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Macromarketing Putting the Local into
Global

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Macromarketing Measurement and Methods

Automated Solution to Laddering Technique for Analysis of Aggregated Consumer Values

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Laddering technique is used in unstructured interviews for probing drivers such as values and consequences behind different attributes (Reynolds & Gutman, 1988). It has been used by marketers for evaluating customers' cognitive structures during product purchase (Davies & Gutsche, 2016; Grunert & Grunert, 1995). A hierarchy value map (HVM) is drawn for each interview, linking attributes to the drivers and an implication matrix is made, showing direct and indirect relations between them. All matrices are summed up to give an aggregate of direct and indirect relations. In extant literature 40 to 98 interviews have been conducted and analysed using the laddering technique (Jägel et al., 2012; Reynolds, 2006; Reynolds & Rochon, 1991). Summing up relations between two nodes for a large number of interviews is error prone and an extremely time consuming task. A computer software was developed which would sum up relations in a separate matrix. It would remove all nodes having total relations less than the cut off value given by the user. The user was left with fewer nodes from which s/he could draw a new HVM with ease. This software provides an error free and efficient solution to marketers examining motives behind consumption behaviours, through which they can provide product solutions attuned to customer needs.

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Effectuation and everyday life decisions of people in an economy under stress: Responding to economic stress, pathways to quality of life

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Over 83 million people live under economic and social stress in Iran. Stress created by sanctions and related issues beyond the control of citizens, creating high uncertainty in their everyday decisions. In investigating a society under such extreme stress one of the key questions that come to mind is: How do citizens maintain quality of life in an extremely uncertain context, where their future is totally unpredictable? In addressing this question, we have looked at the cognitive factors that influence people's understanding of the situation and their daily decision-makings in addressing the unpredictability and creating opportunities for a better life (Morrish et al., 2019). We then have investigated the consequences of these decisions on people's satisfaction with life (Sandıkçı et al., 2016; Sirgy et al., 2007). Opportunity creation theory of entrepreneurship can explain how citizens of a society constructively engage in their well-being and long-term survival (Shultz, 2017).

Effectuation theory provides a useful lens to look at decision-making under

such conditions wherein no future can be predicted (Renton & Simmonds, 2019; Sarasvathy, 2001). Effectuation theory explains how people apply their heuristics and mental models to make sense of their uncertain situation and imagine a proper future by looking at the world differently through the lens of control rather than prediction (Morrish et al., 2019; Sarasvathy, 2001). In this study we focus on the key question (how people in a heavily sanctioned developing country address the unpredictability of their daily life and end up with overall satisfaction with their lives against the calamities of the economic sanctions?).

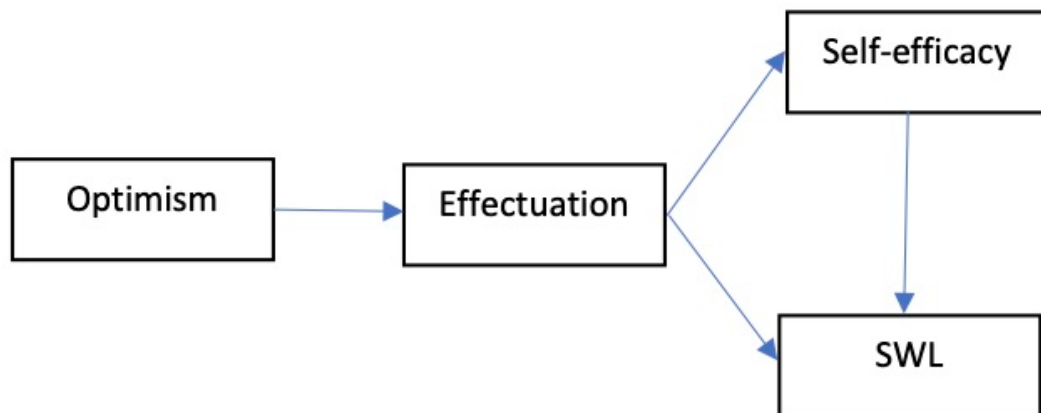
Data was collected from a representative sample of 1000 consumers in Iran. Regression modelling was used to test each hypothesis, see Figure 1. The result showed a significant association between optimism of decision-makers and their application of effectual heuristics in their daily decision-makings ($\beta = .41, p < .01$). Effectual heuristics was positively associated with decision-makers' self-efficacy ($\beta = .45, p < .01$) and satisfaction with life ($\beta = .37, p < .01$). Finally, self-efficacy positively influenced satisfaction with life ($\beta = .44, p < .01$).

