dijk 2006), we identified ideology-based justifications and reasons that were put forward, sometimes explicitly and sometimes implicitly, to legitimate these practices through invoking specific (positive) meanings associated with them (Table 2). Gap two referred to the action-theoretical foundation of the MS approach.

In this paper, we argued that a work-based perspective (Phillips and Lawrence 2012) is a promising candidate to provide such a foundation because it is able to link the three classes of determinants of heterogeneity, and thus extends the scope of the theory. In addition, we proposed a determinant of institutional work, that is, “ideological work”.

“Ideological work” is related to the subjective dimension of ideology; it is the endeavor to increase the range of group beliefs beyond a particular group and to put them into action, based on the power and legitimacy gained throughout the processes of institutional work. With respect to gap three, we were able to highlight the relevance of ideas and ideologies

in understanding the design and purpose of MS-OS. Our analysis reveals that the three classes of determinants of MS heterogeneity cannot be understood as isolated “silos”, but rather as interdependent and interactive factors. In the case of MS-OS, economic and political actors worked “hand-in-hand”, i.e., by engaging collectively to change the meaning of the oil sands, and to thereby pave the way toward their commercialization. Hence we also highlighted the importance of “making meaning” or “creating” symbolic resources for MS-OS. However, although we have progressed in our data analysis and have generated an interesting set of findings, our arguments are incomplete in some aspects and need to be further developed. We identified a number of topics, which will be elaborated in the final version of the paper:

- (1) The refinement and elaboration of the types of institutional work (Table 3), through which oil sand proponents attempted to create the MS-OS.
- (2) The link between belief systems, collective action, and MS formation, i.e., how did the meaning system as manipulated by oil sand proponents supply critical cultural resources to serve the “motivational, diagnostic, and prognostic functions” (Benford and Snow 2000, p. 615) necessary to mobilize action?
- (3) The elaboration of the policy changes, and the link to the types of institutional work.
- (4) A general discussion about the content of the ideologies in use, including a critical assessment of the “Declaration’s” understanding of social value, or collective/public benefit.
- (5) The answer to how our findings answer our research questions. How did the concrete MS for oil sands come about? Why did the “ideological operation” of *fabricating a national interest, a national identity, and a collective, public benefit work*?

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Appendices

Table 1. Levers of Development.

Policy Recommendations	Representative Quotes
1. <i>Cost reduction through science and technology</i>	New development through science and technology advancement that continues to lower total supply costs [...] to achieve an increasing rate of return for bitumen and crude oil (DO, p. 11).
2. <i>New fiscal regime</i>	The current fiscal regime of combined royalty and tax treatment has been identified [...] as an impediment to new investment in the scale and of the scope needed to achieve the full potential of the resource (DO, p. 25).
3. <i>Attraction of (international) capital</i>	Oil sands projects should target the best capital sources: banks, public debt and equity markets, private sources [...] (DO, p. 26). [...] Investment from all potential sources will be encouraged, with no barriers to foreigners who wish to participate in that investment (DO, p. 37).
4. <i>Sustainable development</i>	Oil sands development creates large-scale [...] changes to the environment. Mitigation is an essential ingredient [...]. The regulators [...] have made it clear they expect more than compliance – sustainability is to be a primary value and activity of the industry (DO, p. 27).
5. <i>Aggressive national and international marketing</i>	The principle opportunity for domestic and export sales of oil sands crude is to North American refineries [...]. Market expansion in Asia would also be assisted if the value of the oil sands was more aggressively promoted through an unequivocal open-export policy (DO, p. 29).
6. <i>“All market, all product” pipeline transportation system</i>	Canadian bitumen has competitive access to major markets in Canada and the United States through existing pipeline networks. This infrastructure will have to be expanded [...] (DO, p. 30).
7. <i>Fair and predictable regulation</i>	Governments can ensure the regulatory system is harmonious, efficient, fair and science-based. To achieve the potential of the oil sands, shorter, more cost-effective regulatory processes are required. This includes procedures that substitute cooperation to resolve conflicting interests in place of the current, adversarial processes (DO, p. 32).
8. <i>Supportive stakeholders</i>	As the oil sands sector creates wealth for its stakeholders, it needs to ensure that it has their support. [...] Oil sands communities and the public at large must see the environmental and economic benefits of the industry so that they will lend their support to public decisions that allow it to grow and prosper (DO, p. 32).

Source: DO = “Declaration of Opportunity”

Table 2. Ideologies.

Ideologies	Representative Quotations
<p><i>Economic</i></p> <p>A. Trickle down</p> <p>B. Private investment for the public good</p>	<p>A1. More social wealth is created when development goes ahead in an economy that is not fully employed. As these improvements strengthen the economy, [...] a stronger economy makes social improvements more affordable; the ripple effect will be ramped up by the economic momentum created by the initial investment (DO, p. 42).</p> <p>A2. The end result will be the creation of productivity and wealth, shared widely across Canada that will be a major contributor to the nation's economic growth [...] (DO, p. 15).</p> <p>B1. The oil sands are the largest potential private sector investment opportunity for the public good [...] in Western Canada (DO, p. 7).</p> <p>B2. The industry will be more private sector-driven than in the past, and will not seek government handouts (DO, p. 20).</p> <p>B3. New capital investment will generate significant environmental, social and economic benefits. With the right framework [...] capital will be attracted to the oil sands, which can then be expanded to their fullest potential for the benefit of all Canadians (DO, p. 8).</p>
<p><i>Political</i></p> <p>C. Nationalism</p> <p>D. Small government</p> <p>E. Low taxes and royalties</p>	<p>C1. The future development of Canada's oil sands resource is a national undertaking, both in the commitment and the cooperation required, and in the scope of its benefits that will result (DO, p. 8).</p> <p>C2. For Canada, the timely expansion and extension of the oil sands sector will strengthen the nation economically and enhance the benefits of nationhood at a critical historical period (DO, p. 40).</p> <p>D1. [...] to free the government from direct-investment participation in business (DO, p. 24).</p> <p>D2. The industry will be private sector-driven; and government grants, subsidies and financial guarantees will not be required (DO, p. 34).</p> <p>E1. The fiscal terms that presently govern oil sands revenues are not sufficiently attractive to investors [...]. Nor, for that matter, are they "level" among all players. [...] A common ("generic") set of new fiscal terms is needed, and can be achieved if all the parties [...] recognize the interlocking of public and private interest (DO, p. 19).</p> <p>E2. Continued effort is required to streamline the regulatory process, and harmonize the various regulatory requirements into a "single window", to the extent possible (DO, p. 19).</p>
<p><i>Technological</i></p> <p>F. Technological optimism</p>	<p>F1. The key to expanding the oil sands is to reduce supply costs through step-changes in technology. [...] Science and technology is the source of continuous improvement and incremental growth. [...] With reliable long-term funding and strong focused industry collaboration, technological development will be a mainstay of risk and supply cost reduction (DO, p. 18).</p> <p>F2. This development paradigm is technology-based, relying on</p>

G. The “application” of science and technology	<p>research, development and commercialization of new technology (DO, p. 23).</p> <p>G1. With the right framework – including the aggressive application of science and technology [...] – capital will be attracted to the oil sands, which can then be expanded to their fullest potential for the benefit of all Canadians (DO, p. 8).</p> <p>G2. Supply costs will be reduced through the application of science and technology and continuous improvement throughout the oil sands industrial mosaic (DO, p. 37).</p>
<i>Scientific</i> H. Instrumentalization	<p>H1. If research and development continues to deliver a suite of improved technologies, which reduce supply costs, capital inputs and risk, oil sands production can compete against other energy sources (DO, p. 18).</p> <p>H2. Its (here, the province of Alberta) principal goals are [...] to facilitate and support continuous research, development and commercialization of science and technology that results in economic activity (DO, p. 21).</p> <p>H3. Federal government goals are [...] to support effective research and development of new technology within a national science and technology strategy that encourages increased national productivity and international competitiveness (DO, p. 25).</p>

Source: Own depiction; Legend: DO = “Declaration of Opportunity”

Table 3. Institutional Work and Legitimization Strategies.

Strategies/Institutional work	Description
<i>1. Establish a problem definition</i>	Establish a current problem definition and identify a deficit to the existing system, i.e., “we need to change things!”
<i>2. Make recommendations for change</i>	Recommend how “to change things”, i.e., strategic policy recommendations.
<i>3. Collective envisioning</i>	Collective envisioning of a new MS, i.e., projected benefits of the MS.
<i>4. Mobilize collective action</i>	Mobilize collective action through coalition building and joint action, i.e., industry-government pact, plus stakeholder support.
<i>5. Identity infusion</i>	Infuse and attach a distinct identity to everyone in support of the collective project.
<i>6. Collective benefit</i>	Invoke a sense of collective benefit, i.e., framing the project in a way to “make others think that what was proposed was in their best interests” (Kaplan 2008, p. 744).
<i>7. Technological fix</i>	Invoke a sense of technological optimism, i.e., framing potential economic or environmental challenges as being “solvable” through technological innovation.

Source: Own depiction, adapted from Aldrich and Fiol (1994).

Establishing Reputational Equity in a Parallel Political Marketplace

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Abstract

This paper first reintroduces and then indicates how both the development of Internet based social networks and increasing organizational interest in Corporate Social Responsibility has impacted the concept of the Parallel Political Marketplace.

Attention is also called to the fact that any PPM is itself a macromarketing system consisting of both a primary micro network built by and around a core business and a broader macro environment containing a number of other external to that network but still relevant parties. Within this context, the process of determining Net Corporate Reputational Equity, with specific examples being drawn from a business-to-business marketing context, is discussed. First, some of the sources of both positive and negative reputational equity that may originate within a PPM marketing system are presented. Next, attention is focused on the flow of efforts by these various PPM participants to influence each other in ways either supportive of or detrimental to the reputation of the core business and/or its micro network. Finally, a dynamic model of the mechanism through which that micro network and other entities within the broader encompassing PPM macromarketing system collectively determines any organization's net reputational equity is presented

Panel VII: Food Marketing, Food Activism

Panel Chair

Paul O'Reilly, Dublin Institute of Technology

Panelists

Oona Morrow, Trinity College Dublin

Aisling Murtagh, NUI Galway, Ireland

Ferne Edwards, Trinity College Dublin

John Fanning, University College Dublin

Conflict and Constructive Engagement IV

The Politics of Representation in the Post-Yugoslav Space: Constructing and Projecting Identities in Official Tourism Promotional Materials

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Extended Abstract

Currently work in progress, this interdisciplinary research project, rooted in critical marketing, cultural geography, and political theory research, focuses on the politics of construction and projection of particular local and national identities alongside, or in contrast to, wider regional identities in recent official tourism promotional materials of countries located on the territories of former Yugoslavia. We undertake exploratory semiotic analysis of sixty printed and digital official tourism promotional materials circulated in 2013 and 2014 for Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia.

Research analysed relevant narratives, symbols and images used to construct and present countries' distinct national and local identity(ies). This analysis enables us to arrive at critical understandings of the ways in which, two decades after the breakdown of the former Yugoslavia, each of these countries' distinct national and local identity(ies) has been constructed and projected in contrast to, or in conjunction with, wider regional identities, particularly Europe, European Union and Western Balkans. We contrast it with the conceptual analysis of promotional material of Yugoslavia before its break-up, as in 1963 the central government of Yugoslavia decided that Yugoslavia should re-open its borders and open up for

the influx of international tourism. As a result of the decision, international tourist arrivals increased by some 45%, compared to 1962 (Pirjavec 1987).

Tourism in ex-Yugoslavia, according to Allcock (2000), was regarded as a pot of gold. Mass tourism which manifested itself in the form of package holidays, high on demand among Western and Northern European tourists, was actively developed. Besides economic benefit, tourism also played an important role in the refinement of feelings of national unity, identity and pride, the reclamation of a symbolically important place in 'Europe' and its tourist market (Pettersson, 2010), as a reaction to how Yugoslav space and society has been mistreated through the centuries, and blatantly *imagined* and *exoticised* by its 'European' counterparts. The epistemology of the European subject is partly constructed through its colonial legacy (Said, 1978). In Said's thesis of *Orientalism* The East (1978) is presented as European *External Other*, in psychoanalysis, East represents European *Archaic Interior*, and this is, according to Bjelic (2009) the point where Said's Orientalism and psychoanalysis converge. The construction of the imaginary binary between East and West, thus becomes relevant not specifically only to Said's work on Orientalism, but also on the Todorova's (2009) conceptualisation of Balkanism (*territory of former Yugoslavia is widely known as being West Balkans*) in which Balkan is constructed and imagined as European *internal Other* through its liminal position in geo-political and socio-cultural terms. According to Bjelic (2006), the identity of the Balkans, in our case particularly the territory of *West Balkans*, i.e. *Yugoslavia*, has been 'discursively constructed'. Žizek (1997) argues that in the modern history of the European Union, the Balkan has always been constructed as being '*the Other*', and used it in order to showcase the superiority of 'Europe', as Žižek (1999, paragraph V) further notes: '*When discussing the Balkans, the tolerant multiculturalist is allowed to act out his repressed racism.... Because the Balkans are part of Europe, they can be spoken of in racist clichés...*'. Under such circumstances, Yugoslavia used tourism promotion in order to regain its place as being

‘intrinsically European’. Its citizens and their lifestyles, its arts and creative industries have been portrayed as being intrinsically European through tourism promotion.

At the methodological level, we draw attention to the benefits of collaborative and reflexive approaches to semiotic analyses, which has been used to the great extent. In order to understand politics behind tourism promotion, as it enables revealing the complex, sometimes conflicting relationship between the presented macro identity of the nation or ethnicity, or micro identity of the site and people, and how it is supposed to be seen in the eyes of the consumers. Rakic and Chambers (2007) for instance, use semiotic analysis in order to explore the ownership and belonging of the World Heritage sites, exploring the ‘tension’ between national and World Heritage, on the case of the Acropolis World Heritage Site. Hunter (2013) uses visual semiotics in order to analyse the representation of Mao ze Dong’s work as a key element of the Hunan Province online tourism destination image. Zhang, L’Espoir Decosta and McKercher (2015) use semiotics in order to analyse the mythmaking behind the promotion of Hong Kong as a tourism destination and through this process to co-construction of its political identity. Semiotic analysis thus deals with the ways of ‘meaning-making and representation in many forms’ (Chandler 2002: 2). However, we would also reflect on potential challenges for data collection in projects such as ours - which in our case included the fact that, at the time of our data collection there were no official tourism promotional materials for Kosovo, resulting in this country being excluded from our analysis.

Our work in progress provides further insight into the politics of representation in the wider field of macromarketing studies. We are doing so by highlighting the role and importance of promotional tourism materials in the context of nation building.

We are still in the process of our research analysis, however, some brief highlights of our preliminary analysis would include the following, (1) variations in the presentation of Yugoslav socialist past, particularly the legacy of antifascism and WWII; (2) variations in the projection of particular local and national identities; and (3) the context of belonging to wider regional identities. This has been observed in the projection of Yugoslav past, where in some countries, the presentation of WWII and socialist Yugoslavia remained one of the highlights of the representation while in some other countries mentioning of Yugoslavia has been tamed. For instance, in the presentation of Bosnia and Herzegovina dedicated to the consumers from former Yugoslavia, the representation is retaining the memory of their former country. Many tourists come from former Yugoslav countries in order to visit the sites which were associated with their former country. In order to explore the 'hidden' past, forgotten during those turbulent times in the early nineties. In B&H nostalgic sentiments go very far; according to Bosnians collectively, in former Yugoslavia they lived better and in peace. Most of the WWII sites are linked to Bosnia and Herzegovina, thus Bosnia and Herzegovina uses its antifascist legacy heavily in projecting its identity, thus inviting their comrades from other former Yugoslav countries to come and join them in remembering and celebrating some good times they spend together as a citizens of the same country. On the other side, in some other former Yugoslav countries, socialist Yugoslavia and WWII are scarcely mentioned in the promotional material, giving the impression that the past has been sanitized (Edensor, 2005).

Furthermore, new nationalist countries' representation highlight the issue of belonging to wider regional identities where certain countries highlighted its belonging to 'Europe', constructing an artificial binary between 'Europe' and 'Western Balkan' where 'Europe' has been presented as 'civilised' whilst the belonging to 'West Balkan' is mentioned whether cautiously or it has completely been silenced. This kind of selective representation presents a sanitized version

which creates an artificial binary between ‘us’ and ‘them’, Europe and the ‘Other’ (Kristeva, 2000) and as such the repercussions of this representation may have the element of symbolic violence (Žižek 2008) embedded within itself and as such need to be further elaborated.

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Figure 1. Yugoslavia promotional material



Figure 2. Yugoslavia



Conflict against Marginalized and Excluded Communities: The Case of Goth - A 'Dangerous' Aesthetic

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There has been a lot of recent attention to the marginalization and outpouring of hate and narrative violence against individuals and groups that is taking place in the digital online world of the Internet. It is argued that this phenomenon is exacerbated by the anonymity of communications enabled by this medium. Such manifestations of conflict against marginalized groups are not new however, nor are they only a digital phenomenon; it can take a stark and violent physical form too. There is a long tradition of studying the causes and effects of marginalization, exclusion and violence against groups and individuals based on physical appearance, whether that is the color of a person's skin, physical disability or weight. All of these have now become subject to legislation and discrimination laws in many countries including Ireland, the US and UK. However, less attention has been paid to prejudice, intolerance and aggression targeted against those who *choose* to opt out, or exclude themselves from the mainstream, and who can be identified by a particular bodily aesthetic (Garland 2010).

For over two hundred years artists, poets and other creatives have challenged and defied social norms of dress. In their own day 'Romantics' like Byron, Keats and Shelley were considered social, moral and sexual deviants, yet their motivation was a desire to stand

outside of the mainstream, to express their individuality and to break down social taboos (see also the Decadents, Bohemians, Aesthetes). These movements were founded upon principles of excess and an interest in the 'unnatural'. Members were concerned with experimentation and in particular, rebellion against middle class mediocrity and morality. This was not only expressed in and represented through their art, poetry and literature, but also in their 'look', their clothes and their lifestyle. When we fast forward to the late 1950s and 1960s, we see the emergence of subcultures and countercultural groups (Teddy Boys, Beatniks, Mods, Rockers, Hippies and later Punks, New Romantics, Ravers, Goths and so on), with a somewhat different agenda, but still with expressions of individuality, resistance and rejection of the mainstream firmly rooted in style (Hebdidge 1979). To a large extent, this rejection resulted in a form of conscious self-exclusion, i.e., extreme permanent body modification. For others it was and is, a weekend activity that members walk in and out of (Goulding et al 2009). However, in 2007 an event was to occur that projected the issue of subcultural difference into the media and in so doing, raised questions about society, hate crimes, legislation and the media itself.



In August of that year, Sophie Lancaster, a 20-yr old student and her 21-yr old boyfriend Robert Maltby were walking home late one summer's evening in a small town in the

Northwest of England. The couple was subject to a frenzied, horrific attack by a gang of local boys that left them both hospitalized. Their heads were so brutally disfigured by their assailants that it was difficult for the paramedics to identify the difference between Sophie and Robert. Sophie went into a coma and after two-weeks her life support machine was switched off. Robert survived the brutal onslaught. The police confirmed that a motive for the attack was that the young couple 'stood out' as different because they were Goths.



This begs the question of how their look could engender such hostility; after all, 'standing out' or 'looking different' does not necessarily invoke hostility and aggression from the mainstream. Tattooees, certainly stand out and look different, as can bikers, Star Trekkies and a myriad of other style-based subcultures. They can evoke reactions ranging from amusement to trepidation, but seldom such extreme physical violence from the

mainstream. One reason for this is that their cultural practices are often contained within geographic or market spaces that, in effect, limit their interaction with the mainstream.

Confrontation is likely to result when these spaces of sub-cultural activity flow into and affect mainstream, dominant culture (see Goulding et al. 2009). Physical violence is likely to be directed at other gangs, or as a reaction against the mainstream by the marginal or sub-cultural and not the other way around. In essence, it is primarily through their 'look' that Goths stand out as different. They have a very particular aesthetic that is constructed by and for the community and it is one that contravenes prevailing dominant ideals, social norms and mores. So what is it that singles Goths out as a target for hate?

The answer may lie in the nature of modern consumer society itself with its marketization of conformity, celebrity culture, manufactured 'boy bands' the power of the media and the demonization of certain groups that do not fit the 'brand image' of the latest recycled trend. Goths after all, if we are to believe the media, instigated the Columbine killings and encourage cannibalism, claims made with absolutely no evidence to back them up. Or it could be that the practices of marginal, deviant or extra-ordinary groups challenge and (re)define the mainstream, the normal and the ordinary. Without the marginal what constitutes the mainstream? Without the deviant what is normal? And without the extra-ordinary what is ordinary? The importance of these groups then is that they break the rules or they defy convention or they push the limits of what is acceptable. And in so doing these groups change and transform society; rules and laws have to be amended; social convention, and norms evolve; and practices that construct and constitute society are redefined. Such groups, then, simultaneously challenge and reinforce the legitimacy of society itself. But it is this association with, and the 'labeling' of, the appearance and

actions of Goths as deviant and polluting (Becker 1963; Douglas 2002) that separates them from other subcultures of consumption. It is through the adoption of their aesthetic that we can perhaps begin to understand the source of the hostility that Sophie and her boyfriend experienced.

The key question that is further explored in this paper is how an analysis of the role of marketing, consumption and society in this case of the Goth community can help understand the processes of marginalization and how some citizens and consumers become self-excluded from the mainstream of society. At a minimum consumer culture practices appear to play a significant role in the display and representation of 'tribal' identities of such groups and the corollary of prejudice, hate and violence against them by some extreme members of 'normal' society (Sternberg, 2005). If consumer culture contributes to this problem, in what ways can it be employed to ameliorate it? For example, following Polonsky (2003) researchers in marketing have postulated the notion of the 'harm chain' as the antithesis of the value chain. Others have suggested the notion of 'value destruction' as the mirror of value creation. Borrowing from the literature on conflict resolution (e.g. Opatow, Gerson & Woodside 2005), it may be possible to translate some positive processes and interventions into the arena of consumer culture and society in order to break a marginalized 'hate chain' such as the Goth example in this paper.

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Consumer Culture and Happiness II

The Pursuit of Happiness in Ethical Consumption; Trade-offs, Values and Endless Ends

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Whilst the moral 'problem' could be considered to be increasing the chances of everyone to start life with an equal chance of achieving happiness (Rorty 1999), in a consumer culture in which ethical consumption is both a part and a consequence (Newholm and Shaw 2007), the potential for unhappiness is rife. Whilst consumers may be morally culpable for their actions (Schwartz 2010), they are faced with their consequences without the benefit of the guidance of 'grand narratives' (Cherrier 2007; Bauman 1993). Further, this may be characterised by uncertainty (Hassan *et al.* 2013), rationalisation, dependency and realism (Eckhardt, Belk and Devinney 2010), or recognition of the role of ethical consumption in relieving guilt from the middle classes and as a source of profit (Littler 2011). Others have suggested the ethical consumer is a 'myth' (Devinney, Auger and Eckhardt 2010), as consumer decision-making is entirely context-specific and based on complex individual trade-offs. Consequently ethical consumption is often framed in terms of its numerous failures (Littler 2011). Unhappy times indeed.

This paper starts with the assertion that (ethical) consumers are engaged in constant trading-off of macro concerns about a wider ethical agenda, with micro concerns of a personal nature (Ha-Brookshire and Norum 2011; Devinney, Auger and Eckhardt 2010;

Shaw, McMaster and Newholm 2007; Valor 2007). Often these trade-offs are based on the assumption that 'happiness' can be reduced to a cognitive process directed at utilitarian outcomes which predominantly derive from self-interested behaviours and which necessarily involve sacrifice (De Groot and Thøgersen 2015; Jagel et al. 2012, McGoldrick and Freestone 2008). However, Rorty (1999) argues that utilitarian thinking falls short by reducing human happiness to the 'accumulation of pleasures', Shaw *et al.* (2015) argue that rational choice approaches to trading off have been thought to include favouring self-interest over regard for others, and Bauman (1993) raises questions around the efficacy of utilitarian thinking in service of the happiness of the other.

Drawing on a qualitative study based on phenomenological accounts of consumption, the aim of this paper is to examine the clothing purchase habits of a group of twenty ethically-knowledgeable and principled consumers (members of UK University sustainability research groups) and the role of evaluation and resulting happiness. In service of this aim it recognises that consumption is part of an act of processual identity construction (Cherrier and Murray 2007), rooted in values which sustain individuals as participants in practices (Garcia-Ruiz and Rodriguez-Lluesma 2014), and which are essentially goal-driven (Arnould and Thompson 2005; Baudrillard, 1998). This further recognises the role of values in identity formation as a necessary condition, but also acknowledges that multiple and possibly contradictory values and moral standards may be held simultaneously (Arnould and Thompson 2005; Firat and Venkatesh 1995).

The study finds that in this group's search for the 'good life' there is a keen sense of responsibility that is driven by concerns of an uncertain future. Accordingly, evidence of deontological ethical reasoning and the exploration of values and self-identity issues

revealed the existence of a 'virtuous self' which enables individuals to practice their instrumental values and establish identity within their communities. This accounts for questions about the right thing to do, about how to lead the good life and to become closer to 'the type of person I want to be'. However, this was not borne out in a universally identifiable pattern of 'ethical consumption' as characterised in the literature.

Further, there was strong evidence of a deeply-rooted set of habitual practices where individuals exist in a continuously evolving complex system which makes categorising ethical principles as distinct from other principles or life concerns impossible. Within this complex system different, seemingly contradictory, normative orientations are all employed as individual judgement responds to ever-changing situations, contexts and life stages (Painter-Morland 2011). Significantly, however, the study finds little evidence that values are 'ordered' hierarchically or 'traded off' in compromising one value in favour of another. Informants rarely recounted value conflicts, except in relation to the very contextually-specific utilitarian decision making at the micro-level, and there persisted a level of ease and comfort generally that each individual's values were 'upheld' through their consumption with few complications, compromises or conflicts arising.

Further, whilst the terminal values which guide action were expressed in particular ways, there was little evidence of their role as consistently guiding individuals to 'absolute' ends in the search for fulfilment; whilst instrumental values appear to be connected to 'ends', the ends do not subconsciously guide action. Instead they are constructed in association with individuals' personal and contextual circumstances; reciprocally determined and entrenched in habits (Anderson 2014). Similar to Schatzki's (1997) conception of teleoaffectivity, Dewey (in Gouinlock 1994) refers to 'ends in view' which cannot be completely conceived until one

understands what it is that one must do to arrive at them. Thus, practical judgement is creative and transformative in continuously reshaping new ends.

Thus, following Rorty's (1999) argument that the boundaries of the self are 'fuzzy', this study rejects the conventional wisdom of the self as being constituted by preference rankings (for example Rokeach 1973; Schwartz 1994). In examining the consumption accounts of this group, the sense of a person acting against their own preferences is questioned, and the study finds that the boundaries of the self are flexible and the concept of 'trading off' or ordering values is not evident as a template for action in the pursuit of the good life in daily practice. Seeing the role of values in driving ethical consumption in this way reveals it to not be driven by a particular state of being as an end goal or a 'thing' with a set of associated principles which is then evaluated and resulting in happiness or unhappiness. Instead, as Giddens (1991) has argued in relation to identity, the pursuit of happiness should be seen as a 'life project' which can be seen in the justification of habits and constantly re-evaluated, renegotiated and rehabitualised as individuals engage in practice, characterised by 'ends in view', or 'endless ends', as new habits and experiences come into view.

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Like a Phoenix from the Ashes: Being (sustainably) happy after overcoming a spell of poverty

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Extended Abstract

Despite contrary evidence from happiness research (e.g. Kasser 2002), the belief that to attain happiness one must be richer and have more possessions still retains currency in the West (Shankar, Whittaker, and Fitchett 2006). This endeavour, yet, has been complicated by late capitalist society's liquid structure where people may ascend in social status one second only to experience downward social mobility and precariousness the next (Bauman 2001). In this respect, Gabriel and Lang (2008, 334) metaphorically claim that periods of both "feast and famine" have become routine in many peoples' life trajectories and, thus, have rendered the pursuit of happiness through material wealth and consumption less topical due to increased casualisation of both work and consumption. Researchers have considered these volatile life prospects and their mostly negative consequences on subjective states of wellbeing or happiness, especially, consumers' encounters of marketplace restrictions due to, oftentimes, sudden and forced life events. Descents in socio-economic status in light of the economic crisis (Sassatelli 2015), involuntary job loss and family disruptions (e.g. Roberts 1991; Elliott 1995; Hamilton and Catterall 2006; Wendt 2011), losing one's home (Barrios, Piacentini, and Salciuviene 2012) or becoming a "nouveau pauvre" middle class consumer who claims "*to feel poor relative one's own life history*" (Ulver-Sneistrup and Ostberg 2011, 219) are

noteworthy studies within this growing research stream. Here, it has been shown how consumers cope via consumption with (newly experienced) states of financial hardship and deteriorating wellbeing (e.g. due to stigmatisation, stress, trauma and decreasing health). Further, researchers have sought to unpack concomitant (social) identity tensions and (re-)configurations of the self in light of both limited consumption opportunities and adaptation to often new and unfamiliar social settings (e.g. moving to smaller homes in poorer areas) (Barrios et al. 2012; Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013; Ulver-Sneistrup and Ostberg 2011; Ulver and Ostberg 2014).

We have adopted a slightly modified approach, putting more emphasis on the presumably “happier side” of the social mobility equation, that is upward mobility. Indeed, longitudinal studies in “dynamic sociological poverty research” have promoted a more optimistic picture in that relative poverty in Euro-American societies is mostly transient in nature (e.g. Leisering and Leibfried 1999; Vandecasteele 2010, 2011). Especially ‘risky live events’ (Vandecasteele 2010), such as becoming unemployed, periods of sickness and household composition changes in the form of marital dissolution or additions to the family constitute temporary poverty-inducing events, which can be actively overcome by many of those inflicted by it (Bane and Ellwood 1986; Jenkins 1999; DiPrete and McManus 2008).

Thus, we bring together recent streams of research on dynamic poverty to explore the link between social downward and subsequent upward mobility and identity-related consumption (changes) after major life events. Moreover, we would like to chart the impact of such dynamics on subjective states of wellbeing, happiness or life satisfaction (Costley et al. 2007). A qualitative, two-tier narrative approach to data collection (e.g.

Shankar, Elliott, and Goulding 2001) was deployed in the socio-cultural context of transient poverty in a German consumer culture. In an initial step a purposive sample of five published autobiographies (e.g. Brown 2005; Turley and O'Donahoe 2012; Klein, Lowrey, and Otnes 2015) authored by German consumers, who tell their experiences of routes into and out of precarious income conditions, was analysed. Preliminary findings from this method informed the second phase of the research in which long interviews (McCracken 1988) with 20 respondents (including four of the autobiography authors) were conducted. Respondents were recruited in two major German cities via newspaper advertisements and snowball sampling and had predominately (lower) middle-class social backgrounds. They have dealt with both temporary (ranging from less than 1 year up to +7 years) and recurrent phases of substantial drops in income.

Findings from our study reveal that consumers who have managed to overcome a prolonged spell of poverty often reported that their levels of happiness have increased sustainably. In fact, our teaser "Like a Phoenix from the Ashes" was suggested by some of our respondents, who noted that their poverty experience constituted a life-transforming event. Interestingly, when talking about such "happiness-boosts", respondents often took their lives before slipping into poverty as reference points. Against this background our research discusses how, for instance, coping strategies (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984) adopted during poverty (e.g. access to religion; Hill 1991) have become habitualised (Bourdieu 1984) and now form essential parts of both "post-poverty-identities" and sources of their well-being (e.g. from pre-poverty business manager to Zen-Buddhist and househusband), which is also reflected in altered consumption practices (e.g. from more materialistic values and conspicuous consumption to a "lighter" and "moderate" lifestyle characterised by less possessiveness and more "authentic" experiences). This finding

underscores theories relating to care of the self (Foucault 1986) and therapeutic culture (Hyman 2014) heralding that happiness is something that comes “from within”, should not be drawn from “external” material goods and requires “working-on-oneself” to foster self-knowledge and self-actualisation. Building upon self-knowledge, this very same group of people demonstrated that their poverty experiences triggered a revival of older, dormant identities, which concurs with what Schau, Gilly, and Wolfenbarger (2009) have referred to as “identity renaissance”. In the context of our own research, this identity-reactivation facilitated routes out of poverty and contributed to more sustainable forms of life satisfaction due to returns to “real”, yet long time stalled, identities (e.g. a former affluent manager’s spouse and housewife, who moved into poverty, came out of hardship as an independent, self-employed career woman with the help of reviving a past aspiring and ambitious “writers self”). Almost none of our interviewees have managed to regain their, objectively higher, pre-poverty socio-economic status. Yet, we found that rebuilding self-esteem, being self-responsible again for shaping ones own life (e.g. without social assistance) and less anxious in regards to one’s future was considered more important in regards to individual wellbeing than re-ascending to an objectively defined past income class (e.g. Leisering and Buhr 2012).

Based on these findings we discuss potential implications for the macro-social level (e.g. policymakers, job centres, social services, the media, advertising and rest of society).

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Trying to keep student-consumers 'happy'?: the marketisation of higher education and the narcissistic nature of student satisfaction

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This paper argues that the long-standing idea that higher education (HE) contributes to learners' long-term happiness is compromised by marketization. We find that organizational imperatives to please student-consumers contribute to student satisfactions and frustrations that are profoundly narcissistic. Narcissistic tendencies, which are amplified in consumer cultures, damage pedagogy and HE's ability to enhance students' enduring happiness.

The idea that a purpose of higher education (HE) is to enhance learners' happiness or well-being in the long term is, itself, an enduring albeit often indirect feature of educational scholarship and HE's revered status as a public good. Indeed, as in wider consumer capitalism, intensifying marketisation in the UK HE sector has established learners' happiness as a major preoccupation for senior university managers. However, the ambiguity of happiness as a concept – often used interchangeably with subjective well-being, contentment, quality of life and life satisfaction – is narrowed in the contemporary HE context via the adoption of a marketing orientation: a service encounter that pleases, even delights students *during* the university experience has become a legitimate organizational imperative, whilst an impoverished, quantifiable notion of happiness and wellbeing is

valorised 'post-purchase' in measures of student satisfaction. We might understand this in Aristotelian terms (see Cieslik 2015) as a shift from the role of education as a fundamental aspect in the process of encouraging longer-lasting human flourishing (*Eudaimonia*) to an inward-looking managerial obsession with short-lived subjective aspects of students' wellbeing (*Hedonia*). This shift somewhat paradoxically moves the emphasis from social collective dimensions of wellbeing to a more atomised notion, thus reducing the likelihood of sustained or deep happiness (Cieslik 2014). As Baumeister, Campbell and Krueger (2003) argue in their broad study of happiness, aiming to increase an individual's self-esteem can promote narcissistic tendencies.

Such a change is scaffolded by forces of marketization and managerialism acting in the UK HE sector created in large part by the neoliberal policies of successive governments since the 1980s (Brown and Carasso 2013). In such a sector, the value system of lightly regulated economics based on student-consumer choice and satisfaction supersedes the plurality of the political and the intellectual as an end in itself. Given the hegemonic power of student satisfaction as sovereign, it is perhaps not surprising to see a largely uncritical and depoliticised literature investigating types of student happiness by primarily taking a service marketing logic (see for example Athiyaman 1997; DeShields, Kara, and Kaynak 2005; Douglas, Douglas, and Barnes 2006; McCullough and Gremler 2002; Woodall, Hiller, and Resnick 2014). Recast as a service provider competing in a marketplace to survive (akin to a hotel or restaurant for example), it becomes crucial that the marketised HE institution ensures their student-consumers are immediately pleased with the 'service offering'. In this paper, we offer a critical interpretation of interview data from undergraduates in which we are not concerned with identifying the 'right ingredients' for the holy grail of student satisfaction, but rather to attend closely to the feelings and fantasies implicit within

student narratives of satisfaction and dissatisfaction that emerged as an unexpected aspect of our fieldwork on pedagogic choice. We therefore seek to examine their narratives as symptomatic of irrational instincts and socio-psychodynamic processes in order to illuminate deeper meanings in an educational culture that is increasingly marketised. In this, we are inspired by critical management scholar Peter Svensson's (2014) work on *over-interpretation* as a way to produce critical and reflexive accounts of organisational life that expose layers of soft power that are effective precisely because they are naturalized, internalized and embedded in social relations. We therefore aim for a critical, rather than ostensibly sensible or moderate account and thus we turn to the conceptual tools afforded by psychoanalytic theory and the concept of narcissism in particular.

In contrast to the satisfaction of conscious needs, psychoanalysis awards a major role to the gratification of irrational instincts and unconscious inner conflicts as the key to human motivation. In essence, Freud (1930/2004) conceptualised individuals' search for happiness as the deep and ancient instinct to avoid pain and pursue pleasure, but that the aggressive desires of the individual that would yield the most intense pleasure are suppressed in order for people to live together in security. The expression of narcissistic desires – to be singularly loved and admired by the whole world - is typically socially unacceptable, defence mechanisms such as identification and denial are deployed that allow them some (albeit distorted) expression (Freud 1914/2001).

For Alvesson (2013), HE is one institution permeated by narcissism and the logic of grandiosity - inflamed by the status-enhancing ideals of consumer culture - in which practices such as grade inflation, the constant appeals for student feedback on 'how we are performing', the upgrading of job titles, and large investment in iconic buildings all feed

narcissistic fantasies. The sector is signalling clearly; what really matters is students' personal sense of happiness. Yet, for the individual, grandiose projects exacerbate the sense of vulnerability and heighten the need for confirmation later on. The argument here is that a narcissistic sensibility hinders our engagement with the external world leading us to superficial and instrumental conceptions of happiness, which appear antithetical to happiness derived from traditional virtues such as hard work, sacrifice, altruism and commitment (Lasch 1979; Furedi 2004).

Our interpretive analysis of interview data from 22 undergraduates at a research-intensive university in England reveals a darker side of the student constructed as sovereign consumer, as one driven less by the other-denying self-interest inherent in the image of a student-consumer as *homo economicus* but by an other-abasing self-love inherent in the narcissist (see Cluley and Dunne 2012) cultivated through the dominance of neoliberal student subjectivities. We illustrate our informants' discursive production of themselves as paying customers as the core socio-cultural identity for students. We then use psychoanalytic theory to expose the narcissistic nature of our informants' descriptions of satisfaction and dissatisfaction with their HE experience.

We purport that students' narcissism, which is particularly amplified in consumer societies, is damaged by an ever-expanding massified sector. The resultant anxiety calls forth defence mechanisms including fantasies of self-sufficiency as well as the search for sources of gratification that expose exploitative impulses in students' relationships with others. We find that market mechanisms in the HE domain appear to elicit and reward student narcissism via the valorisation of demand that stems from infantile anxieties. This in turn heightens the likelihood of impoverished opportunities for learning experiences; for reduced

value to be placed on the pedagogically rich ideas of pursuing a goal and engaging in intellectual struggle; the unreflective promulgation of neoliberal ideology that privileges private, economic value; and exploitative interpersonal relations with members of teaching staff, who become framed as objects of pleasure. Our central argument then is that intensifying marketisation heightens the potential for consumer satisfactions and frustrations in HE that are profoundly narcissistic in character, and that this may not only damage high quality learning but also obstruct HE's ability to contribute to students' social and enduring happiness through long-term flourishing.

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Globalization and Consumer Behavior: A Qualitative Meta-analysis

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Extended Abstract

The relation between globalization and consumer behavior is still a matter of debate. Over the past two decades, consumer behavior literature has witnessed a vast array of research examining the impact of globalization on social and cultural patterns that structure consumer behavior. New theoretical approaches to study globalization have advanced our understanding of consumer identity, relation to possessions, consumer acculturation, global branding, global consumers, and identity expressions (e.g., Ger and Belk 1996; Varman and Belk 2008, 2009; Penaloza 1994; Askegaard et al. 2005; Izberk-Bilgin 2012; Ustuner and Holt 2007; Thompson and Arsel 2004; Bardhi et al. 2010; Bengtsson et al. 2010; Vikas et al. 2015; Eckhardt and Mahi 2012; Cayla and Eckhardt 2008; Thompson and Tambyah 1999; Bardhi et al. 2012; Askegaard and Eckhardt 2012; Luedicke 2015). Given the evolution of globalization literature and the growing importance of the topic, we believe this is an appropriate time to revisit the wide range of concepts, assumptions, and consumer-related outcomes proposed in the literature, identify and categorize different theoretical approaches used to examine globalization as well as key assumptions underline this domain of research, and highlight most important contributions as well as implications for future research.

This article reports a meta-analysis of qualitative studies to answers 3 questions: (1) What are the different theoretical approaches used to examine the phenomenon of globalization and its impact on consumer behaviour? (2) What assumptions underline this domain of research? And (3) What are the most important outcomes for key consumer behaviour notions? This study employs a qualitative meta-analysis approach (Schreiber et al. 1997) to go beyond structured summaries and use rigorous qualitative meta-analysis method to first, provide a comprehensive picture that encompasses different theoretical approaches on globalization and the ways they are manifested in consumer behavior literature. Second, in addition to the assessment of the findings and the theoretical base across primary studies, this study examines the impact of certain methodological approaches on study findings and ultimately the field of study. Following meta-method approach (Paterson and Canam 2001; Timulak 2009), we have systematically recorded research questions, data collection and data analysis methods, and sampling procedures of primary studies in order to understand how specific approaches applied in the literature have influenced study findings. Third, we have identified research gaps and areas for future research.

Multiple databases search were complemented with inclusion criteria including a qualitative design, indications regarding globalization (e.g., global brands, cross-cultural consumptions global lifestyle, and consumer acculturation), and indications regarding key consumer behavior notions such as consumer identity, consumption practices, relation to possessions, consumption of branded products. For each of the scholarly sources, an inclusive search was performed using subject headings, text words, and keywords. The Boolean logic terms “or” and “and” were also used to combine search results. Once the final primary studies are selected, they are analyzed based on the following dimensions

(see Paterson and Canam (2001) for explanation on the coding stage): (1) Theories of globalization adopted, (2) Theoretical assumptions on globalization; (3) Drivers and outcomes of globalization at macro, meso, and individual levels; (4) Research findings regarding key consumer behaviour notions; (5) Method used; and (6) Empirical phenomenon of interest. Each dimension represents a unique meaning unit, based on which we looked for communalities and differences in order to categorize articles. Categories are abstracted clusters of meanings generated based on comparison, looking for commonalities, and delineation of differences among primary articles. Three categories, namely *international lens*, *glocal lens*, and *global lens*, have emerged from our investigation each representing how a particular theoretical approach is being appropriated and operationalized in consumer behavior literature. We extend current knowledge by providing the following contributions. First, we identify three distinct conceptualizations of the globalization notion, international lens, glocal lens, and global lens that structure the literature. For each theme, we show how each theoretical perspective has been manifested and examined in our literature in studies portraying certain meso or micro-level phenomenon. Second, we provide a critical analysis on the impact of methodological approaches, study context, data collection and data analysis methods on study findings and the overall field of study.

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Luxury in Emerging Markets: Aesthetic Preferences and Class Dynamics in Colonial Brazil

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The purpose of this paper is to discuss the how understandings of luxury fashion in emerging markets are informed by the aesthetic preferences and class dynamics in colonial Brazil. Many researchers have called for more cultural research on luxury in emerging markets, but very few studies have responded to these calls by looking at how sociocultural dynamics inform how luxury is perceived in such markets, which is surprising given the importance of emerging markets for luxury brands. To address this gap, we use a macromarketing perspective and recent work on emerging markets that highlights the need to look at specific histories in order to understand contextualized marketplace phenomenon. We ask, how are discourses on the body and fashion informed by class dynamics in colonial Brazil? And how do contemporary luxury brands draw on these historically constructed discourses on the body to position themselves symbolically in the contemporary Brazilian market?

Methods and Measurement II

Managing and developing the literature review in Grounded Theory: Methodological Implications for Macromarketing Research

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Based on the research experiences of two researchers, exploring complex Macromarketing phenomena, the paper builds the case for the most contentious issue in Grounded Theory research- how to manage and develop a literature review? We attempt to contextualize the argument in the larger milieu of complex and dynamic Macromarketing research. Discussion is built on the value ladenness of Macromarketing research and theory ladenness of positivistic research tradition, in the light of emerging complex macro issues- at the intersection of markets, marketing and society which constitutes the knowledge body of Macromarketing.

Macromarketing research has covered reasonably big ground- substantively and methodically, since the time 'when macromarketing was considered a legitimate but neglected field of inquiry'. Initially, the first concerns were directed toward the question of what constitutes macromarketing and how we should systematically generate usable knowledge (Bagozzi, 1977, Fisk, 1982). The former concern of what constitutes macromarketing is nearly settled with scholars accepting macromarketing perspective that aims to manage the complex interactions between markets, marketing, and society (Figueiredo, et al., 2014). As a research orientation, macromarketing seeks to advance

knowledge of the complex, systemic interdependencies and interactions between markets, marketing, and society that shape quality-of-life, stakeholder well-being, environmental sustainability, and general societal welfare in the global economy (Shapiro, 2012, Shapiro, Tadajewski, & Shultz, 2009).

While much marketing research involves dichotomies (consumer and firm, consumer and brand, firm and firm, consumer and consumers), macromarketing necessarily deals with systems, interactions, heterogeneity and higher levels of aggregation. This presents challenges not found, or frequently addressed, in the more standard marketing research (CFP-Wooliscroft, 2016). Macromarketing, as a field of inquiry, has 'aggregation (Wilkie & Moore, 2006) at its core. Aggregation poses certain methodological problems. These aggregation problems are obdurate unless researchers consider aggregation as a linear composite where both micro and macro-models are linear in parameters (Hannan & Burstein, 1974).

Theory generation remains the major objective of any systematic inquiry (Alladi & Dholakia, 1986) which applies to macromarketing, as a field of inquiry, as well.

Nonetheless, theory generation in any 'macro' research is replete with general problem as stated by Coleman (1984, Pg. 2) –

'given that much of social theory is concerned, not with individual behaviour, but with the functioning of social systems of behaviour, and given that the most common and most natural observations are upon individuals, a central intellectual problem in (social sciences) is the movement from the individual level, where observations are made, to the system level, where problem of interest lies'

Macromarketing research places an emphasis on serving society (Fisk, 2001) thus by following its very mantra there is a strong possibility of research being implicated by forms of value-ladenness. Sinclair (2015) identifies that the focus macromarketing scholars put on adapting macro methods to critical marketing studies using potentially value-laden lenses is problematic. Sinclair further state the importance of maintaining the balance between involvement and detachment when considering the relationship between the researcher and the object of study and of developing explanations of social behaviour via a “detour of attachment”. This paper aims to further the argument of value ladenness of a researcher and propose that the theory ladenness of an observation is also ‘problematic’ for exploring complex, dynamic, evolving and emerging macromarketing issues.

Theory Ladenness

Thomas Kuhn in his seminal work (1962) proposes an idea of ‘theory ladenness’. All epistemically significant observations are theory laden (Kuhn 1962, Feyerabend, 1975). Kuhn argued that the ideal of theory-neutrality is an illusion- data are invariably contaminated by theoretical assumptions. This suggests that it may not be possible to isolate a set of ‘pure’ data which all scientists would accept irrespective of their theoretical persuasion (Okasha, 2002; Pg. 88). Kuhn was led to a radical view that truth is relative to the paradigm. Based on these propositions of Kuhn and other researchers we counter-intuitively argue that the ‘complex’ issues/phenomena that form the substantive macromarketing body of knowledge cannot be explored using a single vantage point in the form of a-priori theory, hence requires inductive methodological approaches to be followed.

For example Samuel & Peattie (2015) have stressed the importance of Grounded Theory (GT) as a methodological approach for exploring macromarketing phenomena. In their

research on Fairtrade Towns they efficaciously applied GT approach to an emerging complex phenomenon, taking advantage of a research landscape that had no established theory or literature capable of ladenning the data presented. They suggest that GT approach could provide overarching methodological guidelines for complex macromarketing phenomena.

GT and Literature Review

GT has frequently generated controversy, one of its most controversial element being the perceived role of the literature review. The positivist research tradition given its deductive need to test theory places the literature review as the fundamental starting point from which research questions and hypotheses are generated. Glaser & Strauss (1967) by contrast suggest that completing a literature review prior to conducting any field work potentially contaminates both data collection and analysis. They argue that researchers need to embark on projects with '*no preconceived theory in mind*'. The concern about conducting a prior literature review is that it has the potential to curtail freedom and flexibility and to hinder creativity if it comes between the researcher and their data (Strauss & Corbin 1998). Instead Strauss & Corbin (1998) suggest that initial research questions should be framed in a way that frees the researcher to explore the phenomenon in detail and acts as the catalyst for the investigation. The logic is that field work should commence before the literature review, allowing concepts to emerge from data collection and informing the researcher of which literatures need to be reviewed (Glaser & Strauss 1967, Strauss & Corbin 1998, Goulding 1999).