Our study contributes to macromarketing research by applying effectuation theory to unpacking peoples' decision-making under uncertainty of their daily lives (Morrish et al., 2019). Our context is also novel in the sense that Iran is an attractive and enigmatic yet understudied macromarketing context (Karami & Wooliscroft, 2015; Shultz II et al., 2014). We also contribute to effectuation theory by applying it in explaining an important macromarketing constructs namely satisfaction with life, optimism, and self-efficacy, and testing it in the novel context of macromarketing (Morrish et al., 2019; Zahra, 2007).

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Figure 1: Conceptual Model



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Studying Thick Concepts

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Introduction

It is no secret that studying macro is a challenging endeavour even if the benefits outweigh the cost (Wooliscroft, 2016). To accommodate complex contexts often come across in macromarketing studies, authors have suggested effective ways of engaging with their contexts using varied novel methods (Kadirov et al., 2016; Samuel & Peattie, 2016). Even then authors often find themselves worrying more about the rigour-relevance balance, more often than their micro counterparts. Amongst the many methods available to a macromarketer, this abstract complements and extends the sociological lens offered by Sinclair (2016) that engage in both micro and macro approaches. In this abstract, the focus is on studying hauntings (Gordon, 2011) in particular using the idea of 'thick concepts' (Abend, 2019, p. 215).

Interviewing Methodology and Phenomenological Interviews

To begin with, macromarketers have to ensure methodological rigour, for this we employ methodological bricolage approach to the research (Pratt et al., 2020). In our focus on the haunted, we need the immediate context to see the ghost. However, to understand its demands, we need the historicity of actions and the path-dependent nature of current choices. This requires that we pursue a theoretical undertaking focusing on the 'context of contexts' (Askegaard & Linnet, 2011). We expect to contribute to extant litera-

ture using phenomenological interviews about their experiences (Thompson et al., 1989). The interviews were open-ended and take a life story orientation moving from narratives of present-day consumption of internet to the informant's earliest memory of internet experiences (Atkinson, 1998). The form of interviewing followed the organic interviewing principles with the hope of engaging in cultural talk in an active construction (Moisander et al., 2009). We use 12 Interviews averaging about one and half hours. For this reason, we will actively engage with the historical evolution of the Indian transmedia consumption, as well as the media industry and its various formats to avoid a form of presentism (Scott et al., 2007)). A caveat, however, is the reliance on the sanctity of archive, for it is the management of this archive that is in question (Featherstone, 2006).

Literary Criticism and Handling 'Text'

We approach the research as a literary critic as is common practice in prior works engaging with hauntings (Holbrook, 1988). This means, treating the interviews, articles and books, literature, news articles and other sources of supporting information as 'text'. In line with other notions of consumption in a globalized cultural economy, we will treat the context as a localized and unique manifestation of consumption (Venkatesh, 1995). In approaching the text as a literary critic, a priori stance is welcome as it acts as a lens through which existing theories can be updated (Brown et al., 2001, p. 69). However, this does not mean phenomenon emergent from the setting is discounted away, this way of theorising is not that different either from CCT, those theories using an enabling lens (such as liquid modernity or bourdieusian theory), or those that emerge from context (Brown et al., 2001; Cantone et al., 2020; Eckhardt & Bardhi, 2020). In this case, even though the relations are central to question, what will emerge from the context is unknown, just as any other inductive or abductive research project. The insights emerging from the context will be mapped back to contemporary literature to meet the organic condition of nomological necessity. A key advantage of this approach is that it allows for different readings of the text for varied insights.

As we engage with the text, we intend to theorize using disciplined imagination (Weick, 1999). This imagination will dialectically engage with the boundaries of the discipline and its ontological assumptions to generate relevance. Importantly, thick concepts materialize through facts and have

emic manifestation, with their meanings maintained by the culture, institutions, and rituals of the context. Haunting is also slightly different in that, it manifests both at the level of individuals as well as institutions (Gordon, 1997). Haunting can be both, a thin concept in its manifestation and a thick concept in its mechanisms, or vice versa.

Analysis Strategy

For the analytical separation during theorizing, we intend to focus on key concepts that emerge around the different levels of analysis and explore their interplay as it informs literature (Folger & Turillo, 1999). Depending on the need of the emergent themes and the level of analysis, we will dynamically adapt analysis strategies (Feldman, 1995). The writing and presentation of data will also work toward multiple actor representation through narratives and actors to encourage pluralism from the data (Thompson et al., 1998). The pluralism ventured here is in the spirit of non-representational theory (Hill et al., 2014). The caveat, however, is that, as opposed to participant observation, the project of non-representational theory applies to the text in my case. The primary goal of our enterprise is to engage with the 'absent present' and in doing so, 'presencing absence' (Buchli & Lucas, 2002). For this purpose, in the analysis of interview transcripts, we intend to use 'deconstruction' as a strategy to analyze the consumption narratives focusing additionally on the practices as opposed to just the meaning as in its traditional usage (Stern, 1996). The method which is useful to study absences can be used only after making the presences clear (Stern, 1998, p. 368). Hence, the interviews will be analyzed using traditional data analysis methods (Spiggle, 1994) before deconstructing the text.

Digital Materiality — A Spatial Analysis

Digital materiality is characterised by focus on immateriality and ephemerality (Denegri-Knott et al., 2020; Kedzior et al., 2014). In this abstract, we switch to an understanding of materiality of everyday digital entities in a spatial orientation to produce novel insights. In the following excerpt from an interview, the informant explains how he maintains his smartphone memory:

So my ...even though my memory card has changed, like initially it was 2GB, 8-16 and now it is 32GB maybe I will upgrade it to 64GB. And then even though the size has changed, the content has more or less remained the same. I mean, so I keep copying. . . So unless I lose the card altogether. . . which has never happened so. . . So it keeps. . . I copy it, sometimes I delete some things, I think are relevant and then I will keep adding. . . so and there's more space, there's less need to delete right, like, sometimes you will run out of space, even if there is a lot of space.

(Informant on Keeping a MicroSD Card)

An analysis of the given excerpt suggests that the informant maintains the digital environment of the storage card which is upgraded consistently by upkeeping the contents to manage the storage space. In the following excerpt from a different informant, the informant explains how his music collection represents something special to him.

So every. . . so how do I say this, so every month my keep. . . my artists keep changing. . . keeps updating not changing, keeps updating and then from there I keep okay, I like to say 10 songs in this month and 10 songs in that month and then if I love a song really a lot, then I just download it offline and then I keep it. . . And my brother still has collections from his school time, that is about from since 2009. . . 2008 we still have the songs from that time, so it's almost like more than a decade, he has the song list of all of them.

(Informant on Music Collection)

In this excerpt the informant is changing the contents of the folder but maintains the overall folder to curate and maintain a collection of music for a reasonable amount of time (a decade).

Theorizing Thick Concepts

In our analysis of the two excerpts, in both cases the technologies outpaced the generic use of things and created a lag in its proper usage (Adorno, 1975). The informants reappropriate the value remaining at disposal to maintain a type of affinity with the objects in question (Hetherington, 2004). They

are both in turn affected by a fast-changing technology and music industry. These informants have both responded positively to the constantly changing environment surrounding their technology use.