The idea of research without preconceptions or prejudice is inviting, and creates a vision of genuinely exploratory research without boundaries. However, recognising and taking this steep potentially risks leading to research without clear purpose, definition or end

point. For relatively inexperienced researchers undertaking doctoral research, the prospect of embarking on fieldwork without having yet to consult the literature, may seem to some supervisors to be a high risk strategy that within the academic PhD blueprint of their universities will question the proposals realistic chances of 'fit', presenting too great a perceived risk of failure. Therefore GT researchers will inevitably always have to grappled with challenging academic convention, which in the norm necessitates the use of a literature review to understand what is '*not yet known*' in order to influence the research process and develop knowledge (Locke, 2001). Conceivably this process presents a parallel with creative disciplines like drama or music where the exceptional few performers can improvise and create something meaningful from scratch, but for the rest of us a script or score to work from is important, especially those new to the game. Given many macromarketing studies are multidisciplinary in nature we argue they therefore on occasion start out from a very limited body of knowledge that directly deals with the research landscape one is entering (Samuel 2011). Therefore the default position of some macromarketing investigation should really have no choice but to follow the guidelines suggested by Glaser & Strauss, (1967); Strauss & Corbin, (1998); and Goulding, (1999). It is therefore noted that the traditional and accepted norm of the literature review informing the starting position of the research and subsequently informing the research questions may be unworkable for some macromarketing studies. Although the GT purists might argue against using a literature review to start the research process, there are perhaps however more pragmatic approaches available. Goulding (1999) for example, notes that it is difficult to conceive of a situation where the researcher starts with a completely blank sheet. She argues that individuals' ontological influences from previous work and interests, combined with their existing knowledge, can aid interpretation during the research process. Goulding's suggestion that researcher bring

with them previous interests cannot be ignored and as a matter of course we need to be accepted that studies can adopt a conceptual framework that is built around preferred academic discipline dictated by the researcher academic background and influence.

GT also helps us debate the idea that in macromarketing research projects a clear delineation of the literature review as a single activity undertaken at a specific time is not always plausible or possible (Samuel 2011). The practical reality of most research is that it evolves; as it does so what is perceived as relevant literature will be subject to change. We suggest that macromarketing studies prove no exception and as interest in new emerging subject such as quality of life, business ethics, consumerism and sustainability for example developed so too does academic and industry lead research and publication (Samuel and Peattie 2015). Thus there is an argument that the GT idea that consulting the literature potentially limits the research through preconception can be matched by a perception that failing to consult the literature may also limit the macro boundaries of the research.

Without consulting the literature, will the researcher know what to look for, or recognise what they see for what it is, or may represent? It is therefore claimed in many studies it should not be the researcher's role when conducting GT to ignore relevant literature, but instead to question when to refer to it and how to make appropriate use of it (Strubing, 2007). It is inevitable that during the course of research in rapidly emerging disciplines, the relevant literature that can inform the study will evolve (Samuel 2011).

However, despite the suggested pragmatic approaches to literature reviewing in GT, Strauss & Corbin (1998) fervently posit that by undertaking a literature review at the start of the process it may hinder the flexibility and freedom researchers need at the embryonic stages of initial enquiry into complex multidisciplinary and emerging fields of study. Given

that macromarketing research is often grounded in multidisciplinary, emerging or innovative themes, Goulding (1999); Glaser & Strauss (1964) and Strauss & Corbin (1998) suggestion that field work should commence before the literature review begins conceivably presents macromarketing researchers with an opportunity to reduce the possibility of generating theory laden research outputs. Taking this approach suggests that macromarketing concepts that emerge from data collection and analysis can be used to inductively inform the researcher of what bodies of literature to turn to in order to augment and enhance rapidly emerging and complex macromarketing concepts and theories.

Dealings with the literature review when researching rapidly emerging

Macromarketing systems:

This paper will now turn to two examples of how the literature review was conducted by two PhD scholars to limit the effects of theory ladenness in inductive macromarketing research.

Example 1: Fairtrade Towns

When research into The Fairtrade Towns movement began the subject had no empirical research or data devoted to it, and an extensive literature search found only a limited amount of academic thinking and subsequent discourse on the subject. This somewhat rare, privileged but yet fearful circumstance potentially reduced any presupposed theories dictate what the researcher was likely to find. However, despite the lack of empirical detail some of the early literature that made narrow strides in conceptualising the

Fairtrade Towns Movement implied that it represented a unique approach to place (Malpass et al., 2007) and marketing (Nicholls & Opal, 2005), and therefore influenced the study to explore the movement through a place based marketing lens. These academic shortcomings predetermined that the research process from the outset was unable to depend solely on previous literature to provide a working conceptual framework. Subsequently an imperative of the research quest was to discover bodies of literature capable of mapping out the relevant academic terrain.

As this study was unable to depend solely on previous literature to provide literature capable of mapping out the necessary 'territory' that needed to be investigate (Miles & Huberman 1984.33), it became part of the research quest to inductively unearth relevant literature. The lack of any substantially accepted concepts and theories to follow additionally acted as a justification to build an inductive enquiry that aimed to emerge theory that begin from a position of limited preconceptions or prejudices (Blaikie, 2000). The significance of this position additionally supports a GT research methodology, following Locke's (2001) suggestion that GT researchers should enter the research process with as few given assumptions as possible. This process helped the literature reviewed for the study develop directly from the researcher's interaction with the situation studied. The study followed an iterative approach to data collection (via ethnographical participation), analysis and literature reviewing which after a period of time implied that the generation of theory in this area required greater understanding and subsequent critical insight from a number of academic disciplines. These disciplines emerged as places and spaces of consumption, Fair Trade marketing and consumer citizenship. At this point it is important to be reminded of the major academic criticism of inductive research strategy, one that suggests that *'presuppositionless data collection is*

impossible' (Blaikie, 2000. 103). It is therefore argued that the researcher's ingrained academic interests (marketing) would always have surfaced as the dominant foundation to any conceptual framework that was developed. However, in defence of this confession it is argued that three distinct research findings taken from three different sources significantly justify the subject is viewed through a marketing lens in-situated in place that would come to formulate the basis of the conceptual framework used:

1. It is clear from the five goals of the Fairtrade Towns Movement that the marketing of Fairtrade Products is central to its agenda
2. Ethnographical participation revealed that place based marketing dynamics and the desire to influence more Fairtrade consumption were at the centre of most of the activities of the steering group
3. Emerging Literature was starting to identify / imply that the Fairtrade Towns Movement be viewed as a place and a marketing function for the Fairtrade Foundation.

This process also helped by directing the literature review which had deliberately not been conducted (in keeping with the spirit of GT). This ethnographical activity enabled the literature review to be informed by data which was subsequently modelled by viewing the Fairtrade Towns movement through a marketing lens. The process therefore helped clarify the key bodies of literature and their overlapping themes that were important to review in order to augment the research process as demonstrated in *Fig 1: Overview of literature*.

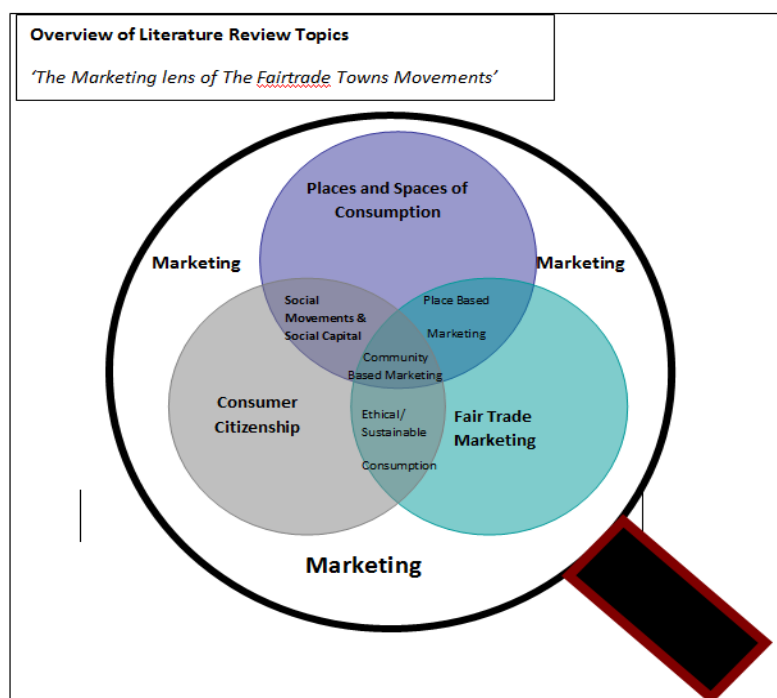


Fig 1: Overview of literature (Source Peattie and Samuel 2015, p.245)

Example 2: Exploring Gestational Surrogacy

Deciding to embark on GT research in marketing may imply that disciplinary understanding and theories related to marketing are playing/or going to play a role; thus directly implying theory ladenness of the data, that is being observed and collected; 'bracketing experiences' (Thompason, Locander, & Pollio, 1989) while collecting and analysing data with an 'open' mind does not negate the theory leadenness of data. Researchers utilizing Grounded Theory have undoubtedly been much influenced by contemporary intellectual trends and movements, including ethnomethodology, feminism, political economy, and varieties of postmodernism (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). Mick (1986) further advances that theories precede data. The foremost question here is that should we go for an explicit/conspicuous literature review, specifically, related to the research

question we are addressing and further contaminate/dilutes the data and how the literature review should be managed.

As a research scholar when I proposed to explore complex exchange of gestational-commercial surrogacy for my doctoral thesis I encountered with the problem of methodology to be followed. This was on account of the sensitivity of the topic in 'Indian context' on one hand and some conventional 'institutionalized dogmas' related to the elements of a what constitutes 'complete' thesis proposal on the other hand. 'Sensitivity' and 'new-ity' of the topic from an 'exchange perspective' required a methodology that is 'faithful to the everyday realities of a substantive area, is one that has been carefully induced from diverse data...Only in this way will the theory be closely related to the daily realities (what is actually going on) of substantive areas, and so be highly applicable to dealing with them' (Strauss & Glaser, 1967 Pg. 238-239). GT was proposed as a guiding methodology for the proposed research. Initial consideration for proposing GT as a methodology was the argument of value-ladenness of a research-especially Macromarketing research. Any kind of value-ladenness would have definitely eclipsed the data in the 'sensitive' research like gestational surrogacy. In the analogous manner a-priori theoretical framework would have explained the data but may not have been 'faithful' to the every-day realities of the participants in the surrogacy-exchange process.

Two initial proposal-draft submissions to the thesis advisory committee and to external invitees could not move ahead in the absence of a-priori 'theoretical framework' and the 'robust' literature review. The former issue could be easily tackled with the proposal of using non-purist GT approach. However, quandary of literature review could not be determined very forthrightly. Issues I was required to be resolved were- shall I go for

robust literature review, when and how should it be placed and what literature to be reviewed for a very complex and emerging/dynamic issue of gestational surrogacy

Conclusion

It is inevitable that during the life span of any macromarketing research that 'relevant' literature to inform the study will emerge. The strength and suitability of applying GT under such circumstances is therefore in its ability to offer an intuitive research process that dynamically builds new theory by combining and not compartmentalizing the process of literature reviewing, data collection and data analysis (Samuel 2012).

Given the situation of complexity in macromarketing on one hand and the requirements of theoretical sensitivity, publication and academic norms on the other hand, the GT researcher often find themselves having to chart a middle-path, or more crudely are forced to be pragmatic in the development and use of literature. Ensuring that theoretical sensitivity (via existing literature) does not get translated into theoretical frameworks at the same time as developing phenomenon/research questions, poses researchers wishing to use GT to develop new macromarketing theory with a substantial challenge.

The ultimate objective of GT research is to inductively build substantive theoretical frameworks, theories and hypothesis that are inductively built from a bottom up approach possibly ensconced in particular disciplinary boundaries (this is required to define one academically as a Macromarketer or consumer behaviourist etc.).

To conclude this paper from our experiences we pose three questions regarding the management and development of the literature review while attempting to inductively build 'grounded' theory laden free macromarketing theory.

1. Is a literature review required to initiate research questions and build theoretical frameworks before embarking on the field research necessary?
2. Does GT' suggestion of engaging in the research process of data collection and analysis before reviewing literature help develop macromarketing theory that is as close as possible free from theory ladenness?
3. Will GT's purist approach to conducting the literature review after data collection and analysis hinder my prospects of progressing my research, passing my PhD or publishing my work?

Whilst this paper shows examples of how these questions have been addressed it is the recommendation of the authors that because each macromarketing research project is ontologically unique in term of who is conducting/ leading the research, what institution is sponsoring it, who are the funders and what is the final goal (for example PhD / publication) only the researcher themselves can answer these questions. It is for them, their team or their supervisory committee to determine their approach to literature reviewing while undertaking the methodological approach of GT.

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Collaging and ZMET: A Method for Eliciting Insights into Macro Phenomena

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As Wooliscroft (2016) declares, macromarketing research often examines complex phenomena. This complexity and ambiguity can make it difficult to conduct research on these topics. Using the concept of consumer vulnerability as an exemplar, we explore how collaging, used in conjunction with the Zaltman Metaphor Elicitation Technique (ZMET), can be useful in studying macromarketing issues.

Shopping hours in Hungary: Applying the MAS theory to the retail system and the regulation of shopping hours

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Extended Abstract

In the case of the most developed market economies there is a noticeable transition from regulation to deregulation, while the opposite trend can be observed in Hungary. Utilizing *Layton's* (2015) MAS theory, the present study focuses on the changes to the Hungarian retail sector through the analysis of the new opening hours' regulation. The aim of the research is to investigate the link between the micro and macro levels of a marketing system by capturing the system's dynamics. Furthermore, the article presents results from an exploratory study which used a national sample of consumers in order to describe consumer perceptions about the retail system with a special focus on governmental regulation.

In Hungary, shopping hours are regulated by Act LVI of 2015 which bans Sunday labor. As outlined by the Act, retail outlets are permitted to open from 4:30 a.m. to 10:00 p.m. from Monday to Saturday, while they are forbidden to open on Sundays and public holidays. There are two general exceptions from this law; the four Sundays during the Advent period and one day of the shops' choice. In addition, there are a few exceptions e.g. shops located at specific service points (rail and bus stations, bakeries, newsstands, flower shops) and small shops with an area no greater than 200 square meters operated by the

owner or a close family member related by blood or marriage which are allowed to be open on Sundays. These small outlets are among the intended beneficiaries of the new regulation.

The grounds for the law formulated by the Hungarian Parliament state that trade must operate within reasonable limits, and thus a balance must be ensured between consumer and employee interests. The reasoning cites the importance of the two opposing principles of free trade and the protection of family life, where the contradiction needs to be resolved in favor of the latter. As such, according to legislative intent, trade restrictions are applied in the interest and protection of the family. In light of consumer habits, this regulation impacts on large retail outlets such as hypermarkets and discount supermarkets that traditionally have a high turnover on Sundays, however, small shops, with minimal turnover on these days are still permitted to be open. This situation inevitably brings about an important change in consumption habits.

The MAS theory developed by *Roger Layton* (2015) provides a wide, holistic approach for the study of marketing systems. The framework and methodology includes the identification of the focal marketing systems, the participants at each level of a multi-level system and the interactions within and between levels over time. One of the clear advantages of this theory is that it recognizes system wide issues and also identifies the ways in which these issues might be resolved.

Accordingly, the Hungarian retail system will be introduced by the MAS theory in order to link micro choices and macro action, and to understand the formation and adaptive change of a marketing system. Accordingly, the Hungarian retail system is described by

the related social mechanism and the interaction of individuals, groups and entities together with the structure and outcome of the system.

Social mechanisms

Government regulation of the economy can be described as a succession of regulatory and deregulatory phases. This is well demonstrated for example by *Kennedy* (2010) in the context of shop trading hour laws in New Zealand. It is interesting to note, that while most developed market economies are shifting from regulation to deregulation, the opposite can be observed in Hungary, with a present regulatory effort following a phase of deregulation. The past 100 years of regulation (including regulation affecting Hungarian trade) have been determined by the events of the 19th and 20th centuries. Free competition in the 19th century was rendered obsolete by the economic crises and the two world wars, and the 20th century saw a rise of public intervention and the resulting mixed economies. The communist takeover in Hungary following World War II brought about a wave of nationalizations and a system of central distribution. Following a reorientation of economic policy in 1979, the 1980s were characterized by a gradual loosening of regulations. Commercial activity in this era was determined by the liberalization of imports (*Török* 1997), and Hungarian domestic trade became almost completely freed by the late 80s (*Bokros* 2007). The Hungarian market economy inherited an excessive regulatory burden of the socialist period and the presence of the state in the economy remained determining (*Muraközy* 2009), as did the demand for state intervention among the Hungarian population (*Györfi* 2007).

In terms of the social contract in the socialist era “the regime provided full and secure employment, egalitarian wage policies and lax performance pressures in industry, state-

controlled and heavily subsidised retail prices for essential goods, and socialised human services... In return, workers gave the regime their political compliance and quiescence” (*Cook* (1992:37), while they also accepted shortages of consumer goods. After the regime change, a new era emerged and the social contract focused on the expansion of consumption and to western values – the so called “American dream”. Many people began to take better standards of living, together with individual and national prosperity, for granted.

Following the end of socialism in Hungary, economic freedom was perceived as synonymous with freedom of consumption, and consumption (and more rarely: the inability to consume) became one of the most important social, economic, and attitudinal aspects of everyday life for the Hungarian population (*Valuch* 2013). As such, historical heritage and consumer socialization make the restriction of consumption - realized through the restriction of trade hours - a sensitive issue among the population. Accordingly, the majority of the population was opposed to this regulation (*Ipsos* 2015).

Action Fields

In relation to the interactions within the action field of the retail system, key individuals, groups and entities will be introduced. According to *Fligstein* (2001), participants can fall into three categories, namely: incumbents, challengers and governance units. Figure 1 gives an overview of the participants of the Hungarian retail system, with a special focus on the regulation of shopping hours.

[Insert Figure 1 about here]

Incumbents of the system (before the new regulation) were hypermarkets (that typically belong to large international chains, such as Tesco, Auchan, Interspar) and shopping malls. These stores operated on a seven-day week, opening from early morning until late evening (sometimes 24 hour). The positional power of hypermarkets was (is) strong, they acted as a dominant power in the Hungarian retail market. This is illustrated by data from the *Hungarian Central Statistical Office (KSH)* according to which there were 170 hypermarkets in Hungary in 2014 (a 10% increase from 2010) and the share of hypermarkets in the total retail turnover between 2011-2014 was 14-15%. (*KSH* 2015a). The importance of shopping malls is attested to by the fact that there were 121 shopping malls in Hungary, 41 of which in the capital Budapest (*KSH* 2015b).

Consumers can also be referred to as beneficiaries of deregulation, as 24/7 consumption can easily be considered as a natural feature of consumer society which means that all restrictions bring about some imbalance. Furthermore – and, in particular, along one’s political lines – a part of them are likely to support restrictions on consumption and/or the idea of free Sundays in line with conservative values. Solidarity with workers can be mentioned as another partial argument in favor of the change, as shown by our own primary research²² (*Neulinger – Kenesei* 2016).

Challengers are the local retail chains and small and specialized stores. Local retail chains represent a substantial portion of household food expenditures, however, unlike hypermarkets, their retail units are principally located in central, heavily populated parts of towns. The importance of local retail chains is highlighted by the fact that the combined annual turnover of the two major Hungarian purchasing associations in 2014 was comparable in scale to the combined annual turnover of the two leading hypermarket

²² N = 700, data collected in May 2015.

chains in Hungary (*Trademagazin* 2015). These purchasing associations expected the change in shopping hours to be to their advantage and therefore were in favor of the restrictions on Sunday opening. Small specialized shops were also to expect favorable changes as (depending on size and ownership) they are allowed to be open on Sundays.

The third key actor, namely *governance units*, are the Hungarian Parliament and Government. Civil society has been traditionally weak in Hungary due to the lack of solidarity, autonomy, creativity and tolerance and thus the civil sphere has a negligible effect as a regulatory force (*Szabó* 2009). The restrictions on Sunday opening had been on the government's agenda for years as a result of the smaller coalition party's repeated initiatives. The initiatives presented in 2007 and 2009 failed to garner political support, even though the 2009 initiative reached the debate phase in Parliament. The question reappeared in 2014 when it was officially proposed for debate in Parliament and was subsequently passed. Both the draft law and its introduction were accompanied by heavy public disapproval and this negative attitude from the population was clearly visible through various polls carried out (as civil initiatives and in civil funding) after the introduction of the law. Results show that nearly 60% of the population was in favor of Sunday opening at the time the law was introduced. In a follow-up poll three months after the introduction, this proportion was up to 72% (*Median* 2015). These results, however, have had no effect on political decision-making.

Structure, functional flows, outcomes

Due to the change in regulation the Hungarian retail market underwent a restructuring. A longer period of time is needed for a rigorous analysis backed up by statistical data to appear, however, the first results are already interesting as they partially contradict both

the government's intentions and challengers' expectations, as national retail chains saw a decrease in turnover while discount supermarkets and hypermarkets were able to grow stronger. Data from market research company GfK Hungary (*Nol* 2015) shows that in the period from March to October 2015, hard discount stores' share in household spending grew by 5.4%, Hungarian supermarket chains decreased by 6.8%, and multinational hypermarkets and supermarkets grew respectively by 1.7% and 2.9%. At the same time, small independent stores were able to grow their share by 3%.

Reactions to the situation by shops included an augmented flexibility but also, sometimes, a passage to the "grey area". Taking advantage of a legal loophole, that the regulation does not apply to the area of traditional markets, a number of shops (mostly members of local chains) tried to be declared market halls. At the same time, others opened branches at service stations to which different rules apply. The findings of a national survey conducted among domestic population about the ban on Sunday shopping and the subsequently altered shopping habits are as follows (*Neulinger – Kenesei* 2016):

- According to consumers, weekend shopping, now limited to Saturdays, is overall more crowded and unpleasant compared to the situation before the new regulation.
- Half of the population didn't like the change, and therefore emotional reactions are strong. Additionally, 20% of the total population feels the new law is a burden to their freedom and is against their autonomy.
- Four fifths of respondents are influenced to some degree by the new regulation, while half of the respondents indicated being strongly influenced in their shopping habits. In total, one-third of the population reported that they had to change their shopping habits.
- Some demographic characteristics do not play a part in differentiating the perception of the new regulation: gender, level of education, profession and income have no significant

influence on the opinions. Nevertheless, youngsters below 30 years of age and people living in the capital are upset at an above average level. In relation to the forced changes in shopping habits, the most influenced groups are the following: youngsters below 30 years of age, people living in the capital, couples living with a child below 18 years of age, occasional weekend workers.

- The political orientation proved to be significant: only 15% of people supporting the governing party are upset by the new law, while the same ratio is 63% among people supporting any of the opposition parties.
- The relationship between shopping, work and private life has become more fractured. Time pressure and the related feeling of being pushed (10% of spontaneous answers) shows that peaceful shopping during weekdays is the luxury of only a few.
- 10% of spontaneous answers indicated that Sunday shopping in the past was fun (hedonistic) while shopping during weekdays and on Saturdays cannot be described by these feelings. Furthermore, the delay and also the cancel of shopping is a potential consequence of the restricted shopping hours. These are typically non-food shopping situations, which involve the family's presence and their shared decisions.
- As a result, weekend shopping has become more functional and less hedonistic. It means that weekend shopping has lost its entertaining and convenient nature, which was highly appreciated by an important consumer segment.
- Respondents also mentioned macro level social consequences of the Sunday shopping ban (10%) and these opinions mainly related to the interest of the retail employees and were mentioned primarily by the supporters of the regulation.
- The ban on Sunday shopping is a major issue for consumers who have an above average reliance on hypermarkets in grocery shopping and often used to do their shopping on Sundays.

- Purchases only slightly shifted to online channels: 13% of respondents indicated having ordered a required product on the internet at least once since the regulation coming into force.
- Shopping in small and specialized stores can only be considered a partial substitute as these shops operate with higher prices and narrower choice.
- Based on the above, one can conclude that behavioral adaptation of actors – by dint of the law in force – was immediate. At the same time, a change on the affective and cognitive levels can hardly be achieved in a short period.

To sum up, the framework of MAS theory made it possible to explore the drives of a dynamically-changing complex system. An overview of the interactions between social mechanisms and actors helps in understanding the reasons why a state regulation triggers the rejection or acceptance of actors of the micro level (consumers, firms) and its effects on a marketing system, in our case, retail trade.

On a closing note the thoughts of *de Tocqueville* (1993) on the American democracy and economic freedom are worth mentioning. He states that it is a dangerous thing to restrict people especially in matters of detail as freedom might be more important in small matters than great and vague matters. This is especially true for today's consumer society, where individuals' social legitimacy and representation are built upon the act of consumption, and where the ways of spending money are more important than the ways of earning it (*Clarke et al.* 2003). This is all the more true in the Hungarian context where the ban on Sunday shopping might be perceived as an attack on the private sphere newly regained since the 60s and 70s (*Valuch* 2013). This brings the factors of social mechanism to the fore, and among them, puts the emphasis on the importance of historical

embeddedness and within, the formation of a consumer society (*Hofmeister – Neulinger* 2011).

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“Cosmeceutical Claims”: Deceptiveness, Consumer Welfare, and Public Policy Implications

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Abstract

The area of cosmeceutical claims in advertising appears to be ripe for additional investigative endeavor and consequently, the purpose of this paper is to assess the nature and potential deceptiveness of cosmeceutical claims, as well as propose possible public policy implications that may arise from a further examination of these claims. We hope in this research to provide much needed information about the nature of cosmeceutical claims that might guide public policy makers on the level and type of regulation (if any) that might be appropriate.

Introduction

The study of advertising claims has a rich and extensive research tradition and history in Marketing. For example, environmental advertising claims have been examined in a number of contexts including identification of specific types of “green” claims that may be represented in environmentally-oriented ads as well as the potential susceptibility for certain claim types to be perceived as misleading/deceptive (cf. Cummins, Reilly, Carlson, Grove, and Dorsch 2014; Carlson, Grove, and Kangun 1993).

More recently, researchers have also begun investigating claims appearing in cosmetic advertising (e.g., Fowler, Reisenwitz, and Carlson 2015) with the objective of again identifying the types of claims that characterize cosmetic advertising as well as tendencies of such claims to be perceived as misleading/deceptive. The results of the study by Fowler, Reisenwitz, and Carlson (2015) suggested that cosmetic claims were indeed classifiable (the authors developed six categories of cosmetic claims that seemed to encompass the scope of claim types that existed). Moreover, these authors also determined that certain of their claim categories may also be more disposed to being deemed as misleading/deceptive. In general, more claims of all types were viewed as evidencing misleading/deceptive tendencies than being perceived as acceptable. More specifically, cosmetic claims declaring superiority attributes were likely to be considered untrue while claims having a scientific orientation were thought of as being vague and/or omitting information that would be essential for consumers to fully comprehend the meaning and connotation of the claim.

Relatedly, Fowler, Reisenwitz, and Carlson (2015) mention in their article a specific type of cosmetic claim (perhaps of a “scientific” nature) that may be particularly troublesome to both consumers and public policy makers, i.e., “cosmeceuticals” or claims which infer that the cosmetic has attractiveness enhancement benefits as well as implying (but not fully substantiating) that the alleged truthfulness of the cosmetic is scientifically based. Consequently, cosmeceutical is a “hybrid” expression derived by combining cosmetic and pharmaceutical (Fowler, Reisenwitz, and Carlson 2015, p.195). An example of a cosmeceutical claim would be a cosmetic alleging its ability to actually remove skin wrinkles as opposed to merely masking the wrinkles (Fowler, Reisenwitz, and Carlson 2015).

Because cosmeceutical claims appear to contain properties of both cosmetics as well as pharmaceutical products they may represent a “grey area” in that such claims are neither entirely classifiable as cosmetics nor as pharmaceuticals (Fowler, Reisenwitz, and Carlson 2015). Consequently, the jurisdiction domain applicable to cosmeceuticals is unclear, i.e., if cosmeceuticals were strictly viewed as under the umbrella of pharmaceutical province then the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) could exert authority over the potential misleading/ deceptive nature of these claims under the auspices of the cosmeceutical representing a drug. On the other hand, the cosmetic industry would prefer that such claims are viewed as “natural” (i.e., not a drug) thereby avoiding FDA supervision even though substantiation of claims that is provided is often based on incomplete or insufficient testing (Fowler, Reisenwitz, and Carlson 2015).

The unclear nature of the jurisdiction domain that surrounds cosmeceutical advertising claims is not aided by the reality that the FDA does not even acknowledge the existence of this product category. Indeed, the FDA specifically notes that the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act does not “recognize any such category as ‘cosmeceuticals’” and moreover, that the “term ‘cosmeceuticals’ has no meaning under the law” (FDA 2016). The unclear nature of how cosmeceuticals and advertising of these products are being considered and viewed from a macromarketing perspective is further clouded by the reality that the US is one of only two nations that allow direct to consumer advertising of pharmaceuticals. Moreover, advertising of pharmaceutical products to consumers is a sizeable and rapidly growing phenomenon in the US (DeLorme et al 2006).

Consequently, consumers may have to proceed with little direction together with concomitant caution when consuming these products. Specifically, the jurisdiction domain regarding cosmeceutical claims does not span the entire scope of why these claims may deserve additional scrutiny and/or at a minimum, further clarification by researchers and policy makers as a means to aid consumer decision making. For example and from a consumer welfare perspective, consumers of cosmeceuticals, in general, are not convinced as to the veracity of cosmeceutical advertising claims nor do they believe that they are receiving the information that they need to comprehend fully these claims. Moreover, and perhaps most important, cosmeceutical product consumers also want more information in the claims, i.e., the informational “value” of a cosmeceutical advertising claim is the most important reason in determining whether consumers try the advertised cosmeceutical product (Meng and Pan 2012).

Thus, further investigation of the nature and scope of cosmeceutical advertising claims seems warranted especially to determine the degree to which consumer informational needs are being met.

Even though, as noted above, Fowler, Reisenwitz, and Carlson (2015) make mention of the dilemma surrounding cosmeceutical advertising claims, they do not actually investigate issues affiliated with cosmeceutical claims that might provide additional needed background for consumers as well as the FDA (and/or perhaps other public policy-makers) to make better, more well informed decisions about these claims and their affiliated products. For example, to our knowledge no prior study to date has targeted cosmeceutical claims specifically in order to determine the incidence and format of these claims. That is, do these claims appear frequently in ads, how might they be described in terms of their dominant and recurrent characteristics, are they likely to be perceived as

misleading/deceptive as might be inferred from prior work such as that conducted by Fowler, Reisenwitz, and Carlson (2015)? Hence, the area of cosmeceutical claims appears to be ripe for additional investigative endeavor and consequently, the purpose of this paper is to assess the nature and potential deceptiveness of cosmeceutical claims as well as propose possible public policy implications that may arise from a further examination of these claims. This paper continues by reviewing relevant research streams that pertain to this purpose.

Linguistics in Advertising

Persuasion is the primary purpose of creating advertising campaigns, which is what rhetoric language, tries to do (Schiappa and Hamm 2007). The use of rhetoric in advertising language is a strategy used by advertising companies to persuade their consumers. Arroyo (2014) defines this strategy as, “persuasive stylistic choices.” Rhetoric as an ancient discipline, meant the skills of eloquent speech, and according to a line of thought headed by Plato, it was believed that a repertoire of skills in persuasive speech could win any argument, without any concern for questions of truth or beauty (Mauranen 1993).

Rhetoric is applied in advertising through the use of rhetorical figures. Rhetorical figures are artful deviations from the usual way language is used. They appear either verbally or visually in advertising (McQuarrie and Mick 1996; Phillips and McQuarrie 2004). This frequent use of rhetorical figures, shows that practitioners consider them a critical part in securing ad effectiveness (Mothersbaugh, Huhmann, and Franke 2002). Incorporating rhetorical figures in advertising generates fruitful outcomes from cognitive and attitudinal

standpoints (McQuarrie and Mick 1999; Mothersbaugh, Huhmann, and Franke 2002). However, the effectiveness of rhetorical figures has mostly been explored within positive or neutral ad contexts rather than controversial, such as violence or racism, ones which not only generate consumer objections but also are on the rise (Mothersbaugh, Huhmann, and Franke 2002; Capella et al. 2010; Manceau and TissierDesbordes 2006; Dahl, Frankenberger, and Manchanda 2003).

Some argue that the contribution of rhetoric to advertising is twofold: firstly, to point out that some of the choices available concern stylistic elements; secondly, to give a more detailed appraisal of how these elements operate in advertising (McQuarrie and Phillips 2008). These thoughts have led to another link with pragmatics, which is defined by Sperber and Wilson (2012) as, “the study of how contextual factors interact with linguistic meaning in the interpretation of utterances.” In a broad sense it can be argued that pragmatics is concerned with elements that lie outside the realm of grammar, that is, with contextual information and the audience’s inferential abilities (Arroyo 2013).

It is possible to interpret the message’s meaning, but misunderstand the communicator’s intent (Percy 1980). Advertisers over the years have found language complexity a hard scale to balance, especially with the use of technical or scientific language. Some have researched that consumers have negative attitudes toward technical language (Bradley and Meeds 2002). Conversely, Meeds (2002) found that if technical language is used and is followed by an explanation of its meaning, consumers found the language insightful and showed positive attitudes toward the ads (Bradley and Meeds 2002). Percy believes that there are more variables that go hand-in-hand with language complexity. While there may

be a complex grammatical language in the heading, a visual could be placed below it to help consumers see the message and override a negative attitude (Percy 1980).

In a series of experiments investigating language complexity and attitude formation in advertisements, Lowery (1998) suggested that complex language had implications for advertising persuasiveness, apart from its effects on comprehension. In a broadcast format where the viewer could not control the pace of the message, Lowery (1998) found that a moderate complexity had a negative effect on the recall and recognition but had no effect on the attitudes. In a print medium, Lowery found that syntax did affect attitudes, specifically interacting with the strength of the claim in that study, but it did not affect the recall and recognition. Therefore, we speculate that with the use of scientific language in advertising, it can have a high language complexity that may affect the recall and attitudes towards the advertisement.

Scientific Claims in Advertising

The traditional model of science communication includes the idea that “popularization” is a “diffusion” process, in which scientific or technical information is “disseminated” to broad, uniformed publics (Lewestien 1995). Scientific language can be defined in a broad sense as, “communication amongst specialists” (Arroyo 2013). Its specificity is reflected on a number of distinctive features that have been the focus of attention in several studies and could be summarized as: a) brevity, in a conscious attempt to do away with distortions in the information conveyed; b) accuracy, the very nature of scientific topics tends to avoid both semantic and conceptual ambiguity; and c) objectivity, impartially supported by evidence (Barras 1978; Cabre 1999; Alcaraz 2000; Fuertes Olivera 2007).

Perez-Llantada (2012) observed that brevity and accuracy in scientific discourse involve the use of highly complex means. These terms did contribute to the accuracy and truthfulness in reporting disciplinary knowledge; they also simultaneously fulfill a gate-keeping function in discourse (Perez-Llantada 2012).

Another form of scientific language is called pseudo-scientific language. Pseudo-scientific, as defined by Oxford Dictionaries Online, is a collection of beliefs or practices mistakenly regarded as being based on scientific method (www.oxforddictionaries.com). Cosmetic companies often use “scientific” and “pseudo-scientific” interchangeably, like they are synonyms. It is often used in advertising copy as a persuasive method to convince consumers of the products effectiveness (Ringlow 2013). Ringlow (2013) believes that the increase of pseudo-scientific language in advertising is due to the growing trend of “cosmeceutical,” which is a cosmetic product that is blended with pharmaceuticals (Ringlow 2013). The legal distinction between drugs and cosmetics is that drugs are products which cure, treat, mitigate or prevent disease or that affect the structure or function of the human body. Conversely, cosmetics do not. An Example of a cosmeceutical is an Alpha Hydroxy Acid (AHA): an exfoliant which can remove the surface layer of skin to treat scars, wrinkles, acne and lighten skin. As removing a layer of skin could be regarded as affecting body structure, this could be considered a drug under FDA regulations (Ringlow 2013; Alpha Hydroxy Acids in Cosmetics 2011).

Another application of pseudo-scientific language in advertising is pseudo-scientific jargon or PSJs. It is explained by Chaudhuri and Laha (2005) as uncommon to ordinary consumers and often has no genuine scientific. This type of advertising is common in technical and cosmetic products and is frequently used in advertising copy blocks (Meeds

1998). Arroyo (2013) further elaborates on the idea that scientific language is only assessable to peer-colleagues in the discipline, and the terminology is not meant for non-specialists (Arroyo 2013). In the cosmetic industry there has been an increase in the frequency of scientific language, herein lies the problem in which Arroyo describes. Scientific terminology is not meant for the general public or lay readers (Arroyo 2013). There is much debate on how scientific language has impact on consumers. The use of scientific-sounding language can be seen as a slightly unusual technique in beauty advertising as there is not always a clear connection (Ringlow 2013).

Cosmeceutical Claims and Public Policies

Cosmetics were not regulated until the 1930s (Liang and Hartman 1999; Newburger 2009). After 16 cases of blindness associated with the use of Lash Lure Eyelash aniline dye in the 1930s, Congress took action to protect consumers regarding their usage of cosmetics (Riordan 2004). The FDCA set the regulatory infrastructure for cosmetics based upon prevailing knowledge at that time. The Act was modified in 1960 by the Color Additive Amendment and again in 1966 by the Federal Fair Packaging and Labeling Act. The criteria for evaluating cosmetics is supposed to be very similar to the criteria for evidence-based medicine: controlled clinical studies using large panels with “blinded” volunteers, use of accepted instrumental technology and/or proven clinical assessment methodologies, well-chosen measurement parameters, and statistical analysis of the results (“Evidence-Based Cosmetics” 2011). However, Congress put more stringent controls on the manufacture and preparation of foods and drugs than on cosmetics (Newburger 2009).

The FDA is charged with enforcing the FDCA in terms of policing cosmetics that use labeling that is false or misleading (Liang and Hartman 1999). The gray area between the strictly-defined cosmetic and the strictly-defined drug is the category, cosmeceuticals, which claim to have both cosmetic and pharmaceutical effects (Liang and Hartman 1999; Rinaldi 2008). However, many cosmetics ads today still use terms such as Apple Stem Cell Technology, KeraTriplex, Pro-Xylane, Patented XFIT LYCRA, docosahexaenoic acid without giving any explanation to the viewers.²³

Theoretical Framework

When looking at consumer attitudes there are two routes to attitude change in social and consumer psychology. The first route is the central route, which “views attitude change as resulting from a person’s diligent consideration of information that he or she feels is central to the true merits of a particular attitudinal position (Petty, Cacioppo, and Schumann 1983).” Central processing requires more cognitive effort than peripheral processing and is more influential on attitudes when elaboration likelihood is high (Whittler and Spira 2002). The theoretical approaches to this theory emphasize factors such as 1) the cognitive justification of attitude discrepant behavior (Cummings and Venkatesan 1976; Festinger 1957), 2) the comprehension, learning, and retention of issue or product-relevant information (Bettman 1979; Hovland, Janis, and Kelly 1953; McGuire 1976), 3) the nature of a person’s idiosyncratic cognitive responses to external communications (Cacioppo and Petty 1980a; Greenwald 1968; Petty, Ostrom, and Brock 1981; Wright 1980), and 4) the manner in which a person combines and integrates issue or product-relevant beliefs into and overall evaluative reaction (Ajzen and Fishbein 1980; Lutz and Bettman 1977; Troutman and Shanteau 1976). Attitudes change induced via the

²³ Please see appendix A for additional examples.

central route are postulated to be relatively enduring and predictive of behavior (Cialdini, Petty, and Cacioppo 1981).

The second route is the peripheral route, attitude changes that occur because the attitude issue or object is associated with positive or negative cues (Petty, Cacioppo, and Schumann 1983). The person makes a simple implication about the worth of the supported position based on various simple cues in the persuasion context (Petty, Cacioppo, and Schumann 1983). Theoretical approaches for this theory emphasize factors such as 1) whether a simple attitude implication can be made based on observing one's own behavior (Bem 1972; Scott 1978) whether the support falls within one's latitude of acceptance or rejection (Newman and Dolich 1979; Sherif, Sherif, and Nebergall 1965), 3) whether some fleeting situation usefulness is associated with adopting a particular attitude (Schlenker 1978, 1980), and 4) whether a supported position or product is classically conditioned to basic but issue-relevant cues, such as food and pain (Janis, Kaye, and Kirschner 1965; Sternthal and Craig 1974), or is associated with secondary cues such as pleasant pictures and attractive endorsers (Kelman 1961; Mitchell and Olson 1981; Mowen 1980). Attitude change under the peripheral route is postulated to be relatively temporary and unpredictable of behavior (Petty, Cacioppo, and Schumann 1983).

Attitude changes that occur via the peripheral route do not occur because an individual has personally considered the pros and cons of the issue, but because the attitude issue or object is associated with positive or negative cues. For example, rather than diligently considering the issue-relevant arguments, a person may accept an advocacy simply because it was presented during a pleasant lunch or because the source is an expert. Similarly, a person may reject an advocacy simply because the position presented appears

to be too extreme (Petty, Cacioppo, and Schumann 1983). Peripheral cues like the spokesperson for a product, play a big role in how consumers perceive a product or service. Factors can include but are not limited to the spokesperson's attractiveness, race, or age, depending on the audience. When message recipients engage in peripheral processing, a cue in the persuasion setting may activate a simple decision rule that allows judgment formation without argument scrutiny (Whittler and Spira 2002).

The accumulated research on persuasion clearly indicates that neither the central or peripheral approach alone can account for the diversity of attitude-change results observed (Petty, Cacioppo, and Schumann 1983). Therefore, a general framework for understanding attitude change must consider that in some situations people are avid seekers and manipulators of information, and in others they are best described as "cognitive misers" who eschew any difficult intellectual activity (Burnkrant 1976; McGuire 1969). As such, this theory provides a potential provides theoretical explanation on how consumers view the cosmeceutical claims in advertising, and the potential impact of such claims on consumers.

Method and Findings

The content analysis and cognitive response approach are appropriate to access potential impact cosmeceutical claims on consumers. Content analysis was employed to examine the nature of cosmetics advertising claims, as it can serve to derive inferences from the text in claim and provide a scientific description of claim content (Krippendorff 1980). As such, content analysis is useful both in the context of justification for establishing patterns, which help to support existing theories, and in the context of discovery for establishing patterns on which to formulate new theories (Kolbe and Burnett 1991). In other words,

content analysis is useful to identify content usage and patterns (Torres, Sierra, and Heiser 2007). The following passages describe how the initial typology was developed and used to examine the nature of the claims in the sample ads.

Content Analysis

The typology for the content analysis is adapted from Carlson et al. (1993) and was designed to capture potentially misleading and/or deceptive aspects of the claims. Originally, the typology (Carlson et al. 1993) was developed from multiple sources (i.e., Aaker and Myers 1987; Gardner and Leonard 1990) and was recently adapted by Cummins et al. (2014). Similar to previous research (Carlson et al. 1993), a fourth category (Acceptable) was also included to avoid the implication to our judges that every claim must fall into one of the misleading categories.

[Insert Table 1 About Here]

The scientific claim classification was derived by examining a broad sample of cosmetics ads. The goal is to identify a set of mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories that reflect the nature of the claims found among the ads (Carlson, Grove and Kangun 1993). The authors then employed these categories to analyze a second, different sample cosmetics claims to ascertain the validity of the typology. As a result, the last category (scientific performance) was added to the claim type schema. This process evoked possible range of claims in cosmetics ads. To enhance the possibility of accuracy of coding, one additional category (combination) was added to identify the characteristics of more than one of the designations. The complete list of categories is presented in Table 2.

[Insert Table 2 About Here]

Based upon *Advertising Age* (2014), we chose five fashion magazine titles from 2015 that contain the most ad pages e.g., Instyle, Elle, Harper's Bazaar, Vogue, and W. For each magazine title, we selected four issues e.g., March, June/July, Sept/ Oct, and December to represent the four seasons (Some magazines combine two issues to one for June and July). Only ads with sufficient size (one page) were chosen to enhance readability (Ford et al. 1998) and duplicate ads are eliminated. 140 ads were chosen for the content analysis. Since some ads may contain multiple claims, a total of 191 claims (see Table 3/Table 4) were chosen for the study.

[Insert Table 3 About Here]

[Insert Table 4 About Here]

Three female judges then classified the claims (cosmetics ads tend to target women). The authors selected judges with diverse backgrounds to ensure that their views reflected those of the general consumer population, more so than if individuals with only cosmetics background had served as judges (Carlson et al. 1993). In other words, the prior experience and current occupations of the judges in the current study were quite diverse and may contribute to the tendency to evaluate the cosmetics claims differently²⁴.

Generally, the coding process followed the rules established in previous content analysis on deceptive claims (e.g., Carlson et al. 1993; Cummins et al. 2014). For instance, all three judges were given verbal and written descriptions/training of each typology prior to

²⁴ The reliability might have been higher if the judges come from homogeneous backgrounds (Carlson et al., 1993).

evaluating the claims. In doing so, a codebook was designed to categorize all the variables under consideration. The judges were also briefed on cosmetics advertising and were provided with an opportunity to ask questions about the coding process. The open discussion ensured that the coders were not primed to look for deceptive claims.

Content Analysis Results

An inter-judge reliability coefficient described by Perreault and Leigh (1989) was calculated for the judges' evaluation of ad claims for each typology; as this statistics is sensitive to reliability differences and is considered to be superior to other method. The reliability coefficient scores of 0.85 and 0.91 were obtained for deceptive typology and scientific claims respectively, which is considered to acceptable in content analysis (Perreault and Leigh 1989). In our case, claims that had been assigned to multiple categories were discarded from further analysis, which is consistent with the approach employed by Cummins et al. (2014).

Table 5 presents the key findings and demonstrates a summary of differences across various categories of each typology ($\chi^2=42.04$, $df=15$, $p=0.001$). In terms of the misleading categorization, the analysis revealed that claims were more often classified as Vague or Omission. For instance, scientific formula-natural tended to be classified as Omission. In addition, scientific performance claims tended to be classified as omission and false.

[Insert Table 5 About Here]

Furthermore, scientific claim types were often identified as "naturel formula based" and least often as "scientific process." Though natural formula based claims can be vague or

omission, the findings indicated that some nature ingredients can be acceptable. However, artificial ingredients seemed to be less desirable. Further, scientific performance deemed to be omission, which may due to the lack of complete information on how research was conducted.

Second Phase of the Study

Following the content analysis, the study will use a cognitive response analysis to test the impact of the cosmeceutical claims. 200 participants will be recruited and the participants will be shown a typical claim from each of the five categories, to minimize potential cues (peripheral) that they may draw upon from other elements of the ads. Participants will be asked to “please list any thoughts you have about the claims/statement in the box.” They will be allowed to use as many as box they need. In order to analyze the data, three independent judges will be recruited to code the responses into categories developed by Belch (1981) and Wright (1973). These categories are counterargument, support argument, source derogation and source bolstering. Reliability will be accessed after coding and results will be reported.

Public Policy and Consumer Welfare

The goal of this research was to delve more deeply into a specific type of advertising claim, i.e., cosmeceuticals that heretofore has not been the subject of research scrutiny that might be appropriate given their potential for being perceived as deceptive. The impetus for this research arose because of the uncertain status of whether these claims are indeed considered as misleading/deceptive by consumers and because the FDA, under whose authority the supervision of cosmetics is bestowed (i.e., in terms of assessing the safety of these products) has not assumed a regulatory role regarding advertising claims made

about cosmetics (Liang and Hartman 1999). Indeed and as noted, the FDA does not even recognize the existence of cosmeceuticals. We hoped in this research to provide much needed information about the nature of cosmeceutical claims (in terms of claim types) that might guide public policy makers on the level and form of intervention (if any) that might be appropriate to enable and protect consumer welfare. For example, if such claims only appear rarely, if ever, in ads in media accessible to consumers of these products, then it might be argued that this is an area that does not require intervention by policy makers. If such claims DO emerge frequently in advertising appearing in sources used by cosmetics consumers, then the next step might include determining the type of claims being evidenced in cosmeceutical advertising as well as an assessment of the degree to which these claims may be perceived as misleading/deceptive in order to determine whether consumer information needs are being met. The latter is particularly important with regard to protecting consumer welfare because even though consumers desire information to help them make decisions about cosmeceutical products (Meng and Pan 2012) that information must be in a form that is useful to them (i.e., not misleading and deceptive in content).