In addition to this, the study of space here can be viewed as the study of visuality of a place (Gieryn, 2000)The visuality of the scene provides for an embodied experience of the digital artefacts enclosed within the storage device or music folder (Zhang & Dholakia, 2018). The combination of visual, virtual, and spatial factors encourage us to view this aspect as a landscape (Tilley & Cameron–Daum, 2017). The ephemeral relationships of the technologies depicted in the excerpts are examples of liquid consumption (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2017). In such cases, it is apparent that the informant does not really know the endpoint similar to the notion of walking in a landscape as if the end is not yet known (Vergunst & Ingold, 2016). Likewise, the landscape needs constant pruning and upkeep (Ingold, 2012).

In both cases the informants form a relationship with the possessions in a strictly utilitarian manner (Bardhi et al., 2012). Such engagements do not carry the same emotional value as more permanent and solid possessions. However, this relationship may cloak a kind of 'patina' relationship with the object. The informants value the cultural artefact of storage card and music folder but not so much the contents themselves at an immediate state. The informants ensure constant upkeep for these artefacts and attach significant emotional value to the artefact for its potential in the long run rather than in the moment (Tadajewski, 2019).

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Investigating the Wicked Problem of Brand Externalities: A Systematic Methodology

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Addressing messy, wicked social problems emerging within a marketing system is a major macromarketing concern (Wooliscroft, 2021). Branding is a macro-systems phenomenon and brand externalities are an inevitable reality in modern marketing systems (Padela et al., 2021). Branding involves inputs from managers, and consumers undergoing relational processes, conceptualised as brand value co-creation (Ind et al., 2013; Payne et al., 2009). In addition to the traditional consumer-manager dyads, branding involves several other contextual stakeholders underpinning flows of commodities, meanings, information and ideas, and creating brand value (Frow & Payne, 2011; Jones, 2005).

The literature on consumer-centric, relational, networked, and stakeholder-oriented perspectives of branding is rich in identifying sources of brand value and elemental components significant in brand value creation (Merz et al., 2009). Similarly, a critical perspective in branding research identifies the outcomes of brand value creation process and brand externalities as the intentional and unintentional influences on diverse stakeholders (Arvidsson, 2005; Schroeder, 2017). For instance, brands are shown to create opportunities and mechanisms resulting in positive value for different stakeholders (Brexen-

dorf et al., 2015; Chevalier & Mazzalovo, 2003; Hilton, 2003). On the contrary, brands are argued to destroy value and cause psychological, social and behavioural nuisance for different stakeholders (Bertilsson & Rennstam, 2018; Caccamo, 2009; Klein, 2000). This shows that branding influences different stakeholders having conflicting values and creates social consequences the ramifications of which are blurry and confusing. These features are characteristic to a wicked problem (Wooliscroft, 2021). The contemporary branding literature documents models that are reductionist, static and largely disconnected from the complex systems environment. These perspectives and arguments hints at the complex dynamics among different stakeholders and components that signify brand value creation and brand externalities.

In light of these arguments, we argue that investigating the interactions among stakeholder inputs and components in a static and reductionist way and ignoring the dynamisms and complexity of interactions may restrict our understating of social sustainability of branding. Thus, this research aims to extend the existing knowledge on social embeddedness and social consequences of branding by considering the dynamic complexity inherent within the interactions among tangible and intangible factors critical in brand value creation and outcomes leading to brand externalities. To this end, the main objective of the paper is to propose a method to help marketing practitioners, scholars and policy makers model a brand system or any such system that involves intangible variables and diverse stakeholder perspectives.

This paper is proposing integration of diverse stakeholder perspectives through a systematic literature review that provides inputs for systems dynamic modelling. Systematic literature review is an appropriate tool where diverse perspectives on an activity are critical to address the emerging problems holistically and provide an integrated overview of the current state of knowledge (Palmatier et al., 2018; Snyder, 2019). Systematic literature review is conducted to identify key factors and establish relationships between these factors for developing causal loop diagrams that delineates the complex causal structure and feedback mechanism of brand value creation and brand externalities.