In order to address these issues and questions, we found a total of 191 cosmeceutical product advertisements spanning a single year (2015) in only five fashion magazines. Consequently, our first conclusion is that ads for these products are in evidence within a media source that would be of interest to and used by target market consumers of these products (young women – Meng and Pan 2012). In other words, cosmeceutical advertisements are not a mere chance occurrence or an infrequent advertising phenomenon.

We next developed a typology of cosmeceutical advertising claims (see Table 2) and applied this typology via content analysis to the claims in the ads that we had gathered from the five fashion magazines. In addition and following procedures used by Carlson, Grove, and Kangun (1993) we conducted another content analysis on the same set of cosmeceutical claims this time using a misleading/deceptiveness typology in order to pinpoint cosmeceutical claim types that might be more susceptible to being deemed deceptive. Again, the purpose of this portion of the study was to determine whether consumers are receiving the form of cosmeceutical advertising information that they need in order to enhance their own consumer welfare (Meng and Pan 2012), i.e., is this information more likely to be perceived as acceptable or as misleading/deceptive by consumers of these products (we utilized judges in these content analysis who also represented target market consumers of these products)?

As indicated in Table 5, in general, cosmeceutical claims are more likely to be perceived to be misleading/deceptive than as acceptable. Moreover, misleading/deceptive claims are more likely to be deemed as vague or as an omission than as false and/or as an outright lie. Further analysis revealed that scientific formula-natural claims (ones which claim a natural ingredient is being used in the product such as marine collagen) and scientific performance claims (ones which cite research based product performance outcomes) were more likely to be classified as an omission or as vague. This result should not necessarily be viewed as a positive since the claims, in general, are perceived to be misleading/deceptive rather than as acceptable.

Consequently and in addition to our first conclusion that cosmeceutical claims are being manifested, we can also conclude from our findings that the information content of these

claims is not of the type that consumers of these products want or need. As opposed to providing information that could lead to better and more accurate decision making about consuming cosmeceuticals, consumers of these products are instead being given ad based information that is at best vague and at worst is even perceived as lies (at least to our judges who represented cosmeceutical consumers). Consequently, consumer welfare is not being enhanced and the FDA's current stance of not recognizing the existence of cosmeceuticals as a product category is not in keeping with consumer protection at least within the confines of this product. As noted, the US Congress acted after 16 cases of blindness resulted from consumer use of an eyelash dye in the 1930s (Riordan 2004). The FDA's failure to even recognize cosmeceuticals as a product category suggests that cosmeceutical's potential for instigating similar instances of consumer harm is being disregarded at the Federal level in the US. Moreover, the nature of cosmeceutical claims as we determined also suggests that consumers do not have the type of information they need in order to protect themselves.

The U.S. is one of only two countries (New Zealand is the other) which allows direct to consumer advertising of pharmaceuticals. At present, we do not know whether disallowing this form of advertising in virtually all other countries also translates into a similar curtailing of cosmeceutical advertising in other locals. In other words, in other countries does banning direct to consumer advertising also translate into fewer (if any) cosmeceutical claims and/or more informative more accurate claims of this type as a result of this type of regulation? As such, further research is needed to address such issue.

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Table 1: Misleading and/or deceptive typology

Misleading types	Description
Vague/Ambiguous	The claim is overly vague or ambiguous. It contains a phrase or statement that is too broad to have a clear meaning.
Omission	The claim omits important information necessary to evaluate its truthfulness or reasonableness.
False/Outright lie	The claim is inaccurate or a fabrication.
Acceptable	The claim is classified as being acceptable.

Table 2: Scientific Claim Typology

Scientific Claims Types	Description	Examples
Scientific Image	The claim associates a general statement which results in a broad-based scientific image.	"Innovative Science"
Scientific Process	The claim deals with technology, or the production process.	"Apple Stem Cell Technology" "IntuiGen Technology"
Scientific formula-Natural	The claim is natural ingredient-based.	"Vitamin A and E"; "Argan Oil" "100% pure Elastin Protein and Marine collagen"
Scientific formula-artificial	The claim is artificial ingredient-based.	Adipofill'in complex; Mexoryz
Scientific performance	The claim involves scientific results based upon research.	"Based upon our lab research, 80 percent of women felt wrinkle were reduced within 4 weeks"
Combination	The claim appears to have multiple facets (shown above).	

Table 3: Magazine Titles and Claim Frequency

	Number of Claims	Percentage of the Claims
InStyle	73	38.2
Elle	45	23.6
Harper's Bazaar	36	18.8
Vogue	26	13.6
W	11	5.8
Total	191	100

Table 4: Product Categories

Product Categories	Number of Claims	Percentage
facial Skin care	91	47.9
Body product	14	7.4
Hair product	53	27.9
Make up	23	12.1
Nail product	1	0.5
Other	8	4.2
Total	191	100

Table 5: Cross-tabulation Claim Types*Deceptive Type

	Vague	Omission	False/Outright Lie	Acceptable	Total
Scientific Image	11 (31.4)	14(40.0)	7(20.0)	3(8.6)	35 (100)
Scientific Process	10 (58.8)	6(35.3)	0(0.0)	1(5.9)	17(100)
Scientific formula-Natural	15(25.0)	34(56.7)	0(0.0)	11(18.3)	60(100)
Scientific formula-Artificial	11(55.0)	8(40.0)	1(5.0)	0(0.0)	20(100)
Scientific Performance	3(11.5)	15(57.7)	6(23.1)	2(7.7)	26(100)
Total	50(31.6)	77(48.7)	14(8.9)	17(10.7)	158(100)

APPENDIX B



KeraTriplex® 2-Step Repair Treatment

REDUCES BREAKAGE up to	IMPROVES SHINE up to	PREVENTS COLOR FADE up to
80%	35%	67%

Strong, healthy hair begins with this revolutionary in-salon treatment



awapuhi

by PAUL MITCHELL

*Compared to untreated hair, results may vary.
Ask your stylist for details.



The Tax Profession: Tax Avoidance and the Public Interest

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Introduction

Macromarketing may be viewed as a social process and as a discipline is concerned with intended and unintended consequences of marketing. One of its key challenges is in the area of marketing ethics and distributive justice (Layton and Grossbart 2006). The concept of distributive justice may be defined as 'addressing how a community treats its members in terms of the assignments of benefits and burdens according to some standard of fairness' (Laczniak and Murphy 2008, 5). It concerns the fairness of allocations and has a clear connection to key streams of marketing literature, including ethics, public policy and macromarketing.

This paper examines tax avoidance schemes in this context and discusses their effect vis-a-vis distributive justice. Marketers look to satisfy consumers' needs and desires and in the case of tax avoidance, this inevitably means tax professionals devise schemes to minimise tax. While at the micro level these tax avoidance schemes are very beneficial to direct consumers, the tax profession does not address their macro level impact. Fiscal pressures world-wide have resulted in more focused attention on this macro level impact; Apple, Google, Starbucks and McDonalds are just some of the multi-national entities that find their tax practices under scrutiny.

The tax profession has significant potential to influence tax authorities and consumers, both in an advisory and compliance capacity. Its role in devising and marketing avoidance schemes creates the very thing it should be working against, an un-level playing field that benefits only a very small segment of society. This undermines the integrity of the tax system and the concept of distributive justice. Such ethical failures weaken the tax profession and 'call into question the extent to which professionals in fact operate in a manner consistent with the public interest' (Stuebs and Wilkinson 2010, 13). The 'public interest' debate is an issue that the tax profession can no longer ignore.

The objective of the paper is to critically examine the Irish tax profession's response to this public interest debate. The paper evaluates the current Irish position regarding tax avoidance. It also reviews guidelines on tax avoidance vis-à-vis the tax profession internationally. It contributes to the growing avoidance debate by suggesting some recommendations which may be developed to promote distributive justice and thereby better serve the public interest.

The paper is structured as follows: Section 2 reviews academic literature regarding distributive justice and the role of the tax profession; Section 3 examines the current Irish tax avoidance position; Section 4 establishes a comparative review of tax avoidance practices and guidance in the international context, comprising the US, the UK and Australia. Section 5 concludes with some key findings and recommendations in relation to the Irish context.

Literature Review

Distributive Justice

A fair and equitable tax system is a key component of an effective democratic system. The tax burden of such a system weighs heavier on those with a greater ability to pay which aligns with the concept of distributive justice. This 'demands that individual citizens be taxed according to their capabilities to support the common good' (Curran 1985, 126).

However, the marketing of aggressive tax avoidance schemes refutes this concept, ensuring that those institutions/individuals that can afford to pay pay the least, thereby placing a heavier burden on those who do not have the capacity to avoid tax. Rawls' (1971) Theory of Justice considers fairness as a pivotal component of distributive justice. He derived the difference principle which asserts that social policies should be evaluated and inequalities arranged to the benefit of the least well-off in society. Tax avoidance interferes with this concept because:

- It reduces the overall revenue intake for governments to promote the common good (Keightley and Sherlock 2012)
- It places a heavier burden on the tax payer who has little opportunity to avoid tax (ActionAid 2011)
- It benefits the wealthy in society, thereby widening the wealth gap (Wolff 2012)
- It creates unfair competition between international and state companies, thereby harming home grown companies (OECD 2013)
- It violates the social contract with the societies in which the companies operate (Christensen and Murphy 2004; Sikka 2010).

To date, the tax profession has been reluctant to address the ethics of marketing tax avoidance schemes, in part because the externalities are borne by society and not by the professional firms.

The Role of the Tax Profession

The literature posits that professions possess a 'service ideal' which incorporates 'serving the public' or 'protecting the public interest' (Pierce 2007, 7). Professionals must also 'provide socially valuable knowledge in a competent and socially responsible way' (Neu 1991, 295) to both direct and indirect beneficiaries (Middlehurst and Kennie 1997; Pierce 2007; Robinson 2009). It has been argued that the tax professional's duty is to present the facts of the law to the client and to let the client decide what path to choose. Raby (1966) asserts that the tax professional 'has no moral right to substitute his own scale of values for the client's scale of values' (716). Similarly Stainer, Stainer and Segal (1997) contend that the morality of tax avoidance should be left to the taxpayer and not to the tax professional 'because of the subjectivity of what is or is not moral' (216). However, Hite (2003) reports that taxpayers' reliance on their tax advisor bears significant influence over their approach to tax compliance.

Tax professionals' in-depth knowledge of the tax system and their technical competence enable them to devise intricate tax minimising avoidance strategies. Further, the tax profession not only lobbies government but also advises governments on appropriate changes to tax systems to yield a more equitable system for society. However, in influencing and shaping tax policy, one must question how the profession balances private versus societal interest. The recent focus on the supply side of these avoidance schemes means that there is increasing pressure on the profession to examine its role and influence

in this area. Media attention has highlighted a number of notable criticisms of tax professionals' role in facilitating tax avoidance practices. At the World Economic Forum in 2013, the UK Prime Minister David Cameron made reference to the 'travelling caravan of lawyers, accountants and financial gurus' when discussing the difficulty of dealing with aggressive tax avoidance (Elliot and Stewart 2013). Former Chair of the UK Committee of Public Accounts, Margaret Hodge, has been very vocal in her condemnation of tax advisors stating 'What depresses me is that you [tax advisors] could contribute so much to society and the public good and you all choose to focus on an area that reduces the resources available for us' (UK Committee of Public Accounts 2013).

Taxation, perceived as a cost to corporations, is a vital resource for governments to enable them to achieve their public service agenda. It is also is also a very lucrative business for tax professionals who assist multi-nationals in designing and establishing elaborate, complex tax avoidance schemes. The tax profession operates in a very competitive environment and high fees may be generated by establishing an expertise in tax avoidance. Doyle, Hughes and Glaister (2009) assert that 'this kind of environment may foster a reduction in the level of ethical behaviour as advisers strive to obtain and retain clients' (182). Their study of senior tax managers in Ireland found that the tax profession views 'the servicing of the client as being the primary duty of a tax professional' (188) and that tax managers are more concerned with reputational damage via-a-vis tax avoidance schemes rather than ethical aspects. This view is supported by Shafer and Simmons (2008) and Doyle (2015) who suggest that 'some tax advisers have abandoned concern for the public interest or social welfare in favour of commercialism and client advocacy' and 'do not believe strongly in the value of ethical or socially responsible corporate behaviour' (183).

Current Irish Position regarding Tax Avoidance

In 2007, the Chairman of the Irish tax administration organisation, the Office of the Revenue Commissioners (RC), Frank Daly (2007) admitted that ‘there is no great meeting of minds’ with tax professionals on the issue of tax avoidance. This opinion was reinforced by RC Chairwoman, Josephine Feehily, when she stated that tax professionals ‘think avoidance is legal and evasion is illegal and that it is as simple as that, whereas the Office of the Revenue Commissioners sees aggressive tax planning as a matter that must be challenged’ (Public Accounts Committee 2011).

The Irish tax profession has been slow to recognise tax avoidance as an issue. The Irish Taxation Institute (ITI) is the leading professional tax body in Ireland and has a lot of influence in the tax avoidance debate. However, it has placed little focus on the ethics of tax avoidance or on guiding its members on an ethical approach when advising clients of tax efficient solutions. While ITI’s guidelines recommend the avoidance of ‘any action that discredits the profession’ (Irish Taxation Institute 2016), it does not address the ambiguity of how a tax professional should balance the public versus private interest in the complex topic of tax avoidance. Interestingly, the ITI’s code of professional conduct does not mention tax avoidance, a critical risk area in the provision of tax advice to clients. This may be because the ITI does not view any form of tax avoidance as unethical; it has stated that ‘aggressive tax avoidance’ is subjective and ‘while some might want it to be, tax compliance is not a moral issue. Legal tax avoidance is legal’ (McCaughren 2005). Therefore, relevant legislation would appear to be the predominant influencing factor within the Irish tax profession.

Current International Tax Avoidance Practices

Tax inversion is one of the more prominent tax avoidance practices. It is the practice of relocating an organisation's legal domicile to a lower-tax jurisdiction (*de jure*) while retaining material operations in its higher-tax country of origin (*de facto*). There is particular concern with regard to such operations in the US where the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) imposes tax on the profits of American entities' foreign business subsidiaries (US Treasury 2016). There is a strong incentive for US corporations to seek non-US domicile and the IRS perceives that significant tax revenues are being avoided. Typical arrangements include the establishment of a new parent company incorporated in a 'territorial' low-tax jurisdiction and the restructuring of US operations as a subsidiary entity. All profits ultimately are channelled to the foreign parent company rather than the US subsidiary, thereby falling outside the scope of the IRS. Further, some corporations also avoid paying US taxes on profits generated by US subsidiaries via the use of artificial inter-company loans from companies in low-tax countries to US companies. The interest on these loans is used to further reduce the profits assessable to tax in the US.

These arrangements have been the focus of many US governments and various pieces of anti-inversion legislation were enacted. Media scrutiny reported that many US citizens feel very strongly about this and consider the approach "unpatriotic", as these companies continue to take advantage of the benefits of being based in the US, while shifting the taxation burden to smaller businesses and American families (US Treasury 2016). In early 2016, the US government felt pressurised to take action to deal with a potential merger of Pfizer (US domicile) and Allergan (Irish domicile) and in April 2016, introduced new rules to reduce the benefits of and limit the number of tax inversions. In the immediate

aftermath, the proposed \$160 billion Pfizer/Allergan merger was terminated (Sloan 2016).

On a macro level, international best practice highlights the necessity of codes of professional conduct tailored to tax agents. Interestingly, many of the changes in professional codes to incorporate tax professionals have been in response to wider governmental concerns. For example, the Australian code of professional conduct promoted by The Tax Institute Australia was prompted by a 2002 State Senate Report and is further strengthened within legislative provision (Tooma 2006). Similarly, the American Institute of Certified Public Accountant (AICPA) established standards of conduct in relation to the promoting abusive tax shelters to incorporate the recommendations of the US Senate sub-committees (US Senate Permanent Sub-Committee on Investigation 2003). Other jurisdictions are however still in the process of implementing recommendation; for example, the UK Public Accounts Committee recommended that the UK Treasury establish a code of conduct for tax advisors to clearly set out 'acceptable' tax planning (UK Committee of Public Accounts 2013). This recommendation has not been implemented.

Conclusion

Given the influential position the tax professional holds, the profession needs to embrace its responsibility to promote the public interest. It is in neither the tax profession nor government's interest to see the Irish tax system undermined and therefore the RC and the tax profession need to forge closer working relationships and agree the way forward in relation to what is acceptable and what is not. The RC and the tax profession express one common objective: both want a fair and workable tax system. If the system is constantly being undermined by tax avoidance, this system will be compromised and, in the long term, this is not in the public interest. As highlighted above, the tax professional

plays a key role in advising on tax avoidance and therefore the 'professional can do much to support or undermine the integrity of the tax system' (Jackson and Milliron 1989, 82). However, to address the balance between public and self-interest 'will necessitate a return to an emphasis on integrity and the profession's responsibility to serve public interest' (Stuebs and Wilkinson 2010, 30).

The ITI needs to re-assess its current position on the ethical dimension of tax avoidance. With tax revenues under severe pressure, the profession needs to demonstrate more commitment to social responsibility and communicate ethical issues regarding aggressive tax avoidance to its members. Given that it is not possible to regulate for all events/circumstances, codes of conduct must become part of the arena, so that practitioners operate within the spirit of the legislation. The paper proposes a set of guidelines embracing distributive justice that could be incorporated in the profession's code of conduct. The tax profession needs to proactively engage in addressing public concerns; persistent refusal to recognise the need for change will ultimately damage the profession and result in increased regulation and legislation.

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Hyper Norms among Companies Based in Developing Countries

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Abstract

In 2011, Laczniaik and Kennedy identified a series of hyper norms underlying the codes of conduct recommended by several global organizations as guidelines for international business. In 2012, Rittenburg and Ekici presented results of a preliminary study indicating the presence of these hyper norms in Fortune 500 firms' corporate codes of ethics. The current study builds on this previous work by examining codes of conduct for a sample of companies in the Top 100 firms based in developing countries. This research follows Laczniaik and Kennedy's (2011) appeal to consider a bottom-up approach. Findings suggest that all the hyper norms revealed by Laczniaik and Kennedy (2011) are present in the companies' codes of conduct, but at varying levels. Future development of this research will focus on the qualitative content of these hyper norms in companies' codes of conduct.

Introduction

As the number of multinational corporations increases, so too does the need for a global code of conduct. Especially important is the guidance of developing nations who have increasing amounts of unethical behavior as they fight for survival (Gilbert and Rasche

2008). Instead of organizations adopting their own individual codes, developing a global code is beneficial as it can bring about global adoption of norms and lead international policy on integral areas of change (Windsor 2004). Such global codes provide MNCs, and especially those from developing nations, with benchmarks for comparison with one another along with behavioral guidelines (Gilbert and Rasche 2008). To date, a paternal approach has been taken to this topic as global guidelines originate from developing nations and top-down processes (Laczniak and Kennedy 2011). While it has been suggested that a global code of conduct with shared norms acceptable to all nations be developed (Rallapalli 1999; Schwartz 2005), a bottom-up approach including the views of developing nations' MNCs has not been considered.

Purpose

In 2012, Rittenburg and Ekici presented a Macromarketing paper which drew on the work of Laczniak and Kennedy (2011) and Getz (1990, 1995), as a pilot study examining corporate global codes of conduct for a small sample of companies. The current study examines corporate global codes of conduct for a sample of companies drawn from the world's top 100 non-financial transnational corporations (TNCs) based in developing countries. The purpose of the study is to identify elements included in these companies' codes of conduct to determine whether they align with Laczniak and Kennedy's hyper norms.

Method

Students in a Global Business Ethics class, who had read Laczniak and Kennedy's (2011) article, reviewed codes of conduct and made judgments about which hyper norms were

included in these codes. Using content analysis, elements are identified that seem to represent Lacznia and Kennedy's hyper norms.

Table 1. Home Countries of Multinationals Included in Sample

Argentina	Philippines
Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela	Republic of Korea
Brazil	Russian Federation
China	Saudi Arabia
Egypt	Singapore
Hong Kong	South Africa
India	Taiwan
Kuwait	Turkey
Mexico	United Arab Emirates

Analysis

Each company code of ethics document was content analyzed to identify whether and to what extent hyper norms are included in these documents. The content analysis reveals the following four categories based on the extent to which hyper norms are adopted (Figure 1). Category A includes the hypernorms that are seen in all the 38 companies' code of ethics (i.e. 100 percent adoption rate). This category contains two hyper norms: The Stakeholder Model and Compliance with Law. Category B represents hyper norms that are included in almost all of the companies' codes. These hyper norms are Labor Rights, Anticorruption and Bribery, Human Rights, Disclosure and Transparency, with adoption rates ranging from 92 percent to 95 percent. Category C represents hyper norms that are commonly recognized with adoption rates ranging from 87 percent to 89 percent. These hyper norms are Consumer Rights and Environmental Stewardship. Category D represents the lowest coverage, adoption rates ranging from 76 percent to 79 percent. Ethical Advocacy, Respect for Host Country, and Contribution to Development are the three hyper norms classified under this category.

Figure 1. Hypernorms Adoption Rate by Developing Country Firms

Category	Adoption Rate (%)	Hypernorms (%)
A	100	The Stakeholder Model (100) Compliance with law (100)
B	90-99	Labor Rights (94.7) Anticorruption and Bribery (94.7) Human Rights (92.1) Disclosure and Transparency (92.1)
C	80-89	Consumer Rights (86.8) Environmental Stewardship (89.5)
D	Below 80	Ethical Advocacy (78.9) Respect for Host Country (76.3) Contribution to Development (76.3)

In addition, we analyzed the code of ethics documents to understand the “extent” of the hyper norm coverage in each document. By “extent,” we mean how often a particular hyper norm is mentioned/stressed in the document. To measure the “extent,” we open coded the document by hyper norm, and then counted the frequency with which each hyper norm was mentioned. As can be seen in Figure 2, Compliance with Laws appears to be the most frequently mentioned hyper norm (a total of 142 times in 38 companies —on average 3.74 times in each code of ethics document). Disclosure and Transparency is the second most frequently mentioned hyper norm with a total of 127 times in 35 companies —on average 3.63 times per document/code. Similarly, Respect for Host Country and Environmental Stewardship were found to be the least frequently mentioned hyper norms, receiving 1.66 and 1.71 mentions per document.

Figure 2. Extent of Hypernorms—Average Mention per Code of Ethics Document

Category	Average mention per document	Hypernorm
Frequent	3.74	Compliance with Law

	3.63	Disclosure and Transparency
Seldom	2.74	The Stakeholder Model
	2.72	Anticorruption and Bribery
	2.56	Labor Rights
	2.26	Human Rights
Rare	1.91	Consumer Rights
	1.79	Contribution to Development
	1.73	Ethical Advocacy
	1.71	Environmental Stewardship
	1.66	Respect for Host Country

Discussion

Previous research in the area of hyper norms (Laczniak and Kennedy, 2011) had identified hypernorms in a top-down fashion. They took multinational codes of conduct that are the most followed by multinational corporations, but did not consider the codes of conduct in a bottom-up approach from multinational corporations. Further, those codes of conduct considered were created by business leaders, religious leaders and global groups such as the UN, most of which are part of developed nations. The current study instead takes a bottom-up approach by considering multinational corporations' codes of conduct. Addressing a gap in consideration of the area of hyper norms, this research looks at multinational corporations from developing nations. As many of these developing nations have differing cultures from the global codes of conduct, it is hoped that either confirmation or expansion of hyper norms can occur.

The overall analysis of Figure 1 and Figure 2 suggest that certain hyper norms (classified under C and D in Figure 1) not only lack full coverage (i.e., not all the developing country firms adopt them), but even when they are adopted, they receive less attention. Similarly, hyper norms that are classified as Categories A and B do not only receive more coverage (i.e., more than 90 percent of the companies' codes of ethics include these norms), they

also receive more frequent mention in these documents. One would notice that many of the norms listed under Categories A and B (e.g. compliance with law, human rights, labor rights, etc.) are more objectively and strictly regulated by national and international authorities. The norms listed categorized under C and D (e.g. respect for host country, contribute to development, and ethical advocacy) however, are more subjective in nature where managers' overall understandings and perceptions of what constitute ethical behavior and distributional justice play a heavier role.

According to the initial findings so far, there is some support for the hyper norms identified by Laczniak and Kennedy (2011). Each of the hypernorms has been found in a developing nation's multinational's codes of conduct. While Figure 1 tells us whether a hyper norm is covered by the company, Figure 2 indicates the potential importance of the norm given that it is mentioned more than once. When comparing Figure 1 to previous findings below shown in Figure 3, implications can be found. As is similar for the global codes of conduct, a stakeholder model is present in all developing nations' multinationals' codes of conduct. Such a similarity may point toward the stakeholder model as being an overall hyper norm.

Figure 3. Hyper Norms Adoption Rate in Global Codes of Conduct (Laczniak and Kennedy, 2011)

Category	Adoption Rate (%)	Hypernorms (%)
A	100	The Stakeholder Model (100)
B	90-99	None
C	80-89	Anticorruption and Bribery (86)
D	Below 80	Labor Rights (71) Human Rights (71) Disclosure and Transparency (71) Environmental Stewardship (71) Consumer Rights (57) Compliance with law (57) Contribution to Development (57)

		Ethical Advocacy (43) Respect for Host Country (43)
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Compliance with the law seems much more important for developing nations' multinationals than developed nations' global codes of conduct. Not only was this mentioned in all of the codes analyzed, but it is also the most frequently mentioned. This may point toward the differing culturally accepted behavior regarding bending of laws and corruption in many developing nations which can often be a barrier for business development (Transparency International 2009). The high importance and mention of both anticorruption and bribery and also disclosure and transparency for developing nations' multinationals compared to the global codes of conduct provide further support for this assertion.

Moving to the least supported areas, these are mirrored between the global codes and the developing nations' multinationals' codes as contribution to development, ethical advocacy, and respect for the host country. One might expect these to be more important for developing nations' multinationals, and there is some support for that with higher percentages of inclusion than with the global codes. As contribution to development is part of a push for holistic and authentic sustainability, in conjunction with environmental stewardship, it may be less surprising then that multinationals from developing nations support this aspect the least. Not only will the development of their home country (as a developing nation itself) be more important than that of other countries in which they operate, but also environmental stewardship in such situations may seem much less important than economic development (Kilbourne, McDonagh and Prothero, 1997). Future development of this paper will next focus on the qualitative content of these inclusions of the hyper norms. Beyond that, any additional norms that are present in the

codes of conduct will also be analyzed in order to expand the coverage of the hyper norms to be truly global.

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Social entrepreneurship oriented business education: Pedagogical activism that bridges the gap between critical theory and macromarketing

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In a rather poignant critique of management education, Ghoshal (2005, p. 76) points out that “by propagating ideologically inspired **amoral** theories, business schools have actively freed their students from any sense of moral responsibility” (emphasis added). Ghoshal (p. 88) further opines that merely adding stand-alone courses in ethics or corporate social responsibility will not change this situation. Ghoshal’s appraisal of management education was offered in light of the corporate scandals of companies such as Enron and Tyco that rocked the corporate world in the early 2000’s. Over a decade after Ghoshal’s assessment, ethical scandals continue to shake the corporate world. Consider the emissions scandal of the German automaker Volkswagen (Hotten, 2015) or the faulty airbags case of the Japanese airbag manufacturer, Takata (Tabuchi & Ivory, 2016). Despite the increased insertion of courses in ethics and corporate social responsibility in business education (Wecker, 2011), there apparently was no significant effect on the managerial decision-making of the executives of these firms (who most likely had some formal training in business education). Along the lines of Ghoshal’s position, we believe that we need a paradigm shift in the focus of business education if we are to expect ethical and social responsible business leaders to be the norm rather than the exception. The paradigm shift that we are proposing is to move the focus of business education from the profit-based firm-centric model to an outcome-based society-centric one (cf. Lacznia

& Murphy, 2012). As alluded to earlier, over the last decade business schools have attempted to incorporate courses in ethics and corporate social responsibility (CSR) as well as thinking oriented towards the triple-bottom line and sustainability. It is possible that those who have undergone business education over this last decade have not yet attained executive positions in companies and so might not be the ones who are currently making irresponsible and unethical business decisions. Despite this possibility, our position is that as long as the metric of success is the profitability of the individual firm, all attempts at incorporating ethics and CSR or even macromarketing thinking will be futile. In fact, such piecemeal courses contribute to fragmented thinking (cf. Korn, 2013). Instead we believe that the metric of success should be the positive social outcomes in terms of the social problems that the firm is attempting to address. Our proposition is not as outlandish as it might appear. Marketers are well familiar with the concepts of “customer needs” – states of felt deprivation (i.e., companies attempting to fulfill customer needs better than competitors). If we move from the individual customer to a group of people in society we can reframe “customer needs” as “societal needs.” “Societal needs” then are states of felt deprivation that a substantial number of people experience. Think of the billions of people around the globe who suffer from a lack of clean water or basic sanitation or decent healthcare or convenient transportation. We believe that social entrepreneurship is a better vehicle for addressing societal needs than traditional entrepreneurship. We further believe that social entrepreneurship oriented business education allows us to offer a perspective that is better focused on the common good rather than the good of the individual firm.

While there is much that traditional entrepreneurship shares with social entrepreneurship, what distinguishes the latter from the former is that social benefit and social mission achievement are the central concerns for social entrepreneurs (Kickul and

Lyons, 2012). According to Santos (2013, p. 39) a social entrepreneurial organization is “one that aims at co-creating social and/or ecological value by providing innovative and lasting solutions to social and/or environmental problems through a process of empowerment and in a financially sustainable manner.” A big question that naturally arises is whether students would be interested in a business education that is oriented towards the common good. Further, would they be able to get jobs in the for-profit business world. McCallum and Horian (2013) point out that b-school graduates are not just concerned about getting a job but also of making a difference in the world. They further add that “many conscientious young people want to be part of transformative change that leverages resources toward making a difference for a greater number of people, including those who are poor or marginalized” and raise the question whether “traditional b-schools prepare students for the broader role of leader, change-agent, visionary.” Based on the consensus of experts such as Mintzberg (2004) and Bennis & O’Toole (2005), they conclude that it is not so much. We agree with this position and further add, that in our opinion, a major reason why traditional b-schools are not successful at preparing students for this broader role is that the narrow focus on for-profit businesses constrains the students from looking at a bigger picture. If instead we have a social entrepreneurial orientation, then the starting point is the bigger picture. Social entrepreneurial thinking is not limited to social enterprises or nonprofit organizations. This is a trend that some big companies are moving into as well. Consider the yogurt company, Danone that is on the Forbes most valuable brands list. Their mission is: “Bringing health through food to as many people as possible” (www.danone.com). With this in mind, Danone is able to have a number of social innovations platforms with a focus on creating virtuous circles that benefit most people, which is akin to working for the common good.

In this paper, we will elaborate what we envisage a social entrepreneurship oriented business education will look like and how it aligns well with some emerging paradigms of thought such as SD-logic (Lusch & Vargo, 2014), karmic capitalism (Köllen, 2016), conscious capitalism (Mackey & Sisodia, 2014) and transformational entrepreneurship (Miller & Collier, 2010; Virmani & Lépineux, 2016). We will also highlight some of the limitations and challenges of moving to a socially entrepreneurship oriented business education. Additionally, we will discuss a normative ethical framework labeled the integrative justice model (IJM) that was initially developed keeping in mind MNCs operating in impoverished markets (Santos and Laczniak, 2009). The five key elements of the IJM could potentially be five pillars of business education for the common good.

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Technology and Marketing II

The marketization of everyday life: your passenger seat, your back bedroom, your dinner table - your genes?

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Introduction

The last decade has seen an increasing marketization of everyday life. Thanks to sophisticated consumer platforms such as Uber.com, Airbnb.com, Craigslist.org, Etsy.com or Vizeat.com, ordinary people are turning themselves into mini-entrepreneurs, selling spaces in their car, snoozes in their spare bedrooms, places on their dinner table or personal belongings. Everyday things are being turned into assets – assets upon which people are now taught to place a value (Muniesa 2012) and to bring into ready-made marketplaces offered by the companies mentioned above and many others engaging in what increasingly is termed the ‘sharing economy’. In this economy, “value can be understood as something that something has by virtue of how people consider it (how they personally like it, in particular), but also as something that something has as a result of its own condition and of its relation to other things (for instance, in relation to work or to money, or to any sort of standard metric).” (ibid p.26). The idea seems simple: if you own something that is valuable to others and that can contribute to a larger value chain, why would people not want to make a business out of it? However, this trend is not just limited to the mundane possessions in our lives that may have spare capacity, i.e. to the

car spaces, bedrooms, clutter and dinners mentioned afore. What we refer to in this paper is the ‘assetization’ of certain attributes of the self – the human body (e.g. Roscoe, 2015), personal data or perhaps your genomics? By asset we mean any “tangible or intangible resource that can be used to produce value and, at the same time, has value as property” (Birch and Tyfield 2012, p. 302). Our article seeks to closer examine an industry that shows early signs of such assetization: the genomic sequencing industry. We are particularly interested in the macromarketing relationship that exists between these emerging disruptive technologies (Christensen 1997) and emergent business models that put the assetization of the self at the centre (Markides 2006; Markides and Oyon 2010). At time same time, we question the moral and social implications that such a move may have (Sandel 2012; Fourcade and Healy 2007), thus critically exploring marketing as technology (the question of marketization of everyday life; turning things/selves into assets) as well as technology use in marketing (genomic sequencing technology and online IT platforms).

Valuation and Marketization of Everyday Life

Recent times have seen an explosion in platforms-type technology businesses, which understand, hone in on and support the selling of everyday life and things. Not only have new arrivals like Uber.com, Airbnb.com, Craigslist.org, Etsy.com or Vizeat.com significantly disrupted the market and upset incumbents with their ‘sharing’ business models (Doganova and Muniesa 2015), but they have also transformed how consumers consider, value and interact with their everyday possessions. Broker platforms, which connect users and providers in a novel way, have both re-shaped markets (Callon 1998) and re-defined how marketing is done. In that sense, these business models have become truly performative as they become valuation and capitalization devices for consumers

(Doganova 2011; Muniesa 2014). On the one hand, these technology platforms have shifted the power to consumers, allowing them to understand that their passenger seat, back bedroom, dinner table and personal clutter can create personal-emotional value for someone else and financial value for them (Zott et al. 2011). The assetization or monetization of these items is not only captured but actively created by the platforms business models referenced afore. The result is a movement from valuing things in a subjective or emotive way to valuing things in terms of capital and monetary value (Dewey 1915). As Dewey (1939, p.5-6) puts it: “‘praise,’ ‘prize,’ and ‘price’ are all derived from the same Latin word; that ‘appreciate’ and ‘appraise’ were once used interchangeably; and that ‘dear’ is still used as equivalent both to ‘precious’ and to ‘costly’ in monetary price.”. What is implied is that that ‘valuing’ and ‘valuation’ are both related to ‘prizing’ (Dussauge, Helgesson and Lee 2015). In that sense, consumers may hold certain things dear, but they are also willing to appraise those things and put a value on them. Appraisals are the act of putting an estimate (price) on the object, which is worked out by understanding the relational property of the object (how much do other people want it and what are they willing to pay for it). With that, the notion of an ‘estimate’ becomes much less attached to notions of personal-emotional esteem and much more so to the notion of marketability (Muniesa 2012).

The valuation of everyday life and things has found traction not only because sophisticated ICT platform technologies are now available, but also because financial capitalism (including marketing) has created a social-cognitive space that allows things to be considered as valuable in a monetary sense. Based on the evidence from the market, the ordinary consumer i.e. the mass market, is willing and active when it comes to capitalizing their things. However, are they willing to engage in the sale or ‘rentership’ of

information about themselves, or even actual parts of themselves like their genomes? If things can become assets, can humans (and their information) also become assets? What are the key (valuation) reference points in genomics, what mechanisms are there to create and capture value and what implications may such move have (Ghaziani and Ventresca 2005, Zott et al. 2011; Roscoe 2015)? Do we have moral limits as consumers and what orders of worth (Boltanski and [Thévenot](#) 2006) are coming together to legitimize society's move to capitalize their things and self? And with a current valuation of Uber, for instance, at a whopping \$62.5 billion (www.bloomberg.com), who is really reaping the value of all these everyday things? The valuation of everyday life is both an act of assessing reality (e.g. the selling of passenger seat, back bedroom, dinner table and personal clutter) as well as an act of challenging it; it may spell either the end of capitalism as we know it, with consumers instead of big business calling the shots in the future, or it may signal a capitalism on 'uber' drive. Based on secondary research, we are seeking to provoke this debate with regard to the genomics industry, a field which displays early signs of the assetization/ marketization of the self.

The Genomics Industry

Deloitte (2015) estimates the global genomics market to be worth £8.1bn in 2015, a figure expected to double to £16.6bn by 2020. The genomics industry began in the 1990s when the genotypic information of one million genetic variants was first provided by medical laboratories (Nishida et al 2008). By 1990, the full sequence chromosome 22 was discovered and by 2000, both the fruit fly (Adams et al 2000) and humans were fully sequenced (Venter et al. 2001). More efficient sequencing and analysis technologies started to emerge around 2007/2009 when the 60 gb SOLID system was developed (Walsh 2009). Even faster and cheaper sequencing technologies being introduced by the

sequencing company Illumina in 2014 (Gen Eng Biotechnology News 2014). Companies started to find market traction and benefit from economies of scale when the cost of full genome sequencing finally dramatically reduced from \$1m in 2004, to \$4000 in 2011 and \$1000 in 2014 (Nisen 2013). Falling costs, combined with the move to liberalize and privatize aspects of the health sector (previously covered off under the umbrella of state-provided services) (Klein 1984), was the trigger for the explosion of commercial genomics businesses. Myriad is the company which had filed a patent for the discovery of the [BRCA1](#) and [BRCA2](#) breast cancer gene. Myriad developed a business model following this discovery, which recorded revenues of \$778 m, operating profit of \$274 m and research expenses of \$67m in 2014 (Myriad 2015). Illumina, the company which drove the costs of sequencing down, recorded significant revenues of £1.861 bn in 2014, a figure which had almost doubled 2010 revenues of \$666m (Illumina 2014).

Of interest to this paper is not the fact that the genetics industry has started to become very profitable, but where this value emanates from. On the surface, consumer-facing genetics companies such as 23andMe appear to get paid to provide certain kinds of information to consumers. Such information may include the consumer's/patient's dispositions for medical conditions (e.g. cancer, Alzheimers, Parkinsons, birth defects), information about tolerance to pharmaceutical products and information about changes in a person's genome. Information may also be related to other things like genealogy, ancestry, immigration, paternity, relationships, lifestyle, sports, diet and fitness, adoption, personality or traits, allergies, skincare, sleep and rejuvenation, or preventative wellbeing (Society of Genetic Genealogy 2015). However, the revenue model of most genetics firms is much more complicated than what it first appears as. Comparatively little money is made from the customer payment of the sequencing and analysis services that they

receive. Companies like 23andme, who research health and ancestry, charge as little as \$99 for single nucleotide polymorphisms (SNP or 'snips') genotyping. They generate their core revenue from mining customers' data, which they sell on, albeit in an anonymized form, to interested third parties, e.g. pharmaceutical companies (Best 2015). Examining the market, it is clear that genomes have become valuable to commercial providers (e.g. for research, development, innovation and marketing purposes), undergone a (financial) valuation process and become a sellable asset. With legislation unclear and inconsistent about who owns the data (Salisbury 2014), genomics companies have staked their claim on this asset for now, and built their business model around it. The race is on among these consumer genomics companies to assemble the largest pool of genotypes in the shortest space possible.

How long will it be until consumers will understand the value of this asset, re-claim their rights and self-manage its profit-potential modelled on sharing platforms such as Uber? The European Society of Human Genetics (2015) has conducted a study of 7000 people from 75 countries, and their result state compellingly that people want to have access to their own genomic data, even when it is uninterpretable. A move is on the horizon where people want to claim/re-claim the ownership of their own genome (Salisbury 2014), be in charge of their own data, and get connected to research and analysis if and when they choose (European Society of Human Genetics 2015). With the marketization of genomes already happening, it may however be too late to ask the much needed questions about data privacy, justice, ethics, morality and the orders or worth (civic, market, inspired, fame, industrial, and domestic) that drive us forward as a society (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006). We assess the possibility to use technology (broker platform models) and macromarketing (consumerization) to engage in a progressive societal transformation in

this field, so people start to claim and reclaim their own genome, an asset which very clearly and very intimately belongs to them. At least from that vantage point, people can choose if they want to ‘praise’ or ‘price’ their genetic information alongside the spaces in their car, snoozes in their spare bedroom and places on their dinner table.

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'Fault' genes and false needs?: a critical review on the use of technology for the marketing of genetic data

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Extended Abstract

Since the discovery of DNA's double helix structure (Watson and Crick 1953), the field of genetics has probably progressed more than any other scientific field (Klitzman 2012). From the successful yet controversial cloning process of Dolly the sheep in 1997 up to contemporary uses of nervous systems for the control of bionic legs, the application of biotechnology has expanded to medicine, pharmacy, food and beverage industries and agriculture along with other fields. Perhaps the biggest impact has been upon the healthcare industry, and in particular the recent growth of medical and also ancestral genetic tests and personalised medicine (Collins and McKusick 2010; Teichler-Zallen 2008; Fraker and Mazza 2010). Both medical and ancestral testing have been developing at an unparalleled pace but so also is a rising scepticism regarding their commercial use (Pritchard 2013; Harvey 2010; Liu and Person 2008).

The captivation and stretch of collective imagination after the completion of the Human Genome Project has led in attributing a genetic dimension to several spheres of cultural and public life interrelating areas such as family characteristics, ancestry, ethics, privacy and individual behaviour amongst others (Harvey 2010; Prainsack et al. 2014). One the one hand, the promise that each individual can obtain detailed and accurate personal

genomic information introduces a spirit of optimism for the provision of tailored and effective therapies for several diseases, knowing our ancestral origins or the assessment of disease risks. On the other hand, the marketing of genetic (health and ancestral) tests brings forward challenges regarding the ownership and use of personal information, consumer literacy and privacy and the presence of strong regulatory frameworks amongst others. This paper aims to examine and critically map (Dholakia 2012) the marketplace of genetic information and in particular the role and function of marketing technologies that promote genetic tests of consumers to their homes, and without medical support or mediation.

Our mapping is developed from an analysis of various texts including media commentaries and documentary films, consumer self-posted videos, the advertising campaigns for several prominent genetic testing brands, and government/public policy reports and academic literature from across the science and social sciences whose focus is the market and/or public policy impacts of genetic identification and identity. Our paper critically examines how technology, both the genetic technology and the marketing technology, is invoked, rendered and employed in the descriptions and practices of commercializing genetic tests to the public. We focus on the genetic body in social identity and the role marketing technologies play, and also how the marketplace for genetic tests draws upon and transforms ideas of what technology is and the relationship between technology, the body and identity (Buchanan-Oliver and Cruz 2009; Thompson 2004; Gurrieri and Previte 2013).

In our mapping we are driven to contextualise the marketplace of genetic tests and to locate the mythologizing and fetishizing of genetic technology itself but also the marketing

technologies that bring them to consumer. This helps us to reveal the paradoxes and ironies that remain implicit in the academic and policy discussions about marketing genetics tests to consumers and also in the analyses of these contemporary marketing practices. In our paper we describe the emergence of a growing online consumer marketplace for genetic data and review the various positions that highlight how the market for genetic testing provides customers a digital space for interaction, construction of biological consumer identities, and a sense of ancestral-belonging; gives access to information that promotes health and a longer life, gives comfort/empowerment from the scientific objectivity but also how this marginalises the sociality of biology and biological science in the marketplace, and reveals a confusion or conflation of identity and identification. Key concepts that will be explored in detail are consumer empowerment and consumer choice ,the mind/body dualism and identity, and the ethical implications that stem from the marketing of genetic testing including regulatory frameworks, exclusion, privacy and both consumer and marketer literacy around basic genetic information (Pearson and Liu-Thompkins 2012; Lui and Pearson 2008; Wlliams-Jones and Ozderim 2010; Gowland and Thompson 2013; Berg and Fryer-Edwards 2008) extending critical macro marketing analyses of health, the body and identity to consider genetic technologies (Gould and Semaan 2014; Gurrieri, Brace-Govan and Previte 2014; The VOICE Group 2010).

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“Made to Run”: Biopolitical Marketing and the construction of the Self-Quantified Runner

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Introduction

Zwick and colleagues (Zwick and Bradshaw 2016; Zwick and Ozalp 2011) have outlined the notion of biopolitical marketing to critically analyze contemporary marketing practices that target consumers' lifestyles and the appropriation of value generated by these lifestyles. The term biopolitical marketing denotes the '...valorization strategies that rely on the mobilization and extraction of value from the production of consumer lifestyles and subjectivities' (Zwick and Ozalp 2011, 237). Biopolitical marketing strategies aim at constructing individual consumer subjectivities that align with specific market values but also at generating affects, social bonds, and a sense of community around a focal brand between like-minded consumers. Ultimately, the overall goal is 'to sell the value generated by consumers to the consumers through their collective production of social communication, lifestyle, social relationships, community and so forth' (Zwick and Ozalp 2011: 238).

Zwick and Ozalp's (2011) study of the market for condominiums and lofts elegantly shows how biopolitical marketing works: marketers' aim is not simply to sell real estate property but to sell a whole lifestyle that can skyrocket the value of that property. The value of these loft and condominiums is not predefined according to costs and material quality, but it is more directly linked to the promised "cool" lifestyles that the buyers can lead while

living on that property. Thus, through biopolitical marketing strategies consumers are encouraged to engage in what Hardt and Negri (2000, 2005, 2009) call biopolitical production of subjectivities and forms of life that can enhance the economic value of the associated commodities. Advancing this claim, Zwick and Bradshaw (2016) maintain that social media platforms present the ideal opportunity for promoting such subjectivities and lifestyles and thus can be seen as the ultimate medium for biopolitical marketing strategies. The aim of this paper is to empirically investigate biopolitical marketing strategies as they are developed mainly but not exclusively in the social media context in conjunction with the emerging popular phenomenon of self-tracking.

To illuminate on the aim we studied Nike+, a biopolitical marketing system that Nike has develop around its self-tracking devices. A central feature of Nike+ is an online platform where users can get comprehensive details of the activities they track with their Nike+ devices. Users support and promote Nike+ through social media in the form of Facebook, Twitter and Instagram accounts and by sharing their data. Nike+ tools are self-tracking technologies “that center around systematic recording of personal behaviors and responses” (Barta and Neff 2014, 9).

The paper is structured as follows. The next section outlines the notion of biopolitical marketing in greater depth. It does so by providing a theoretical grounding of biopotical marketing through an analysis of the concepts of biopwer, biopolitical production and governmentality. We then discuss the implications of the study in relation to biopolitical marketing and neighbouring fields of critical marketing enquiry including the discourse on working consumers and prosumers, co-creation as well as self-tracking

Biopolitical marketing

Biopower and biopolitical production

The notion of biopolitical marketing is grounded in Hardt and Negri's analysis of biopolitical production (2000, 2005, 2009). Hardt and Negri draw on Foucault's notion of biopower which refers to the "numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugation of bodies and the control of populations" (1978, 140). As power over life, biopower is closely linked to capitalism as it is used in order to create healthy, productive and docile subjects (Read 2001). While for Foucault biopower pertains to the entanglement of political powers in specific areas of human existence namely human biology, health and reproduction, Hardt and Negri's interpretation expands the notion of biopower into all spectrums of life, including affects and desire (Read 2001). In fact, the infusion of power into all facets of human life is the basis for the expansion of capitalism (Simons 2006). Thus, biopower becomes "the power of the creation of life; it is the production of collective subjectivities, sociality and society itself" (Hardt 1999, 98). Following this reading, Hardt and Negri (2000, xiii) introduce the notion of "biopolitical production" which refers "to the production of social life itself, in which the economic, the political and the cultural increasingly overlap and invest one another". Similarly, Simons (2006) asserts that biological production encompasses processes of production and reproduction of all forms of social, economic or cultural life. Read (2001) elaborates that biopolitical production should be seen as the generator of subjectivities as well as things, relations and networks, or better as productive of being. Lazzarato (2004, 187) goes even further as he places the focus on the construction of worlds as he claims that "the enterprise does not create its object (good) but the world within the object exists. And secondly, the enterprise does not create its subjects (workers and consumers) but the world within which the subject exists".