Systems dynamic modelling methodology is advocated for wicked macro-marketing problems (Wooliscroft, 2021). This study is guided by Sterman's 2000 systems dynamic (SD) modelling process to capture the complexity of brand externalities accompanying brand value outcomes in the short and long term. The process involves factor identification followed by determining

factor interactions to reveal feedback mechanisms.

Systems dynamics modelling enables exploration and analysis of feedback mechanisms. The feedback mechanisms explain the underlying phenomenon that produces an outcome (Churchman, 1968; Sterman, 2000). They help to understand how diverse groups of stakeholders are interconnected and how the respective inputs from each stakeholder group individually and collectively interact dynamically with other inputs and environment influencing different system participants and non-participants in the short term and long term. The feedback mechanisms are characterised by two types of loops: positive or reinforcing feedback loops and negative or balancing feedback loops. Reinforcing feedback loops cause growth in a focal phenomenon. Balancing feedback loops resist change and contribute to status quo.

Systems dynamic modelling allows to link micro-level decision making (in this context, managerial brand building or consumer brand purchase, use and recommendation etc.) with macro-level system behaviour (such as systemic brand value creation/destruction, brand externalities etc.) (Arquitt & Cornwell, 2007). Systems dynamic modelling not only helps to listen to and better understand the complex structure of the system of factors and components interacting and influencing the outcome, but also facilitates learning from and leveraging the behaviour of factors and components to plan for and adapt specific solutions (Domegan et al., 2020). In addition to the phenomenon underpinning intended outcomes, in this context, positive and negative brand value, systems dynamic modelling reveals unintended consequences, in this context, brand externalities, affecting overall system outcome (Homer, 1985; Meadows, 2008).

Systems dynamic modelling allows for qualitative and quantitative modelling. The qualitative systems dynamic modelling facilitates development of dynamic theory, usually demonstrated through Causal Loop Diagrams (CLDs). CLDs illustrate the dynamic behaviour of the system components and causal structure of the systems phenomena.

Systems dynamic modelling is suitable for modelling brand value-creation and brand externalities because brands are multidimensional dynamic systems of stakeholder relationships involving tangible and intangible resources that grow and/or erode over time (Conejo & Wooliscroft, 2015) The proposed method is steered by a set of questions to be specifically answered by this research: What are the most important factors that influence short-term and

long-term brand value? What feedback mechanisms emerge from the interactions among these factors? How can brand value creation and destruction be characterised? How does the value spill over as brand externalities within the system and beyond?

This proposed method enables scholars and practitioners to better comprehend the complexities inherent in brand value creation and how positive and/or negative value from the system spills over to the participant and/or non-participants in the system creating brand externalities. This research proposes a method for future research in branding from a macro-perspective that investigates the dynamic interactions among stakeholders and system components in different contexts.

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Thinking Big about Going Small: Conceptualizing Technology Miniaturization Consumption

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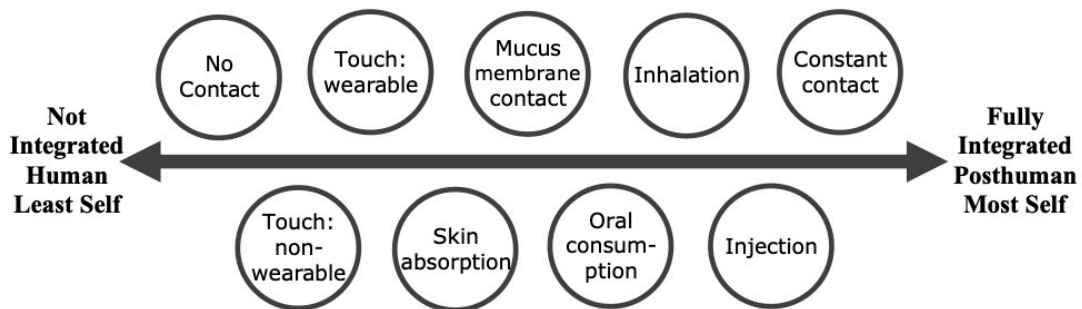
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Since the inception of macromarketing, there has been a desire to better understand how technology impacts society. As Fisk (1981, p. 3) pointed out, “we are initiating the Journal of Macromarketing because we believe that marketing technology has important social consequences largely ignored or rationalized in the professional marketing literature”. Yet, there is still much to learn about the way technology impacts society, and as such, remains a key macromarketing concern (Lusch, 2015). Indeed, we must “deepen our discussion of technology and start questioning the many ways that today’s technology orders the social world and humans” (Kravets, 2017, p. 331). One long-term trend within technology worthy of an in-depth exploration due to its impact on humans and society is technology miniaturization — that is, the science of making increasingly smaller materials and products (Madou, 2002).

Technology miniaturization is considered a natural evolution of science (e.g., quantum physics, biotechnology, materials science, engineering) that has been occurring for decades (Kuc, 2014). By shrinking the size of technological materials, consumer goods are faster, more powerful, and consume less energy (ibid). For example, when computers were first invented, they

Figure 1: Human-Technology Integration (HTI) Spectrum



were the size of a room, but have decreased in size ever since while increasing in power. Simultaneously, as materials get smaller, they also shift from being stationary to being mobile and active (Basso, 2014). By being increasingly mobile, material can be deeply integrated into humans and human life. For instance, phones, which used to be stationary, are now smartphones that are always with consumers as they help with communication, organization, shopping, planning, and traveling, basically serving as a second brain.

Due to technology miniaturization, the lines between humans and material are blurring. Material now can enter the body with and without consent. As such, consumers are more reliant on technology than ever before (Carr, 2015) and a posthuman era is entered (Best and Kellner 2001). As such, marketers need theorizations and guidance on how to conceptualize and inform consumers about non-visible material objects, from a health and policy perspective. Therefore, the purpose of this research is to theorize human-technology integration from which macro considerations can be explored. To do this, we draw from theoretical histories of the self and posthumanism. From the self literature, we borrow the idea that products can be viewed at different distal levels, or physical distance from the core of the body. From posthumanism, we borrow the integration between humans and technology as being intentional and/or unintentional.

Ultimately, we theorize a human-technology integration (HTI) spectrum (Figure 1). One end of the HTI spectrum represents consumption where humans and technology are the least integrated. These products allow for the humans to be the most separated from technology, while still using the products. On the other end of the spectrum is consumption where humans and technology are most integrated. Moving from least integrated to the most integrated ends of the spectrum, we see an increase in posthumanism and a decrease in distance between body and material. Within the spectrum

there are nine categories that move from least to most integrated: no contact, touch non-wearable, touch wearable, skin absorption, mucus membrane contact, oral consumption, inhalation, injection, and constant contact. Managerial, macro and policy implications are then explored.

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Exploring C-OAR-SE Scaling for Macro Phenomena: Development of a Short Sustainable Product Involvement Scale

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Perusal of the literature reveals Macromarketing's penchant for psychometric scale development. Yet excessive reliance on this single approach limits inquiry to questions amenable to it, findings less valid, reliable, and generalizable. This situation concerns as Macromarketing grows progressively diverse, nuanced, and complex. The present study evaluates whether the alternative C-OAR-SE scaling technique is amenable to Macro phenomena. It does so by using sustainable product involvement as an exemplar. A valid and reliable five-item scale is offered, its robustness psychometrically confirmed. The authors conclude that C-OAR-SE is a viable complement to traditional psychometric scaling, to be considered by the field's researchers.

Introduction

Over the past half-century, the environmental problems that beset our planet have evolved significantly. Notable is their change in magnitude. Issues that once affected isolated communities have spread. Some are now even global. In response to this situation, consumers world-wide are becoming more ecologically-minded. Their consumption patterns are gradually more sustainable. As consumers address the environmental imperative, it becomes essential for marketers to understand their inclination for sustainable products (Dahlstrom & Crosno, 2018).