Hardt and Negri (2009) assert that economic production is increasingly becoming biopolitical as it is linked to social relations and forms of life. Similarly, Fumagalli (2011) maintains that contemporary capitalism has transformed into biocapitalism as it is always targeting new areas of human and social life to subsume and commodify, while life itself become value. For Morini and Fumagalli (2010, 235) biocapitalism refers “to a process of accumulation that not only is founded on the exploitation of knowledge but of the entirety of human faculties, from relational-linguistic to affective-sensorial”. Biocapitalism requires and engenders a new form of labour, biolabour, that encapsulates “the ensemble of the vital-cerebral-physical faculties of human beings” (p. 240) and it heralds the demise of the separation between working-time and labour-time, working-place and life-place, production and reproduction (Morini and Fumagalli 2010). Hardt and Negri (2000) argue that in the age of biocapitalism all time is productive time, as biopolitical production is constant and uninterrupted precisely because it encapsulates all human activity and behaviour. Here lies the difference between industrial and biopolitical production as while industrial is a production confined in specific production spaces, biopolitical is a production that permeates and subsumes all aspects of social life (Özgün 2010). As Trott (2007, 213) undelines “living and producing tend to become indistinguishable”.

The concepts of the common and the multitude are central to Hardt and Negri’s analysis of biopower and biopolitical production. The term multitude denotes a form of network that is characterized by openness, diversity and autonomy, in which difference is not feared but celebrated (Rose and Spencer 2015). The common refers not only to the natural resources but more importantly to “those results of social production, such as knowledges, languages, codes, information, affects and so on” (Hardt and Negri 2009, viii).

Hardt and Negri (2009, 173) unequivocally assert that biopolitical production “takes place and can only take place on the terrain of the common”. This can have an empowering and emancipatory function as the common is developed and produced autonomously, outside the influence and constrain of the capital. On the other hand, it is precisely this autonomous creativity and productive capacity of the multitude that the capital aims to subsume and commodify. For Hardt and Negri (2009) biopolitical exploitation refers precisely to the expropriation of the common by capital. As biopolitical production encompasses the production of subjectivities, forms of life, relations, affects, communication, networks and in essence life itself, capital has a diminished role in production processes thus it aims to subsume and expropriate value that is, to a large degree, produces externally to it (ibid.). In fact, what makes biopolitical production so attractive is that exploitation can take place without the need for the capitalist to get involved in the production process (ibid.).

Following Hardt and Negri’s analysis of biopolitical production, Zwick and Bradshaw (2016, 20) assert that “biopolitical marketing refers to strategies aimed at extracting surplus value from consumer activities, affects and feeling produced in the autonomous and wild, collective and self-governed spaces of the virtual”, and thus social media marketing represent the greatest manifestation of biopolitical marketing. Zwick and Ozalp (2011, 236) maintain that “the goal of biopolitical marketing approaches is to shift the buyer’s focus away from the physical characteristics of the object for sale (i.e., the stuff of the traditional sales pitch) and instead draw attention toward the dwelling’s symbolic, emotional, communal, and affective potential for facilitating the production of specific forms of life and subjectivities aspired to by the buyers of the product”. In other words, and in relation to Hardt and Negri’s analysis of biopolitical production, biopolitical

marketing aims to foster and guide the biopolitical production of subjectivities, forms of life, social relations and affects in such a way that firms can benefit from the appropriation of that production.

Biopolitical marketing and governmentality

The notion of biopolitical marketing also draws from the Foucauldian notion of governmentality. As Zwick and Ozalp (2011) explicate the lifestyles and subjectivities that are desired from biopolitical marketers cannot be simply attained and consumed like a service, but need to be actively produced by consumers. Thus, biopolitical marketing relies on the agency and active engagement of consumers in the construction of themselves as autonomous, entrepreneurial subjects and thus it becomes a strategy of governing the conduct of populations in such a way that their productive capabilities are enhanced and aligned to market-based values (Zwick and Ozalp 2011). For Zwick and Ozalp (2011) biopolitical marketing strategies strive to channel and subsume social and cultural forms of life into economic production, as value is primarily generated through the appropriation of consumers' immaterial labour. Informed by Foucault's notion of governmentality, biopolitical marketing does not aim to collectively control and command the actions of consumers; on the contrary it encourages each individual consumer to attain autonomous and voluntary roles in the production of economic value (Zwick and Ozalp 2011). Governmentalities are discursive practices that produce subject positions that, when enacted by people, guide people's actions, emotions and cognitions. Previous critical marketing research has analyzed marketing as a form of neoliberal governmentality that mobilises consumers to attain the subject position of the active, entrepreneurial, prudent and responsible self (Giesler and Veresiu 2014; Varman et al. 2012). In particular this critical stream of research has analyzed how cocreation discourse

and practices function as a form of governmentality that manages consumers in a particular way. Zwick et al. (2008, 184) argue that: “The discourse of value co-creation stands for a notion of modern corporate power that is no longer aimed at disciplining consumers and at giving orders or shaping actions according to a given norm. Rather, we witness the emergence of customer management as a form of governmentality, where corporations work with and through the freedom of the consumer subject all the while hoping to ensure that the subject’s experience of freedom follows a prescribed program.” (see Bonsu and Darmody 2008 and Skálén et al. 2008 for similar points). The underlying premise of such biopolitical marketing practice lies in bestowing responsibility to individual consumers to enact particular lifestyles and behaviours that can generate more value for brands than other forms of life (Zwick and Ozalp 2011). Therefore, biopolitical marketing is a neoliberal form of governmentality that advances the idea that lifestyle choices and consumption practices should be seen and treated as a form of investment (Zwick and Ozalp 2011). Marketing in fact becomes biopolitical at the very moment that it “attempts to valorize and subsume the productive value of self-production, of life itself, under capital” (Zwick and Ozalp 2011, 237).

Biopolitical marketing and consumer work

According to Zwick and Bradshaw (2016, p. 4) biopolitical marketing “aims to mobilise and extract value from the production of consumer communication, lifestyles and subjectivities”. The ultimate goal of biopolitical marketing is to sell to consumers the value generated by consumers themselves through collective production processes that involve communication, lifestyle choices, social relationships and community building (Zwick and Ozalp 2011). Hence, biopolitical marketing practices presupposes what Cova and Dall’I (2009) have called consumer work that represents the value that consumers create for

companies. As the literature on prosumption indicates, consumers have always been engaged in production processes (Ritrzer 2010, Ritzer and Jurgenson 2010). However the emergence of the Internet and more recently of social media and Web 2.0 technologies, have provided a fertile ground for –digital- prosumption to develop and reach unprecedented levels while consumers are celebrated as collaborators, co-producers or even partners (see e.g Prahalad, and Ramaswamy 2000, Tapscott and Williams 2006, Vargo and Lusch 2004). But this dominant rhetoric of consumer empowerment overlooks the fact that what in essence digital prosumption entails is outsourcing of work from paid laborers to unpaid consumers (Söderberg 2007).

To Cova and Dalli consumer work is a form of double exploitation that is an effect of the co-creation of value that marketing practices, including biopolitical marketing , engage customers in. In double exploitation, consumers are first “not generally paid for the know-how, enthusiasm and social cooperation that they contribute” to co-creating products and service, and second, “customers typically pay what the marketing profession calls a ‘price premium’ for the fruits of their labour, as the use value provided by co-created commodities is said to be higher than that which can be achieved through standardized production’s rationalized systems” (Cova and Dalli, 2009, 327). Cova et al. (2015) substantiate the theoretical analysis of Cova and Dalli as they show through an empirical study that consumers feel exploited through the work that they conduct for companies.

Biopolitical marketing and Consumer communities

Zwick and Bradshaw (2016) have identified the consumer communities as the vehicle through which biopolitical marketers strive to resolve a number of contradictions that emerge within communicative capitalism: first, communities appear to provide the

answer for a restructuring in marketplace relations in line with principles of co-creation, equality and sharing, making it possible to reconfigure marketing as un-marketing, second, the community makes it possible for marketers to exert control over consumers while at the same time empowering consumers by providing a space where their creativity is encouraged and channeled towards profit making, and third, while marketing no longer controls the production of value, communities are capable to create value as they provide an opportunity to appropriate the cultural, technological, social and affective labour of consumers. Therefore, for Zwick and Bradshaw (2016) the most representative manifestation of biopolitical marketing can be found in social media marketing, where biopolitical marketers need to persuade control and command, push messages and promote products so as to create economic surplus but without showing any signs of doing all these things. In our era where the prevailing discourse highlights users' empowerment through participatory media, the subtle role of biopolitical marketing is directed precisely towards commodifying all communication in such a way that does not antagonize the communicators (Zwick and Bradshaw 2016).

Biopolitical marketing and self-tracking

While people have been monitoring and documenting their own activities for centuries (Lupton 2014a, Li et al. 2010), the emergence and proliferation of smart digital technologies has enabled people to track and quantify their whole lives in an unprecedented manner. Smartphone apps and wearable devices have swamped the market allowing users to monitor, track, record, and quantify every single aspect of their lives and by doing so, generate huge amounts of data. In the nascent literature on self-tracking, Lupton (2014b) drawing from the later work of Michel Foucault on the practices and care of the self, maintains that self-quantification can be seen as a technology of the

self that aims to promote self-responsibility not through coercion but through encouragement and active engagement. As technologies of the self, self-quantification practices strive to achieve self-care, self-management and ultimately self-improvement (Lupton 2015a). But as Cederström and Spicer (2015) underline, self-tracking should not be seen as a benign attempt to locate and try to fix flaws or weaknesses, but it is about reconstructing oneself according to specific requirements of the market. Self-tracking may thus be considered as a biopolitical marketing practice that mobilizes users to take on neoliberal subjectivities as active and responsible selves. Charitsis (forthcoming) argues that self tracking follows the tenets of neoliberalism where responsibility for well-being is bestowed solely on the individual as the provision of health and social care services is increasingly becoming less accessible, especially for those that cannot prove, through data, that they lead a healthy lifestyle. In a similar manner, Lupton (2015b) argues that digital technologies foster the transformation of citizenship into a new digitized form of biocitizenship that is based on the premise of the “socially fit citizen”, that not only is a dedicated self-tracker herself but is eager to share her data and engage with other self-trackers in mutually supportive and motivational interactions in online platforms. Drawing and extending the concept of the “biological citizenship” (Rose and Navas 2004), Lupton offers the term “self-tracking citizenship” that captures the practices and techniques relating to the phenomenon of self-tracking, for the government of the self. Whitson (2013) also argues that quantification is an integral element in the quest for the government and care of the self which is facilitated by incorporating play and gamifying the tracking experience.

Focusing on the generated data, self-tracking has also been linked to critical analyses of user labour. Previous studies have discussed self-tracking as digital (Till 2014) or

prosumption labour (Lupton 2015a). Adding to this stream of literature, Charitsis (forthcoming) maintains that the quantified self becomes the “prosuming self” through the constant generation of data and value but also the “prosumed self” that is expected and encouraged to generate specific data measurements that resonate with neoliberal subjectivities of the active and entrepreneurial citizen.

Biopolitical marketing strategies at Nike+

Running as a social (media) activity

Nike+ turns running into a social activity. Lupton (2015b) argues that many fitness activities have become social activities as users increasingly self-track and quantify these activities. Through the dissemination of self-tracked data in online communities and the engagement and active interaction between users about these activities that strive to provide motivation to each other, fitness becomes a social practice (Lupton 2014b).

Klauser and Albrechtslund (2014) underline that the full spectrum of self-tracking usually includes both the socialization and the gamification of the tracked experience. For Lomborg and Frandsen (2015) self-tracking is an innately communicative phenomenon, with three distinct but intersected dimensions: communication with the system, the self and the social network of peers.

The social aspect of self-tracking is promoted through a variety of means within the Nike+ system. This is signified by the multiple accounts, pages and groups developed over different social media platforms. The Nike+ platform itself has been created as a social medium where users can add friends and interact with them. There is also the possibility to link the Nike+ account to other social media. The Nike+ account can be connected to a user's Facebook, Twitter, Instagram or Path account. This allows users to search and add friends but also to use features shared between the Nike+ app and these social media. For

example, users can notify their Facebook friends when they are about to start a new run in order to receive encouragement (“cheers”) and after the run they can instantly post their results on Facebook (or Twitter). The social aspect of Nike+ is further enhanced through a number of local Nike+ running groups that have been set up in cities around the world where people can meet and exercise together with the help of expert coaches.

Facebook and Twitter are the two main social media used by the brand and the users. A number of facebook groups have been created where users interact with each other. These user groups exhibit some of the characteristics of a brand community (Muniz and O’Guinn 2001) or a brand tribe (Cova 1997). Users usually introduce themselves when they join a Nike+ facebook groups and express the reason for starting running, using Nike+ or even for joining the online group. Other times, older members of the group introduce and welcome new users to the community and encourage other users to welcome the new user as well. In the group, users interact with each, talk about their experience with self-tracking, post their results, ask questions and seek help from other users. They provide photo or textual narration of their tracking experience. It is quite common to post the results of their latest running activities especially if they have achieved a particular goal or earned a specific virtual trophy. There are also discussions about problems whether that may be injuries sustained while running, or technical problems that they may have experienced with the use of the Nike+ devices. Users also perform a number of other activities that aim to safeguard the group from potential threats and unwanted intruders (spammers, fake users). With the exception of groups that relate to local running groups, Facebook Nike+ groups are usually set up and managed by users themselves with little or no involvement from the brand. They are a big source of information about the use of Nike+ devices but more importantly they foster the development of bonds between like-minded users. In that respect, we identify that users

perform a form of biolabour (Morini and Fumagalli 2010) or what we call bioprosumption as it revolves around a specific consumption activity which is the use of Nike+ tools.

Twitter plays a different role in the Nike+ system. While it connects users among themselves and with the brand the actual interaction is much more limited than on the facebook groups. Users usually post their Nike+ results on twitter. It is quite common to post their NikeFuel points that they have collected during a day, especially if they have reached a specific milestone. The brand has a much more active presence on Twitter as it uses the social platform to motivate, promote and inspire users to keep using the tracking tools and keep posting their results online. These posts try to instill the belief that anytime and anyplace are suitable for using the Nike+ tools. For example during the summer, many Tweets were posted to remind users that summer is the perfect season to train with a Nike+ tool ("Back like it never left. The Summer of NikeFuel starts today. The more you move, the better it gets . #justdoit", "The more you move, the better it gets. The Summer of NikeFuel starts today", "Summer means time for more.", "87 days of summer down, 7 days to go. How will you make them count?", "Summer vacation is not a vacation from moving, Summer's light is fleeting. Get after it while you still can). In a similar fashion during the winter time, there was created the hashtag #chooseyourwinter and a number of Tweets were made in order to dissuade users from giving up training, that would mean giving up Nike+ tools ("You can't change the forecast.You can #chooseyourwinter", "Find your field. #chooseyourwinter", "Hustlers don't hibernate. #chooseyourwinter", "Dedication is not bound by degrees"). This logic that was used for different times of the season was also used for different days as the point was that every day should be a Nike+ day ("Saturday doesn't mean time off. It means more time to work. Keep your @NikeFuel", "Move Reminder: "It's Monday" is not a valid excuse.", "Weekend Agenda: Get up. Get out. Get

after it. Get to goal. Get past it. Rest. Repeat.” “Move Reminder: Yes, it's the weekend. No, that's not an excuse.”). A common theme of Tweets was the one that was encouraging users not only to track their activities but to post and exhibit their results online (“#fuelcheck Show and tell is good. Show and prove is better.”, “#fuelcheck There's proof in numbers”, “#fuelcheck Our numbers have grown. Will yours?”, “#fuelcheck—Show don't tell”, “#fuelcheck Numbers speak louder than words.” “#fuelcheck Wear it. Earn it. Show it”, “Digits or it didn't happen. #fuelcheck”. There were even Tweets that, in an ironic way, were encouraging users to stop reading those Tweets as that meant that they would be not exercising (“Move Reminder: If you're reading this, you're probably not moving. Unless you're tweeting while running a marathon. In which case, our bad.”, “Move Reminder: Less tweeting, more moving”, “Move Reminder: If you spent as much time moving as you did reading tweets we wouldn't be having this conversation.”).

The aim therefore is to instill the belief that every season and day should be seen as an opportunity to use Nike+ tools. Users are encouraged not only to use Nike+ tools constantly, but also to connect to social media, publicize their data or experience and engage with other users. This, therefore, substantiates the assertion that in biocapitalism all time is work time (Morini and Fumagalli 2010) as biopolitical production is constant and uninterrupted (Hardt and Negri 2000). Not only is all time, in that respect, Nike+ time but also time that is not spend using Nike+ is essentially considered wasted time. To paraphrase Hardt and Negri (2000), there are no time clocks to punch on the terrain of Nike+ biopolitical production, just tracking devices that capture the totality of life.

The gamification of running

Deterding et al. (2011) have defined gamification as “the use of game design elements in a non-game context”. The crux of gamification is precisely to infuse real life situations with the logic of games in order to make those situations more appealing (Cederström and Spicer 2015). While this is not a new phenomenon, the proliferation and popularity of Web 2.0 platforms and smart technologies that are able to collect and analyse vast data sets have provided a fertile ground for gamification to flourish and enter into all aspects of our everyday lives (Whitson 2013).

The gamification of running is mainly promoted by two things in Nike+: the NikeFuel metric unit and the various badges and trophies that users can collect based on their running activities and performances. NikeFuel is a proprietary metric developed by Nike that can measure a kind of physical activity. NikeFuel measures life itself which makes gamification in the Nike+ context a biopolitical marketing strategy (Zwick and Bradshaw 2016). NikeFuel enhances the gamification of Nike+, as it can be used to set personal goals or to compete with other users. Users also receive virtual trophies for reaching specific NikeFuel milestones (for example 100K NikeFuel points), or for earning a certain number of NikeFuel points within a day. Some users set daily NikeFuel point goals that they try to reach every day (e.g. 3000 or 5000 NikeFuel a day). On Twitter hashtags have been created where users can post their NikeFuel progress (#fuelcheck, #nikefuelband, #nikeplus, #nikefuel, #fueladdict, etc.). The brand actively tries to encourage users not only to track their activities with Nike+ devices, but to post their results online (#fuelcheck “Show and tell is good. Show and prove is better”, #fuelcheck “There’s proof in numbers” posted on the NikeFuel Twitter account).

In addition to trophies related to NikeFuel, there are several other virtual trophies and badges that users can earn. These include badges for running on specific days (e.g. New year's day), running a certain distance within a month (25, 50, 100 miles and so on), sharing their activities on social media, running on different continents, being active for an X number of times within a week, being active for an X number of consecutive weeks or months, earning an X number of NikeFuel within a day, completing a challenge and many more. On the Nike+ platform there is a virtual trophy collection where users can see all the badges and trophies that they have collected. Challenges and the trophies and badges users receives by taking part in represents the governmentality of Nike+ as it make users enact neoliberal subject positions of active and healthy selves.

Those users who are also active on social media tend to post and express their pride when they have received a new badge. Receiving a badge can be very important for some users so they make sure to be active on a day that they know there is a badge to collect and health promotion. In this way the consumer build the digital space of the Nike+ through the co-creation activity that gamification foster – gamification represents consumer work and may hence be seen as a biopolitical marketing strategy. The importance of the badges is also evident by posts that express frustration for not receiving or losing badges (due to technical errors) from their trophy collection. Users also try to remind other users on social media that they should run a particular day if they want to earn a badge. The gamification of self-tracking is also promoted by the different levels that users reach based on the total number of kilometers they have tracked using Nike+ tracking devices. These levels are designated by different colours (0-50km yellow level, 51-250km orange level, 251-1000km green level and so on). Every time they reach a higher level, the app on the user's smart device also changes its colour. When they reach a higher level, members

of Nike+ community tend to post their achievement on the group and express their pride. It is also common for users to post their progress and attempts to reach to a higher running level before a certain date.

Gamification as a biopolitical marketing strategy supported by self-tracking promotes specific subjectivities. Gamification fosters the development of playful subjectivities that lead users to collect and share personal information that can be used to engender behavioural change (Whitson 2013). Gamification is inextricably connected to surveillance, in the form of self-tracking, as it manages to process large amounts of data measurements, process them and feed them back to the users in simplified forms (Whitson 2013). But while gamification is connected to surveillance practices, it manages to make these practices pleasurable, to make surveillance enjoyable and thus acceptable (Whitson 2013). As Whitson (2013, p.) suggests “gamification enrolls people into self-governance by using their highest aspiration and capacities, that of self-care and self-development”. Maturo (2014) suggests that although self-quantification is essentially a form of Taylorism geared towards the individual, gamification turns it into a “fancy Taylorism” that does not coerce but promotes, encourages and rewards specific behaviours through playful elements. But as Till (2014) cautions if we look beyond the pleasurable factor of gamification and focus on the productive labour that it generated, gamification can then be perceived as promoting a neo-liberal entrepreneurial self that is rendered eager to improve in line with market-based norms and standards. Barrenche (2012) focusing on the gamification of spatial consumption on location platforms maintain that gamification acts as a biopolitical marketing strategy that turns the experience of the city into a game that produces subjectivities through association with certain places and

the symbolic capital that they possess based upon a competitive structure of status and rewards.

Running as a competition

Competition is a biopolitical marketing strategy that is intertwined with gamification on Nike+. Apart from the collection of virtual trophies and rewards, technological affordances allow users to set up challenges and compete with other users. When setting up a challenge, a user has the ability to provide a name for the challenge and set up the duration (for how long the challenge will run) and the distance (how many kilometers are users expected to run) of the challenge. Then the user can invite his/her friends to join the challenge that has been created. Hence, users produce part of the content of Nike+ becoming working consumers. It is also common for people to use social media in order to advertise the challenges they have created and invite other users to join. They may also just post their Nike+ username and inquire about any challenges that have been set by other users. During the challenge users can interact with each other through the Nike+ app and comment on their progress. Nike+ users who are also active on social media post their results on the challenges that they take part, especially if they have performed particularly well. Users can also set up individual challenges in order to motivate themselves to become more active without having the pressure of competing and beating other users.

Nike+ Fuel is also used in order to foster competitiveness among users. As it decodes all kinds of activities into a unified measurement unit, users can compete with others on who has reached the highest number of NikeFuel, even if they are performing different activities. The use of NikeFuel as a competitive tool is promoted by Nike through various

posts on social media, like this indicative post on the NikeFuel twitter account: “More competition. More incentive. It’s your move|” that was accompanied by a photo of the NikeFuel app. There are a number of other similar posts in Nike+ Twitter accounts that promote competition among users. (eg. “Competition is calling”, “New competitors. Same rules”, “Looking for competition? Look no further”). The competitive spirit of the Nike+ experience is also promoted through leaderboard tables that show how users perform in relation to other users. The “friends leaderboard table” ranks friends on Nike+ according to the distance that they have tracked with Nike+ every month. Again, Nike uses social media in order to foster the competition among friends on Nike+ as the following tweet shows: “They may be “friends” but they’re adversaries on the leaderboard”. While the friends leaderboard table ranks users who are friends on Nike+, users can also see how they perform every month in relation to users that belong to the same sex and age group bracket with them.

Competition is inextricably connected with the Nike+ experience. Every tracked activity becomes a performance, as users, enter into constant competitions with other users, or even with themselves. While competitions appear prominently in the Nike+ self-tracking system as the brand has managed to successfully integrate it into its model, it should not be seen as a unique characteristic of Nike+ but rather as a feature that is inextricably linked to the rise of self-tracking in recent years. Lupton (2013) suggests that the quantification of the self can become excessively competitive in online platforms as users strive to beat other users, or beat their own personal records. In that, we identify a convergence with the neoliberal model of subject formation. As Dardot and Laval (2014) stress the neoliberal subject is one of competition and performance, as it is through competitive performances that people are able to realize themselves as personal

enterprises. Brown (2015) also highlights that neoliberalism is not just an economic policy but a governing rationality that permeates all aspects of life that always treats people always as market actors, while equality refers only to the equal right to compete amongst one another. For Gane (2012) neoliberal governmentality is tightly connected to surveillance –self-tracking is a form of surveillance- and proposes a four-fold typology of surveillance, as discipline, as control, as interactivity and as a form of competition. Competition may thus be seen as a form of biopolitical marketing as it makes users enact neoliberal subject positions.

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Big Data and Biopolitical Marketing: Contradictions of Surveillance Capitalism

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Abstract

Zuboff (2015) argues that commercial surveillance of companies such as Google represents the totalizing aspiration to 'own' reality. The mechanism she describes rests on a clever change of perceptive register from reality to behavior. Surveillance then is about the capture of behavior in all its expressions and securing the right for Google to own all knowledge of our behavior. Marketing desires more than owning reality and capturing behavior. Marketing is the technology that 'makes' behavior and finds ways to valorize it. Or, adapting Zuboff's terminology, marketing is about the valorization of reality through the double strategy of 'making' and 'making productive' behavior.

If we want to understand what appears to be two opposing forces of on the one hand ever-increasing opportunities to perform freedom (become an Uber driver or a hotelier on Airbnb, join an online community, start a company, write a blog, etc.) and on the other to feel as if our freedoms are constraint, exploited, and in the final analysis, illusory we need to look at the logic of contemporary marketing as technique that considers the making and the enclosing of reality two sides of the same coin.

Our broader goal in this paper is to use the notion of biopolitical marketing to explore why everything we do, even our acts of resistance, appears to always end up feeding the

circuits of communicative capitalism. Within communicative capitalism, biopolitical marketing is the social technology charged with the mobilization and extraction of value from the production of consumer communication, lifestyles and subjectivities (Dean, 2002). It is thus a strategy of governing conduct of populations in a way that maximizes collective productivity from a perspective of market(ing)-based values.

In a way this process represents what we call the logic of enabling (of information creation) and enclosing (finding ways to privatize and commodify thusly generated data). Biopolitical marketing is the term we use to describe this increasingly universalized process of marketing. But it would be too simple to reduce databases (or other marketing innovations) to a desire for control in the Deleuzian sense. Undoubtedly, control is what marketers want, but they also want whatever happens when there is no control of consumers, at least momentarily. This contradiction complicates theorizing surveillance capitalism and big data marketing.

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Understanding Consumer Vulnerability for Social Good II

Drugs 2.0: Collaborative Risk Reduction in the Illicit Ecstasy Market

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This netnographic study investigates the Pillreports.net online Ecstasy community in order to provide novel insights into communal risk reduction as a response to a vulnerable consumption position within a dangerous and unregulated market, and in doing so attempts to establish dialogue to explore applications for drug policy makers.

Advances in technology are providing increasing opportunities for consumers to interact and relay a range of practical market-orientated information (Cova and Pace 2006; Cova and White 2010; Hollenbeck and Zinkhan 2006; Kozinets 2001; Muniz and Schau 2005; Smith and Stewart 2012). Consumers utilize online communication tools to help evaluate and negotiate a broad range of consumption contexts: a wealth of consumer-orientated market information can be accessed online with ease (Gauntlett 2011). Smith and Fitchett (2002) highlight the value of market information, claiming an inability to examine consumption-orientated information can result in consumers abandoning risk evaluation entirely. Thus, consumers, devoid of necessary information, may take considerable consumption 'gambles', which, in some instances, can lead to serious injury, or even death (Lyng 1990).

Risk is defined as a situation where a decision maker has a priori knowledge of the potential negative consequences of action and their chance of occurrence (Dowling 1986; Reith 2005). Contemporary culture is characterized by increasing personal and societal risk management concerns (Beck 1992; Lyng 1990; Thompson 2005). However, in a paradoxical manner, despite consensus among contemporary society in the value of reducing threats to individual and societal wellbeing, many consumers *voluntarily* pursue high-risk leisure experiences (Arnould and Price 1993; Celsi, Rose, and Leigh 1993; Goulding, Shankar, and Elliott 2002; Murphy and Patterson 2011; Smith and Fitchett 2002; Tumbat and Belk 2011). High-risk activities evoke feelings of transcendence, self-realization, and authenticity – an opportunity to express or recreate the self: therein endures the appeal (Lyng 1990; Reith 2005).

Risk taking, or what Lyng (1990) terms ‘edgework’, is defined as participation in any voluntary activity that presents an immediate threat to an individual’s physical or mental well-being, or sense of ordered existence (Lyng 1990; 2005). The nature of edgework requires a balance. Edgework is not about playing with a risky ‘gamble’; it is about maintaining *control* of a risky consumption context (Murphy and Patterson 2011; Reith 2005). The edge, or boundary, being worked towards can be life versus death, consciousness versus unconsciousness, sanity versus insanity, or an ordered sense of self and environment versus a disordered sense of self and environment (Lyng 2005).

Edgework subsumes a broad spectrum of risky activities including: mountain climbing (Tumbat and Belk 2011); motorcycling (Murphy and Patterson 2011); sky-diving (Celsi, Rose, and Leigh 1993); drug and alcohol consumption (Reith 2005); and high risk professions such as fire fighting, stunt work, and combat soldiering (Lyng, 1990). The threat of death or serious injury is constant during edgework. However, edgeworkers

claim that ‘only those who don’t know what they are doing are at risk’ (Lyng, 1990). Thus, edgeworkers tend to seek out controllable risk contexts – not life or death gambles outside their perceived context management skills (Lyng, 2005).

When consumers participate in mundane forms of consumption their context, for the most part, is controllable (Baker, Gentry, and Rittenburg 2005). However, in many risky consumption contexts, primarily as a result of a lack of consumption-orientated information, consumers cannot evaluate risk, and thus, as a result, are unable to negotiate the consumption context adequately. Information voids within the market contribute greatly to consumer vulnerability (Baker, Gentry, and Rittenburg 2005; Price, Lawrence, and Guskey 1995). However, vulnerable consumers are beginning to assist each other in the marketplace (Cova, Kozinets, and Shankar 2007; Feick and Price 1987; Kozinets 2002a; Muniz and O’Guinn 2001; Muniz and Schau 2005). Price, Lawrence, and Guskey (1995) are of the view that consumer-to-consumer interactions, based on market assistance, have the power to “offset a lack of market information, police the market, protect vulnerable consumers, and contribute to general welfare of consumers”. Therefore, online consumer-to-consumer interactions could help reduce consumption-orientated risks and enhance consumption context control (Belk and Tumbat 2005; Kozinets, Hemetsberger, and Schau 2008; Mathwick, Wiertz, and Ruyter 2008; Muniz and Schau 2005; Ramaswamy 2009; Walsh, Gwinner, and Swanson 2004). Consumer-to-consumer interactions can influence risk evaluation positively and foster safer, more controlled, consumption experiences (Celsi, Rose, and Leigh 1993; Goulding, Shankar, and Canniford 2013; Smith and Fitchett 2002).

While there exists an abundance of research examining the online interactions of consumers situated in legal marketing contexts (Cova, Kozinets, and Shankar 2007; Cova and Pace 2006; Cova and White 2010; Stokburger-Sauer 2010), marketing and consumer research appear diffident about investigating socially undesirable, illegal, marketing contexts, despite the potential learning from a marketing and societal point of view (Goulding, Shankar, and Elliott 2002; Moore 2004; Smith and Fitchett, 2002). This netnographic study (Kozinets 2010) investigates recreational ecstasy consumers, in relation to their vulnerable market position and their risk-reduction capabilities.

Ecstasy is the street nomenclature for MDMA (3,4 methylenedioxymethamphetamine), however, often that which is purchased as ecstasy contains more than just MDMA. Ecstasy pills typically include other, licit and illicit, substances such as caffeine, ephedrine, DMX, or LSD (Parrott 2004). From approximately July 2008 the ecstasy market changed quite drastically. Unbeknownst to the typical ecstasy consumer, the ecstasy market changed from being a relatively stable and predictable illegal market with more than 90% of ecstasy pills containing mainly MDMA to less than 50% of ecstasy pills containing mainly MDMA by mid-2009 (Brunt et al. 2011). Thus, an ecstasy pill can potentially be a cocktail of several drugs – exact substances and quantities unknown to the *vulnerable* end consumer. Sadly, this has resulted in ecstasy-related deaths being reported consistently in the media (for one recent example please see: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-23264189>). Ecstasy consumption is an extremely risky recreational activity – a potentially lethal activity (EMCDDA 2009). However, in an attempt to reduce harm, some consumers share ecstasy related information on Pillreports.net.

Pillreports.net is a website dedicated to establishing a safer consumption environment for ecstasy through the communal maintenance of a global ecstasy pill database. Enlighten Harm Reduction, a lobbyist organization in Melbourne, Australia, initiated and supports Pillreports.net. Pillreports.net does *not* advocate ecstasy consumption; it advocates *harm reduction* and risk-aversion; it is not a social networking site; appointed moderators remove posts that are not ecstasy-orientated in content – irrelevant information is not tolerated. Information on Pillreports.net is publically available: consumers can utilize the database information without being an official registered Pillreports.net member.

The emergence of online consumption communities, such as Pillreports.net, that foster risk evaluation, are founded upon a vision of collaborative wisdom, eliminate dangerous myths, educate, and most importantly, attempt to *save lives*, require the immediate attention of marketing academics. Whether one chooses to condemn or condone recreational drug consumption on moral, medical, or social grounds, this research, investigating an innovative consumption system, will inform consumer research of consumers' capabilities to negotiate risky consumption contexts – the market literacy involved; the power of online communal relationships; the sophistication and range of consumer action; and the societal implications thereof.

Irrefutably, this study shows that the reduction of deaths as a result of collaborative consumer information sharing is a remarkable furtherance for society. Smith and Fitchett (2002) highlight the dangers of illicit drug consumption: despite being legislated against, the illicit drug market is deprived of government inspection, or quality assurance, beyond the obvious attention of law enforcement. Consumers must assert their own quality assessments in the illicit drug market by sharing information. Vulnerable consumers

eliminate dangerous myths, educate, and most importantly, *save lives*. Power (2013) discusses how online drug platforms, or what he terms 'Drugs 2.0', have impacted the illicit drugs market and society negatively. This study, however, highlights the positive societal influence of 'Drugs 2.0' – platforms for consumers to assert context control, reduce the risks associated with illicit consumption, and ultimately, avert death. Society must reflect upon the communication of health-orientated information and reconsider: Whom will the information benefit? And how best can the information be communicated to them? Health related information must be communicated through credible mediums, from credible sources, and quickly.

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Consumers with Non-Mainstream Bodies: The Interaction of Market Forces, Social Trends and Firm Goals

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This paper advances the discussion of the vulnerability consumer experience associated with a non-mainstream body. These consumers need products/services for activities of daily life living, but they are often faced with fewer choices, higher prices and a more difficult search process. The research applies an approach termed chrematistics to analyze the how the interplay of these forces makes the current situation almost inevitable and particularly difficult to change. Through the use of examples and research from an array of disciplines the research focuses on the types of market, social or corporate forces that increase or decrease experiences of vulnerability for these consumers. Some options that could fundamentally change the experience of consumers with non-mainstream bodies is part of the concluding comments.

Introduction

Consumers live in bodies. The consumer is bounded by and experiences the market through his or her body; as Peuravaara (2013, p 212) notes, "The body is both an instrument and an object of consumerism." This paper is concerned with bodies that falls outside the norm, how these consumer experience vulnerability and why this type of vulnerability persists in the face of predictable, ongoing demand. The issue of non-mainstream bodies becomes entangled quickly with issues related to disability. Disability

is usually understood to be a body that has some sort of impairment that prevents it functioning in the same manner as other bodies. The intent here is to explore the products that are not purchased by a third party, but to look at clothing, food, autos, furnishings, health and beauty products/services that the consumer (or his/her social group) buys. Various forms of disability, such as allergies, asthma, and missing limbs will be part of this paper's discussion of products and services consumers need for daily life, but consumer access to medical devices and services for complex disabilities are not part of this paper (e.g., access to drug and alcohol treatment, toys that are robust enough for adults with the mental capacity of children, in-home hoists for the motor impaired). The reason for this lacuna is that these products blur the line between consumer goods and medical goods and the purchase of these goods is part of a joint negotiation between the consumer and the health care system or exclusively the responsibility of a third party.

This research asks, if all prejudice against non-mainstream bodies disappeared overnight, would market forces still place these individuals in a vulnerable position? Various scholars, have argued that disability is more than just a social construct (Anastasiou and Kauffman 2013; Barns et al. 2015, Gottlieb 2002; Reindal 2010; Ware 2002). That is, these authors contend that bodies with disability make an array of activities of daily life harder, more expensive and more time consuming for the individuals living with bodily difference. The proposal developed here is that, in most markets, from the perspective of products and services needed for everyday activities, this argument can be extended to anyone with a non-mainstream body. Marketing forces unintentionally add to the burden that people with non-mainstream bodies face, adding financial and time demands that others do not have.

While the term vulnerability can have a variety of meanings in a marketing context, the definition articulated by Baker, Gentry, and Rittenburg (2005) and Baker and Mason (2012) has gained ascendancy. This perspective considers the relationship between the consumer (or consumption group) relative to the market system he/she/they face.

Broadly speaking, vulnerability is situational; that is one may be vulnerable in certain contexts or at certain times, but may not always or permanently be vulnerable.

Vulnerability is experienced when one is powerless, isolated or has reduced choices in the market. In policy discussions, vulnerability is often associated with limited resources, such as money or time (Schultz and Holbrook 2009). Vulnerability can be tied to infrastructure, for example residents after a natural disaster who need delivery and distribution of food, shelter and clothing (Baker, Hunt and Rittenburg 2007). Vulnerability may also be associated with the body the consumer lives with, for example mobility impairments, leading him or her to be vulnerable in market settings that are normative to others (Pavia and Mason 2014). This paper advances the discussion of the vulnerability associated with a need for rare, unusual or niche products/services because the consumer's body differs in some way from the majority of consumers' bodies (Pavia 2014, Valtonen 2013). The goal of this paper is to unpack the market forces that leave consumers who require a niche product for the activities of daily living with reduced choices and higher prices. This paper inquires how and why living in a non-mainstream body leads to vulnerable situations and the types of market, social or industry forces that increase or decrease this experience.

As a mental exercise to clarify the situation of needing a product/service that is rare or unusual, consider two situations. In the first, one requires specialized fixtures to renovate a museum artifact; in the second one lives in a body that is outside the norm and needs food, shelter, clothing, or transportation that differs from that widely available for

mainstream consumers. The curator who seeks authentic antique fixtures is looking for a product in a thin market and will pay a high price. The position of this paper is that the curator is not a vulnerable consumer even though he or she has reduced choices and little market power. The curator is seeking a rare product for a specialized need, but the need is not essential to survival (although one could argue it increases society's cultural well-being). When the need is filled, the artifact becomes more valuable itself because its rarity and the challenges to maintain it as an artifact add allure and cachet.

In contrast, the individual who resides in a body that is non-mainstream (e.g., skin or hair type unlike others in the local region, requiring specialized foods, unusually tall, short or heavy, missing a limb, or unable to lift a shopping bag), is at a disadvantage to other consumers for the basic activities of daily living. The products he/she needs are produced in low numbers and are often out of stock (products) or unavailable/overbooked (services). Because there are few sellers, comparison may be difficult and there may be little price competition. When the consumer with a non-mainstream body finds the right products/services to meet basic needs he or she often remains in a marginalized or even stigmatized position. Compounding the problem, most of these products/services are not a one-time purchase.

Chrematistics and the Non-Mainstream Body

Kadirov, Varey and Wolfenden (2015) suggested macromarketers could use chrematistics as a means for understanding the "regulative influences on a marketing system's structure and operations of market action perpetuated by actors with dominance/power" (p. 55). Following Daly and Cobb (1994), the term chrematistics refers to system features that are opportunistic, short-term profit oriented, exploitative of market inefficiencies and

interested in customer satisfaction only within the range that also meets shareholder objectives. In short, chrematistics points towards many market behaviors that are dysfunction from a societal level, but that are often accepted with a sigh saying, well that's the way things are. Chrematistics calls this resignation into question and asks what dominant forces and actors benefit from this status quo. Chrematistics can be used on a large scale to explore how markets and dominant players subvert a broad goal of optimizing overall social welfare; this research will apply some of the same techniques to consider the predicament of consumers in non-mainstream bodies.

Few marketers on an individual level would say that people with non-normative bodies should pay more, or have a smaller product set to choose from, or have to drive for hours to find a service provider, or should have to purchase clothing and shoes without the ability to try them on. Individually, one would wish that the market should afford the same opportunities for exchange for everyone, especially because, from a self-serving perspective, almost everyone knows someone with a non-mainstream body. Yet, whatever individual aspiration individual players may have, businesses work in a larger system and this system operates in a manner to subvert these aspirations.

Chrematistics has seven steps in the analysis process and this research focuses most intently on the third step. The third step of the chrematistics approach asks researchers to investigate the how particular consumers or communities are being overlooked or underserved by the market and then asks researchers to explore the incidence of demand engineering for products that are harmful overall to society. As this research shows, consumers with non-mainstream bodies are at a perpetual and predictable economic, choice and power disadvantage relative to their mainstream colleagues. Even those who

are fortunate enough to need a product that has crossed from niche to more mainstream, (e.g., soymilk, gluten-free foods, fragrance free detergent) still pay a price premium because either, i) the buyer has no choice, or ii) the buyer is willing to pay more because it is part of an identity project. After this analysis, the paper concludes by continuing with the final four steps of the chrematistics approach, in which the researcher is asked to consider the alternatives that have been foregone by the current system, the extent to which society as whole has allowed itself to be swept up in self-deceiving assumptions, how current systems undermine humanity/human focus and how market behaviors and public agencies become complicit in stabilizing systems that benefit profit-making over social welfare.

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“It just isn’t worth the stress!” An Exploration into Disability and Illness Consumer Vulnerability when Accessing Touristic Marketplaces

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“ I spoke with Bethany again today, she shared with me her experiences of holidaying with her terminally ill husband and two young children. She shared how once they discovered Mike only had about a year to live, they wanted to spend as much time together as a family, and he wanted to go to his favourite country, Spain one last time. So she booked with a well-known family tour operator. Bethany shared how the company assured her she would be well taken care of; they knew the intricacies of her situation and could accommodate her needs. However, upon arrival at the hotel, she was dropped off by the coach at the bottom of a hill and told the hotel was at the top and they couldn’t take nor help her up. She filled up as she retold how she came to the realisation of her, as she called it, “no-win situation”. She knew she couldn’t leave her baby girl of three months and two-year old son at the bottom of the hill, but equally hated that she had to leave her wheelchair bound, near to quadriplegic husband alone, and then afterwards to have to similarly leave her children with complete strangers in the hotel. She continued to discuss her experience concluding, “we should never have gone, it was not worth the stress, instead of creating happy family memories all I remember is the stress”. She contrasted this experience with her trip a couple of months later to Lourdes (a

Catholic sanctuary in France, which caters to the sick and disabled), brightening as she shared how upon arrival at the airport in Scotland, she was greeted with support, “...we literally walked into the departures area and one person takes Abi and starts chattering away with her, Jake is off playing with other toddlers, and for the first time in what must have been the better part of 18 months, Mike and I sat and had a cuppa like a normal couple” (Extract from ethnographic field-notes from Summer 2012 fieldtrip to Lourdes).

Consumer vulnerability is defined as “a state of powerlessness that arises from an imbalance in marketplace interactions...” (Baker, Gentry and Rittenburg, 2005, 134), with such imbalance often times causing consumers to rely on externals, i.e. marketers, as a means of “creat[ing] fairness in the marketplace”. However, despite the role marketers can play in alleviating imbalance and instilling fairness, the retail experience has been uncovered as being “unwelcoming” towards disabled consumers resulting in the disabled consumer “feeling excluded from the mainstream” (Baker, Holland and Kaufman-Scarborough, 2007, 169). As outlined in the opening extract, the tourism sector can be equally unwelcoming to disabled and ill consumers alike. Yau, McKercher and Packer (2004, 946) uncovered many disabled persons as perceiving tourism and holidaying as one activity that must be “sacrificed” due to requiring the “orchestrated corporation of physical, mental, and social capabilities which are often adversely affected or compromised by a disability”. However, with the Travel & Tourism sector contributing US\$7,860 billion equating to 10% of global GDP in 2015 (<http://www.hospitalitynet.org/news/4069673.html>) and touristic activities found to impact positively on quality of life (Dolnicar, Yanamandram and Cliff, 2012), such sacrifice is intolerable. Baker et al. (2007) outlined ways in which the retail servicescape could

become more accessible and “welcoming” to disabled consumers, and it is the researcher’s belief that similar findings can be found within the touristic setting.

The purpose of this study is to encourage communication between disabled consumers and both mainstream and specialist-disabled tourism marketplaces as a means of alleviating imbalance and instilling fairness into the touristic marketplace for disabled and ill consumers alike. Consequently, this exploratory, multi-sited qualitative study, although only in its formative state, aims to further answer the question posed by Pavia and Mason (2009, 1025), “how do consumers that are invisible, or voiceless, in the marketplace be seen or be heard?”

Theoretical Background: Transformation, Separation and Secondary Degrees of Vulnerability

Several studies have discussed the link between vulnerability and transformation (Pavia and Mason, 2004; Baker et al, 2005), with the latter discussing the affect that consumer vulnerability can have upon consumer self-perception especially when marketplace engagement is said to signal a sense of “normalcy”. Such transformative ability is equally witnessed within the tourism marketplace with Yau et al. (2004, 958) finding tourism to be a “metaphor of recovery” whereby the process of becoming “travel active” permits a degree of healing or recovery for consumers in being able to shed their disabled status, demonstrating to society that they are capable of taking control of their own life and destiny. Yet despite these transformative abilities, many disabled and sick consumers continue to “sacrifice” mainstream holidaymaking and touristic consumption, for as illustrated in the opening vignette “it is just not worth the stress”.

Nonetheless, the last thirty years has witnessed a series of specialist disability tourism companies arise in response, offering “special” package tours designed specifically for disabled and ill consumers (Smith, 1987). However, Smith (1987) found such specialist tour companies to “reinforce” segregation from mainstream society rather than breaking it down. Similarly, Eichhorn, Miller and Tribe (2013, 594) believe “the inclusive community is the population that travels without assistance of specialist operators”, finding disabled consumers to view “specialist operators” as exclusion not inclusion generating. This aligns with Pavia and Mason’s (2009: 2014) concern of consumer *invisibility*, whereby designation of consumption to particular spaces, sectors, groups or times may further remove disabled and ill consumers from mainstream view, thus reducing mainstream consumer awareness of the presence of a social issue in regard to disability and illness.

Furthermore, not only disabled consumers deal with such invisibility, but their family members will often times suffer secondary degrees of discrimination and exclusion from the marketplace. For example, Hunter-Jones (2010) discusses the exclusion suffered by carers of those with illness and disability when it comes to holiday and travel as being three fold; with exclusion experienced in association with the dependent (e.g. lack of access to destinations for the dependent due to disability or illness), in association with their caring responsibility and roles (e.g. taking time off work to care leads to being overlooked for promotion) and finally in association with individual exclusion (e.g. can often incur additional financial costs if need to pay for rest-bite for dependent, or higher rates to journey with dependent). Pavia and Mason (2014, 475) equally discuss the rippling affect that disability can have upon family members in turn creating a status of “secondary vulnerability” to these consumers, leading them to assert that one of the core

challenges for macromarketers today is to not only protect the disabled/ ill consumer's rights but to equally find ways of being supportive of "the cast" who care and support the vulnerable consumer. The VOICE Group (2010, 384) shared that the marketplace can "amplify vulnerability rather than alleviate it". This study witnesses similar amplification within the touristic marketplace, however it argues that the marketplace equally has the potential to, perhaps not alleviate completely, but indeed reduce vulnerability in the context of disability, illness and touristic access.

"It's not worth the stress!": Origins of the Study

The funding proposal for this study was created from an emergent finding uncovered by the researcher in her doctoral thesis, which investigated experiential consumption of the Lourdes pilgrimage in France. As outlined in the introduction of this paper, the Catholic Sanctuary of Lourdes, France, is a haven for sick and disabled consumers, with the experience providing a pathway to tourism where disability access barriers and secondary degrees of vulnerability are temporarily reduced. After all as outlined in the opening vignette Bethany and her husband were able to have their first "consumer normalcy" experience in eighteen months – a simple cup of tea or coffee – through their consumption of the Lourdes pilgrimage experience. However, many travel to Lourdes via charitable, religious and/or specialist tour operators, and as outlined above such "specialist operators" are viewed as exclusion not inclusion generating (Eichhorn et al., 2013). Although, the researcher's emergent findings never uncovered feelings of marginalisation from mainstream society whilst at Lourdes, many did share their frustration that the touristic marketplaces could not learn and implement some of the strategies that make the Lourdes consumption experience possible. Such frustration is understandable, especially when many of the consumers encountered with during the

three-year ethnography admitted to being what Schultz and Holbrook (2009) would define as “culturally vulnerable”, thus having the economic means, but not the knowledge or expertise held by some specialist companies to be able to solve their problems.

Consequently, this study believes the understanding of disabled, ill and their “cast” members real-life consumption experiences, coupled with the learning from the expertise of specialist disabled companies can help macromarketing face two of its core challenges in respect to disability and illness:

“...To understand the broader system and its interrelated parts, to identify the elements with the greatest leverage to help change the system, to help develop effective programs, and to help ease transition”.

“...To foster systems, technologies and structures that allow people with these challenges to seek and choose the adaptations that provides as full an experience of the market as possible and ideally move into non-vulnerability” (Pavia and Mason, 2014, 475).

As such, this study will investigate two main research objectives; primarily exploring the physical, practical, emotional and interactive barriers experienced by disabled consumers and their peers, as a means of improving current understanding of the psychological emotions and feelings experienced through touristic disability access barriers.

Secondarily, it will gain the expert disability knowledge of specialist-disabled travel companies, as a means of re-developing a more accessible touristic marketplace through the cooperation of both specialist disability and mainstream travel companies.

Proposed Methodology

This study will adopt an interpretive research paradigm, utilising researcher participation, field-notes, visuals and depth interviewing to uncover the obstacles faced by disabled consumers and their peers when accessing touristic settings. The researcher intends to focus *not* on any one particular disability or illness, but rather will focus on specialist-disability travel companies, uncovering the perspective of both the owners, employees and consumers of the services. Accordingly, the study will be multi-sited investigating four specialist disability sites within tourism: religious, secular, therapeutic and extreme (Table 1 provides further information on the research contexts). Both able-bodied and disabled consumers will be encountered throughout the study, with the latter likely to fall within Pavia and Mason's (2014, 474-475) categories of: *Complex resolvable*, whereby "[t]he resolution may occur in the future, but the remediation effort will have to endure to assure resolution" (2014, 474). *Straightforward unresolvable*, whereby "situations leading to vulnerability that cannot be remediated and as a result are likely to endure without an end- point" (2014, 474), and *complex, dynamic unresolvable*, whereby "situations leading to vulnerability cannot be remediated and as a result will endure, but the challenge they present is changing, frequently in a way that increases the likelihood of vulnerability" (2014, 475). The need for the perspective of both able-bodied and disabled consumers comes from their interconnectedness, originating from the dependence, and at times growing dependence, experienced by disabled consumers upon family members, peers, carers, etc. in light of their disability and it's static, irresolvable or worsening nature.

[Insert Table 1 about here]

Extensive ethical consideration will be taken, with interviews conducted only with person(s) who could be deemed as vulnerable by class (Commuri and Ekici, 2009) but not in an actual state of mental or social vulnerability (Baker et al. 2005; Pavia and Mason, 2014).

The study is set to begin in April 2016, therefore as of yet no empirical data has been collected (Table 2 highlights a proposed plan of action for data collection). However, at the point of presentation in July 2016 a series of preliminary interviews and data collection will have been conducted with initial themes shared at the conference. It is intended that the presentation of these early data themes will enable a better iterative interpretation of the data to be uncovered, thus better informing the latter stages of the study that will continue to take place throughout the remainder of 2016. It is believed that this study will provide similar insights to those Baker et al. (2007) offered to retail servicescapes, by outlining and offering strategies through which the tourism marketplace can become more accessible and “welcoming” to disabled consumers.

[Insert Table 2 about here]

To conclude, similar to Baker et al. (2007, 170) the researcher acknowledges that the touristic marketplace cannot cater to “every type of disability, and every type of consumer”, such inclusion is a utopian ideal. Equally the researcher acknowledges that there may be unintended outcomes or consequences arising from this study – i.e. the researcher is currently unaware of any cultural stigma experienced by disabled consumers and their peers both within and out with their home cultures. Nonetheless, in listening to the currently invisible voice of disabled consumers within the touristic

marketplace and understanding not only the physical but also the emotional and social barriers this consumer group and their peers experience daily, this research endeavors to uncover wider social issues and stigma from both home and host country perspectives. Thus enabling a richer understanding of disability experience extending beyond tourism and providing research on consumer vulnerability with a greater, more holistic understanding of disability consumption experience.

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Tables 1 and 2

Context	
<i>Children's Pilgrimage Trust (Religious)</i>	This religious charity enables rest-bite for family's of disabled/ill children, whilst giving the children a fun week at the pilgrimage site of Lourdes, France.
<i>Jumby (Secular)</i>	With buses refurbished as travelling ambulances, this charity offers safe travel for highly dependent disabled consumers and their family across the UK and Europe (both for week-long holidays and/or day-trips).
<i>Retreat House (Therapeutic)</i>	Located in England, this retreat house enables families of disabled/sick children to build memories and find support with disability/illness.
<i>SD (Extreme)</i>	With travel locations throughout the UK, this charity offers the opportunity for disabled consumers and their family's to experience extreme snow sports.

Table 1: Overview of research contexts (names have been changed to ensure anonymity).

Proposed Plan of Action	Research Activity
<i>1st April 2016-July 2016</i>	<p>Seek ethical approval and prepare materials for primary data collection including participatory volunteering plans and interview guides.</p> <p>Depth Interviews with between 8-10 members affiliated with the Children's Pilgrimage Trust charity (e.g. disabled/ ill child along with parent(s), family members, volunteers, employees, etc.) will be undertaken to gain insight into this context.</p>
<i>July-August 2016</i>	<p>Two, one week-long volunteer trips and several day trips will be undertaken with the Jumby organisation as a means of enabling the researcher to gain first-hand insight into the practical, physical, emotional and interactive barriers experienced by disabled consumers and their secondary peers.</p> <p>Additionally, day trips and attendance and participation in differing fund-raising activities will be undertaken at Retreat House as a means of better understanding the site and the charity's ethos.</p> <p>Interviews will be undertaken with between 8-10 persons affiliated with both of the above sites to gain deep understanding of the barriers faced by disabled consumers and their peers and equally to understand the practical measures that the marketplace could adopt to help augment disability access to the touristic marketplace.</p>
<i>August-October 2016</i>	<p>All interviews and field-notes and researcher diaries collected to date will be transcribed by a university-approved professional and initial analysis and interpretation of data undertaken.</p>
<i>October-31st December 2016</i>	<p>Day-trips and access to the fourth site; SDUK will be undertaken to gain a better sense of the site during peak periods. Interviews with 8-10 persons affiliated with the site will be undertaken.</p>
<i>1st January - 31st March 2017</i>	<p>All remaining interviews and data will be transcribed by a university-approved professional, and following a final level of analysis and interpretation findings disseminated to conference proceedings and journal publications.</p>

Table 2: Proposed Plan of Action of data collection

Marketing Theory III

Barking up the wrong tree: power, consumer sovereignty and sustainability

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Introduction

There has been a long debate in macromarketing about the mythical or factual ontology of the trope “consumers as voters”. Schwarzkopf (2011) contends that for markets to be accepted in liberal economies as the main governance structure, it was necessary to articulate a view of consumers as sovereign in markets that would depict them drivers of production: consumers are consulted via market research practices informed via advertising, and their demands are realized via market offerings. If producers fail to comply with consumers’ demands, they are expelled from the market, as consumers decide with their purchases what they want and what they do not want. Markets are, thus, the reign of consumers: the consumer is the boss, the captain, the voter, the judge. Politicians are casted as the Machiavellian Prince, the evil usurper of a legitimate power that allegedly can only be attributed to consumers. Market is the arena of real freedom; denying this is akin to attacking democracy.

This view has been contested by Shaw (2011), who defends that the consumer as sovereign was never meant to be an artefact devised to legitimise liberalism, that the shortcomings of this view has been long accepted, and that it is not a myth but a reality:

given that there is plenty of consumer choice in market economies, consumers are able to choose and express their preferences.

There is a parallel of this debate in the sustainable consumption field. It is a well-accepted fact that a transition to sustainability demands a fundamental change of consumption (Sanne, 2002). That this change is in the hands of consumers' alone is still controversial. Scholars have also invoked the metaphor of consumers as voters to synthesise a normative argument in favour of consumers taking a lead role in changing capitalism from within (e.g. Stolle, Hooghe and Micheletti, 2005). For the last thirty years, there has been much discussion on the possibility that consumers could be the pivotal axis on a transition to sustainability. Proponents of this view accept the assumption that the collective outcome of individual actions (Strong, 1997) will be a change both in unsustainable corporate practices and in the current model of consumption, considered one of the ultimate causes of unsustainability (Hansen and Schrader, 1997). We will refer hereafter to these consumers' actions with the term sustainable consumption.

We see in this debate a parallel with that initiated by Schwarzkopf and Shaw about the mythical or factual ontology of the trope "consumer sovereignty" and the ability of consumers to drive production that will ultimately lead to market or system changes. We could see supporting arguments of the factual nature of consumer sovereignty in the declarations about the political power of consumer (each purchase is a vote that can make us closer to the desired goal of sustainability) (Micheletti and Stolle, 2004) or the articulation of the civil regulation regime (Bendell, 2000), where consumers are seen as the key agent for market-based regulation to work. These scholars put forward the argument that if consumers really want to save the world, they just have to cast their

votes in the market, usually by buying sustainable-labelled products, and production will follow suit. The road to sustainability is therefore in hands of consumers.

We could find detractors among those who contend that consumers' choices are affected by structural factors, *inter alia*, urban structure, everyday life patterns, or working life conditions (Sanne, 2002), that constrain or deny consumers' agency. Other authors (e.g. Johnston, 2008; Kollmuss and Agyeman, 2002) had already pointed at the power of structures as an explanation of the limitations faced by sustainable consumers to enact change. For instance, Jackson depicts consumers as "locked into specific consumption patterns by a variety of social, institutional and cognitive constraints" in spite of their best interests or intentions (Jackson, 2005: 12, 34). Also, Conca, Princen and Maniates (2001: 4) alert that consumption is "manufactured by structural forces that create a 'consumption trap'" and discuss the perils of *individualization*, i.e., of ascribing responsibility for structural problems to individuals (in a similar vein, Dolan, 2002). Others have counter argued that it could also be a question of lack of motivation and not of lack of ability. The sustainable consumer is a myth, either because consumers are not willing to make the sacrifices entailed in a transition to sustainability (Eckhardt, Belk and Devinney, 2010) or because the death drive leads them to seek their/our own destruction (Bradshaw and Zwick, 2014).

Yet, the view of "consumer as voter" that attributes a protagonist role to consumer in the transition to sustainability is dominant in practice. There is a global consensus that any transition to sustainability is anchored on consumers' responsabilisation (Giesler and Veresiu 2014). From a more instrumental point of view, market-based tools such as

ecolabels are the chosen method to instrument governance structures that aim to change practices both among consumers and producers (Hartlieb and Jones, 2009).

Hence, in this context the debate is not finished. It is crucial to assess whether consumer sovereignty is a myth or a reality in the sustainable consumption domain, as the whole transition strategy is built upon it. The idea of consumer sovereignty is usually supported by pointing to choice: as long as there are different options, consumers retain agency. In this paper, we adopt a broadened lens: we will not assume that the key to sovereignty is choice, but power. If consumers are sovereign is because they have the power to act and that their action has an impact. We will therefore examine the question from the lens of power, in particular from two meta-theories of power, that of Clegg's circuits of power (1989) and the tridimensional view of power put forward by Lukes (1974, 2007).

We will contend that consumers lack both agency and structural power to drive the necessary changes in production and consumption for the transition; that the barriers to their power are not only found in the market sphere and therefore consumers' empowerment must come from other systems, such as the sociopolitical system. We will defend that even when consumers resist other agents and structures in the market, they are not likely to lead to system change. We conclude that the chances that consumers may transform capitalism are slim.

Consumer can purchase a better world: consumers' agency power

As Denegri-Knott, Zwick, and Schoeder (2006) explain in their seminal paper about consumer power, power is probably impossible to define as it is a contested concept.

When discussing sustainable consumption, authors are tacitly position themselves along

agency models of power. The unidimensional view of power is a paradigmatic example of such views. This form of power, labelled as such by Lukes (1974, 2007), was defined following Dahl's conceptualization of power as: A has power over B when A forces B to do something that B would not otherwise do.

As Denigri-Knott, Zwick and Schouten (2006) explain, Dahl's conceptualisation is the methodological correlate of the consumer sovereignty model. This form of power implicitly underlies assertions of consumer political power or "consumption as voting" (Micheletti and Stolle, 2004): by buying(not buying) consumers are exercising power over organisations so that they will change their practices.

Denigri-Knott and colleagues (2006) provide examples of successful enactment of this form of consumer power against corporations resulting in change of the targeted firms' practices, although the scope and magnitude of change is not appraised. Yet, their examples evidence that such changes were not the result of consumers acting individually in the market, but rather a consequence of concertation: consumers formed coalitions, supported by other civil society organisation, mobilising resources and skills. Changes did not occur simply by purchasing/not purchasing, but were accompanied with other tactics (notably, mass media repercussion). Moreover, they avert that consumer's power demands the accumulation of skills and resources by consumers, and that it is difficult to sustain the mobilisation vis-à-vis large corporations.

However, discussions of sustainable consumption often take for granted that consumers have power without examining whether or not they have these resources and are capable of mobilising them. Studies on the barriers for sustainable consumption have found that it

is not that clear that consumers have these resources/skills. Work on the so-called attitude-behavior gap (see a review of such barriers in Bray, Johns and Kilburn, 2011; Carrington, Neville, and Whitwell, 2010; or Johnston and Tan, 2015) has repeatedly found that consumers lack the informational, financial, organisational and social resources necessary to effectively exercise their power, as consumers do not have information about what alternative contributes better to the goal of sustainability, they often lack the resources to acquire them, they lack the time to make sense of the multitude of offerings in the market, and they often find that their social networks pose a glass floor that impedes implementing the desired actions (Cherrier, Szuba and Özçağlar-Toulouse, 2012). We could say that consumers may have had enough resources and capacity to mobilise them to win some battles, but it is clear that they will lose the war.

The unidimensional view of power places agents in the episodic circuit where “ontologically autarchic” individuals held sway (Ball, 1978, cited by Clegg 1989). Clegg names the circuit where agents influence one another the episodic circuit; most studies in social sciences, and specifically sustainable consumption studies, are implicitly discussing power in this circuit. Agencies (be them humans, non-humans, or organisations) exercise causal powers because they have control over resources that can be used in different ways to serve their goals. These resources are imperfectly distributed and therefore, the potential for agents’ action and success depends on the “causal powers that are constitutive of that actors and the conditions of access to means and resources” (p. 217). As Clegg (1989) already averted power is not exercised unidirectionally, as agents are able to resist power in the episodic circuit, in a variety of ways. This is what Denegri-Knott and colleagues (2002) observed: consumers resist corporate actions, but also corporations

resist the mobilisation of consumers. Usually, in this “episodic battles”, corporations have more causal powers and this explains why few battles are won.

The implicit assumption on which the postulates of consumer sovereignty are based that all market participants have equal power and that companies are devised as neutral artefacts that perfectly respond to the demands of consumers, cannot thus be sustained. Corporations have an agenda of their own set by their managers: attending to customers' demands may be an instrumental goal that will be achieved in so far as to meet the ultimate goal that of increasing returns (Aglietta and Reberieux, 2005). Firms do not change their policies and practices even if their consumers demand it, if such demands conflict with the ultimate goal of financial growth.

But even if consumers successfully change some corporate practices, if power stays in the episodic circuit there is no system transformation. Transformation occurs when the relational field “which constitutes agencies, means of control, and resources is reconfigured” (p.220). This reconfiguration entails deploying other modalities of power, namely dispositional and facilitative power. If causal powers in the episodic circuit are distributed as they are it is because they are moulded in other circuits. Trying to achieve change within the episodic change is, thus, doomed to failure. Social and system integration are seen as the pathways through which fields of force where agents relate are fixed and stabilized on 'obligatory passage points' in the circuits of power.

Existing literature on the barriers of consumption tell us something about the nature of power relations between consumers and producers but nothing about “the constitutive nature of the relational field in which A and B presently are nor how this privileges and

handicaps them respectively, in relation to those resources that are constituted as powerful" (1989: 208). Or in other words, that consumers encounter problems to exercise choice in markets tell us that it is a fallacy deeming consumers the captain of the boat, but does not explain why this is case. To understand why this occurs, we need to understand that power is embedded in the facilitative and dispositional circuits, because power is also held by structures (i.e., institutions and discourses) and not only by people (Clegg, 1989). If the discussion on consumption and sustainability is limited to an elaboration of the reasons why consumers cannot exercise choice, we risk encountering a problem already averted by Clegg (1989: 201) and echoed by Carrington, Zwick and Neville (2015)

To the extent that power remains purely within the episodic circuit, it automatically reproduces the existing configuration of rules and domination because it challenges neither social nor system integration and thus cannot innovate.

Structural power: facilitative and dispositional power

Many scholars have already discussed the contradicting discourses in capitalism. On the one hand, consumers are encouraged ("seduced" in Lukes' terms) to consume; consumption is the engine of the economy and therefore consuming is almost a patriotic duty, not only a hedonic pursuit (Senna, 2002). On the other hand, they are told to consume "sustainably" and reminded that it is their responsibility to save the world. These discourses are forms of power/knowledge originated in the system integration circuit. In this circuit, power is exercised through techniques of discipline and production, very much alike as the foucauldian disciplinary power constituting desires and subjects (Foucault, 1984); thus the facilitative circuit reflects a macro and discursive dimension (McPhee, 2004).

The facilitative power's outcome is the empowerment and disempowerment of agencies' capacities, as these become more or less strategic as transformations occur which are incumbent upon changes in techniques of production and discipline. In the case we are discussing, consumers sovereignty also requires that consumers create discourses that will be embedded in the facilitative discourse. By using the Clegg's framework we realise that transition to sustainability it is not only a question of David-consumers fighting Goliath-corporations, but of consumers changing, with their purchases, the discourses that are legitimising the behavior of corporations as agents, and their logics as institutions. Expecting that consumers by choosing this or that offer may change the "institutional foundation for materialism in Western societies" (Kilbourne et al., 2009, p. 259), that is the core of the ideology of consumption (Carrington et al., 2015), is certainly unrealistic. Consumers lack structural power to change the discourses that are sustaining the capitalist market. The type of power to be exercised is not the one usually associated with consumer sovereignty (unidimensional) but the three-dimensional form of power that represents, following Lukes, the most "insidious form of power": needs, cognitions and preferences are shaped by a totalizing system and end up being accepted by the recipients as "natural", and therefore go unquestioned. Paraphrasing Clegg (1987, p. 29) consumers may feel they are free to choose but the what they can choose from has already be chosen. Where other scholars have seen in the facilitative power ideology understood as a state of mind, Clegg sees "a set of practices which seeks to foreclose the indefinite possibilities of signifying elements and their relations in determinate ways" (Clegg 1987, 16). To put it bluntly, consumers are sovereign to choose between this multinational and that multinational, between an ecolabelled and a non-ecolabelled good, between a more ethical and a less ethical brand. Consumers are sovereign to choose as long as their choice occurs within the limits of what it is discursively created as desirable; this is more often than not

something produced by multinational corporations and sold in major retailers. It is unclear that their decision has a major impact on the transition, as a shift towards sustainability demands a radical reduction and reorientation of consumption that entails also a major shift in the techniques of production and discipline.

Consumption markets are the “*loci* of multivalent powers” (Clegg, 1989: 200) rather than the consumers’ reign. Authors discussing the possibility of a sustainable consumption are actually pointing at many power structures that are curtailing the consumer power: urban design that forces to use the car and buy in suburban malls, the increasing working hours, the number of multiple and conflicting identities that consumers have to adopt, the corporate censorship of mass media that prevent certain topics to hit the news, and so on and so forth (Carrington, Zwick and Neville, 2015; Sanne, 2002).

Hence, taking into account the complexity of contemporary societies, it is only logical to assume that there is no longer a sovereign; it is difficult that a single powerful agent imposes her will on the rest. Rather, sovereigns have been replaced by institutions. Yet, institutions do not exercise direct control, but dispositional power (Clegg 1987).

Dispositional power circulates in the social integration circuit: it constitutes and stabilizes the field of force by fixing the rules governing meaning and membership, a notion very similar to that of institutionalisation: the result is that a field is stabilised on a set of norms, that are then taken-for-granted, shaping both the cognition and behavior of social actors. This form of power transpires in the form of regulations, permissions, and membership rules (Hallsworth, 1997) that ultimately explain why producers and retailers have causal power.

The form of power usually exercised in this circuit is the bidimensional form of power identified by Bachrach and Baratz (1975) ("A can limit the scope of the political process to considerations of issues that are innocuous to A, and possibly against the interest of B"). They call attention to another face of power: power is not only what makes you do something, but what ensures that things are not done. They contend that power is exercised by limiting the capacity of a constituency to participate in decision making or by controlling the issues on the agenda. This occurs because institutions are not neutral; rather they have "political interests". As they pursue their own agenda, they try to resist change. As such this form of power implies recognising a structure that shapes any episode of power as depicted by Dahl. This structure is "saturated with power rather than being something external, residual or incidental to power" (Clegg 1987 p. 12). Hence, in this form of power there underlies a dispositional conceptualisation of power.

Bachrach and Baratz (1975) call this form of "non-decision making" and define it as contribution to "shaping or strengthening barriers to public airing of grievances" (1975: 904). Two forms of non-decision making are described (covert control and mobilization of bias) that are carried out via "co-option of opponents, public denial of legitimacy ..., and deflection of challenges by referring grievances to study commissions" (902). These forms of mobilisation of bias have been observed by other authors (e.g. Baur and Schmitz, 2012; Thompson and Coskuner-Balli, 2007). This dispositional power is in our view responsible for one of major barriers of consumer action: information availability. Consumers repeatedly acknowledge having limited, confusing, and untrustworthy information on the sustainable alternatives and not being sure about the right path to follow. This is the result of companies resisting the demands of the corporate accountability movement to release

information about their environmental and social impact in a timely and credible manner so that it can be effectively used by consumers (Valor, 2008).

Conclusion

The main contribution this paper intends to make is threefold. First, it contributes to the growing amount of literature that avoids vilifying the consumer for not walking the talk or acting responsibly. Rather, it suggests that consumers are not that agentic as they are often depicted, and defend that idea that they lack both agency and structural power. Second, we contend that literature on sustainable consumption relies on the assumption that consumers are sovereign. We have argued that they are not, therefore aligning with those that defend the mythical ontology of “consumers-as-sovereign” trope. Sovereignty goes beyond choosing this or that brand. Consumers are constrained by other forces, namely organizations and structures that are not easy to reverse.

Third, we defend that many of the observed difficulties in the episodic circuit have their origins in the dispositional and facilitative circuits of power. Unless passage points between them are open these difficulties will not be solved. Solutions to the problems transcend the individual and are entangled in more complex relations of power. Therefore, any strategy on sustainability and consumption should broaden the focus to encompass the three circuits of power and the interrelations among them.

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Reclaiming Space for Bicycling: Towards understanding the Transformation of Space through Consumption

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Introduction

In marketing theory space is traditionally studied as a context for consumption (Hirschman, Ruvio and Belk 2012, Kozinets et al. 2002, Schau, Hope, and Gilly 2003, O'Guinn and Belk 1989, MacLaran and Brown 2005). These studies are based upon an understanding of space as a physical surface, a neutral entity, on which social action takes place (Scott and Spicer, 2007). Following the recent call for more studies moving 'beyond the material, taken- for -granted dimension of space' (Chatzidakis, McEachern and Warnaby 2014), this study seeks to extend this streams of research by providing a more nuanced perspective onto the social dynamics inherent to space.

Interested in the social-relational dimensions of space I ask the question: How does the consumption practice of bicycling transform urban space? Drawing on Lefebvre (1991), I conceptualize space as a dynamic and dialectical product of social action, rather than being the mere sit of consumption. This dialectical and processual perspective on space allows to understand consumption as a performative social action that has the potential to gradually transform urban space. In the case of bicycling I argue that urban space is produced and transformed through the dialectical tensions between state power and consumer resistance. Lefebvre (1991) refers to these opposing forces as producing

‘dominated spaces’ and ‘appropriated spaces’. Domination is a process that dictates and prohibits the behavior of its users by demarcating, functionalizing and controlling urban space. (Re-) appropriation refers to acts of resistance by which consumers make use of spatial infrastructure outside their normal meanings and function. These two opposing and highly significant notions of domination and re- appropriation (Lefebvre 1991, Wapshott and Mallett 2014) served as a theoretical means to study practices and processes by which urban space is transformed.

Before continuing I want to explain why I use urban bicycling as the research context to study how consumption transforms urban space. First, research has shown that the individual activities of cyclists can aggregate towards a collective action that can have a significant influence on the spatiality of cities (Wilhoit and Kisselburgh 2015). Second, automobility is declining (Böhm et al. 2006) and bicycling gains increasing significance as a means of urban transportation in European and North American cities. Third, this research seeks to contribute to research that is interested how consumption practices are coupled to spatial, cultural and material contexts. Bicycling is particularly well suited for contextualizing because it is “highly responsive to and the subject of cultural norms, juridical structures and direct political intervention” (Askegaard and Linnet 2012, 396).

Marketing and Consumer Research follows traditionally a research bias that explores the lived experiences of consumers (Arnold and Thompson 2005). This highly individualized and experiential focus conceptualizes consumers as identity seekers (Belk 1988) and downplays the structuring role that the social and spatial context plays for consumption (Askegaard and Linnet 2012). This research project addresses this conceptual issue by

moving beyond the lived experiences of cyclists and considering the spatial and social context in which bicycling is embedded.

Videography (Hietanen, Rokka and Schouten 2014) has been chosen as the primary form of data gathering due to its capability to record “proxemics”, “kinesics” and “expressions” (Belk and Kozinets 2005), and “wide range of experiences” as well as the “context-rich environment” (Hietanen 2012, 19).

Dominating Space

In the following I discuss how state authority create bicycling space by ‘using boundaries’ and by ‘mimicking space’ and how specific consumer groups (car drivers and pedestrians) actively participate in the controlling of conceived space. Further down I contrast to these stratifying processes with outlining ‘practices of resistance’ employed by cyclists to (re)-appropriate their space against the functionalization of city planners and controlling tendencies of other space inhabitants.

The first mode of dominating bicycling space I found was to *mimicking space*. Mimesis refers to the reconfiguration of space by replicating other spaces. It is a process by which aspects of different spaces are imported onto an existing space. Mimesis imposes the rules and behavior expectations of the space that it mimics. In the case of bicycling I observed three forms of mimicking space. First, bicycling infrastructure is built using the spatial logic of automobile space. A second form of mimicking space is that bicycle roads are designed by mimicking re-creational space. A third form is that bike lanes are constructed as pedestrian space.

The second mode of domination I found was *boundary setting*. Objects and symbols that are installed to demarcate space are driving lanes, zebra crossings, traffic lights, road lightning, traffic signs, pedestrian lanes and bike lanes and so on. The primary function of boundaries is to exercise control by dividing and assigning urban space to different consumer groups such as pedestrians, car drivers and cyclists.

Analyzing the data revealed that mimesis and boundary setting not only work as passive structures, but that they exercise their power through specific consumer groups. It is car drivers and pedestrians who reinforce the boundaries that demarcate 'their' space. It is other road users who start to impose certain rules and behavior expectations on cyclists who use their space. On the other hand, I observed how cyclists defend their bike lanes against intruders such as pedestrians and car drivers, who use their space. Thus, domination is a mode of domination that not only works through passive structures, as Lefebvre (1991) suggests, but which is enacted through consumer agency.

Re- appropriating Space

(Re-) appropriation are acts of resistance engaged by cyclists to appropriate urban space not intended for their use. It "manifests in acts that contribute towards a re- figuration of the space, such as making use of [...] artefacts outside their normal meanings and functions" (Wapshott and Mallett 2012, 70). It is through appropriation that the users of space "can alter, add or subtract, superimpose their own ideas (symbols, organization) on what is provided" (Lefebvre 1991, 39). Cyclists who (re)-appropriate urban space overlay the physical space of the city with a new symbolic meanings and functions.

My research revealed a number of spatial tactics and practices by which the emerging group of cyclists resist to conceived spaces. I abstracted a number prototypical practices by which cyclists make use of objects and spaces outside their intended meaning and function.

A strategy of re- appropriating space is to *occupy space* for bike parking. A very interesting example for occupying is to use objects and artefacts for bicycle parking. By using traffic lights, fences and so on as a bike parking facility it's meaning is gradually transformed. An interesting opposing tendency is the *non- using* of existing bicycling infrastructure.

One practice of resistance is to *subvert the meaning of signs and artefacts* with stickers. Not many of the stickers were related to the topic of biking, but it clearly outlines an act of resistance. The stickers overlay the symbolic meaning of the signs and transform the sign as a means of regulation into a space of resistance and expression.

Other prominent ways of resistance were the practices of *co-opting* space for bicycling by riding on space that is forbidden. Or, to *subvert the regulated follow of movements* by riding against one- way streets or to *reducing the motion of automobiles*. These practices have a major impact onto the follow of movements in cities.

It is through processes of subverting, non- using, co- opting, and temporal re- claiming that space is reasserted and the meanings of that space changes over time. Practices of re- appropriation undermine the intention and power of the conceived nature of space, it overlays physical space and makes symbolic use of its objects (Lefebvre 1991, 39).

Domination and (re) -appropriation are two opposing dynamics that ultimately unite and manifest themselves in the transformation of space. This process is by no means simple or final but can be understood as an on-going dialectical process. It is through the inseparable dialectical tension between processes of domination and practices of resistance that urban space becomes a battlefield between different intentions, interests and interpretations.

Discussion and Conclusion

This study provides an inquiry into the use of urban space by consumption. It has addressed the research question concerning the way the consumption practice of bicycling transforms urban space in the Austrian city of Innsbruck. Whereas existing research on space has tended to investigate space as a neutral site of consumption practices, this research has shifted the emphasis in terms of the way in which space transformed and co-produced by its users. I have extended existing research by having shown how different consumer groups actively engage in the struggle, transformation and production of urban space.

This research is motivated by a theoretical and a practical research interest. The conceptual contribution extends previous work on Lefebvre (1991) by showing that consumers actively participate in demarcating, enforcing and controlling the existing spatial organization of cities. Thus, conceived space works not as a passive structure but through consumer agency. Consumers are productive in a double sense. Consumer groups (cyclists) challenge the existing spatial organization, and consumer groups (car drivers, pedestrians) actively participate in demarcating, enforcing and controlling the conceived

space of city planners. Thus, this paper shows that conceived space imposes power in a dualistic way, as passive structures (such as Lefebvre argues) thru setting boundaries and mimicking space and by consumers that enforce these passive structures.

This research project provides a number of contributions to the study of space and for studying the role of consumers as co- creators in marketing theory. It develops an empirical case study at the micro- level of the spatial processes and practices employed by cyclists and provide an account on the spatial transformation through consumption practices. The conceptual contribution extends previous work on Lefebvre (1991) by showing that consumers actively participate in demarcating, enforcing and controlling and demarcating the existing spatial organization.

Thus, consumers are productive in a non- economic sense. Some consumer (cyclists) contribute to the creation of new physical and mental spaces, and consumers (car drivers, pedestrians) actively participate in demarcating, enforcing and controlling the conceived space of city planners. Thus, this paper shows that conceived space imposes power in a dualistic way, as passive structures thru setting boundaries and mimicking and by consumers that enforce these passive structures.

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Fashion: A Macromarketing Approach

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Is fashion such a trifling thing? Or is it, as I prefer to think, rather an indicator of deeper phenomena – of the energies, possibilities, demands and *joie de vivre* of a given society, economy and civilization?

Fernand Braudel

Each year sees many new products that involve only a new style – a change of form rather than a change in function. Many are labeled “fads” or dismissed as simply “fashion” but, taken in total, their economic importance cannot be ignored.

The purpose of this paper is to re-examine, from a macro-marketing perspective, the concept of changes in a product’s style that, when it achieves considerable popularity, we label it as fashion. As the concept of fashion is defined more fully, we trust the extent of the phenomenon beyond apparel will emerge. Several possible explanations for the fashion process will be discussed and the paper will conclude by arguing that fashion is an appropriate topic for macromarketing scholarship and suggest some issues for future study.

The nature of fashion:

The *Oxford English Dictionary* presents 12 definitions of the noun fashion including: “The mode of dress, etiquette, furniture, style of speech, etc. adopted in society for the time being.” At least three implications are suggested.

First, each of the specific areas mentioned in the definition has, at any given time, a “mode,” or several modes, each of which may be called a style. Although the definition refers to only two specific products, all products – goods or services – have a style in that they in some way connect with one or more of the human senses. Thus the two goods mentioned in the OED’s definition, dress and furniture, have both a look and a feel. Like a style of speech, music has a particular sound and, at any one time, one style enjoys the greatest popularity. Other product classes such as automobiles involve a more complex cluster of stimuli that form a given style. Similarly, a person’s home has something for all five senses, and the currently popular “open floor plan” kitchens are a fashion, as are more specific products such as granite counter tops (relatively new) and wooden floors (a return to the old.) Even foods go in and out of fashion; as this is written, bacon – at least in the U.S. – has become a fashionable flavor, appearing in everything from frozen vegetable mixes to chocolate candy. Thus, although the word fashion is most commonly used in reference to apparel, new styles that do not involve new or significantly improved functionality are a common phenomenon in nearly all categories of goods and services.

Second, each style is temporary and, in time, will be replaced by other styles but, for the moment, the most popular of these styles is the fashion or one of several fashions.

Third, and admittedly this goes beyond the OED definition, the factor of adoption by society in general, or a segment thereof, implies that multiple sellers will offer products

that embody a currently popular style. And, indeed, it is the offering by many sellers that indicates that a style has become fashionable.

The process of fashion change:

At first glance, the process of fashion change might be seen as a subset of the diffusion of innovations. While the extensive literature of that field (summarized and analyzed in Rogers, 2003) can be of some relevance to the study of fashion, two aspects make it different. First, an innovation in the Rogerian tradition is much more than a change of form; it has consequences for the behavior of the adopter. Second, the fashion process includes two phases, the adoption of a new style and the dis-adoption of an old style. To ask the question “What drives the process of style change?” invokes both phases, and the diffusion literature has paid almost no attention to the issue of dis-adoption.

Two very general answers to the question of the drivers of style change suggest themselves. One says that style change is the result of consumers’ never ending desire for something new and different; the other says that style change originates from industry’s continuing desire to find new products for consumers to purchase, i.e. forced obsolescence.

A notable example of an explanation of style change driven by consumer desire is the process that has come to be known as *the trickle-down theory*. Beginning with the work of Veblen (1899) as expanded and refined by Simmel (1956) and McCracken (1988), trickle-down theory sees influential people (the leaders) adopting a style as a way of distinguishing themselves from others (the followers) who, encouraged by the lowered costs resulting from mass production, emulate the leaders by adopting this style.

However, as the followers adopt their versions of the new style, it loses its symbolic value for the leaders and they must find something “new.” This leads to a constant search for new styles by the leaders, creating a sort of “perpetual motion” process of adoption and abandonment.

An opposite perspective views style change originating with producers, specifically designers. Writing about the U. S. auto industry with its annual model changes, Reynolds (1965) summarized the argument this way, “a fashion comes into existence when there is agreement among fashion makers what a particular thing is or will be in fashion” (p. 50). A single seller tries a new look or sound or taste and, if it appears to meet with consumer acceptance, the product development people at other sellers notice and develop their versions of the style. Soon all, or nearly all, sellers are offering the new style and it becomes the fashion, partly because it is so readily available. Continuously changing styles appear to satisfy the needs of the sellers as a means of creating additional sales. The role of the consumer in this process is relatively minor, more as an observer than a participant.

Fashion in the marketing literature:

Although the process of style change appears to be a characteristic of many goods and services, it has received relatively little attention from marketing scholars. Using the major U.S. journals as examples, for the decade 2006 through 2015, the *Journal of Retailing* published 28 articles with the word “fashion” appearing in the abstract. That was more than the combined total of the *Journal of Marketing* (4 articles), *Journal of Marketing Research* (no articles), *Journal of Consumer Research* (8 articles), *Journal of the*

Academy of Marketing Science (7 articles), and *Journal of Macromarketing* (3 articles).

Nearly all are focused on fashion as it is manifested in apparel.

Macromarketing perspectives on fashion

The continued process of products that change style with no noticeable change in function affects markets and, in turn, affects the economy and society. This raises at least three broad questions in keeping with the macromarketing research tradition (Layton 2007; Mittelstaedt, Kilbourne and Mittelstaedt 2006).

First, what is the real nature of the style change process? What draws people to buy new “things,” especially if they offer no improvement in performance? Second, how does this process of change affect the nature of the marketing system and, in turn, how does the nature of the marketing system affect the process of product change? Third, what are the outcomes of style change on the economy and on our society?

The first issue, the nature of the process, includes at least two sub-issues. One concerns the boundaries of the group adopting the fashion. Unlike major innovations such as the cell phone, any given style change is adopted by only a portion of the population, even within a given country. But how does one define the boundaries of the various adopting groups and how, if at all, are these groups, and the systems that serve them, linked? For example, it is said that the buyers of *haute couture* number less than two thousand (Binkley 2016). Clearly *haute couture* involves its own marketing system but its influence spreads to other groups and other marketing systems. Within a fairly small group the role of interpersonal influence seems apparent. But, if there are separate groups and systems, what carries a given style from one to another? And what role do marketers play in the

process?

A second sub-issue of equal importance is the matter of the relative influence of marketers, especially designers, and consumers within each fashion system. Traditionally intellectual property laws have kept consumers from directly participating in the product development process, at least for those items that could be patented or copyrighted. However, style change is different and the role of consumers, especially in a time of many new communication possibilities, is becoming increasingly important (Atik and Firat 2013). And, if so, what does this do to the traditional role of designers and other creative people? And what changes does it bring to the marketing system?

The second major issue concerns the nature of marketing systems for products that change styles. Differences between and among countries would be expected. For example, two descriptions – at about the same time – of the *fast fashion* phenomenon in women's clothing, one in Britain (Barnes and Lea-Greenwood 2006) and one in the U.S. (Doeringer and Crean 2005), present pictures of quite different fashion marketing systems. Although neither study made a direct comparison, much of the difference appears to be based on the differential market strength of the major fashion retailers in the two countries.

But differences also exist in the marketing systems for different products within any one country. An issue common to all fashion goods everywhere is the tension between economies of scale in manufacturing and the inherent risk that style changes present. Achieving economies of scale requires commitment to the capital equipment and labor specialization needed for long production runs. This offers the potential for lower unit

costs but inevitably leads to relatively high fixed costs. Further, long production runs produce a larger inventory of goods of a particular style, one that may become obsolete at any time. Typically, systems capable of quickly shifting from the production of one style to another, thus reducing the risk of inventory ownership, involve less investment in capital goods and greater reliance on labor and, thus, a more labor intensive, variable cost structure with higher unit costs – and in today’s globalized economy, the greater the probability that producers will seek sources in places with the lowest labor costs.

To try to balance these economic realities, marketing systems for various products differ, and their nature changes as the realities change. Historically the garment industry in the United States included, as separate non-integrated entities, textile and thread mills with economies of scale, and much smaller cutting and sewing shops that used considerable labor input. Because the risks of inventory ownership seemed to preclude the inclusion of merchant wholesalers in the supply chain, a complex network of selling and manufacturers’ agents, equipment rental companies, “factors” (who furnished financing) and brokers who found buyers for unsold merchandise, found ways to coordinate the entire system by effectively pooling, spreading and shifting risk among the various parties. Modern communications and transportation have caused and continue to cause much change in this system.

By contrast other industries deal with this issue differently. For example paint is produced in large, homogeneous quantities in efficient, capital intensive plants. The risk of inventory obsolescence due to a change in color preferences is nearly eliminated by use of the *principle of postponement* (Alderson 1957); the retailer colors the final product to the buyer’s specification. Other industries experiencing style changes use a variety of

techniques, from return allowances to consignment selling to the “packaging” of product options and many others. All are intended to minimize risk while maximizing the opportunities for scale economies.

Finally, the social and economic consequences of style change are clearly a macromarketing topic. Underlying the discussion, of course, is the theoretical question discussed earlier – who provides the impetus for change, marketers or consumers? But whether or not there is blame (or credit), sorting out and weighing the roles of the parties are worthy objectives. Clearly there are effects on employment, not just in monetary terms but also on workers’ and, therefore, society’s wellbeing (Ertekin and Atik 2012).

In addition, by its very nature fashion obsolescence leaves a residue of products that retain useful life, leading to issues of recycling and the marketing of used goods. And this residue of style-obsolescent products is not just in the hands of consumers; it exists in many places in the system. For example, a significant part of the “second hand clothing” market is made up of clothes that, in fact, were never worn but remained unsold in an inventory held by a manufacturer and/or retailer. (Hansen 2000).

Finally, to end where the paper began, there is the question raised by Braudel. Is fashion a trifling thing or is it an indicator of the life of a society? Is it all just so much waste or are their benefits that might be summarized in the familiar words of Mandeville’s *Fable of the Bees*: “Bare Virtue can't make Nations live in Splendor; they that would revive a Golden Age must be as free, for Acorns, as for Honesty.”

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Are we being heard? Preliminary findings of academics' perceptions of mainstreaming sustainability in marketing academia and education

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Extended abstract

Sustainable development has been posed as the solution to various environmental, social, and economic problems. While sustainable development is an inherently contested construct, it has three common dimensions: economic (the ability for enterprises and activities to be sustained long term), social (an equal distribution of benefits and a reduction in poverty), and environmental (conserving natural resources). The most commonly cited definition of sustainable development was provided in a report by the Brundtland Commission, who defined it as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987, p. 43). Their report also linked unsustainability to overconsumption by affluent industrialized countries. At the very least, sustainability requires a shift in our consumption patterns with an understanding that the carrying capacity of the earth has already been surpassed (Borland and Paliwoda 2011). A more likely scenario is that society will require a fundamental transformation of our relationship between people and the planet (Hopwood, Mellor, and O'Brien 2005).

It is clear that marketing is implicated in both the problems and solutions to

sustainability; with marketing's roots in consumerism, its ability to educate and bring about behavioral change, and change product offerings (Borland and Paliwoda 2011; Varey 2012). Thus, marketers need to be part of the narrative that questions the role of corporations, excess consumption, and even marketing itself, in society and sustainability. Macromarketing is well posed to enter this debate due to its focus on how marketing systems affect society (Mittelstaedt et al. 2014). Indeed, the *Journal of Macromarketing* has discussed many key issues in sustainability (e.g., special issues in 2010 and 2014/15). Consequently, marketing academia and education have a role to play in developing a new narrative and discourse regarding sustainability's place in marketing studies, or better yet, marketing studies' place in sustainability.

The university, and indeed, the business school itself, has been implored to integrate sustainability within all areas of their institutions. It is important to understand how academics perceive sustainability as these perceptions influence how, and how much, sustainability is included in their teachings and publications. We must understand how those teaching sustainability perceive it as academic perceptions can be a major inhibitor to the integration of sustainability within curriculum (Christie et al. 2015).

Consequently, this work-in-progress interviewed marketing academics interested in sustainability. The focus of the interviews was to understand the barriers towards the integration of sustainability in marketing academia and education, and how to overcome these barriers. We found that academics act to publicize and legitimize their view of sustainability, some ways of which could be considered academic activism. In doing so, their actions have the potential to break down barriers to help further the sustainability

agenda, especially to create equal respect, voice and opportunity for sustainability marketing scholars and research.

Sustainability and the marketing discipline

Sustainability in marketing education and research has gained little traction over the years, despite the increasing popularity of the concept in other disciplines. There is evidence to suggest that the marketing curriculum has so far failed to successfully address and integrate sustainability. For example, Weber (2013) examined a relatively small sample of universities which had applied to the Beyond Pinstripes program (focused on sustainability) and found that only 16 percent of graduate marketing courses allocated 50 percent or more of course time to ethical, social, and sustainability issues, which was low compared to 50 percent of graduate management courses having 50 percent or more course time allocated to such issues. Additionally, Delong and McDermott (2013) surveyed marketing deans/heads of department at AACSB-accredited institutions and found that more than 50 percent did not integrate sustainability into the marketing curriculum. In addition, while sustainability has gained increasing attention in marketing research (i.e., special issues), sustainability marketing is still overwhelmingly understudied (McDonagh and Prothero 2014; Purani, Sahadev, and Kumar 2014). The current state of sustainability integration is not the only means of assessing the current situation; there is also a need to investigate faculty's sustainability perceptions.

A few studies have investigated faculty's views about sustainability in the business curricula. One such study found that while business school faculty and PhD students feel that CSR, sustainability, and ethics are common themes throughout their curricula, few felt these topics were important (Doh and Tashman 2014). In contrast, Beusch (2014) found

that sustainable development education was perceived to be very important by 57 percent of staff and researchers, with the perceived level of importance increasing by about 20 percent since a 2006 survey. Specific to the marketing discipline, Delong and McDermott (2013) found that deans in AACSB-accredited institutions considered sustainability content quite important in the marketing curriculum, more so than the importance of sustainability in the business curriculum as a whole. These findings, among others (e.g., Carrithers and Peterson 2006; Toubiana 2014), suggest that there seems to be a split and tension within the business school regarding the acceptance and importance of sustainability.

Scholars have argued that business schools espouse a certain worldview; a neo-classical economic worldview (e.g., Beusch 2014; Springett 2010). This worldview or “prevailing institutional logic” are in contrast to, or even perpetuate, many issues society faces (Barber et al. 2014, p. 479). Thus, any resistance to the status quo could have an impact on faculty career prospects and publications (Barber et al. 2014; Thompson and Purdy 2009), which may lead to feelings of isolation, and a lack of respect and equal voice. By questioning and challenging the status quo, and being on the periphery, sustainability academics may be involved in roles of active resistance; this includes change agents, academic activists, and institutional entrepreneurs (Barber et al. 2014; Flood, Martin, and Dreher 2013; Toubiana 2014).

The purpose of this research is to understand the barriers and changes needed towards further integration of sustainability within marketing academia and education. While previous studies have focused on business curriculum and education, none have specifically focused on the barriers and changes needed in marketing education and/or

academia. Marketing faces different obstacles and pressures than other disciplines within business schools. This is due to marketing's direct implications on product development and promotion of continuous consumption, both of which have major implications of worsening social and environmental conditions, arguably much more so than other business areas (e.g., finance, human resources) (Assadourian 2010; Gorge et al. 2015). Marketing is also deeply embedded in the dominant social paradigm, which is linked to unsustainability (Mittelstaedt et al. 2014; Prothero, McDonagh, and Dobscha 2010). Therefore, this work-in-progress addresses how we can move forward and overcome barriers that prohibit the successful integration of sustainability in marketing academia and education.

Methodology

The research conducted was exploratory in nature and thus a qualitative approach was used. This ongoing study has so far conducted six semi-structured interviews with sustainability orientated marketing academics. The interviews were audio recorded and were conducted through face-to-face, Skype or phone; they lasted from approximately one to two and half hours. The use of purposive sampling was employed to select cases that would be able to provide an in-depth reflection of the topic (Toubiana 2014). Academics were sought from three main regions: Australasia, Europe and America. The design for the interview guide was aided by previous studies (e.g., Green 2015; Reid, Petocz, and Taylor 2009; Toubiana 2014). The interviews were transcribed and thematic analysis was employed to analyze the interviews. As part of a larger project, the preliminary findings presented here focus solely on the barriers towards sustainability integration in marketing and how to overcome them.

Preliminary findings and discussion

The preliminary findings of the study are grouped under three themes: barriers, pressures and changes needed.

Barriers

Preliminary findings indicate that the most powerful barriers towards the integration of sustainability and marketing are institutional. The publish and perish mentality and the perceived associated barriers of being unable to publish in top tier marketing journals on the topic of sustainability prevent academics from fully devoting their time to sustainability marketing. Another major and broader concern for the whole marketing academy was the question of whether anybody actually reads the articles that are being published, whether sustainability or non-sustainability focused. Outside the academic community, the business community was seen as not demanding sustainability literate students, and many saw this lack of pressure for sustainability (and pressure for other areas such as social media marketing and analytics) on the business school as a key barrier to sustainability marketing education.

A major ideological barrier some participants saw was the dominant social paradigm evident in faculty, and the world in general, as preventing the further integration of sustainability education in marketing departments. This finding confirms Toubiana's (2014) results on profit-driven ideology preventing the integration of social justice in business education.

“Yeah I think there’s a conflict, you can’t be, say that your profit is your objective and shareholders are the only ones you’re going to listen to, you have to change where its

stakeholders, where profit is not the first objective and that's a huge shift, and I don't, given the current state of the world military industrial complex I don't see that changing very often" (Participant 1)

These findings suggest that a large barrier persists in the marketing academic community with a preference for the status quo and a perceived ignorance or apathy towards social and environmental problems, thus supporting McDonagh and Prothero's (2014) statement that sustainability is still seen by many in the marketing academy as an 'non-issue'. In addition, Naeem and Neal's (2012) survey also revealed that the most common perceived barrier to integrating sustainability in business schools was inertia, with faculty preferring to stick with what they know. It is not difficult to see the continuous cycle this would promote in the academy with a lack of new knowledge. While participants perceived a progressive change and acceptance of sustainability topics within marketing, some felt it was a slow process that had yet to enter mainstream marketing (i.e., top tier journals).

"Well, it's not an important issue to a lot of people, that don't see it as, I mean we're still looking at it advertising effects and you know the colour differences in preferences and experimentation...the kinds of things we're studying and publishing don't have anything to do with sustainability, that don't even address it, it's a non-issue" (Participant 2).

Most participants felt that Europe was ahead of America and other countries with regard to the integration of sustainability in education and academia, and the overall openness to the topic. This regional divide is also clearly evident in the research, for example Wu et al.

(2010) found that European and Oceania business schools offered more standalone courses on sustainability than the United States.

Institutional barriers referred to the marketing academy and the furthering of the sustainability agenda within publications. Consequently, participants had no difficulty incorporating sustainability within their existing courses (except one participant who struggled theoretically) or creating their own sustainability marketing courses.

Participants had the freedom to create or edit courses as they wished, as it was left up to them to decide what they taught. As such, interest in sustainability was seen very much as a personal agenda that translated into the workplace. Without this passion they saw little incentive to engage with sustainability within the academy or their institutions.

Pressure

There were contrasting views on where the pressure on the business school to incorporate sustainability would come from. Two participants saw the pressure was coming (and would continue to come from) students. These participants saw marketing education at the forefront of sustainability with businesses lagging behind. Another participant saw students as a barrier with students being seen as a “conservative impact” on marketing curriculum (Participant 3). Barber et al. (2014) also commented on the contrasting evidence with some research suggesting students demanded sustainability education and other research suggesting that students expect the business school to “teach them the professional skills and knowledge that will enable them to find jobs as leaders or managers, not spend time focused on environmental problems” (p. 475). In contrast, one participant thought the pressure on business schools to change would only come direct from businesses. As such, this participant saw business as being ahead of

marketing education and thus saw pressure from business as the most likely advocator of change.

Changes needed

The participants had many ideas about what it would take for sustainability to become integrated into marketing academia and education. Half the participants suggested that only a strong shock (to the world, or to marketing) would incite change in consumers, businesses and the academy. It was also suggested faculty must educate and encourage students (including PhD) in sustainability to help the sustainability agenda. This was usually a response to the doubt that publishing in sustainability would bring about major change in either marketing education or academia. Two participants felt that to increase familiarity and interest in sustainability, courses and/or institutions should be established that help faculty integrate sustainability into their courses. For example, a sustainability workshop hosted by the American Marketing Association.

Participants saw faculty as key in helping advance the sustainability agenda in marketing education and academia. Many spoke of the need for faculty to lead the charge for change in education and academia (as academic activists or change agents), and indeed some suggested that their own passion for sustainability led them to create new courses or integrate sustainability in their existing courses. However, it was suggested that due to the 'publish or perish' mentality only those in power (e.g., editors, professors) could be enactors of greater institutional change. Specifically, one participant was still doubtful for the actual ability to change when their jobs were on the line.

“I think the problem is that the people that are in a position to make wholesale changes are the ones which have already been universally accepted so the professors, so the people with the political clap have the luxury of not having to be on the treadmill so those are the people who can sit back and say ‘oh I don’t think we’re doing this the right way’ everybody else is so busy publishing, and they’re on the treadmill, that they can’t, they can’t sit back and say ‘oh I don’t think we’re doing this the right way’ because they need to get five more publications before the next [funding application deadline] so they can keep their jobs” (Participant 3).

There were contrasting views about academic activism. One participant reflected on the concept and suggested such academics would most likely espouse anti-business sentiment and would essentially put themselves out of a job at a business school. Another participant saw academic activism as weaving their sustainability passion in all their work (research, teaching and service) and to make sure to be heard in research and political discussions. Another participant saw academic activism as the direct actions of academics within their own institution. Activism was seen as encouraging and engaging students in sustainability projects, and a critical reflection and discussion of sustainability and marketing topics in classes, with students and with faculty. This idea of activism can be seen to be more accessible to faculty members as most felt they had complete control of their own courses.

“I participated in climate marches...I divested from all fossil fuel in my investments and then you talk about it, you talk about with your students, you talk about it with your colleagues, you talk about the necessity of change” (Participant 1).

In this ongoing project we seek to further question and research ways, both professional and personal, through which academics can bring about change in their own institutions (which currently most saw as the easier route) and marketing academia. It is only through the experiences of sustainability marketing academics that we can begin to understand what struggles and barriers may exist towards the successful integration of sustainability within marketing academia and education. This research provides insight into possible arenas, such as academic activism, that can take place to advance the sustainability agenda in curriculum, publications and career prospects. Through reflection on what it means to be sustainable in marketing, in curriculum and research, and what the status of such thinking is in the 'mainstream' marketing discourse and community, we can begin to understand how we can actively promote sustainability in the marketing discipline.

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Gender, Feminism and Macromarketing I

Triple jeopardy: U.S. Latina lesbian women's use of apparel in overcoming gender, racial, and sexual prejudice

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The use of apparel is a primary tool of identity expression used by lesbian consumers, especially after coming out (Hutson 2010; Krakauer and Rose 2002). Apparel is used not only to communicate sexual identity to dominant society, but also to communicate belonging in lesbian spaces. Although this use of apparel is vital in communicating these identities and belongings, with two notable exceptions (Hutson 2010; Krakauer and Rose 2002), little research exists exploring this process in the context of consumer behavior. When this topic is discussed, the conversation privileges the experiences of white lesbian women. This is problematic because racial and ethnic social identities complicate the expression of sexuality through apparel, especially in U.S. Latina lesbian women consumers.

Past research has documented the struggles created by heteronormative definitions of femininity that lesbian women encounter when attempting to express themselves through apparel and style after coming out (Hutson 2010). However, because of the racial and ethnic ideas and definitions that comprise the term "Latina", this particular group of lesbian women face additional socio-cultural constraints on these consumption practices not experienced by their white lesbian counterparts. More specifically, not only do

Latinas encounter gender and sexual discrimination from members of dominant mainstream groups (e.g. white, heterosexual, and/or male); they also experience racisms that marginalize them in both heterosexual and lesbian spaces (Bridges et al. 2003). These three oppressive lived experiences combine to create a “triple jeopardy” (Greene 1994) that constrains Latina lesbian consumers’ expressions of post-closet identity through apparel consumption in ways not found in white lesbian women.

Thus, the purpose of this proposed study is to examine how the post-closet identity of U.S. Latina lesbian women manifests itself through apparel consumption. More specifically, this research seeks to answer the following questions: 1) How does the intersection of race and/or ethnicity, gender, and sexuality in Latina lesbian women impact the expression of post-closet identity through apparel consumption while considering the social, ethnic and gender norms established and perpetuated by current marketing systems? 2) How do heteronormative and lesbian definitions of Latina femininity and sexuality impact the use of apparel in Latina lesbian women’s expressions of post-closet identity? And 3) how can the consumption behavior of Latina lesbian women impact current marketing systems (that tend to marginalize this group) in order to help navigate identity projects after coming out?

These questions will be approached using the concept of intersectionality, a theoretical construct that suggests that the multiple social identities of consumers converge to form a unique lived experience that directly impacts marketplace privileges and disadvantages (Crockett et al. 2011; Gopaldas and Fischer 2008; Gopaldas 2013). Because the use of this concept is particularly useful in exploring the identities that result from marginalized group intersections (Collins 2007; Crockett et al. 2011; Gopaldas and Fischer 2008;

Gopaldas 2013), this theoretical lens is particularly useful when examining the behaviors of this consumer group. The use of intersectionality is also advocated by various Consumer Culture Theory scholars, as its application avoids reducing Latina lesbian women's use of apparel in identity expression to an additive summary of the practices associated with each isolated identity (e.g., Latina, lesbian, or female); thus furthering the oppression of this group by overlooking their unique lived marketplace experiences (Crockett et al. 2011; Gopaldas and Fischer 2008; Gopaldas 2013).

The findings of this study's exploration of Latina lesbians' apparel consumption practices are also potentially useful to marketing scholars and practitioners. Latinas are currently outspending the general market in their purchases of apparel, while U.S. LGBT consumers, including lesbians, have an over \$880 million buying power and preference for brands who are allies (Bulldog Reporter 2012; Harris Interactive 2007). A more detailed and complex understanding of Latina lesbians would 1) provide a more complex and accurate theoretical and practical understanding of the consumption practices of this frequently overlooked, but profitable consumer group, and 2) provide broader insights in relation to other consumer groups with multiple intersecting marginalized identities, and 3) on a macro-level, uncover how marketing systems can play a significant role in alleviating some of the struggles associated with changing identities in the marketplace.

The complexities of communicating identity through apparel consumption

Apparel is a category of goods that hold meaning beyond utility; consumers purchase and utilize these products to communicate membership in social groups (Bourdieu 2012; McCracken 1986; Thompson and Haytko 1997; Trigg 2001; Veblen 2007). For instance, one may strategically use apparel when interviewing for a job as a tangible display that

she is able to identify with and conform to the institution's culture and expectations. Using apparel to communicate belonging, however, is not a simple or uniform process. For instance, one must first know the defining guidelines of a social group before using apparel to communicate belonging (Bourdieu 2012; Trigg 2001; Veblen 2007).

Additionally, access to some social groups is permanently restricted to specific individuals based on physical body attributes (Collins 2007; Fiske 1996; Gaines 1996; Lipsitz 1996; Omi and Winant 1995). Full membership in racial and gender categories, for example, is often restricted based on skin color, facial features, body type, genitalia, reproductive organs, etc. (Collins 2007; Dyer 1997; Glick and Fiske 1996; West and Zimmerman 1987). Two additional factors complicating the use of apparel consumption to communicate membership in a social group are the ability of these products to hold multiple fluid meanings, as product meanings constantly shift due to changing social norms (Bourdieu 2012; Veblen 2007). For example, pants in Western society were once interpreted not only as a man's product, but a good that visibly separated men from women. By the mid-twentieth century, however, the entrance of an increasing number of women into the workforce, as well as laws outlawing public school requirements restricting young women to wearing dresses (e.g. *Education Amendments of 1972*) altered the societal standards that reserved pants as an object exclusively associated with male identity.

Similarly, the definitions communicated through an identical product purchase may change based on the group membership of the consumer (Bourdieu 2012; Collins 2007; Dyer, 1997; Gaines 1996; hooks 2012; Omi and Winant 1995; Veblen 2007). For example, the purchase of a plaid shirt by a white male may be viewed as a symbol of hyper masculinity, a lesbian white female may be viewed by some as a sign of "butchness", while the same purchase by a latina woman (lesbian or straight) may be interpreted as

membership in the 'chola' (i.e., Latina gang) culture (Hancock 2009; Krakauer and Rose 2002; Moreno 2015).

Prior research has established the importance of fashion apparel consumption in displaying the post-closet identities of lesbian consumers (Hutson 2010; Krakauer and Rose 2002) as well as the socio-cultural definitions of Latina attached to various clothing colors and types (Davila 2001). Because of their membership in both of these social groups, Latina lesbian women must strategically use apparel consumption in unique ways to communicate post-closet identities. These unique uses, however, are only revealed when one considers the intersection of these identities within these consumers (Gopaldas and Fischer 2008; Henry 2005).

Theoretical Framework: Intersectionality

Because of the oppressions Latina lesbian women experience due to their ethnicity, gender, and sexuality, concept of intersectionality is used in this exploration of these consumers use of apparel in displaying post-closet identity. This concept suggests that membership in multiple social groups "intersect" to create a unique lived experience that impacts marketplace experiences (Collins 2007; Gopaldas 2013; Crockett et al. 2011; Gopaldas and Fischer 2008). This concept is particularly important in providing an understanding of the converging challenges faced by consumers with multiple marginalized identities (e.g., non-whiteness, femaleness, queerness, etc.) that are overlooked by examining racism, sexism, heterosexism, etc. in isolation (Mitchell and Morris, in press). Because full recognition of the unique experiences related to these multiple identities is possible only when the ethnicity, gender, and sexuality of Latina lesbian women are accepted as interrelated, failure to acknowledge these intersecting

identities and experiences may deny these consumers “fundamental human needs such as recognition, acceptance, and respect” (Gopaldas 2013, 93).

Proposed Methods

This study will implement a life history case study approach (Fournier 1998) with 3-5 participants (‘out’ Latina lesbians over the age of 18). These women will range in socioeconomic statuses and live in both suburban and urban spaces. Initial recruitment efforts will include the social and professional networks of the researchers.

Data collection methods

The data collection method for this proposed study is phenomenological in-depth interviews. This form of interviewing is particularly useful for this project as, 1) their unstructured nature allows the participant to set the course of the interview and bring to light important topics the researchers may not know to address, and 2) they consider the context in which the consumption practices under study occur, and 3) they account for the impact consumers past and present lived experiences have on these purchases (Giorgi and Giorgi 2003). This methodological consideration results in a more holistic and realistic view of the consumer experience (Mick and Buhl 1992; Thompson et. al. 1989).

The marketplace is an entity that possesses great power, a space that renders financial and material gains, and a wealth of information about multiple intersecting consumer groups. This project aims to go beyond buying power and consumer spending. Exploring Latina lesbian women’s expression of post-closet identity will allow the researchers to delve into a layer of marketer-consumer reciprocity that will serve as a catalyst for social progress on both a micro and macro level.

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Measuring the Women's Economic Empowerment of Corporate Interventions: A Critique of the Landscape and Advisory Note on Measurements

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Women's economic empowerment as an imperative goal for societies to work towards has increasingly taken center-fold in the public policy domain; however, the ability to operationalize this goal and to measure whether "empowerment" is being achieved has become a challenge faced by the multitude of actors engaged in this space. This especially holds true for the growing contingency of corporations who seek to leverage their global reach to unlock access to markets.

This paper explores the measurement challenges facing corporations that aim to economically empower women using market-based approaches. Based on an extensive literature review and critique of the women's economic empowerment literature, and the preliminary findings from a study conducted on a piloted corporate intervention (which endeavored to empower women-owned businesses by giving them access to a large retailer's consumer base), we note two important issues: (i) the theory of change underlying market-based economic empowerment initiatives holds faulty assumptions; (ii) these assumptions combined with a tendency to employ business metrics to measure

economic empowerment have the potential to lead to missed opportunities, codify gender biases, and result in disempowerment if misinterpreted.

Starting with empowerment theory, we note that definitions of empowerment vary considerably pending the underlying aspects being measured (Ibrahim and Alkire 2007). At the broadest level, women's empowerment is about seeking to give women the ability to achieve their full potential. Commonly used definitions focus on the ability and capacity to exercise "voice" (express views) and "agency" (make choices and act on them) (Gammage, Kabeer, and Rodgers 2016; Klugman et al. 2014). Some of the boarder conceptualizations deem that multiple levels must be examined when considering empowerment: the micro level (attitudes, feelings, skills), the point of interface (ability to participate and the actions around the individual), and the macro level (beliefs, actions and effects) (Ibrahim and Alkire 2007, 380).

Approaches used to empower women through economic means include: employment or entrepreneurial opportunities (e.g., skills training, fair employment, asset provisioning, access to markets) financial inclusion (e.g., micro-finance, mobile banking and other technologies that enhance access), social provisionings (e.g., cash transfers, childcare services) and changes in regulatory/legal frameworks (e.g., property rights) (Taylor and Pereznieto 2014b). We define *market-based* economic empowerment initiatives as empowerment efforts that originate in markets with a primary focus on creating employment or entrepreneurial opportunities, or financial inclusion, although these often have the auxiliary benefits of social provisions or changes in regulatory/legal framework tied into the ambit of the intervention.

Underlying the market-based approach to women's economic empowerment is a theory of change that assumes the inclusion of women into the formal economy will lead to progressive economic growth. This growth is premised to emerge from corporations bringing women who do not work or who work part-time into more productive means of labor either through helping a woman join the labor supply or launching and growing her own enterprise. By doing so, a country can benefit from investments made in the education and training of women, and if women can be encouraged to start or to grow their own businesses, a country stands to gain from the additional jobs and incremental growth generated. Tied into this theory of change is an anticipated "ripple effect" in which investments in women: i) lead to women reinvesting their earnings in their families' nutrition, health and education, thereby improving a country's human capital, and ii) result in increasing women's voice and involvement in community-level decisions, thereby improving community livelihoods, and reducing disease and conflict (Aguirre et al. 2012; GENDERNET 2012, 3–4; Klugman et al. 2014; Taylor and Pereznieto 2014a, 3).

Indeed, many reports that compare best practices in measurement systems of intervention programs note that if impact is to be measured, where and how the change could happen needs to be identified first. Only after doing so can evaluations and metrics be properly created so they align with the envisioned change process (Buvinić, Furst-Nichols, and Pryor 2013; Edens and Lall 2014; Taylor and Pereznieto 2014b). As appropriate as this suggestion is, we note that it remains limited by a problematic underlying assumption: it is assumed that this "change" (and thus any measured impact) will have a positive progression. What many reports and articles fail to identify and caution against is the need for these theories of change to incorporate the potential for oppression, resistance, and backward steps in the process. For example, in the piloted

corporate-intervention study, one female entrepreneur in Kenya had rapidly expanded her business in anticipation of gearing up for larger volume orders. Corruption within the exporting processing zone kept a large order from leaving, leading to massive losses. Rather than ceding control of her business to male investors, she decided to scale back. If her economic empowerment had been measured at that point, it would have rated low not only on commonly used business metrics such as profits, but also on psychological metrics such as confidence. Over time though, she regained her sense of purpose and used the lessons learnt to leverage alternative modes of accessing the export market (i.e. through government-supported trade fairs).

This example illustrates the interconnectedness of the two issues identified by this paper. Firstly, that faulty assumptions underlying the theory of change can perpetuate mismeasurement of economic empowerment and ultimately lead to missed opportunities by prematurely marking an intervention as failed. Indeed, central to our argument is a recognition that what needs to be measured is a *process* of economic empowerment rather than a static outcome. Secondly, because the expectation for change is positive progression, the collected measurements for market-based empowerment initiatives also reflect this idea of growth, often using familiar and convenient business metrics such as growth in revenue or profits, return on investments, or employee headcounts. Yet these metrics, which reflect a male-centric entrepreneurialism model of high growth and formal employment, can disadvantage women as they ignore the care duties women often must manage alongside their business duties. Moreover, if the growth priority that dominates much of the entrepreneurship literature in the developed world overrides other considerations currently not captured or prioritized in existing measurements, the resulting work arrangement and models can encourage exploitative employment and

higher business risks, and discourage programs undertaken by social entrepreneurs or charities whose non-profit motives, such as ensuring access to rights or education, are imperative to the success of any intervention.

As problematic as these business indicators are at the business level, what is even more disconcerting is that many corporate interventions take these business metrics erroneously as indicators of economic empowerment at the *individual* level. Likewise, the literature on entrepreneurial empowerment within business studies rarely questions the appropriateness of these metrics for businesses or for the individual. It is assumed that if a woman has a successful business, she must then be empowered. Yet this trickle down effect is not guaranteed, as demonstrated in the development studies literature (see for example Banerjee et al. 2015; Heise 2011). Development studies take a more agentic approach to measuring empowerment at the individual level, measuring increases in decision-making, self-efficacy, self-esteem, or self-confidence. Although we argue that market-based interventions need to draw upon these studies, we also caution against uncritically adopting standard measurements from this literature, as some, especially those based on simplified economic analyses, suffer from the same weakness of the theory of change on which they were built: they do not recognize the potential for oppression, resistance or set-backs, and thus fail to accurately capture the complex household, community, and cultural dynamics that hold disempowering structures in place

In sum, we argue that if market-based economic empowerment approaches are to be successful, it is critical for actors to address two issues. Firstly, they need to build a more comprehensive theory of change for any intervention they seek to undertake, which captures how the *process* of empowerment—including progress and set-backs—unfolds

over time. Secondly, they need to develop business *and* non-business metrics sensitive to the empowerment process that will properly align resources to impactful causes.

Research as it pertains to marketing and policy can play a facilitating role in testing such metrics as this academic field spans geographies, actors, business formats, and types of markets.

We thus conclude this paper by offering suggestions for common metrics that a global measurement scale of women's economic empowerment could include, such as measures of agency (e.g., self-efficacy, self-esteem, or self-confidence), and changes in discriminatory attitudes, (e.g., "men should work, and women should stay at home with children"). Our goal is to present not only a critique but also a guide for future direction in hopes that researchers, policy makers, corporate and civil society representatives might develop more comparable and appropriate metrics.

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Realising Macromarketing's Potential for Emancipatory Education and Scholar-Activism

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Scholar-Activism has been defined as scholarly work that resists dominant discourses, and questions social, political and economic power relations (Fuller and Kirchin, 2004). The recent economic crisis is increasingly raising questions not only about the economy, but the ways in which the neo-liberal framework affects social, political, and cultural life. In the case of the academy, neo-liberalism is transforming the production and consumption of education (Rikowski 2012; Radice 2013).

One key transformation is that the university, like other organisations, is replacing organisational regulation by that of the market (Du Gay and Salaman 1992). The exercise of power in higher education is becoming increasingly obscure, but more effective than that imposed in traditionally top down employer/employee relationships. (Gill, 2009). Neoliberal managerialism imposes systems of audit and display, which increasingly determine the nature and pace of work at universities. As such, the necessity to discipline staff through an authority figure is lessened, insofar as systems ensure that the employee is made to feel the discipline of markets, or of market forms of measurement, directly. This process emphasises customer relations as a paradigm for effective forms of organizational relations (Du Gay and Salaman 1992).

This shift in the mechanisms of control from people in authority roles, to systems of measurement, leaves people in a state of confusion as where their autonomy has gone - how and why they are controlled and pressured as they are. Though people appear to be accorded the 'autonomy' to manage themselves, their lives are not self-managed in a manner that recognises them as social beings, but as atomised individuals capable of independently determining their own destinies through the accumulation and deployment of their own selves as units of 'human capital' (Radice 2013), their responsibility becoming that of maximising their own outputs. The pace, demands and priorities of their work is technologically imposed in accordance with the requirements of a growing administrative 'class' and the various private 'stakeholders' that are increasingly served by higher education.

The process of marketisation of the university is in tandem with reduced efforts of scholar-activism among the university staff, faculty and students. This lack of resistance might be linked to decreasing collegiality, which is not maintained because of the destruction of collegial governance, which is made possible by new technologies of governmentality characterised by systems of audit and assessment. Destruction of collegiality is experienced even more intensely by precarious researchers and academics (O'Flynn and Panayiotopoulos, 2015) – precarity becoming an increasing trend in the neoliberal university (Courtois and O'Keefe, 2015; Lynch, Grummell and Devine, 2012; Ivancheva, 2015).

Furthermore, these systems of audit and assessment are linked to increasing insecurity, which affects both permanent and precarious staff. To the extent that capital and its market logic has inserted itself into the academy it has established 'performance targets'

under various guises, has subjected academics to close and constant evaluation, has increased uncertainty around future employment, setting producers of knowledge in competition with one another, and where beneficial, kept security of employment further and further out of reach (Berg et al 2015).

At the same time, the crisis and the marketisation of universities have also brought scholar-activism back to the research agenda as the need for resistance to power relations and structures is becoming more prominent. A re-emergence of dialogue and praxis in relation to scholar-activism is evident in the humanities and social sciences (e.g. Great Lakes Feminist Geography Collective, forthcoming; The Autonomous Geographies Collective, 2010; Russell, 2015; McAlevey, 2012; Mason, 2013; Hearne, 2015; Ivancheva, 2015; Mercille, 2014, Courtois and O'Keefe, 2015; O'Flynn and Panayiotopoulos, 2015). As such, it is now a good time to open up the space for scholar-activism and resistance within Macromarketing.

Despite the common distinctions between the academy and the 'real' world, between academics who interpret the world and activists who mobilise in order to change it, scholar-activism brings the two together. With this paper we aim to go beyond these dichotomies and explore the potential for scholar-activism. Scholar-activism aims to expose and disrupt power relations and to create a critical space of dialogue that is as free and open as possible (Galloway, 2012). Other scholars have stressed the importance of the development of a link between academic research and grassroots movements (Tadajewski et al, 2014), the need for slow scholarship (Great Lakes Feminist Geography Collective, forthcoming), the need for a strategy for scholar-activism developed by collectives of academics (Autonomous Geographies Collective, 2010), and the development of a

cooperative university (The Cooperative Institute for Transnational Studies – CITS).

Furthermore, other scholars' work, such as Russell (2015), McAlevey (2012), Gill (2009), Mason (2013), Hearne (2015), Ivancheva (2015), among others, has demonstrated that bridging academia and activism is not only possible, but also necessary.

Drawing on these efforts, our own experiences, both within and outside third level education, and relevant literature, we examine the potential for bringing academics and activists together, and incorporating critical thinking in order to expose and critique relations of dominance in our curriculum building and teaching. In so doing, we propose emancipatory education (Freire, 1996; Galloway, 2012) as a method for opening spaces for scholar-activism and disrupting dominant discourses within and outside of academia.

Emancipatory education is deemed as an apposite approach to education, because it frames a horizontal relationship within an educational environment, which is based on trust and equality (Galloway, 2012). As such, it is dialogical rather than curricular. It focuses on problematisation and critical thinking, rather than technocratic, skill based education. It aims to emancipate people by allowing them to develop their power to perceive critically the way they exist in the world with which and in which they find themselves. Finally, it is praxical, seeing praxis both as a process of reflection and action and reflection on action (Freire, 1996). To succeed, it needs to build on people's capacity to think and act collectively (Galloway, 2012).

Marketing, no surprisingly, largely adheres to the culture of the customer and is thus not an obvious space for scholar-activism. It is common for marketing academics to consider for example consultancy to private enterprise as service to the community. This is something also valued by the students, who in pursuit of future careers prioritise on the

development of technocratic skillsets rather than critical thinking. However, emancipatory education fits well with the critical macromarketing school's agenda, which 'rejects the tenets of the Dominant Social Paradigm, opting instead for exploration of other sets of organizing principles for societal well-being' (Mittelstaedt et al., 2014: 258). We argue that as a method for furthering scholar-activism, emancipatory education needs to find its voice within macromarketing. Macromarketing can thus prove to be a critical space within the marketing discipline in promoting emancipatory education and scholar-activism. This paper discusses the challenges of and the potential for embracing emancipatory education and scholar-activism as teachers, researchers and activists in, and outside our classrooms.

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New Consumer Activisms III

Access-Based Consumption: How Spatiality Influences Consumer-Market Dynamics

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In recent years, researchers have noted that markets are giving way to networks, and alternative modes of acquisition and consumption are emerging beside ownership (Bardhi and Eckhardt, 2012). While ownership does not hold the value it once did in society, due to a variety of economic and social changes, observers argue that alternative models of access mediated by the marketplace are gaining popularity (Botsman and Rogers, 2010). In this new era, defined as the coming Age of Access, property continues to exist but is less likely to be exchanged in markets (Rifkin, 2000). Instead, a new network relationship operates, in which producers lease, rent or charge an admissions fee/membership for the property's short-term access, and consumers pay for the experience of temporarily acquiring access time. Accordingly, access-based consumption emerged as an important trend in the last decade in the consumer markets (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012).

Previous literature has defined access in junction with concepts such as sharing, ownership, commodity exchange and gift giving. Sharing has been devised as a more collaborative and altruistic, non-exchange-based act, in which joint possessions are free for all to use, no need to seek permission of usage, and generates no debts and responsibilities (Belk, 2010; Gudeman, 2001). Observers have noted a lack of reciprocity in sharing characterised by a balance between giving and receiving. This mutuality involves joint ownership and suggests the reproduction of relationships between people

(Belk, 2007). Conversely, access has been conceptualised as a non-collaborative/prosocial/altruistic practice. Access-based consumption is defined as market-mediated transactions in which consumers gain access to use an object temporarily and no transfer of ownership takes place (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012; Chen, 2009). In accessing objects, consumers may not form the special relationship between a person and an object that is facilitated in ownership (Snare, 1972), and consequently may not identify with their possessions.

Historically, access has been stigmatized and seen inferior to ownership (Ronald, 2008). In this view, consumers desiring access rather than possession were seen as wasteful, precarious, limited in individual freedom, status and power (Cheshire *et al*, 2010). This nevertheless is about to change, as consumer research bears witness to a flurry of access systems in the marketplace such as- access through memberships, redistribution of markets and collaborative lifestyles (Botsman and Rogers, 2010).

Whereas marketing literature has tended to focus on access models enabled through sharing or pooling of resources/products/services, in other disciplines access takes a more revolutionary stand. In human and cultural geography, access represents a means to 'take' back agency in the face of structuring forces of capitalism, to explore places off-limits and to challenge strategies of urban control (Garrett, 2013). Through the act of exploration, urban geographers find spaces to occupy and experiences of the city other than that imposed by the capitalist. Gaining access in urban exploration is a means of engaging with, and intervening in, cities. At the core of urban exploration lies a desire to celebrate spaces and experiences of the city that are hard to access, and to redemocratised spaces urban inhabitants have lost control over (Bennett, 2011; Edensor, 2005; Garrett,

2012). Here, access is a ‘mind-expanding hobby that encourages our natural instincts to explore and play in our own environment’ (Ninjalicious, 2005: 3). In this view, access differs from traditional marketing perspectives by virtue of being more collaborative and prosocial, and melded into a revolt by the spatial context itself. Space is central to explorers who seek out, visit and gain access to buildings or modern ruins and make their own sense of these abandoned places (Augé, 1995). Since its debut, urban exploration as a practice of gaining access into controlled spaces has increased in popularity and so started to be appropriated and monetised by global interests.

The growing interest in the study of access and space in cultural and human geography evidences a theoretical shortcoming in marketing. As models of access mediated by the marketplace are gaining popularity, as well as practices that countermand securisation and control efforts, it is becoming crucial to explore the interaction between producers and consumers on geographically embedded access-based consumption markets.

To address this shortcoming, Lefebvre’s (1992) theoretical framework drawing on three central spatial concepts is introduced: spatial practices (physical space: the ways people generate, use and perceive space), representations of space (conceived space defined and controlled by producers) and spaces of representation (lived spaces, the lived experience). The goal of this study is to further explore the nature of access-based consumption in the context of unconventional arts spaces: spaces that describe reciprocity between consumers and producers in terms of access dynamics.

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Political Eats: Community Meals in an Eco-Neighbourhood

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According to Portwood-Stacer “when individuals who desire social or political change are compelled to shape their own behaviours or choices towards the ideals they envision this is known as lifestyle politics” (Portwood-Stacer 2013, p. 2). The politicisation of the everyday entails adopting an unconventional lifestyle such as dressing alternatively, moving to an ecovillage or engaging in polygamy, in an effort to demonstrate that an alternative to the mainstream is possible (Melucci 1985; Portwood-Stacer 2013). One process of daily life which readily lends itself to this type of activism is consumption, mundane consumption is often depicted as a private act however when used as means of political expression (e.g. boycotts or buycotts) it is reimagined as a very public declaration of political intent (Micheletti and Stolle 2007; Shah et al. 2007). In other words “politically inflected lifestyle practices contest divisions between what counts as ‘the personal’ and ‘the political’” (Portwood-Stacer 2013, p. 5).

Identity construction and consumption are intimately connected, as people communicate their identities through the possessions they choose to display (Bauman and May 2001; Beck 1992; Giddens 1991; Warde 1994). Food, specifically plays a central role in identity construction as “any given human individual is constructed, biologically, psychologically and socially by the foods he/she chooses to incorporate” (Fischler 1988, p. 275).

Therefore food not only nourishes, it signifies (Pietrykowski 2004; Schaefer and Crane 2005; Warde 1997). For members of certain groups food is symbolic of self, it is a statement (e.g. vegetarians) of group membership (Warde 1997). Food is most often consumed in social situations. The manner in which food is consumed is equally as important as the foodstuff itself.

Because food so obviously is incorporated into self, sharing food is a symbolic way of sharing group identity. The neighbourly cup of coffee, the holiday meals, the dinner party, and the more traditional feast, are all examples of bonding through food.

(Belk 1988, p. 151)

Food works to bind communities, to foster solidarity and to express political ideologies, as can be witnessed when examining the Slow Food Movement and vegetarianism (Anderson 2005; Pietrykowski 2004). The context of this research, an eco-neighbourhood, provides ample opportunity to explore how food performs each of these functions.

This research is part of a wider ethnographic study which took place over 24 months. Data collection involved fifteen in depth, unstructured interviews, participant observation an analysis of institutional documents and autoethnographic field notes. Categories emerged from the data which were then subjected to a linguistic analysis, drawing on discourse analysis (DA). DA, is concerned with the social usage of language, viewing it as a set of resources from which the author/speaker draws, thereby suppressing some information and promoting other information, this selection can be ideologically significant (Machin and Mayr 2012).

The eco-neighbourhood in question is built around the concept of 'sustainable community', founded in 1999 building began in 2007, there are now 53 low energy homes. In addition 150 members. The neighbourhood boasts a permaculture landscape design, a renewable energy centre, several civic spaces, woodland gardens, a community farm, a green enterprise centre, an educational centre and an eco-hostel. The ecovillage is 'owned' by all of her members; they are shareholders in company called Sustainable Projects Ireland Limited (SPIL). The members represent a diverse group with varying levels of commitment to the green agenda.

The neighbourhood features a community farm, owned as cooperative by all of her members and based on the principles of CSA and biodynamics, the farm indicates the importance of local food production for the members of this community. Food distribution is based on a trust system; the farmers leave the food in a shed in the adjoined village, farm members take what they need. Eating sustainably at the core of maintaining a sustainable lifestyle (Beverland 2014); however to do so is not easy, it requires a degree of skill, knowledge and specific resources. This research explores how an eco-neighbourhoods 'community meal' embodies and reinforces the community's political ideologies. Members gather at a different home about twice a month, each household brings a dish which they have prepared to share with their neighbours. The meal is always held on a Friday night at about 7pm and with little notice, it often ends in music, as members provide their own entertainment.

Findings indicate that the community meal has three overarching utilities: network building, skill sharing and the politicisation of food consumption. The meal, which occurs twice a month, is often where new members are introduced and where established

members socialise. It is one of the most common features of ecovillage life (Kirby 2003; Litfin 2010; Nathan 2008).

The people who get the most out of the farm are the people who will go up to there and regardless of what is there they will make a meal out of it. And the more people who do that the easier it is for other people to do that. And even it's down to - we have a community meals on a regular basis...you bring something to share...so if you bring in a dish of something you have prepared using the food that nobody knew how to do anything with everybody sees it and says "I like that. Ok that gives me an idea as to how I could use that food". (Marcus)

Consistent with their political ideologies members strive to live on food provided by the farm (Chaudhury and Albinsson 2014), a challenging endeavour. Gluts of one vegetable without variety mean that members must be creative in order to sustain their way of life. Marcus describes how the community meal serves as a platform to share recipes for difficult foods thereby fostering farm food consumption. The meals therefore demonstrate the community 'way of eating' as members draw from the same resources in terms of culture, food and recipes (Haluza-DeLay 2008; Kasper 2009).

Food is the central concern at these events, its preparation and components are open to scrutiny, this publicisation adds a political element to the community meals.

There is that sense of being accountable and more transparent about where we get our food from and what we eat and even the simple thing community meals, like you can nearly, sometimes you can sort of guess who has made a certain dish. (Medb)

Despite their differences the majority of members advocate responsible consumption.

Medb emphasises that the meals motivate transparency and accountability amongst the members, which is coherent with the political ideologies prevalent within the community.

Food is an emotive issue, it has motivated movements such as Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) and the Slow Food movement, food inspires countless enthusiasts, it is a basic requirement for sustaining life, everybody eats, every day. The 'community meal' is one of the many means by which members of this community enact, enable and reproduce the political ideologies to which they espouse. Thus it is an important and interesting site of enquiry.

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The Upcycling Movement: Globalising Creative Deconsumption

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Social movements have the ability to leave traces in the culture of their societies; *"they shape and reshape it"* (Johnston and Klandermans 2013). Movements have the power to alter global mindsets, primarily by inspiring changes in cultural practices (Eyernan and Jamison 1998). Consumer movements are a particular kind of social movements that attempt to transform various elements of social order surrounding consumption and marketing (Kozinets and Handelman 2004). Contemporary consumption is unsustainable and undesirable – the planet cannot sustain current levels of resource depletion and waste production (United Nations 2011) – the cost of consumer culture. The 'Upcycling Movement' is an emerging consumer movement with a goal of encouraging consumers to deconsume – consume less by repurposing waste for reuse. It is apparent that the upcycling movement not only attempts to change principles and practices of consumption, but, as with much other movement research, also attempts to alter the ideology of consumption itself (eg. Yiannis and Lang 1995; Rumbo 2002; Sklair 1995) – and in this instance, altering an ideology of unsustainable consumption. Research suggests that consumer movements, which operate more directly in the marketplace have a profound effect on consumption ideologies (Kozinets and Handelman 2004).

As opposed to traditional activism whereby businesses are seen as targets and consumers are seen as clients - consumer movements are most often organized around goals which resist particular industrial or marketing practices (Rao 1998; Kozinets and Handelman 2004). Kozinets and Handelman (2004) stress that the influence for this latest genre of movements is evident in some of the activists' identities and radicalised consumption meanings present among a range of individuals, groups, and cultures – these have been studied in recent consumer research (eg. Holt 2002; Kozinets 2002; Thompson 2004; Thompson and Troester 2002). Members of consumer movements will affirm a believed social goal that transcends their immediate interests, as opposed to the belief that opponents ideology is linked to amoral pursuits in antisocial terms (Kozinets and Handelman 2004) – this reaffirms the precedence placed on movement goals.

There has been a shift toward cultural analysis of social movements since the early 1980's (Johnson and Klandermans 2013) - as opposed to looking at the cultural system as the overarching factor that shapes and constrains the course of movement mobilization. Cultural factors such as symbols, values, meanings, icons and beliefs are adapted and moulded to suit the movement's aims and are frequently injected into the broader culture via institutionalization and routinization (Johnston and Klandermans 1995). Dimensions have been created to study culture and movements; which include for example Taylor and Whitter's (1995) four dimensions; emergent values and norms, collective identity, ritual and discourse. Of these dimensions, collective identity specifically is one which is considered to be the result of many cultural activities and constructed through social relationships within a movement (Melucci 2013).

This ethnographic study investigates the Upcycling Movements cultural ideology and how such a global consumer movement spreads. To upcycle something is to ‘creatively’ repurpose or transform something that would otherwise be considered waste - to upcycle the item, in some way increases its value (Haughton 2014; O’Rourke and O’Sullivan 2015). The term ‘upcycling’ has grown in popularity to be used across industrialized manufacturing investigations (McDonough and Braungart 2010), science and engineering (Pol 2010; Martin and Paraspor 2012), and now by some mainstream producers and consumers (O’Rourke and O’Sullivan 2015). As the need for sustainable consumption grows, the need to understand possible cultural factors that could encourage sustainable consumption also grows. This study began by investigating the Upcycling Movement and then analysed its social actors in order to gain an understanding of how it influences consumer culture. A recognized approach to investigate cultural factors is to provide profiles of participants in social movements and on some macroprocesses that affect collective action (Melucci 2013). For this reason, this study conceptualized four profiles of identified areas of activism within the upcycling movement and explained some of macroprocesses influencing each one – namely sustainable consumption. These four profiles are referred to by the authors as the ‘Four Zones of the Upcycling Movement’, and these are: the individual upcycler, the upcycling workshop, the small-scale craft business, and the large-scale commercial entity/brand.

This study shows that within this consumer movement, multiple zones of ideology exist from which the foundational collective identity extends, thus serving as a potential means by which the ideology can spread globally (This ideology is classified as ‘creative deconsumption’ with regards to the practice of upcycling itself). The various ‘zones’ allow

members to contribute toward the consumer movement in a different, but in a collectively objective manner. Varied levels of participation make it more convenient for individuals to participate; they may choose the zone which they prefer, while simultaneously maintaining the movements ideology. A choice of zones also allows for easier cultural entrée to the movement for new participants. For example, an individual may simply upcycle some of their own materials, or purchase a branded upcycled item – regardless, the collective identity is maintained. It can be concluded that there is, at the very least, an element of environmental awareness that forms part of the collective identity of this movement – the main attempt by the upcycling movement to alter the ideology of consumption (Yiannis and Lang 1995; Rumbo 2002; Sklair 1995). Participants resist industrial or marketing practices (Rao 1998; Kozinets and Handelman 2004) of unnecessary consumption. Therefore, the growth of the upcycling movement can positively impact upon the both the practice and awareness of sustainable consumption. Lastly we can emphasize the conclusions of Snow (2001); scholars need to examine more closely the relations between different levels of collective identity, as these can give indications of the movements goals.

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Panel VIII: Macromarketing and Gender Research: Debates, Directions and Developments

Panel Chairs:

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Panelists:

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Catherine Coleman, Texas Christian University, USA

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Pauline Maclaran, Royal Holloway University of London

Andy Prothero, University College Dublin

Laurel Steinfield, Bentley University

Gender research has experienced various positive moments in the wider field of marketing, most notably shaped by the inception of the gender, marketing and consumer behaviour conference in 1990. Yet, despite this continued meeting of gender scholars, we could argue that gender, particularly relating to macro or critical research, has yet to find the recognition it deserves within this discipline. Gender as a track was only added to the Macromarketing conference in 2014. However, gender is not an 'aspect' of the market; one cannot understand market relations without understanding gender relations. The importance of gender, including its impact within society, the role it plays in markets and marketing, and its influence on everyday lives across the globe, is becoming increasingly

acknowledged by international and transdisciplinary academic communities. For example, the United Nations 2020 Sustainability Development Goals specifically acknowledge that none of its goals, including climate change, or issues of poverty and corruption, can be tackled without addressing gender equality (UN, 2015). Similarly, feminism is experiencing an apparent 'fourth wave' (Maclaran, 2015), the consequences of which are hard to predict.

Despite this growing significance, gender and feminist research in marketing has become subsumed by dominant cultural perspectives (Bettany et al, 2010), or remained implicit within research on broader inequalities, which has arguably muted critical and political aspects that place a central focus on gender. Examples of research related to the critique of power, patriarchy (Hearn and Hein, 2015), global economic structures, and action or activist research, to name a few examples, are particularly scant. However, it is believed that Macromarketing may provide a particularly fertile ground for these important directions and developments.

The aim of this roundtable is therefore to consider where and how gender research 'fits' into Macromarketing. Where, how and what kind of gender issues have been addressed in Macromarketing in the past? Where and how can we identify synergies between self-identifying gender researchers and Macromarketers? What research topics are important for both? Which theoretical lenses and methodological approaches could be useful for tackling these topics? And, lastly can (and should) both unite towards a research agenda that rests on action, change, or indeed 'impact'?

To answer these and other questions, this roundtable seeks to balance voices from the Macromarketing and gender research community to debate future directions, build shared visions and develop synergies between research communities. Panellists and participants are equally invited to contribute their perspectives and research experiences with a view towards joint explorations of future directions. The wider aim of these conversations is to increase the visibility, recognition and future research connections between gender and Macromarketing.

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Marketization and Subalternity II

“Saving by Nudges”: A Critical Discourse Perspective of the Mass Marketization of Auto-Enrolment Workplace Pensions

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Abstract

This paper presents a critical discourse analysis of the UK Government’s mass marketization of auto-enrolment pensions, aimed at reframing the retirement saving behaviour of working citizens. This public policy draws on the liberal paternalistic “nudge” theory of Thaler and Sunstein (2008) and transfers more of the financial burden for retirement onto employers and their employees. By drawing insights from Beck’s (1992) grand narratives of “world risk society” and “reflexive modernization,” this research casts light on the linguistic-discursive dimension of financial retirement risk. This study finds that the mass marketing of “nudge” may not be enough. Unresolved problems exist that have not been dealt with by auto-enrolment pension reform and which may exacerbate conditions of subalternity for some in lower income groups. These problems are reflected in the sociological and political discursive resources people draw upon when considering saving for their long old age, which shape and reflect wider social issues.

Introduction

The risk of a long and impoverished old age is one that extends across the developed

world for many interrelated reasons. Firstly, following the baby boom of the 1960s, many free market economies promoted the benefits of education, career and the aspiration of a better lifestyle. During this current period of late modernity, the promotion of these benefits have been increasingly mediated through contemporary marketing practices in order to encourage economic growth through increased spending on property and discretionary goods and services. This has shaped the identity of the late modern consumer who generally spends more and saves less. The reduction in saving focus extends to retirement saving. For example, in 2011, there were 8.2 million active members of occupational pension schemes in the UK, which represents the lowest level since the 1950s and membership was higher in the public sector (65%) than in the private sector (35%), (Office for National Statistics 2013).

Secondly, improvements in living standards, medicine and health care have extended lifespans with the resultant growth in the proportion of elderly in society. In the UK in 2008, there were 3.2 people of working age for every person of pensionable age. This ratio is projected to fall to 2.8 to 1 by 2033. One in four of the population will be 65 and over by 2050, with official estimates that nearly 40% of imminent retirees have inadequate retirement income today (Cracknell 2010).

Thirdly, the level of traditional community and family support offered to the elderly has changed, or reduced, due to the breakdown in traditional nuclear family structures and the focus on self-improvement and work-related relocation; Beck (1997, p. 87) describes these changes as “processes of individualisation.” These interrelated changes have resulted in an increased burden on those welfare states that are expected to provide long-term support for their elderly; a burden on the tax payer which is considered by experts to

be financially unsustainable. For example, in the UK in 2009/2010, state benefits and the National Health Service accounted for just under half of UK Government expenditure, much of which was directed at the elderly. With the projected rise in the elderly population, public finances will be severely challenged in the future (Cracknell 2010).

Governments around the world have taken steps to transfer the financial retirement risk onto the shoulders of the employer and the employee by imposing new compulsory initiatives, such as auto-enrolment workplace pension schemes. Auto-enrolment means that employers have to enrol all qualifying employees into an approved pension scheme without the need for any action by the employee. In this way, employees are automatically opted-in by default, or are “nudged,” usually into the lowest level of default saving rate and lowest risk default investment fund. This default enrolment applies unless the individual employees actively choose alternative options for themselves, which they are entitled to do, including opting-out from the scheme entirely. With 5.8 million people now saving through their workplace (The Pensions Regulator 2016), the UK Government has, without public protest, reframed financial retirement risk, essentially morphing retirement saving into a privatized and commodified solution for the mass market. There has been extensive research surrounding the use of reframing to overcome policy issues (Entman 1993; Goffman 1974; Tversky and Kahneman 1981), however, existing studies do not adequately address the question of why individuals are not more actively engaged in direct forms of long-term retirement saving, even though they are now aware that by not doing so they are increasing the likelihood of suffering an impoverished old age. This paper reports the findings of a macro, meso and micro critical discourse analysis (CDA) which compares the function and effects of the mass mediatization of auto-

enrolment pension policy reforms and the extent to which these policy changes have reframed the retirement saving discourse of its recipients.

Workplace Pension Saving and “Nudge”

This section provides a brief review of the relevant literature informing this study which, firstly, discusses the increasing popularity of defaults or “nudges” as a tenet of contemporary public policy. Secondly, a review of the literature focused on the impact of political mass marketing techniques and finally, these aforementioned debates are related to Ulrich Beck’s theory of “world risk society” and “reflexive modernization”, which provide a theoretical framework for this risk-related research study.

“Nudge” Theory

The “nudge” theory is the departure point for this study. “Nudges” form part of a “choice architecture,” which is an idea introduced by Thaler and Sunstein (2008, p. 89). “Choice architecture” has been dubbed a form of “libertarian paternalism” on the basis that it promotes default designs that help individuals make better decisions without impinging on their freedom to choose (Thaler and Benartzi 2004, p. S185). “Nudge” is essentially a theory of reframing, which according to Goffman (1974, p. 53) “transforms a specific activity within a specific frame into another activity that imitates the first activity but which is perceived by the participants as something else.” “Nudges” or defaults are, therefore, a way of reframing a problem by reducing complexity and which are becoming an increasingly popular approach in the design of public policy to help individuals overcome risk aversion and procrastination. For these reasons, the “nudges” involved in auto-enrolment have much to commend them in terms of turning non-savers into savers. For the majority of employees, once they are auto-enrolled they tend to stay in the

pension scheme of the employer, particularly at low levels of contribution. The extant literature supporting the argument that auto-enrolment increases employee pension saving participation rates and thus reduces, to an extent, the risk of poverty in old age, also presents auto-enrolment as having an equalisation effect in the context of workplace pension saving, having minimized gender, ethnic or class bias and age (cf. Choi et al. 2001; Madrian and Shea 2001; Thaler and Sunstein 2008).

Draw-backs also emanate from this type default-driven “choice architecture,” which authors like Choi et al. (2001) and Madrian and Shea (2001) discovered when conducting their research into the impact of auto-enrolment pension saving in the US. For example, Madrian and Shea (2001, p. 1185) described a “win-lose” effect of auto-enrolment: the “win” being the high proportional increase in the number of employees who save. The “lose” being the high levels of “participant inertia” resulting from sub-optimal default rules because once made, individuals do not tend to actively change their investment choices. Choi et al. (2001, p. 34) observed that auto-enrolment pension saving is usually at the lowest contribution level and employees often take “the path of least resistance” in relation to the default rules provided by their employers. A key structural problem with default-led pension saving is that contribution levels are usually set too low and are unlikely to be increased to a more acceptable level; firstly, because of the financial burden it would place on employers and secondly, because it would lead to higher participant opt-out rates. Another problem, identified in the extant research, is that people do not take advantage of their freedom to choose because the very inertia that caused the need for default decision-making in the first place, remains present. In this way, auto-enrolment “nudges” could be described as merely papering over the cracks of the problem of

disengaged pension saving behaviour, having never addressed, or fully explained, the concept of “participant inertia.”

Political Mediatization

The extent to which citizens are shaped by, or are shaping, their responses to auto-enrolment pension saving is inexorably linked to the functions and effects of the Government-led political mediatization of the messages surrounding pension policy change. Mediatized politics are based on a combination of mass mediated public information and participation in the consumption of images, objects and ideas (Silverstone 1999) and have the potential to create conflict and debate between journalists, politicians, scientific experts and the public. According to Thompson (1995, p. 251) any heightened awareness of global risks fosters a sense of personal, moral responsibility for solving these problems, leading to a process of democratisation whereby “a concern for distant others has become a part of everyday life for more and more people.” However, this idealised view is predicated on the assumption that the citizen is both active and engaged, which is in direct contrast to the identity of the passive citizen that needs to be “nudged” into managing her or his own long-term retirement risk. This passive social identity is more recognisable in the research of other authors (cf. Bauman 1991; O’Shaughnessy 1996; Raftopoulou and Hogg 2010; Tomlinson 1994), who argue that the mass mediatization of the political agenda can in fact create a sense of disconnection and distance from people’s everyday lives. Instead of becoming more engaged, the mediated nature of the political issue instead creates a more passive, less resistant response from the society it impacts.

“World Risk Society” and “Reflexive Modernization”

In order to explore and challenge the mass marketization of auto-enrolment as a solution to financial retirement risk, this research draws upon Beck’s theories of “world risk society” and “reflexive modernization.” Beck defines risk “as a systematic way of dealing with hazards and insecurities induced and introduced by modernization itself” (1992, p. 21); and he argues that when industrial society can no longer control these risks that it “sees and criticises itself as risk society” (1992, p. 72-73). Industrial society has become defined by the hazards and risks that are the unintended consequences of industrialised development. These risks are global and long-term, affecting the generations to come and are evidenced by wide-ranging issues from the significant levels of environmental damage to the fragmentation of the family unit, and of course, include the risks that arise when people generally live much longer lives. Beck (1992, p. 6) criticises science in the public domain, which he argues, “inexorably tends to refute itself as its culture of scientism creates false claims and expectations in society at large.” Based on the findings of Madrian and Shea’s (2001) research and the implications embedded in the win-lose effect of auto-enrolment, this could indeed be the case.

In Beck’s opinion, economic practices have been instrumental in connecting responsibility for the elderly to the political rationalities of the day. This is a connection which requires the alignment of individual saving behaviour with government goals; governments who are influenced by sociocultural change, social welfare budgetary constraints, institutional and capital market demands. This is, therefore, not the management of risk on behalf of an increasingly aged society but “a polygamous marriage” which maintains the new class system of industrialised society where “wealth accumulates at the top, risks at the bottom” (Beck 1992, p. 29-35). Beck argues that individualism, a key characteristic of the

“world risk society,” is creating winners and losers: the winners able to manage their own risk through education, self-development and wealth accumulation; whereas the losers are limited by reduced access to education, information and employment opportunities. Despite the potential challenges arising from a “world risk society,” Beck feels optimistic that these issues can be overcome through his idea of “reflexive modernization.”

“Reflexive modernization” is defined as the self-reflexivity an individual must acquire, not only in relation to the awareness and knowledge of the risks faced but also in the ability to manage the identified risks and to also to cope with the potential for risks of which they are as yet unaware. Beck believes that “reflexive modernization” is as powerful as the rationality that has dominated modern society, enabling self-transformation through “the changing of the social foundations of industrial society modernization by industrial society modernization” (Beck 1997, p. 15). A transition which is both “unintended and unpolitical.” Industrial society is concerned with wealth accumulation, whereas by contrast, “reflexive modernization” is more concerned with re-evaluating the decisions of industrial society and challenging how existing resources are being used.

Reflexivity is indeed a compelling societal model for the future. The idea that individuals may be capable of evolving, developing their identity - from one of servant to rationalism to one of master through reflexive problem solving - is very attractive. Compelling as this idea is, however, is there any evidence that individuals in society are embracing reflexive self-development when managing their risks, acknowledging their future uncertainties and dealing with their everyday problems? Lash and Wynne (1992, p. 2) believe there is; they argue that this evolution is already taking place “in the broad masses of the lay public.” This research study is interested in exploring this argument, along with the extent to which awareness of the unintended consequences of living longer lives has moved

society closer towards the kind of new “reflexive modernity” espoused by authors such as, Beck (2009), Giddens (1991) and Lash (1994).

Interdisciplinary Theoretical and Methodological Framework

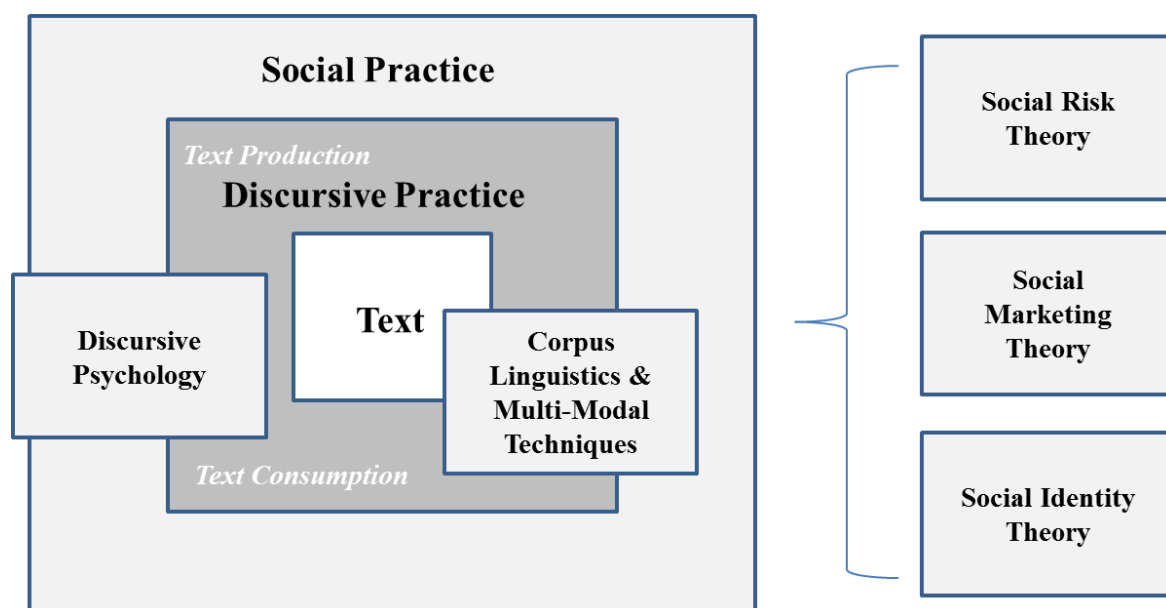
Beck (1997, p. 17-18) lays down a challenge to sociologists, who he argues will be unable to notice the transition towards reflexive modernity because they “unquestioningly continue gathering data in the old categories.” In addition to this challenge, the dominance of quantitative methods in the extant studies of financial and behavioural economic issues continue. These traditional research approaches do not address the questions surrounding why many individuals fail to actively engage in their long-term financial risk management, despite their acknowledged awareness of the risk. In order to address this problem, a new methodological approach is needed and for this reason, a critical discourse perspective was adopted for this research study, as it offers a unique approach to explore “everyday, commonplace activities and processes” (Fitchett and Caruana 2015, p. 10), such as retirement saving.

Inspired by Wood and Kroger’s (2000, p. 25) idea of “drawing upon different resources – notions, techniques, devices, and strategies - from different perspectives as appropriate to the specific project at hand,” an interdisciplinary theoretical and methodological framework has been developed for this study. The core of this framework is based upon Fairclough’s (1992a, 1992b, 1995a, 1995b, 2003) three dimensional model of CDA and the interrelatedness of discourse as social practice, discursive practice and discourse as text (see figure 1).

Figure 1: An interdisciplinary model for the study.
Based on Fairclough’s (1992a, 1992b, 1995a, 1995b)
Three-Dimensional Conception of Discourse

Social Practice

A differentiating feature of Fairclough's approach is the distinction between discursive and non-discursive structures, as he argues that not all discourse is developed, nor can be theorised purely through language, such as, aspects of science and economics. Fairclough (1992b, p. 67) is concerned with discourse as a "mode of political and ideological practice" which "constitutes, naturalizes, sustains and changes significations of the world from diverse positions in power relations." The advantages of Fairclough's interdisciplinary framework are that it both enables the development of multiple perspectives, which reflect the complex way the social world is constructed and it allows the shortcomings of



CDA to be overcome, such as its theoretical weakness in understanding how much control people have over their language use. For this reason, the discursive psychological approach of Edwards and Potter (1992) was incorporated into this research study's model, in order to better enable the construction of identities through talk-in-interaction. The incorporation of this perspective also enabled "the identification of the interpretative

repertoires used by speakers and writers to construct versions of events, actions, persons and internal processes and to perform a variety of other actions, such as the justification of particular practices” (Potter 1996a, p. 116).

Discursive Practice

Discursive practice considers how the text is produced, distributed and consumed, which relates directly to its social context; another strength offered by Fairclough’s model of CDA. This understanding and interpretation includes the identification of instances of “intertextuality”, which means how texts are transformed from one genre to another over time; “coherence of texts”, which describes the extent to which the text makes sense; and “force of utterances,” which highlights certain speech acts within the texts, such as, threats and promises.

Discourse as Text

The analysis of discourse as text is descriptive and includes the organisation of text under the headings of “vocabulary, grammar, cohesion and text structure,” (Fairclough 1992b, p. 75). Corpus linguistic textual analysis was incorporated into this study’s framework (Baker 2006). By using corpus-based, computer-aided textual research, a social theoretical understanding emerged of the relationships between, and within, the groups discursively represented in this study. This in turn enabled propositions to be developed to support the identification and development of deeper descriptions and interpretations of the constructive effects within the discourse. In addition, multi-modal analysis techniques were used to support the analysis of other semiotic modes as well as language, such as television advertisements, posters and websites (Machin and Mayr 2012).

The Function and Effects of the Mass-Mediatization of Financial Retirement Risk

The analytical approach was iterative; flowing back and forth between the corpus linguistic analysis and drawing on the other resources within this study's interdisciplinary CDA model, thus enabling the critical exploration of the competing macro, meso and micro discourses surrounding financial retirement risk in the context of auto-enrolment pension saving.

This exploration was conducted by first analysing the UK Government's politically-led, mass-marketed rhetoric, promoting its auto-enrolment workplace pension initiative, epitomised by the national £70 million "We're all in" and "Workie" integrated advertising campaigns (Sands 2015). The Department of Work and Pension's (DWP) "We're all in" campaign (see figure 2) included a twenty second television advert with representations from groups, individual workers and celebrities that were situated in different organisational settings, such as factories and retail outlets. The primary promotional message targeted organisations employing larger workforces and focused on, what was considered to be, the main employee incentive of being opted into a workplace pension scheme, namely that if they opt-in to the scheme, the employer will pay contributions into their pension as well, as the following extract confirms:

Group of workers: "We're in!"

Second group of workers: "We're in!"

Female 1: "Millions of workers like us are..."

Female 2: "...already benefitting from being enrolled in a workplace pension."

Female 3: "Because when we pay in..."

Male 1: "...our boss pays in too."



Figure 2:
DWP poster used in the
"We're all in" campaign

The second and later phase of the campaign targeted smaller organisations employing fewer employees and introduced a multi-coloured monster called “Workie,” representing the workplace pension (see figure 3). The forty second television advertisement encouraged both employers and employees not to ignore the workplace pension; however, the focus on the employer contribution is maintained, as can be seen from the following extract:



Male voiceover: “Oh hello, there’s the workplace pension. Just doing his thing there. But at the moment people are ignoring him. Like this chap who owns his own business. As an employer he should look at the workplace pension. He’ll need to offer one, it’s the law.”

“...Ah some nannies, they shouldn’t ignore the workplace pension either because if they pay

in, their boss will pay in to.”

Figure 3:
DWP poster used in the
“Workie” campaign

Through the use of semi-structured interviewees, this political rhetoric was compared to the voices of thirty working individuals, employed by four different organisations that had already implemented auto-enrolment workplace pension schemes in line with the compulsory legislation. The thirty employees were divided into three different sub-segments based on their auto-enrolment choices: (1) to opt-out; (2) to opt-in at the default contribution rate offered by the employer; and (3) to opt-in at a different rate to the default offered by the employer. In a few cases, where specific discursive constructions were observed during the first interview, such as, contradicting self-identities, unique stories and so on, creatively designed reflexive conversations with the same respondents followed a few weeks later, having given those individuals time to consider a brief analysis of the first meeting. A corpus of over 260,000 words resulted from these interviews, which offers a unique representation of the discourse surrounding auto-enrolment workplace pension saving in the UK; even more so when integrated with the macro and meso levels of the corpus.

In order to analyse the comparative function and effects of the macro-level social and discursive practices sponsored by the UK Government to the micro-level discursive practices of individuals during the interviews, the study draws on Reisigl and Wodak's (2001, p. 47) categories of representation and realisation by which they mean the representation of social actors by "functionalising, identifying or appraising them... ascribing to them identities, functions and negative or positive evaluations they share with others." Representations of the different discursive practices used by both the Government and working individual were identified, along with examples of how these practices are realised in the data; as depicted in table 1:

Table 1: Discursive practices to socially construct saving for retirement

Macro-level	
Discursive Practices	Examples of realisation in mass media
Collectivisation	The main storyline of “We’re all in” uses container metaphoric focus denoting ingroup and outgroup classifications, for example, <i>“Millions of workers like us.”</i> Modality use of the deontic “we” implying group, team, tribe, union and majority.
Personalisation/ Relationalisation	Familiarity and popular appeal such as the use of false personalisation: When “you” pay in, “your” boss pays in to. Use of humour: Workie monster denoting the workplace pension; laughter; interaction with a dog.
Politicisation	Negative instruction and/or threat: <i>“He’ll need to offer one, it’s the law”</i> and <i>“Don’t Ignore the Workplace Pension.”</i> Regulatory position of Department of Workplace Pensions and The Pensions Regulator as controlling mechanisms.
Economisation	Focus on the workforce and the specific “Them and Us” roles of employer and employee: such as “bosses,” “nannies.” Reframes the responsibility for pension saving from state to employer. Suppression of complex nature of pension investments and risk that investment can go down as well as up.
Equalisation	Engendering through a focus on young women in lower paid roles, such as, nannies and hairdressers. Equalisation of spokespeople in terms of age, ethnicity, work roles and gender also evident.
Visualisation	Visual semiotic choices, including foregrounding, size, cultural symbolism, colour, tone, focus and overlapping (Machin and Mayr 2012, p. 54-56), such as, choice of factory and retail organisational settings, use of commercially successful UK celebrities.
Direct Micro Strategies	
Discursive Practices	Examples of realisation in interview data
Individualisation	This is a key interpretative repertoire in this study, which emphasizes the need to be financially independent and self-sufficient; often seen as a utopian ideology. <i>“I think if you have the money then you have independence.” “I wish to be self-sufficient. I wish to live comfortably and happily.”</i>

Personalisation/ Relationalisation	The grammar of transitivity constructs a desire for a return to the past in relation to community and family support. Looking back with nostalgia or atavism, for example, <i>"What we need to go back to is the old things."</i> Whilst at the same time, believing we cannot return to collectivisation, <i>"And I'm thinking, that would never happen. What young man do you know would buy groceries for some old man who couldn't go out? I mean that's what it should be like. It's what it used to be like. But that's just a farce."</i>
Politicisation	Recognition of the issues driving the transition from State to individual. Also, the identification of what is missing in the discourse, for example, <i>"I think it's because they don't actually provide the information."</i> <i>"So tell me the reason why. Not just We're in, were in saving. What... completely explain to me the reasons."</i> <i>"I guess maybe some kind of advert on TV that really actually made you think rather than selling it. Maybe something quite intelligent might have made me... actually listen to it and said yeah, maybe that's a good idea; maybe I could find out a bit more."</i>
Economisation	Comparison ideologies of alternative investments linking closely to the interpretative repertoire of individualisation, <i>"So I will sacrifice everything... that includes the pension in order to be able to be in a position as quickly as possible to actually get my foot on that property ladder."</i> Also, intertextuality evident through reference to another container metaphor, "pension pot" which was first used by Government and pension specialists to denote pot of gold at end of a pension saving journey and now often restated in individual discourse. Modalities are used to evidence power and authority over the subject of retirement risk and to hedge against it, for example, <i>"I presume it is invested, is it all invested somewhere and then presumably, yeah, I presume it is invested in stocks or something, is it?"</i>
Equalisation	Comparison to others to show relative states of being better or worse off, usually related to life stage, <i>"I would like to think that my children... would be more aware of what they need. I think they will need a lot more than maybe we do, so I would like to think whether they're male or female they would go into it equally thinking they need to set aside as much as they can for their retirement."</i>
Visualisation	Individuals find it hard to visualise life as a retired person being such a temporally distant journey, <i>"I mean it's going to be at least three decades."</i> <i>"I think about when I'll retire. I look at it now and think, oh a holiday every day but you don't</i>

	<i>think about how you're going to pay for that really. Because you assume that you are just going to have more time but the same money, not necessarily the case." Many choose an interpretive repertoire that justifies their choice on focusing on living today as opposed to saving for tomorrow, "We look to live our life now and appreciate what we've got now because we never really know what's round the corner."</i>
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By comparing the differences and similarities emerging from the data of the discursive practices and realisations used by both the UK Government and individual, the interrelated function and effects were identified, representing how financial retirement risk has been socially constructed in the context of auto-enrolment pension saving. The key interpretative repertoires that emerged are discussed below.

Discussion

The transition from stateism to individualism to collectivism

The function of the UK Government-led, mass marketization of auto-enrolment pension policy reform has been to reframe responsibility for financing old age. The Government has attempted to do this by reducing the burden from the welfare state and placing this more directly onto the shoulders of the employer and employee. This aligns to Beck's view that as greater levels of uncertainty and risk challenge the economic security of the national State, governments will roll back welfare support. This study found that individual discourse has been shaped by this public policy as respondents now widely recognize that the welfare state will not be able to finance citizens' potentially long retirements, particularly to the standard of living they expect or hope for.

With some exceptions, the study's respondents accept that they will need to be directly responsible for providing for their own financial wellbeing in retirement in the future. Thus it can be seen that despite the political mediatization being based primarily on collectivism through the "We're all in" message, the discourse of individualism prevails.

This prevalence is represented in the individuals' discourse, particularly within the younger generations, through the acceptance that their financial retirement risk is largely their own personal risk to manage rather than it being a collective responsibility. Juxtaposed to this, however, is another emerging representation, which extends some individuals' discursive practice beyond the pre-determined single issue of financial risk in retirement, to wider, interrelated, contemporary and atavistic issues which surround the idea of a long old age. These issues include, mental and physical health services and support, loneliness due to the loss of community, jobs for the aged, sustainable independent living and indeed, whether people actually want to live such long lives at all - a compelling dialectic of modernization and counter-modernization. This dialectic has the potential of leading to a greater reflexive challenge of the scientific and economic decisions surrounding longevity, should a new form of collectivism emerge in the future.

The transition from the passive citizen to the tentative citizen

By implication, through the functions of the mass marketization of pension reform, the UK Government has accepted the representation of a passive identity as a depiction of the majority of its citizens in the context of retirement saving. The auto-enrolment solution has relied on this representation, which is validated through the politicisation, economisation and visualisation discursive practices in use as presented by this research study's outcomes (see table 1). However, the Government-led media positioning is strongly challenged by the individual respondents. Despite the recognition and acceptance of the Government's key messages of transference and change, the discourse emerging at the micro-level represents a strong rebuff of the Government's dominant discursive practices which surround auto-enrolment. Employees suggested that Government had conveniently side-stepped the serious issues of explaining how they

should manage the long-term financial and non-financial retirement risks facing them. Indeed, one respondent chose to make the active decision to opt-out of the auto-enrolment workplace pension scheme because of the “unintelligence” of the UK Government’s awareness campaign.

The political mediatization function has chosen to prioritise raising awareness. This appears to be in structural opposition to the micro-positioning of many individuals who, having been effected by the auto-enrolment process, feel they are now aware of the “what” of their retirement risk and have moved on to trying to understand the solution they have been “nudged” into. So this raises the question of why the messages haven’t developed for those 5.8 million people who have already opted-in. Indeed, amongst the respondents, there was a general lack of understanding of how pension investments worked; they adopted negative discursive practices of economisation, which included not knowing the level at which they were contributing, either in absolute or in percentage terms. Additionally, most individuals lacked awareness of where their pension contributions were being invested, some believed their contributions were being managed by the Government; nor did they monitor the progress of their metaphoric “pension pot,” despite the fact that individual online accounts had been set-up for them at the time they were opted-in. These individuals accepted that they were not taking advantage of the information and guidance that was available to them, particularly through the vast online resources.

Instead, many constructed a dependent identity; they were desirous of the answers but wanted them to be provided through impractical and prohibitively costly mechanisms, such as face-to-face education and personal advice in the workplace. This is nothing new

as previous studies have reported the impact of a lack of financial education (cf. Lusardi and Mitchell 2011) in the context of pension saving. Interestingly, most of the respondents saw no value in paying for financial advice. The discursive representations emerging in this study highlight contradictions between the normative desire for education and the recognition that any education received would be insufficient for the purposes of self-management of pension investments due to limited interest and confidence levels, as well as a lack of opportunities to put any theoretical learning into regular operational practice.

The contradictions that emerged from this study show how the dominant micro-level discourse of structural oppositions can shed new light on this problem-oriented research. Many individuals now recognise the risk they are taking by not saving enough for retirement, as well as the risk of not managing their long-term saving more effectively. However, instead of the apathy or inertia which underpins the description of the passive identity of a citizen that needs to be nudged into pension saving, many respondents socially constructed a discourse of fear as their justification for not actively engaging in this type of complex investment. Their fear is shaped by an unwillingness, or inability, firstly, to envision the negative aspects of being elderly and no longer independent (which is closely aligned to the temporal distance to retirement); secondly, to learn how complex financial investments, like pensions, work because they are unrelated to any other task they undertake; and thirdly, to calculate how much money they might need to fund their retirement, as most respondents believe this will reveal the need to save an unachievable amount – metaphorically “a mountain too big to climb.” So for these individuals, there seemed little point in working out how much they needed to accumulate in order to live

comfortably in retirement, as this would be such an unattainable sum it would only serve to engender greater feelings of worry and fear.

This is not so much the discourse of a passive identity but instead one of a tentative identity. Those who have opted-in through auto-enrolment did not describe inertia, more pragmatic acceptance, that by taking the perceived advice of the employer and the State, by accepting the contribution and investment fund “nudges,” they are at least now doing something to mitigate against this financial retirement risk, even though they recognise it will not be enough. Many respondents openly acknowledge this type of pragmatism is in fact a high risk strategy, which contradicts their self-descriptions of being financially risk averse. The metaphor “blind faith” is at the centre of this interpretative repertoire; a hope that the knowledge experts behind their auto-enrolment scheme will construct a positive outcome for them in the end but for many, this may well not be the case. They are aware of this risk but feel unable to manage their financial retirement risk any differently.

“Identity growth or gain”

There is room for optimism however. Emerging from this study, through the reflexive acknowledgement of their financial retirement risk, many describe the potential for more positive outcomes. Within the narrative of a complex and potentially flawed auto-enrolment workplace pension solution, discourses of resistance are being voiced, where fear is set aside and “identity growth or gain” can in fact be realised (Petriglieri 2011, p. 656). Some individuals are achieving a new level of self-actualisation by selecting their own “balance between opportunity and risk” (Giddens 1991, p. 78). In direct opposition to the interpretative repertoires of dependence and blind faith that were related to the idea of pension saving within this study, a discursive practice also emerged at the micro-

level which promoted the importance of controlling financial outcomes through property ownership, as the following interview extracts reveal:

“So we own a lot of land... and were in the process of building.... So that’s where we are seeing the main retirement money coming from.” (Male respondent developing a holiday letting business with his brother).

“And I think the last time we looked at the house price rises, they are going up ten percent a year in London so it’s better than any interest or better than any return you get on any pension scheme at the minute.” (Male respondent talking about the influence of his father in buying buy-to-let property).

“Basically we are trying to pay the mortgage off as quickly as we can, so obviously we’ve got the house itself.” (Female respondent talking about her and her husband’s financial priority).

The right to property ownership is still a hotly debated political discourse, as well as a deeply embedded Anglo-cultural phenomenon. The discourse surrounding the management of financial retirement risk by investing in property clearly represents the grammar of transitivity. The grammar of transitivity emerges from the deeper semantic features of this study’s text, identifying predicates that represented mental processes. Property is described as: engaging, liked, simple, good, understood; whereas, pension saving is disengaging, complex, disliked, confusing, misunderstood. However, direct comparisons between pension saving and property ownership had not been reflected upon by most respondents; such as the differences in taxation, legal liability, costs and interest rates. In fact, by exception, property ownership was not seen as a costly, unpredictable, long-term burden; instead the prospect of a significant short-term return

and tangible long-term security were dominant discourses throughout this study. Even respondents who actively decided to opt-out of the auto-enrolment pension scheme, reframed the management of their financial retirement risk through a discourse of property ownership; for example, by not saving into a pension they were able to invest more quantum, or more quickly, into property.

This study found that property ownership was the primary goal for all individual respondents, despite the risks that attach to furnishing large debt, ongoing upkeep and investment uncertainties, which were discursively minimized throughout. This does not support Beck's prediction that individuals will reflect upon their risks and develop non-political social practices that bypass "all the forums for political decisions, the lines of conflict and partisan controversies" (Beck 1997, p. 16); individuals appear to still be reliant on the existing ideology for wealth accumulation espoused by the Government, which is also culturally dominant in the UK. However, their discursive representations focus on a strong preference for tangible, better understood and more accessible long-term investment mechanisms.

Despite their level of comfort for property ownership, most individuals have socially constructed a discourse of hedging; balancing active and enthusiastic engagement in property ownership with a tentative, remote involvement with long-term pension saving. The interrelatedness of property and pension evident in the micro-level discourse emanating from this study, is in contrast to the macro-level discourse, which separates these two financial and ideological mechanisms. Both are seen as critically important, ongoing objectives of the UK Government, however, the current discourse of politicisation and economisation treats them as two unrelated strategies.

Summary

By taking a more critically discursive and reflexive approach, this study has captured the tensions and new interpretations surrounding the construction of financial retirement risk. The comparison between the rhetoric of the UK Government's political mass mediatization campaign and the individual discourse, represented in this study, allows different social identities to emerge. By looking first through the narrower lens onto the issues surrounding financial retirement risk, and on auto-enrolment specifically as a mass marketization solution to it, this study agrees with the outcomes which have been widely acknowledged in the extant literature that "nudge" has solved many problems for the UK Government. The transfer of responsibility for retirement saving from Government to employers and employees has resulted from the implementation of auto-enrolment, turning the majority of employed non-pension savers into pension savers, whilst raising awareness of the financial retirement risk people increasingly face.

Despite now taking this risk seriously, most respondents are, and will remain, tentative pension investors at best. They will continue to save at sub-optimal levels, which in most cases will be influenced by the levels set by their employers and by the Government through auto-enrolment legislation. In previous studies, this has been described as passive behaviour, resulting from participant inertia. This study has revealed that a discourse of fear surrounds pension saving which leads to the tentative identity emerging; there may be a less tentative response to a different, more accessible solution. This study's respondents recognise that by not being actively engaged in their pension saving they are taking a high risk and are worried by the potential that their "pension pot" will be inadequate to cover their potentially long retirements. Individuals do not want to rely on

something they don't understand; nor do they want to spend their time trying to understand such a complex and unfamiliar solution when they feel any self-development will merely skim the surface of what they need to know if they were to manage their own pension investments.

Although the libertarian paternalistic nature of auto-enrolment emphasizes that employees have a choice, most individuals feel they have little choice but to opt-in to workplace pensions. The pull of the employer contribution, which is at the forefront of the Government's workplace pension mass-marketing campaign, along with the low compulsory level of employee contribution (which at current levels of 1% left little impression on the individual respondents) mean little exists to dissuade people from opting-in. For the subaltern, low income earners who are increasingly unable to engage in alternative, or supplementary, financial retirement risk mitigation strategies, such as property ownership, auto-enrolment is currently the only option; most recognise the continued, long-term reduction in welfare state support. Despite being "nudged" into auto-enrolment saving, many in this latter group are likely to become increasingly embroiled in the chaos and social upheaval of an impoverished and socially disconnected old age; a situation unlikely to be avoided by auto-enrolment because the level of saving will be too low to sustain a long retirement. This scenario was discursively constructed by employers, employees and experts alike during the research study.

Perhaps, therefore, in the context of managing financial retirement risk, the issues surrounding auto-enrolment are not so much that "nudge" theory is likely to create winners and losers in society but more to do with what people are being "nudged" into. If

pension saving is discursively constructed by individuals in such negative terms, it will inevitably be a flawed solution for them.

Looking now through a wider lens at this study's outcomes, it appears we are moving into a period of transformational change. With most individuals now being well aware of the risks surrounding their predicted longevity in a time of sustained economic insecurity, whilst at the same time, acknowledging and accepting the financial risk that comes with living a longer life, many describe a complex and interrelated set of issues, of which the building of a "pension pot" is just one. Some respondents have moved beyond simple awareness and, by reflecting upon the negative aspects of individualism, the utopian ideology espoused during late modernity, they have adopted a discourse of collectivism, nostalgically recognising that much good has been lost in terms of family and community support in the past few decades. Perhaps an example of the "unintended and unpolitical" change that Beck (1997) espoused, is emerging as a new societal model of collectivism.

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Inclusive Business: Aligning Human Development and Economic Growth in BOP Markets

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Extended Abstract

This paper provides the results of an extensive literature review and case analysis on the role of private sector in development and poverty alleviation. The focus of the research is to integrate a variety of diverse perspectives on Inclusive Business, which is defined by G20 (2015) as “a private sector approach to providing goods, services, and livelihoods on a commercially viable basis, either at scale or scalable, to people living at the base of the economic pyramid (BOP), making them part of the value chain of companies’ core business as suppliers, distributors, retailers, or customers.”

The concept has been praised by various scholars (Prahalad 2004, Piacentini and Hamilton 2013, Hart 2005, Nakata and Viswanathan 2012), however, the experience has not been unanimously positive. Successful operation in BOP markets requires a thorough understanding of local needs and the customers (Rangan, Chu and Petkoski 2011, Weidner, Rosa and Viswanathan 2010, Calton et al. 2013, Sharma and Lee 2012), how local capabilities interact with social context and technological applications (Dey et al. 2013), local adaptation in designing products (Viswanathan and Sridharan 2012) and support of government regulations and trained staff who can make system adjustments (Berger and Nakata 2013). Businesses should immerse themselves in the market (London

and Hart 2004) and go beyond selling to the poor, integrate them as producers, and increase engagement (Agnihotri 2013, Karnani 2005, Shivarajan and Srinivasan 2013). Extant research suggests companies to adopt new capabilities and develop local partnerships in BOP markets to reach sustainability and scalability (London and Hart 2004, Seelos and Mair 2007).

On the other hand, companies face various internal and external challenges in the process of planning and implementing responsible business practices, CSR, and inclusive business in BOP markets. Some of the major challenges faced in the BOP markets are, unstable political context (Ray 2008), corruption, politically repressive environments (Ackah-Baidoo 2012), conflicting interests of the corporations and the poor, distribution challenges, disaggregated providers and undeveloped business ecosystems (Kistruck et al. 2012). In addition to contextual challenges, there are various internal organizational barriers, which prevent the implementation of BOP market strategies such as cognitive, procedural and structural barriers (Olsen and Boxenbaum 2009).

In line with the discussions in the literature, we created a framework to analyze successful inclusive business cases in order to understand the effects of these different factors on the success and scalability of these initiatives. We used the cases of UNDP Global Inclusive Markets Initiative (GIM), cases in IFC database, and inclusive business cases from the reports of different organizations such as World Business Council for Sustainable Development, Harvard Kennedy Business School and Endeavor. Two independent coders evaluated 150 cases according to the criteria derived from our framework.

The findings show that:

- Multinational companies are more likely to adopt inclusive business activities as opposed to large national companies and SMEs.
- Large national companies are more likely to include the poor in their business operations as producers and entrepreneurs, followed by local SMEs. On the other hand, in inclusive business models adopted by multinational companies, consumer is the major role played by the poor.
- The main challenges faced by local SMEs, multinational corporations and large national companies are the challenges related to local community, followed by financial challenges. For social enterprises, financial challenges emerge as the main challenge.
- Business models emerge as the main critical success factor for local SMEs, multinational corporations and large national companies. On the other hand, partnerships are the main success factor for social enterprises.
- The main factor for growth for inclusive business activities is market and supplier development, while operational partnerships emerge as the main factor for both inclusive business models and social enterprises.
- The main critical success factor for all three categories of inclusive business (models, activities and social enterprises) emerge as their business models.
- When the poor take the role of producer, the main challenge faced emerge as financial challenges. On the other hand, the main challenge faced by models which include the poor as entrepreneurs is poor infrastructure. For the roles of consumer and employee, the major challenge emerges as challenges related to local communities (lack of education, skills, knowledge etc.).

Policy Implications

Based on the analysis of the literature and 150 successful inclusive business cases the following policy recommendations have been made. Here, the authors would like to note that ‘one solution fits all’ definition for any Inclusive Business practice is destined to be flawed.

Private Sector Plays an Important Role in Development

Private sector needs to integrate responsible initiatives into their core strategy and at the same time include the ‘poor’ in its value chain process not only as consumers, but also as producers, entrepreneurs, supply chain partners etc.

Collaboration Is Required

In order to stimulate private sectors’ role in inclusive business, large-scale efforts of a wide variety of actors –including the government, NGOs and financial institutions - are required.

Long-Term Perspective Is Necessary

To ensure sustainability, managers should invest in intangibles that are related with social performance (such as reputation, culture, human resources and innovation) that would subsequently improve financial performance (Surroca, Tribo and Waddock 2010). Having a long-term perspective is a must in the context of private sector’s role in development.

Relying and Agreeing On New Performance Indicators and Certification

Several measures have been developed to assess private sectors’ role in development in terms of social (Skouloudis and Evangelinos 2012), environmental (Epstein and Widener

2011, Rahman and Post 2012), and stakeholder impact (Bocken et al. 2014, Zhao et al. 2012). The next step is to encourage more widely adoption of specific and reliable measures of performance indicators by companies and policy makers.

Private Sector's Role in Development Is More Likely to Increase When Transparency and Responsibility Are Encouraged by Regulation and Incentives

Governments, particularly in Europe, have been active in pushing the CSR agenda (Steurer, Martinuzzi and Margula 2012). A similar stance of governments globally would be useful to promote inclusive business agenda and to foster collaborative growth. Furthermore, it is clear that private sector is likely to be more involved in development if banks and venture capitalists consider social and environmental implications of business practices.

Increasing the Awareness in the Industry

Policies should target the industry as a whole, creating an increased awareness and importance of the role of private sector in sustainable development in the industry. Such an approach can also increase investors' sensitivity to non-financial performance indicators.

Regulations Are More Effective If They Also Encourage Innovation

Policy makers should strive to improve current business and regulatory conditions to encourage responsible behavior (Dutta, Lawson and Marcinko 2012).

Universities Can Play an Important Role in Collaborative Growth

Universities in general and business schools in particular can influence managerial practice through a better integration of relevant courses on business and development into their curriculum, emphasizing collaborative growth.

Companies Should Integrate Responsibility Efforts into Their Core Strategy

While several companies are making some effort, these efforts would be more impactful in terms of reaching development goals if they are coordinated and integrated into their core business (e.g., Garcia-Rodriguez et al. 2013, Valor 2012).

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Overcoming Institutional Voids in Transformative Subsistence Entrepreneurship: A Zimbabwean Case

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Abstract

This case study explores an entrepreneurial venture as it deals with the challenges of operating in Zimbabwe, a country with weak infrastructure, limited institutional frameworks, and no currency. It investigates how the venture has managed to establish itself and thrive in a contracting Sub-Saharan economy, which is viewed by many as one of the least favorable economic environments in the world. Specifically it looks at what human and physical resources are critical to entrepreneurial success in Zimbabwe and provides insights into the institutional factors, marketing channels and networks that have led to rapid growth operating right at the Bottom of the Pyramid (BoP).

Introduction

High risk marketing environments such as subsistence markets (Viswanathan and Rosa 2010), post war (Jallat & Shultz 2011; Shultz et al. 2005), post terrorism (Manfredo & Shultz 2007), and post economic collapse (Hounhouigan et al. 2014) have been shown to be uniquely difficult environments for the development of effective marketing systems and Zimbabwe has suffered all of these issues in the last four decades. What we know about entrepreneurial organizations in these environments is limited and often poorly integrated into existing theory (Alvarez and Barney 2014; Shultz 2012; Viswanathan et al. 2014). In fact it is only recently that marketing literatures have begun to take an interest

in these high risk environments for both scholarly and humanitarian reasons (Bruton, Ketchen, and Ireland 2013; Shultz, 2005).

Sridharan et al. (2014) propose the phenomena of *transformative subsistence entrepreneurship*, which encompasses the process through which *subsistence entrepreneurs* (i.e. entrepreneurs “who are completely embedded in, and transact within the informal [subsistence] markets in which they operate” (Viswanathan et al. 2014, 213)), grow their business for both personal and subsistence community benefit.

Sridharan et al. (2014) differentiate this from other forms of poverty focused entrepreneurship (such as Base of the Pyramid or social entrepreneurship) on the basis that it is subsistence community insiders working for mostly personal benefit rather than outside agencies coming into subsistence communities for personal or developmental benefits. Work in this area is important to the macromarketing agenda as it explores how adverse market systems can be developed and transitioned to provide better products, services and wealth creation for the most economically disadvantaged people on the planet (Layton and Grossbart 2006; Viswanathan, Rosa, and Ruth 2010).

Continuing this growing theme of transformative subsistence entrepreneurship this paper explores the complexities of setting up and running a fast-moving consumer goods company in one of the world's most extreme marketing environments, Zimbabwe. As a country with limited international support, virtually no NGOs, limited functional infrastructure, weak institutional frameworks, and no national currency, Zimbabwe presents a huge challenge to create market systems (Layton 2009). Despite these strictures we identify similarities with existing studies in more stable subsistence markets regarding the importance of networks, trust and informal institutions. However we also

identify the relative importance of a high risk tolerance, an almost capricious approach to decision-making, and the vital importance of customer understanding.

Subsistence Entrepreneurship

Research highlighting the emergence of local entrepreneurs as a key (if not the main) factor in the alleviation of systemic poverty has become increasingly prevalent in the last decade (Alvarez and Barney 2014; Bruton, Ketchen, and Ireland 2013; Samli 2009). This is not to sideline the importance of Governments, Multilateral institutions, NGOs and social enterprises in the process of poverty alleviation, but research does suggest that projects without a consideration for local entrepreneurship have limited long-term success (Bruton, Ahlstrom, and Si 2015; Godfrey 2014). Alvarez and Barney (2014) and Viswanathan et al., (2014) go further suggesting it is specific types of entrepreneurship, such as building new markets and creating mass employment that are most important, not the subsistence entrepreneurship of people supporting their families. To make the greatest impact on systemic poverty we therefore need to explore what it takes to become a transformative subsistence entrepreneur (Sridharan et al. 2014).

Subsistence markets are typically characterized as having weak formal institutional environments with poor capital, labor, health and education markets, as well as corrupt governments, poor infrastructure, property rights and recourse to the law (Kistruck et al. 2013a; Viswanathan, Sridharan, and Ritchie 2010; Webb et al. 2010). As such subsistence market consumers are consistently underserved by business in core consumption areas such as food, water, health services and utilities (Kistruck et al. 2015; Shultz et al. 2005; Viswanathan, Sridharan, and Ritchie 2010). Subsistence consumers also often pay more for goods or services of inferior quality to wealthier consumer groups (Luce 2009).

Indeed, Prahalad and Hammond (2002, 52) coined the phrase the 'high-cost economy of the poor'. High-costs and poor service by incumbent suppliers provides an opportunity for transformative subsistence entrepreneurs to create wealth and provide public good, but as Pitta, Guesalaga, and Marshall (2008) point out, philanthropy is a by-product rather than the objective of their behavior.

Succeeding in a subsistence market is not just about physical resources, as many MNC have found out to their cost (Kistruck et al. 2013b). Despite the emphasis early BoP literature places on MNC, there is mounting evidence to suggest that smaller, nimbler companies are at an advantage when competing in subsistence markets (see Ireland 2008, 430-438). These local entrepreneurs are better adapted to circumvent some institutional constraints, such as inadequate market information, a lack of skills, the regulatory environment and poor infrastructure that often frustrate a MNCs' freedom of action (Gradl et al. 2010). In particular Viswanathan, Sridharan, and Ritchie (2010), Chikweche and Fletcher (2013) and Ingenbleek (2014) stress the importance of local social networks in subsistence markets. They posit that where economic institutions are weak, trust and social capital play a much more important role in transactions than in economically stable countries. Viswanathan et al. (2014) therefore point us towards social capital as the key resource for sustaining and building subsistence entrepreneurs.

Social capital relates to the assets and resources created by and available through networks between individuals, groups and organizations (Adler and Kwon 2002; Inkpen and Tsang 2005). Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998) suggest 3 antecedents to social capital which Viswanathan et al., (2014) explore in their data: the structural (number and type of network bonds), relational (assets rooted in the relationship, such as trust) and cognitive (shared values and understanding) dimensions. All three dimensions of social capital are

shown by Viswanathan et al. (2014) to play a role in helping sustain subsistence entrepreneurs by providing valuable and timely information, building shared identity with customers and facilitating informal contracts. However, how transformative subsistence entrepreneurs operate to grow their business is still limited (Sridharam et al. 2014). Therefore this study contributes to the literature on subsistence entrepreneurship by exploring a Zimbabwean transformative subsistence entrepreneur. We explore the question of what capabilities, knowledge and resources form the basis for forming informal institutional frameworks for growth.

Methodology

Zimbabwe is an excellent case for exploring issues of subsistence entrepreneurs operating in institutional voids. The vast majority of work in BoP, social enterprise and subsistence entrepreneurship focus on Asia and South America (Kolk, et al. 2014). However it is the often neglected Sub-Saharan Africa where the most extreme, systematic and hard to address poverty exists with 27 of the 30 lowest GDP per capita countries being in this region. Zimbabwe for instance has an estimated Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) of ~\$600 per person (CIAFactbook 2016), with 72.3% of the Zimbabwean population surviving on less than \$2 per day (World Bank, 2016). Considering \$3,000 PPP now constitutes a BoP economy (Kistruck et al. 2013a; London et al. 2010), Zimbabwe is deeper in poverty than most contexts used in research.

Zimbabwe is also internationally remembered for the violent farm invasions between 2000-2013. This was driven by the government's implementation of its indigenization and empowerment regulations. This act, passed into law by Parliament in 2008, requires all foreign-owned firms to offer 51% of its shares to indigenous Zimbabweans. But its

application has been uneven and often political. This lack of clarity causes much anxiety in the business community and has driven off foreign firms, local investors and excluded international NGOs from providing institutional support for fear of having their assets seized. Thus leaving little external support.

The Zimbabwean economy also faces many challenges. Mid-November 2008 saw monthly inflation reach 79bn%, the second highest monthly inflation rate ever recorded (Hanke 2014). Businesses that were still trading did their business by mid-morning and spent the rest of the day trying to buy anything that was available, or marginally useful, before their money became useless by the evening. This situation was clearly unsustainable and in 2009 the Zimbabwe dollar was abandoned in favor of a multi-currency regime (BBC 2009). In Harare the US\$ and SA Rand became the core currencies. Although this move introduced price stability, there is an almost complete absence of coinage because coins are heavy and too expensive to ship. This lack of coinage impacts subsistence entrepreneurs because it constrains their ability to price products in response to fluctuations in supply and demand. This has an inflationary effect on prices.

Credit is also a problem. The World Economic Forum's latest competitive index, gives Zimbabwe a credit rating of 5.3 out of 100, which ranks it 142nd out of the 144 countries listed in the index (World Economic Forum 2013). These macro-issues are felt keenly at the micro-level where the difficulty of securing credit is a major barrier to both startups and to entrepreneurs trying to grow their businesses. Only 14% of SMEs are formally served by the banking sector (FinMark Trust 2012) and 50% of business owners use informal and unregulated financial products, such as saving cooperatives or moneylenders (World Economic Forum 2013).

Within this context the choice of a single-case study is justified on the grounds of the uniqueness of the study in such a highly contentious environment. Yin (2003, 43) states that single case studies of this type are 'worth conducting because the descriptive information alone will be revelatory'. The authors were given privileged and unrestricted access to the case operation over a 2-year period. Due to the political and social instabilities in the region all efforts have been made to protect the individuals and company involved in this study and as such the case will simply be referred to as Pies & Pastry and all names have been hidden.

Pies & Pastry is particularly revelatory because it is what Shultz et al. (2005) refers to as a Phoenix Entrepreneur. Founded in 2012, Pies & Pastry has grown from 2 to 80 direct employees and from selling 35,000 to over 5.5million pies per year in under three years supporting over 2000 other subsistence entrepreneurs. Pies & Pastry management agreed to allow the authors to shadow them at the head office during which a reflexive research diary was kept to record observations. In addition, time was spent visiting Pies & Pastry retail outlets and factory. Over the course of 2 years the authors spent an estimated 200 hours with Pies & Pastry management.

Primary data was gathered through a mix of 14 formal semi-structured and more than 20 unstructured informal interviews, observation, and attendance at management meetings which were logged in the research diary. Secondary, data is gathered via three consumer surveys, the company's databases, files and minutes as well as a wide range of newspaper and research databases (Yin 2003). Formal recorded interviews were conducted with 7 Pies & Pastry organizational members and 7 external networked. This second group was also used to triangulate the data provided by the first group (Yin 2003). A list of the main interviewees is shown in tables 1. Semi-structured interviews typically lasted more than

one hour (although the longest took four hours) and took place in a variety of locations. With respect to the main interviewees, follow up interviews were conducted where information needed to be checked or points of detail clarified. All these interviews were recorded and transcribed immediately.

Table 1 About Here

Data Analysis

To ensure internal validity and reliability, a constant comparative method borrowed from grounded theory was utilized (Barnes 1996). Multiple responses from different people within the same organization were compared against each other, external interviews, field notes and secondary sources. We subsequently interpreted these data outputs and provided underlying rationales for the company's actions (Eisenhardt 1989). External validity and reliability was increased through triangulation with both secondary sources and interviews with appropriate third parties to ensure greater rigor in the findings and conclusions (Askey and Knight 1999).

Findings

In this section we will explore the necessary capabilities and resources Pie & Pastry's have utilized to develop informal institutional structures. We start with a brief introduction to the firm then discuss the role of adaptability in their early growth. We then focus on the importance of customer networks, local knowledge, and building supply chain and marketing networks.

Pies & Pastry was founded in February 2012. A local entrepreneur, Mr. F with a business partner, had been looking for opportunities in the food sector. Serendipity provided an

opportunity when a family-run supermarket in Harare's informal trading district ("The Supermarket") was looking for a partner to revive its declining fortunes. Mr. F proposed turning the supermarket into a food court constituting a mini-market, a butcher and a fast food counter.

Adaptable business plan: In the first few months what worked and what did not became apparent. The butchery and the mini-market were a failure and quickly disposed of. There was however a very strong demand for pies, perceived to be driven by a lack of fuel for home cooking in Zimbabwe. However the pies were of mediocre quality and imported from South Africa through a local agent. Mr. F and his partner decided to switch the business into manufacturing better quality pies, with the idea of selling them through their own retail outlets.

We hadn't intended in getting into pies, but ...within the first month we knew there was a very much strong demand and business possibility in the pie business.(Mr.F)

The decision was taken to challenge the dominant player in the sector (Food Corp.). By June 2012 the founders accumulated their wealth, and pie-making equipment was sourced from abroad and a manufacturing plant established on The Supermarket's premises producing \$1 pies (significantly cheaper than Food Corp.). They also approached their pie importing agent who was an ex- Food Corp. employee with 15 years' experience making pies. They knew his business was failing and invited him in as a partner, becoming the operations manager.

Pie sales grew rapidly from approximately 35,000 per month in February 2012, to 88,000 per month by May 2012 when the Pies & Pastry manufacturing process was up and running. By December 2013 monthly sales had reached 610,000 per month. Cash was

reinvested and top of the range pie making equipment was imported from Australia, and new premises for the manufacturing operation were rented. The new manufacturing facility went operational in March 2014 to produce 900,000 pies per month. Pies & Pastry has however been very aware that their entry into the market would eventually provoke a reaction from Food Corp..

[Food Corp.] had enjoyed a nice monopoly for the last 35 years ... like so many other monopolists they were comfortable and not used to the pressure that comes from having a competitor, so there was definitely a gap in the market, and that made it very easy to come out with a good quality pie that was well-received by the customer (Mr. A)

Food Corp. told them explicitly that it would not cede market share to Pies & Pastry without a very tough fight (confidential interview in June 2014). Mr. A describes Food Corp.'s eventual awakening to the presence of these new competitors:

They woke up overnight, you know 20 months for a company like [Food Corp.] is overnight, 20 months, they have lost 40% of their market share in pies, well how the fuck did that happen? Where did these bastards come from? And why didn't we stop this earlier, you know, why didn't we extinguish these people?

The reaction came in 2013 when Food Corp. introduced a 50cent pork based pie and announced plans to open a new \$4 million pie making facility in Zimbabwe. Pies & Pastry had limited room for maneuver with the pricing of their \$1 pies due to the countries lack of coins and therefore decided to create a new beef product which would also retail at 50cents. Although priced at a convenient sub-division of a dollar it still went against their ideology of not using the lack of coinage as an excuse for opportunistic behavior. Whereas Food Corp.'s price effectively encouraged customers to buy 2 pies. Pies & Pastry looked for

a pricing strategy that would be of more benefit to the customer. By negotiating with a local drinks distributor they came up with the dollar meal, which gave customers a beef pie and drink for \$1. Pies & Pastry's continued focus on quality and customer value, allowed Pies & Pastry to counter Food Corp.'s move.

Food Corp. then commissioned a second \$7m, fully automated sausage-roll making facility. Although it has had the usual bedding in challenges, it too is ready to attack Pies & Pastry at the 50cent price point. If this proves successful it may force Pies & Pastry to once again adapt its strategy. Pies & Pastry however remains undeterred, firmly of the view that its clear customer focus and its ability to adapt to the changing market will allow it to defend its market share.

Customer Networks. The founders of Pies & Pastry have always been clear that they could exploit Food Corp. size and complacency by focusing on quality and respect for their customers.

The only thing that has worked to our advantage was that [Food Corp.] was a fat ugly giant sitting on a monopoly, and they were doing the products badly, and they were ripping off their customers and not offering value for money and not giving a shit about customer feedback, or customer satisfaction. (Mr. A)

The philosophy of quality is central to Pies & Pastry's value proposition and dominates the majority of work-related conversations. Although the room for maneuver for increasing quality in the high volume, low price fast food market is limited, the directors continually look at every possible combination of ingredients, price and product to do so. This focus and drive to produce a superior product and the willingness to listen to its customers has meant that Pies & Pastry has built up a consistent customer base. This is evidenced by

customer surveys carried out in 2012 and 2014, which found that a typical customer frequented a Pies & Pastry outlets 3 times a week.

However, consistency and loyalty are fickle bedfellows in this market. The speed of customer response to a perceived dip in quality came as a shock to the Pies & Pastry management. In 2012 they cut the meat content by ~6% as a cost cutting exercise. There was an immediate negative response from its customers and they quickly reverted back to 60g of meat. More recently in 2014 quality dipped as Pies & Pastry moved from a manual to automated manufacturing process.

In the last 2 weeks we've been transitioning to this automation and our quality has slipped ...we jumped the gun and I think we've lost market share... our vendor partner has dropped the exclusivity, and he started putting [Food Corp.] pies alongside ours and our volumes dropped by about half, by about 40%. (Mr. F)

Both of these examples demonstrate how discerning subsistence customers can actually be, and the rapidity with which they punish even small reductions in product quality. Pies & Pastry has therefore instituted a process of formal customer feedback, which is not common practice in Zimbabwe. For instance it has a printed 'hotline' number on its packaging that customers can ring if they are not satisfied with the quality of the product, and the network of micro-retailers are afforded time every day to feedback to the company. This is acted upon, and one of the MDs personally handles any complaints in order to ensure that the customer or retailer is not lost.

I will personally go out and visit [the complainant] and give him/her a box of pies or make a cash offer to appease him/her, just because we don't want to lose a customer. (Mr.F)

This is viewed as key to staying ahead of the market in a country with little formal ability to purchase or collect primary market data.

Local Knowledge. During the 2008 financial crisis local meat production all but ceased leading to a sharp increase in imported Halal meat from Zambia. Zambian meat was seen as better quality, and Halal became synonymous with quality, a sentiment that still persists today. Although none of the directors are Muslim, in 2013 it was decided that Halal meat would increase product differentiation. For a deeply Christian society (85% of the population is Christian, only 1% Muslim) Halal is not seen as a religious act but a mark of quality.

Conversely we can see the problem of a lack of local knowledge as Pies & Pastry tries to expand the business. The satellite town of Chitungwiza, only 30km from Harare, has a large population of employed but poor consumers. However, initial attempts to enter that market have shown a poor return due to a lack of knowledge about shopping and retail habits. Similarly Bulawayo, the second city in Zimbabwe and the Lowveldt, the major center for sugar production, have also proved challenging to operate in. Complicated by their distance (approximately 400km) from Pies & Pastry's center of operation in Harare, delivery of fresh pies is difficult due to underdeveloped infrastructure and lack of refrigeration. This challenge has become a catalyst for a race between manufacturers to find ways to extend the shelf life of 'fresh' products.

We needed to develop a product that would stand temperature abuse, and a product that can be delivered at ambient temperature, which doesn't require refrigeration and doesn't require warmth...basically a product that has a 7 – 10 day shelf life...We have understood that for the low income market...we need a pie that people can be eaten at any point in time,

and [which] we can deliver across the country, even if it takes us 3 days from point of manufacture to delivery, we still have 4 days to sell it.(Mr. S)

Understanding the complexity of local lifestyle processes is essential to subsistence operations. As we see in these examples, city to city can show wide differentiation in needs.

Supply Chain Networks. Meat is obviously one of the critical ingredients in the pie making process. In Zimbabwe there is an annual spike in beef prices that occurs over the rainy season (November – March), which threatened Pies & Pastry’s very existence in their startup phase.

In December 2012 the price went as high as \$8 a kilo from its average of about \$5/kilo which was a death sentence for us, because as we hit the busiest months of the year for pie sales, so all our advantage was stolen from us by a shocking increase in the price our most expensive input.(Mr. C)

If this spike in the price of a key input could be passed on to the customer with a temporary increase in the retail price (as we would do in the West), this would not be much of an issue. Unfortunately the lack of liquidity means this cannot happen. Luckily two of the partners had a network tie with an overseas meat producer they had worked with during the 2008 economic collapse. With the legal and regulatory processes impotent to enforce business norms, very tight business networks were established, predicated entirely on trust.

That kind of trust built up over years is indestructible. So it made sense to me that the bulk of purchases should be with someone who we have this intimate relationship and whom we trust so much and wouldn't let us down. (Mr. A)

This business network, established and tested during a period of extreme economic and financial turbulence, allowed Pies & Pastry to negotiate a deal, which entailed paying an above average premium price for their meat year-round. This meant that they paid this same premium price during the rainy season thus avoiding the potentially ruinous spike.

I don't think we could have pulled off a stunt like that with any others supplier for reasons to do with relationships, this required a special relationship to achieve. (Mr. A)

In addition to ironing out the spike in prices, it meant that meat was supplied to one uniform standard; which addressed customers' consistency concerns raised through customer feedback. A benefit to the supplier was Pie & Pastry's willingness to conduct business as if they operated in a less risky environment: paying upfront, on time and in full. This is a major difference to other Zimbabwean businesses where the lack of liquidity has led to a questionable business practice:

Liquidity is tight and it seems to be that this is a justifiable excuse not to pay your suppliers and it becomes a knock-on effect and as a consequence no one in this country pays on time for anything, nothing, and in fact it is going from bad to worse as everybody is waiting longer and longer to get settled and to settle others. (Mr. A)

Pies & Pastry's policy bucked this trend and all goods and services had to be paid for on receipt, or, where this does not make sense given small transactional amounts, at the end of the week.

It is punishable by dismissal from the company if someone fails to pay a supplier in one week in full, unless it has been discussed with me and there is a special case i.e. a special event, so we have built up an enormous amount of goodwill. (Mr. C)

This has built up trust and goodwill, which has played to Pies & Pastry's advantage. By working (even at a higher cost) with trusted partners, and agreeing (again at extra cost) to pay for supply on receipt, Pies & Pastry negates many of the institutional barriers to trade which could jeopardize the business. They do this at obvious risk to themselves, but amass huge amounts of social capital with business partners. This style of doing business allows them to negotiate special arrangements like the meat pricing agreement and another for grain and flour.

Sales and marketing networks. As would be expected with a high volume, low price products, Pies & Pastry set out to distribute its product as intensively as possible. Again because of their local knowledge they knew that customers often purchase food from micro-subsistence retailers such as garages, bottle and tuck shops, but quality and range was often poor. The challenge of distributing through these touchpoints was twofold. Locations such as bottle shops or tuck shops have very low profit margins and do not have the capital to invest in the quality or range of goods. Alternatively garages in Zimbabwe, with a few exceptions, do not double as fast moving consumer goods platforms as they do in the West. After carrying out some analysis, Pies & Pastry struck upon an idea that was to become the cornerstone of its business model and one of the main drivers of Pies & Pastry's success. They calculated that pie warmers were looked upon as mini-retail outlets and a very effective way of building the brand. They were also aware of the difficulties that small subsistence retailers had in accessing credit. It was therefore decided to buy pie

warmers and lease them at no cost to the micro-entrepreneurs. This overcame the outlets' lack of capital and fulfilled every retailer's desire to improve the range of their offering.

Pies & Pastry further broke the mold by offering its pies on credit, which in a high risk economy was significantly different from the accepted way of doing business. A retail outlet only had to pay for the pies after it had sold them, and the next resupply was being delivered. With its policy of 'leasing' its pie warmers at no cost and effectively supplying its pies on credit, it converted or helped set up over 2000 retail outlets to the Pies & Pastry product. These channels were serviced by a number of sales agents who usually came from within the ranks of Pies & Pastry's employees. They did not necessarily come from a sales background but were motivated by the prospect of the commission on offer for getting new outlets. The distribution of 'free' pie warmers proved to be a win-win offer for the retail outlets as they did not have to provide any money upfront; and they found that customers were grateful for the new choice available.

Discussion

What is evident in this case is Markides (2006) business-process extension of Christensen's (1997) disruptive innovation. Even a simple product can have disruptive impact in a short time in subsistence markets. By changing production, improving quality, understanding cultural views, and providing new alternative distribution; Pies & Pastry disrupted the existing market by increasing quality, providing income for over 2,000 people and reducing consumer prices.

In many ways the countries liquidity problems make certain aspects of life simple: what can we make for \$1, what can we make for 50c? As all competitors need to work within this structure predatory pricing is a redundancy. However what reverberates throughout

this case is 1) how sophisticated subsistence customers are, and 2) how heterogeneous they are over even small distances. Pies & Pastry found even a 6% reduction in meat led to severe customer backlash, a slight drop in production quality caused a 40% drop in sales and a lack of knowledge of daily habits 30km away makes trading improbable. When customers have little money every decision is a high cognition purchase; loyalty is fragile. Pies & Pastry attempt to overcome this by maximizing local knowledge. The hotline, MD's dealing with complaints, collecting customer data etc. all of these activities are rarities in Sub-Saharan Africa but reap rewards for those utilizing them. Respecting the customer and trying to deliver to their needs and focusing on quality perceptions become the businesses defense from the powerful institutional player.

We also see the value of social capital. This is not so much on the customer side as discussed by Viswanathan et al. (2014), but on the B2B dealings. There is often a misguided perception that business in subsistence markets can always be bought with bribes. However this is representative of low trust business. By conducting professional, protective and mutually beneficial business, doors open. The long term relationship with the meat supplier leads to a unique supply contract, payment on receipt to suppliers and provision of pie warmers to retailers tie third-parties to the success of the business and create an environment where all have a mutual desire for ongoing success. Being respectful to parties provides a firm foundation for a business which lacks institutional support and legal powers of enforcement.

Business process innovation and adaptability also plays a substantial role in the ongoing commercial success. An inability to access credit is a theme that appears in much of the subsistence literatures irrespective of geographical location. Pies & Pastry's provision of pie warmers at no cost to its network of retail outlets is very much in the spirit of

Chakravarthy and Coughlan's (2012) Mexican cement MNC example, as well as Ireland's (2008) Venezuelan beer manufacturer. In all three examples relatively simple, if unorthodox solutions were found to unlock this credit challenge and generate significant growth in geographically distinct markets. This however is done by transferring all the financial risk onto one business - who ultimately have no legal recourse to protect their investment and rely on trust and informal networks.

Having been through economic collapse in 2008 – 2009 and still experiencing significant economic uncertainty, businesspeople naturally gravitate to those contacts and networks that proved themselves reliable in times of crisis. This throws up some interesting dilemmas with regards to good governance in subsistence markets, especially should the economy normalize. These networks (in contrast to the transparency suggest as essential in Shultz et al. 2005) are by definition opaque to outside scrutiny and are therefore potentially open to abuse. This may go some way to explaining the nepotism prevalent in less developed economic systems commonly derided by Western commentators.

Ultimately we need to reappraise the importance of clan, tribe, and caste relationships in supporting long term poverty alleviation. When law, government and infrastructure don't provide basic structures, elders, relatives and trusted friends may provide a stable enough environment for long-term entrepreneurial interaction.

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Table 1. Semi-structured interviews with Pies & Pastry representatives.

Interviewee	Position	Remarks
<i>Pie & Pastry Employees</i>		
Mr. A	MD	Joined 6 months after start up. CFO
Mrs. B	Receptionist	Sales role
Mr. C	Accountant	
Mr. D	Distribution Manager	
Mr. E	Franchise owner	Former Baker's Inn retail manager

Mr. F	MD	Founding Member. Responsible for Marketing
Mr. G	Sales agent	
<i>Non-Pie & Pastry Employees</i>		
Mr. M	MD Food Corp.	Pies & Pastry main competitors
Mr. N	Senior economist DFID	
Hon. O	Government official	Former Senior Minister
Ms. P	Ambassador	
Prof. Q	Professor	University of Zimbabwe
Prof. R	Professor	University of Zimbabwe
Mr. S	Head of Marketing at Food Corp.	Pies & Pastry main competitors

Shaping Marketing Systems From Within or Without: A Case of India's Milk Marketing System

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The discipline of marketing can be divided into twelve legitimate schools of thought (Sheth, Gardener, & Garrette 1988). Macromarketing is one of these schools, having principally the 'non-economic' and 'non-interactionist' focus. Macromarketing is a field of inquiry that focuses on marketing systems (Hunt 1981; Venkatesh & Dholakia 1986).

Marketing system is a unit of analysis for macromarketing scholars (Layton 2007; Mittelstaedt, Kilbourne, & Mittelstaedt 2006). Macromarketing deals with exchanges embedded within the marketing system. It takes the systems view of the interplay between markets and society. Hunt (1981) defines macromarketing as a study of marketing systems, the impact and consequences of marketing systems on society and the impact and consequences of society on marketing systems.

Marketing Systems

A plethora of scholars has deliberated on the meanings and significance of marketing systems. Fisk (1967) noted that marketing systems develop in response to the need for peaceful exchange of commodity surpluses. Dowling (1983) defines marketing system as a complex social mechanism for coordinating production, consumption and distribution processes. The aggregate marketing system for society is discussed by Wilkie and Moore

(1999). Researchers have, further, stressed the adaptive nature of marketing as a social institution to its social and cultural environment. Layton (2007) defines marketing system as a network of individuals, groups, and/or entities linked directly or indirectly through sequential or shared participation in voluntary exchanges, which jointly creates, assembles, transforms, and makes available assortments of products, services, experiences, and ideas, provided in response to customer demand. In the same work, Layton notes that marketing systems are complex, adaptive social networks in which both structure and function are important and in which purpose derives from dynamic matching of goods and needs.

Theoretical Underpinnings

The primary function of a marketing system is to offer customer assortments of products, services, experiences and ideas (Layton 2010). As Layton (2009) further notes, the capacity of marketing systems to generate assortments that meet societal needs and wants is greatly influenced by the social matrix in which each system is embedded, by the institutional (e.g. political, legal, cultural, physical infrastructure) contexts, and by the technological or knowledge forces that together are the important drivers of change for both sellers and buyers. Evolution, structure and functioning of marketing systems are affected by socio-cultural and institutional environments in which these systems are embedded. Assortments, an outcome of any marketing system, are also affected by these factors. The reverse is also possible – the nature of the assortments on offer will on occasion have an impact on the institutional and knowledge environment as customers respond to the opportunities they perceive. As a result, few marketing systems are ever found in equilibrium where unchanging assortments bridge the needs of both sellers and buyers (Layton & Duan 2011). Any marketing system's success or failure is ultimately

concerned with the delivery of a standard of living or quality of life to the participants and the communities of which they are part (Alderson 1964; Layton 2007, 2009).

Alderson (1957) stressed the dynamic nature of marketing systems using the concept of closure of assortment. He defined “a closed assortment as one which is complete in the sense that it provides for all which the owner of the assortment is consciously attempting to be prepared” (p.197)”. He further adds that an assortment which appears complete may quickly reach the stage where one or more of the products essential to closure are exhausted. Thus consumers are constantly engaged in replenishing an assortment to restore the original state of potency.

Marketing systems have been discussed by many scholars in the marketing literature. Firat and Dholakia (1998) have chronicled the gradual emergence of globalized marketing systems developed for the need to accommodate a constant expansion of production and consumption capacities during the 20th century. Existing marketing systems’ theories have so far dealt with how balanced, recognizable, measurable marketing systems (should) operate (Kadirov, Varey, & Wolfenden 2015). However, there are cases of not fully formed, underdeveloped, hybrid marketing systems that are far from the idealistic expectations of market researchers. Some market structures may be so embedded in social processes that they could become barely distinguishable. Focusing on the symbolic aspect of marketing systems, Kadirov and Varey (2011) argue that new marketing systems continually unfold as a contrast to existing marketing systems.

However, the studies of marketing systems at different levels of aggregation are not restricted to the discipline of macromarketing only. Much of the work mentioned earlier comes from various fields, such as economic sociology, economic anthropology, strategic

management, behavioral economics, and the mathematics of complexity (Layton 2007). Remarkably, our review of studies of marketing systems in Macromarketing suggests that there is a dearth of studies illuminating the phenomenon of emergence, development and formation of marketing systems as distinct entities. To study how marketing systems come to acquire inimitable discrete character and how they are separated/distinguished from immediate socio-economic environments as a unique economic and socio-cultural entity will be instructive. We undertake to study India's milk marketing system which has emerged out of a call by different market actors from both within and without the system to serve multitude of various (vertical and horizontal) stakeholders.

Research Objectives

In the light of the extant macromarketing research, some pertinent questions are raised to be explored as research questions and alternatively as propositions in the current study.

- How do marketing systems emerge, develop, and form as unique, distinct entities in response to market actors' actions, both within and without?

We undertake to draw on the theoretical insights for the agency issue in macromarketing. Marketing scholars have not explicitly used the term "agency", however, we propose that the agency issue lies at the heart of the debate of macromarketing management. The deliberation on the theoretical underpinning of the agency concern may help illuminate the management of macromarketing/marketing system issues. We are adopting the definition of agency put forward by Ahearn, (2001)): Agency is a socio-culturally mediated capacity to act (p. 112). Social science literature underlines the 'loosely structured' nature of agents. Ahearn further underscores a central question for practice theorists in

determining “how such loosely structured actors manage at times to transform the systems that produce them”. In this light the next research objective would be to explore

- What is the role of various agencies in shaping marketing systems? How do both market/non-market actors influence marketing systems and what are the mechanisms of such influences?

Research Context: India's Milk Marketing System

“For at least 5,000 years, Bharat, the Indian sub-continent, has been a land of milk-the cow and the buffalo have been valued for their milk, their manure, and their male calves (for draft power). But by the 1960's, the land and most poor farmers, had grown weary. The green revolution was yet to produce enough staples (mainly rice and wheat) for the swelling population. Milk production has fallen to 90ml (3 ozs, less than a 1/4th pint) per capita per day” (Halse, unpublished manuscript).

It all started with the success of 'Amul' a co-operative milk Union, owned by the small producers in the western province of Gujarat. Government of India, in order to replicate this success elsewhere, drafted a programme called 'operation flood (OF)'. The programme was initiated as the 'billion-liter idea' in July 1970. Spread over a span of 26 years, OF with a financial outlay of INR 1, 750 Crore, turned India into world's largest milk producer surpassing United States in 1998 (Rupera 2013).

Research Design and Agenda

We develop a case study of evolution and functioning of India's milk marketing system. Hence, we will utilize a case study approach as a method to study the system. Case studies are rich, empirical descriptions of particular instances of phenomena...and may involve “historical accounts or information” (Eisenhardt & Graebner 2007). Historical analyses

particularly the studies of path-dependent development of institutions could unearth unexpected findings about taken-for granted market structures (Acemoglu, Johnson & Robinson 2004). Acemoglu et al., argue that fundamental differences in economic institutions are the fundamental cause of differences in economic growth, greatly rely on 'quasi natural experiment' in history. Their historical analysis of institutions amply demonstrates the path-dependent analysis as a remarkable methodological tool as well.

Sigglekow (2007), states that the case study research is appropriate for illustrative purposes. A single case study and an inductive methodology are appropriate given the newness of the research area, the inadequacy of existing theory and the focus on contemporary phenomena in a real-life context (Eisenhardt 1989). The case study is unique in its ability to deal with a full variety of evidence, documents, artifacts, interviews and observations (Yin 2003). Investigating India's milk marketing system as a case will help us to reify implicit meanings (Mintzberg 1979) associated with the management of this system. In alignment with Golding's proposition, we believe that this case shall provide sufficient complexity to generate propositions that might be tested in alternative contexts to refine theoretical insights gained.

This case study shall use data from the multiple sources like documents, archival records and interviews. This is the hall mark of case study research, as it allows the use of multiple data sources, a strategy which also enhances data credibility (Yin 2003). Triangulation of the data shall help converge the data and the best way to help to build relevant theory in alignment with the research questions which alternatively are taken as the propositions, for the holistic case study.

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Marketing History: Thought and Practice II

Marketing Thought and Counterinsurgency: Tracing the History of a Generally Overlooked Relationship

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Abstract

This paper examines the relationship between marketing thought and counterinsurgency (COIN), the latter representing military methodology and operations on the ground. At a basic level both have an emphasis on people and gaining their trust. Recent attention on COIN appears in U.S. military efforts in the Middle East in response to September 11, 2001, namely the invasions of Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003. COIN has been represented as a cultural turn by the U.S. military (Davis 2010; Thompson 2013a, 2013b) with the militarization of social relationships (or a method of persuading people without the use of violence) in response to the failure of sheer military force of 'shock and awe' to produce the desired outcomes of gaining the trust of a population. Two documents advancing COIN are given particular attention: *Counterinsurgency* (U.S. Department of the Army and U.S. Marine Corps 2006) is the title of an updated field manual on the tools of social organization used by the U.S. military that bears the authorship of General David Petraeus just before he became commander general in Iraq in 2007; and the U.S. Joint Forces Command sponsored *Enlisting Madison Avenue: The Marketing Approach to Earning Popular Support in Theaters of Operation* (Helmus, Paul, and Glenn 2007) from the RAND Corporation's National Defence Research Institute (as part of a body of research on COIN

such as Pirnie and O'Connell (2008) and Paul and Clarke (2015)). What perceptions of marketing are advanced for the U.S. military? Are there contributions to our understanding of marketing from its relationship to counterinsurgency?

“Shaping” as used in *Enlisting Madison Avenue* refers to battlefield activities designed to constrain adversary force options or increase friendly force options. A chapter “Applying Marketing Principles to Shaping” is devoted to how business marketing practices (of segmentation and targeting, positioning, branding, and customer satisfaction) provide a framework for improving U.S. military efforts to shape the attitudes and behaviours of the resident population, who constitute a significant component of stability, particularly their decision to support friendly force objectives or those of the adversary. “Ideology and Narrative” appears as a section in *Counterinsurgency* as part of the dynamics of insurgency. Culture looms in the U.S. military to communicate what the war is about and who the enemy is. This includes a widely circulated 16-sided “Iraq Culture Smart Card” produced by the U.S. Marine Corps Intelligence Activity (2003-2006) as part of cultural awareness training for troops on the ground. Of course, this attention to culture and the military reminds us of links to propaganda. Wars are fought in part through words and images (Shaw 2001).

Marketing has a starring role in a discussion of democracy in relation to capitalism not dissimilar to the neoliberal lodestar *Capitalism and Freedom* (Friedman 1962). The roots of *Enlisting Madison Avenue* are embedded in the early Cold War period of 1947 to 1962. The U.S., which emerged relatively unscathed from WWII, has been influential in the dissemination of marketing theory and practice (Bradshaw and Tadajewski 2011). Marketing has an important role in supporting an analogy between the economy and the

polity in the U.S. This appears in “Selling the American Way,” an episode in *David Halberstam’s The Fifties* (1997) based on Halbertsam’s (1993) book. It portrays a period when Madison Avenue was the hub for the world’s largest advertising agencies such as Bates, where Rosser Reeves (1961) was working when he developed the idea of the ‘Unique Selling Proposition’, and nascent research on market segmentation (Smith 1956) and the symbolic value of brands (Levy 1959).

Dwight Eisenhower, as a two-term president (1953-61) during the early Cold War, has a prominent role. For example, Eisenhower’s “Freedom of the Arts” address, in 1954, to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of New York’s Museum of Modern Art had the Soviet Union in mind. This free and democratic cultural expression – (see Menand 2005 for a review of the geopolitical use of Abstract Expressionism by the C.I.A. under Eisenhower; see also Belmonte 2008 on U.S. propaganda agencies in the early Cold War period) – is coded alongside free speech, free elections, and free markets. Eisenhower’s Cold War rhetoric (see Tadajewski 2006) can be read alongside Peter Drucker (1954, 1958) of the 1950s in the role of the consumer in a market economy (see Kotler 2009 on Ducker). Progress in both living standards and personal freedom drew on liberal democracy (political system) and managerial capitalism (business system) operating in tandem at a time when American Exceptionalism was championed. If there appeared a conflation between being a citizen in a democracy and being a consumer in a market economy, the citizen-consumer has become naturalized with a dominant economic definition of democracy conceived as an institutional arrangement like the market. In addition, the cultural turn in the military not least of all attention to “ideology and narrative” in *Counterinsurgency* can be read alongside the advance of cultural branding by Holt (2003), who discusses so-called iconic brands in terms of “myths.” The U.S. attention

of Holt's research, which includes the role of national ideology in conflict with social reality, is particularly instructive as it draws on some of the themes from the Cold War period.

Finally, one may feel uneasy by the characterization of U.S. COIN as "social marketing" (Helmus, Paul, and Glenn 2007), relying on "skills more often associated with nonmilitary agencies" (U.S. Department of the Army and U.S. Marine Corps 2006), or that COIN has "civic overtones" (Thompson 2013b) given that the actual military practice is of an invading, occupying force.

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When cultural differences operate in a similar manner: an analysis of cultural reflection in advertisements in Britain and Iran during periods of cultural upheaval

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Extended Abstract

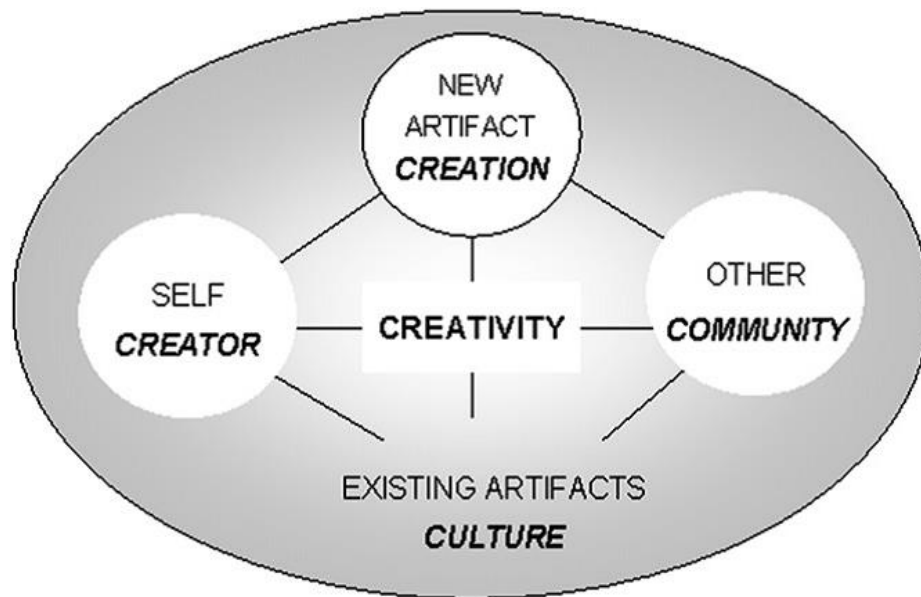
This paper aims to study the role of socio-cultural elements in shaping advertisements in Britain and Iran as both developed and developing countries. This research endeavour stems from two grounding evidences; one is the importance of cultural aspect in shaping marketing practices (see Layton 2007) while most of the extant studies are done in western contexts and the second is the importance of creativity in advertising (El-Murad and West 2004). Hence, in this research by using archival data before and after two formative events in the aforementioned countries (i.e. 1939 World War II in Britain and 1979 Islamic revolution in Iran), and adopting Glavenau (2010) framework regarding creativity as cultural participation, and Moeran's work (2011) regarding the role of socio-cultural conditions on creativity in cultural production sites like advertising, the aim is to show the manifestation of socio-cultural elements on ads and claiming that ads can shape and being shaped by the culture (i.e. ads as cultural artefacts). The findings also can provide a good standpoint to consider how advertising practitioners can use cultural elements as a source for crafting new ideas that can be introduced to the culture.

Literature Review

According to Banks et al. (2002) creativity in commercial creative industries can vary according to the nature of the internal workplace culture and the external social and economic conditions within which the firm operates. Referring to Moeran's work (2011), there are different conditions that impact upon on creative industries (i.e. the cultural production sector and its component industries in his terms), namely: the available materials, time, space, and the prevailing social, representational and economic conditions. In sum, as Moeran (ibid) stated, the process of creativity in the cultural production sector in general, including advertising, centers around choosing new and relevant combinations which is influenced by the existing conditions in the social world in which they are sited. The strength of each condition and the formulated conventions embedded within them depend on their social milieu.

This is in line with Glaveanu's work (2010), whereby creativity is seen as a complex socio-cultural-psychological process in which creators, by working with "culturally impregnated" materials (symbolic resources) and having a relationship (dialogue) between self (creator) and others (community) through intersubjectivity -a space between the creator and community- can create new artefacts that are evaluated as new and significant by members of the community (ies) at a given time (figure 1).

Figure 1: A proposed cultural framework of creativity (Glăveanu 2010, p.12)



Although creativity in general and specifically in advertising is considered to be participation in culture and be formed and form the culture, the studies are mainly conceptual and lack any empirical analysis (e.g. Glăveanu 2010). Hence, in this study by relying on two formative events in both developed and developing countries, the aim is to look at how cultural elements are used and reflected in advertisements. This can not only help advertising practitioners in understanding the way in which cultural elements can be used as a source for their idea generation but also can help historians to explore the socio-cultural conditions of a specific era by analysing the advertisements in that particular time.

Empirical approach and methods

In the following parts, a brief description of the contextual situation in Iran and Britain is presented to give an informed stand for comprehending the data and the analyses.

Subsequently, and some examples of advertisements from both countries before and after the stated formative events are illustrated and analysed.

Empirical settings

Contextual situation in Iran before and after the Islamic revolution

The 1979 Islamic Revolution and the overthrow of the Iranian monarchy: This put a stop to the rule of Shah of Iran, who by allying with the west and specially America, was trying to achieve modernization and westernization for the country. The revolution gave rule to clerics and conservatives who, under their leader Ayatollah Khomeini, came to power (Curtis and Hooglund, 2008). The conservatives became the powerful forces in politics and economics of the society, and the religious beliefs came to control of everything from businesses to people's lifestyles (Sadjadpour 2012). This is to the extent that all the institutions, including media, are under control of Islamic state (BBC, 2013). For example, for an advertisement to receive approval, depending on its form, it has to have confirmation from the appropriate governmental institution; with TV and radio commercials being approved by the Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting and billboards and other public press releases being certified by the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance according to the Islamic rules (Tehran Bureau contributor, 2013). Thus, when creatives produce creative works, they need to rely heavily on graphic design and abstract art and less on copy to accomplish their goal of creativity. By so doing, they are employing implicit and indirect techniques to get their message across to the audience. Moreover, this may be a means to reconcile any potential conflict arising between, on the one hand, creative work and outside the box thinking, and on the other, imposed rules and routine inside the box thinking. This approach lends power to art over copy in the process.

Contextual situation in Britain before and during World War II:

The 1930s represented a period of global economic depression and European political turmoil which led Britain and her allies to pursue a policy of appeasement with respect to Nazi Germany's territorial ambitions in an attempt to avoid another war with Germany

(Brendon 2000). Ultimately it became clear to the British government that appeasing Germany was not preventing their expansion, and as a result, on September 3rd 1939, Britain (along with France) declared war on Germany, in response to Germany's invasion of Poland, beginning a war with Germany which would last until May 1945 (Roberts 2010). The initial reality of the war was very different from what had been expected. The expectation was that a future war would begin with, and be dominated by, massive, unstoppable air raids, which would cause high levels of civilian casualties (Jones et al. 2004; Roberts 2010). This onslaught did not happen, however (Mackay 1999). After the completion of the invasion of Poland, there began what Andrew Roberts describes as a "six-month hiatus on land", a period known as the Phoney War (Mackay 1999; Roberts 2010, p. 35). According to David Clampin during the Phoney War "people were apt to disregard the war, as far as possible and persist with living as normal life, outside of the war, as possible" (Clampin 2014, p. 74).

The Phoney War was, at least in regards to military action on land, a period of inactivity, but it marked a period of profound social and economic change on the home front, as Britain's society, economy and industry adapted to the conditions of total war. The threat of air raids prompted both a blackout and an evacuation of "mothers, children and cripples from London and other major centres" even before the war was declared (Calder 1969, p.32). Quickly rationing and control of many foods, and other products such as clothing and fuel, was introduced in order to reduce imports and allow for increased military production and transport (Edgerton 2012).

Much of the impact of these measures on the home front fell more heavily on women than men, partly because of the prevalence of traditional gender roles, but also increasingly

because men were joining the military, either voluntarily enlisting or being conscripted. Women were increasingly expected to fill the resulting gaps in the civilian workforce (Longmate 1971) and to undertake non-combatant roles in the military services to release men for the frontline (Morgan and Evans 1993) the expectation was however, that their domestic responsibilities would not be sacrificed (Clampin 2014).

The phoney war ended with the German invasion of Denmark and Norway in April 1940, followed by the rapid conquest of France and the Low Countries (Roberts 2010). For just over a year following this, Britain faced the prospect of fighting the war alone, anticipating (although not necessarily fearing) German invasion (McKinstry 2015) coming under increasing air attack over the summer and winter of 1940 - 41 as the Blitz began (Calder 1969). Many civilians had joined the civil defence services (Calder 1969), but most simply endured the fear and disturbed nights of alerts and all-clears spent in often damp, unhealthy and uncomfortable shelters.

This period of isolation ended when the Germans invaded the USSR in June 1941 and then declared war on the USA in December of the same year (Roberts 2010). While the immediate prospects for victory were not bright (Roberts 2010), as David Clampin (2009, p.67) states “as the prospect of defeat began to recede, people began to lift their heads and look beyond the struggle for survival toward a post-war world”.

These three distinct phases (Phoney War, Britain standing alone and expectation of victory) can be seen as representing different attitudes to the war, The Phoney War was characterised by uncertainty and anxiety about when the fighting would begin (Zeigler 2002) along with a good deal of denial (Clampin 2014) of the realities of war. When Britain ‘stood alone’ the mood moved towards uncertainty, but this decreased over the

summer of 1940, as the strength of the country's defences increased and the Battle of Britain was won (McKinstry 2015), similarly the period of the Blitz began with fear, but moved more towards stoic endurance, which although not universal tended to match the 'myth of the Blitz' (Calder 1991), although care was still taken to avoid 'nerviness'. Following the entry of the USSR and the USA into the war, expectation of, and impatience for, victory grew along with an anticipation of a post-war reconstruction (Clampin 2009).

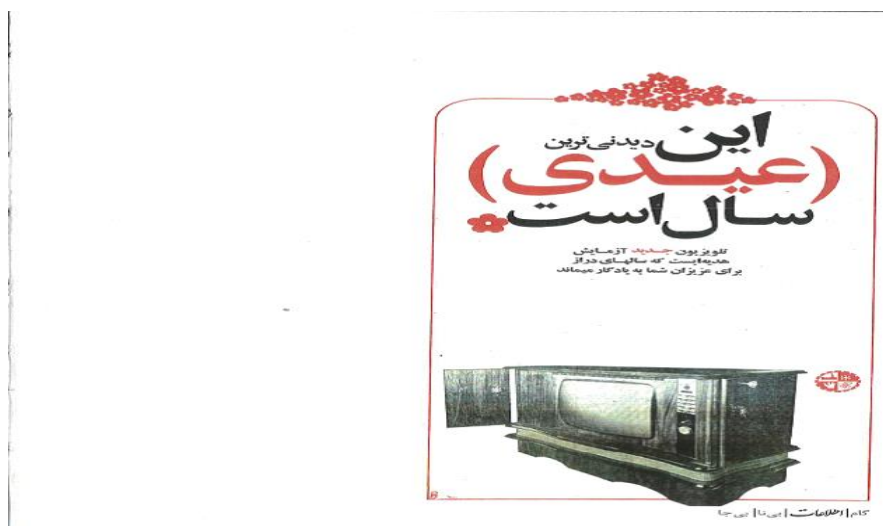
Data collection, analysis and preliminary findings:

Below some example, based on advertisements before and after Islamic revolution in Iran and advertisements before and during World War II in Britain are presented and analysed:

- *Reflection of Cultural elements in advertisements before and after the Islamic revolution in Iran:*



Picture 1: Billboard advertisement after the Islamic revolution in Iran



Picture 2: Newspaper advertisement before the Islamic revolution in Iran

As can be seen in picture one (1) there is less copy and more visuals. This can be as the result of heavy hands of government in Iran on all the institutes including media which are under control of Islamic state (BBC, 2013). For example, for an advertisement to receive approval, depending on its form, it has to have confirmation from the appropriate governmental institute; with TV and radio commercials being approved by the Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting and billboards and other public press releases being certified by the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance according to the Islamic rules. Therefore in order for advertising practitioner to convey their message with their audience, that might be in contrary to the rules and accepted logics of the society, they need to rely on indirect and more abstract ways. Hence, this indirectness and abstract expressions in being creative in advertising in Iran leads to the dominance of art over the copy as the former is a more implicit way of communication (see Schapiro 1937).

Also, the main colour used in the advertisement in the first picture (see picture 1) is green which refers to green movement. Both advertismnets in picture one and two are for the Persian New Year. In the first picture the slogan is “like spring, always be green” which

refers to Green Movement and the notion of spring that could remind people about the Arab Spring up risings as well as the Green Movement in 2009 when the presidential re-election of Mr Ahmadinejad caused a huge demonstration by the opposition (Liberals), as they claimed the elections were rigged.

However, in the second picture the slogan is “this is the most visible gift for the new year” which directly is related to the product and does not have any twist and refers to pre revolution time in Iran when Iran was experiencing more freedom and was more a liberal country (see Curtis and Hooglund 2008).

Likewise in the below examples which are advertisements about feminine product (i.e. hair spray), we can see that in picture three which is an advertisement after the revolution the indirectness and use of mainly visuals are dominant whereas in picture four that is an advertisement after the revolution copies freely talking about the benefits of the product and related picture without any indirectness can be seen. Again this can refer to the imposition of Islamic rules in the country that ban the presence of females in advertisements and the difficulty for advertising practitioners to directly communicate their message with their audiences and thus need to rely on abstract means of communication which mainly would be visuals rather than copies.



Picture 3: Billboard advertisement after the Islamic revolution in Iran



Picture 4: Newspaper advertisement before the Islamic revolution in Iran

Reflection of Cultural elements in advertisements before and during world war II Britain:

The 1930s turmoil did little to dent the British sense of humour, which was reflected in the advertising of the time, as can be seen in Picture 5. The use of puns and cartoons or photo strips in advertisements, were popular both before and during the war.



Picture 5: Newspaper advertisement before the start of World War II

The period of the Phoney War, in part because of the pre-war expectations discussed previously, but also because of the concerns about when military action would start, led to a certain level of fear or uncertainty, nerviness or depression as many ads of the time described it, (see Picture 6), not necessarily about whether Britain would win the war, but about “the lack of activity” (Zeigler 2002). While Picture 6 advertisements features an alcoholic beverage, hot drink brands, such as Ovaltine also positioned themselves as nerve tonics or nerve food (Clampin 2014). It is worth noting that while both these advertisements feature women, this is not the case with all advertisements of this type, which seem to feature no gender bias.

NERVES!

IN these trying times unsteady nerves take a specially heavy toll of mental and physical energy. Do not let such weakness continue. Start at once taking a wineglassful of Buckfast Tonic Wine at least twice a day. Its calming, soothing and restorative properties will feed the starved nerves, and confidence and vitality will soon return. Buckfast contains medicinal ingredients not to be found in any other tonic wine. Buy a bottle today.

Sold by Wine Merchants, Licensed Grocers and Chemists.

Large Bottle 6/6
Half Bottle 3/9

On difficulty in obtaining, apply for names of stockists to J. Chandler & Co. (Buckfast) Ltd., 17, 42, Pall Mall, London, S.W.1.

BUCKFAST TONIC WINE

BUCKFAST TRADE MARK

MADE BY THE MONKS OF THE FAMOUS BUCKFAST ABBEY.

Picture 6: Newspaper advertisement from the Phoney War.

Increasingly, the changes during the Phoney War, were reflected in advertising, for example the role of women in industry and the military was increasingly shown, see Picture 7. Picture 7 demonstrates however, the expectation (also shown in many advertisements) that women had a duty to be beautiful, a theme also featured heavily in women's magazines during the war (Donnelly 1999) along in many cases with the expectation that any active role women were to play in the war, was very much expected to be secondary to their other responsibilities (Donnelly 1999). For example, in the advertisement for Scilma Beauty Aids (Picture F) it is considered appropriate for the man to wear his uniform for a romantic evening, while the servicewoman is required to change into an evening gown, implying that for women military service is only part-time.



**VERY BUSY
BUT VERY
LOVELY**

It is your duty these days to be beautiful, because beauty inspires happiness and cheerfulness in yourself and others. For those who are busier than usual Icilma brings a specially designed range of beauty aids, which give exciting loveliness for a minimum expenditure of time and money. Try these Icilma products to-day, and you will be surprised how quickly they bring you new glamour and radiance.

**BEAUTY
IN A FEW
MINUTES**

CLEANSING. Icilma **CLEANSING COLD CREAM** clears every speck of dirt, leaving your skin perfectly clean and marvellously soft—so use it each night. It's just wonderful for hands that tend to become rough or chapped. Tubes 6d. Jars 6d, 1/3.

FOUNDATION. To protect your skin in all weathers use Icilma **FOUNDATION VANISHING CREAM**, and you can always be sure of a clear skin. This is the ideal foundation for your powder—and it has a most entrancing fragrance. Tubes 6d. Jars 6d, 9d, 1/9.

POWDER. Icilma **BEAUTIFYING FACE POWDER** gives that touch of perfection to your complexion. Lovely and velvety, it clings for hours, and has the same alluring fragrance as the Vanishing Cream. Boxes 6d and 1/3.

ROUGE. Icilma **FLESH-TINTED ROUGE CREAM** will give your cheeks a natural bloom that cannot be detected; it cannot go streaky or patchy. Tubes 6d. Jars 1/-, 1/9.

5-MINUTE DRY SHAMPOO. For those occasions when it is not convenient to wash your hair use Icilma **HAIR POWDER**. Just sprinkle the powder in the hair and brush out. No washing, no drying, only brushing—and your hair is looking as pretty and well-groomed as ever. 3d a packet.



Icilma BEAUTY AIDS

CLEANSING COLD CREAM . FOUNDATION VANISHING CREAM . SHAMPOO.
BEAUTIFYING FACE POWDER . FLESH-TINTED ROUGE CREAM . HAIR POWDER

10 324-50

ICILMA CO. LTD., LEWISWORTH, MIDD.

Picture 7: Newspaper advertisement from the Phoney War

Advertising in the final period was marked by increasing (and increasingly impatient) references to eventual victory along with thoughts of the post-war world (Hayes 2015). Some looked for indicators of victory, such as the Sharps Toffee ad, Picture 8, which recognised that the return of guards at Buckingham Palace wearing ceremonial uniforms rather than battle dress was as important sign of another aspect of British culture reasserting itself. Others began to explore the reconstruction of the damaged country or

focused on the development of a new society, worthy of the victory (Clampin 2014; Hayes 2015). Others, however, focused on the more domestic realities of the return of men and women in the forces. In most cases this was positive, referring to happy reunions, but others, such as the Odo-Ro-No deodorant ad below, Picture 9 served as reminders that following the war many working women would be expected to return to their domestic duties.



Picture 8: Newspaper advertisement from the final phase of the war.

THE GREAT CHANGE-OVER

**One routine
she'll
never change!**

She's keeping up one routine job from war factory days—the regular use of Odo-ro-no, the deodorant that gives absolute protection from perspiration odour, and underarm stain.

LIQUID

ODO-RO-NO

MAKES PERSONAL FRAGRANCE A HABIT

You can obtain Odo-ro-no Liquid in two strengths. **REGULAR** (lasts for seven days), **INSTANT** (three days). In medium and small sizes.




Picture 9: Newspaper advertisement from the final phase of the war.

In each of these different phases, elements of culture such as humour and traditional gender roles were consistently represented in advertising.

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History of the Role of Marketing in Impoverished Contexts

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Abstract

Scholars have investigated the role of marketing in impoverished contexts since the early years of marketing literature. This paper conducts a historical review of marketing literature in relation to impoverished contexts in developing countries from post-WWII until present. Four key themes emerged from this historical review: a persistent rhetoric regarding the need for transformation of impoverished contexts; an ongoing lack of investigation of available resources in impoverished contexts; a general consensus that these markets are inefficient; and an ongoing debate regarding the role of local

intermediaries in these contexts. These interrelated themes give rise to the key research questions that will ideally guide future scholarship in the area of marketing and impoverished contexts. In particular, this paper calls for increased scholarship in regards to understanding what the potential harm and benefits of transformation attempts are, what resources are available in impoverished contexts and how these are most efficiently used, and what is the role of intermediaries in this regard. As such, this paper calls for increased focus on these important theoretical areas that are grounded in historical marketing thought, which can be of relevance for business academics, practitioners, and communities alike.

Panel X: Marketing Ethics in the European Macro Environment

Session Chair:

Sheila Malone, Lancaster University, UK

Panelists:

"Deus ex Machina: towards a post-human marketing ethics?"

Mike Saren, Leicester University, UK

"Controversial services in deprived areas: adding some evidence to the debate"

Paul Whysall, Nottingham Trent University, UK

"The dialectic between stewardship and hyper norms for societal transition"

Samuel Petros Sebhatu, Karlstadt University, Sweden

Bo Enquist, Karlstadt University, Sweden

Keynote Roundtable: Academic Activism

Chair

Norah Campbell, Trinity College Dublin

Panelists

Thomas Docherty, University of Warwick, UK

Costas Douzinas, University of London

Rory Hearne, NUI Maynooth, Ireland

Micheline Sheehy-Skeffington, NUI Galway, Ireland

Ailbhe Smyth, University College Dublin

ⁱ It should be noted that the women included in this study can of course not account for an entire female population, also a male perspective should be included in future studies to further the results and development of this subject.

ⁱⁱ No previous study was found during the literature review that had used such a method of examining the viewing order, but if this choice yields interesting results perhaps it may inspire other studies to research the importance of a viewing order.

ⁱⁱⁱ So as to achieve the most objective and accurate answers it would arguably have been necessary to use both surveys on the same women who had never before been exposed to such ads, but since one cannot “un-see” an ad, this option was impossible, and there are no such women who have not been exposed to such types of ads, at least not in a western society. Therefore the answers to both surveys were gathered from different women.