A fundamental consumer behavior construct is product involvement. The latter generally refers to the personal importance that consumers place upon certain goods, services, or categories thereof (Solomon, 2020). This interest then affects their behavior: It impacts how consumers search for, perceive, and process information; and which products they consider, prefer, and ultimately purchase (Michaelidou & Dibb, 2008). However, and despite its import within consumer behavior, research into sustainable product involvement remains sparse. Notably absent are scales specifically developed to measure involvement towards this category.

One might think that the scales addressing personal sustainability would serve this purpose. An example might be the widely-used New Ecological Paradigm Scale, see e.g. Dunlap (2008). Yet these instruments present a significant limitation. They tend to focus on individuals' sustainability knowledge and attitudes. While they do address the antecedents of sustainable consumption, these instruments often ignore the resultant behaviors. The latter are arguably more accurate involvement indicators given the attitude-behavior gap so oft encountered within sustainability research: Whereas a vast majority of consumers claims grave concern for the environment, few actually follow through via concrete actions, e.g. (Carrington et al., 2010; Peattie, 2010). Personal sustainability scales thus result inadequate to gauge sustainable product involvement.

One might also think that extant involvement scales apply to the sustainable product category. An example might be Zaichkowsky's (1985) seminal Product Involvement Inventory. However, these scales tend to be rather general. They do not consider the peculiarities of specific categories. This issue was experienced by e.g. Alvarez-Milán (2018) while trying to measure involvement towards social causes. Moreover, these scales tend to conceive

involvement in terms of personal importance. This focus makes them attitudinal measures, susceptible to the aforementioned attitude-behavior gap. Extant involvement instruments thus also result suboptimal to gauge sustainable products.

Without denying its cognitive-affective origins, this study uses broad behaviors to operationalize involvement towards sustainable products. A valid and reliable involvement scale is developed, its robustness psychometrically confirmed. The scale is purposely general: Before specific involvement aspects are evaluated, the overall inclination towards sustainable products must be ascertained. The scale is also intentionally short. Its scant five items make it quick and easy to administer. This allows incorporating it into studies where other involvement measures might not be viable due to their length.

Two features distinguish the scale offered. First, that it was developed in a unique setting, Costa Rica, via a relatively large, representative sample. Sustainability research stems mostly from the US and Europe. However, insights do not necessarily apply to other locales. As developing countries grow in global economic importance, it becomes necessary to understand how their consumers evolve (Bangsa & Schlegelmilch, 2020). Costa Rica is ideal for this. Having one of Latin America's highest human development levels (UNDP, 2020), the country indicates where the region's consumption might be headed towards. Costa Rica is also widely recognized for its conservation efforts (HAC, 2021), making this setting topically relevant.

Second, and in line with the conference's methods track, is that the scale's development follows Rossiter's (Rossiter, 2002, 2011, 2016) C-OAR-SE technique. Initially developed for Marketing, C-OAR-SE has started to be applied across the social sciences. Within sustainability research, it has been used by e.g. de Carvalho et al. (2015), de Carvalho et al. (2016). However, the technique breaks with how measures are conventionally developed, via the psychometric approach, e.g. Churchill, Jr. (1979). C-OAR-SE thus remains rather controversial. By applying it in a step-by-step manner, and verifying its results through traditional psychometric indices, the authors hope to shed light on the viability of this scaling approach for Macromarketing phenomena.

Beyond the methodological insights offered, the authors hope that this paper creates awareness and stimulates discussion on the state of scaling within Macromarketing. These are essential for the field to advance further. From a practical perspective, it is also hoped that the scale developed helps

extend Macromarketing's sustainability research. Particularly important is that it aids researchers in the public, non-profit, and NGO sectors to better understand the populations they serve. The product involvement insights derived from the scale should lead to superior policies/efforts, and hopefully, help steer consumers towards more sustainable lifestyles.

Conceptual Background

Product involvement derives from the psychological notion of ego-involvement. The latter emerged in the early 20th-Century and referred to the interest that an individual might develop towards a given object. Said object may come to play an important role in the person's life. In extreme cases, it becomes an essential part of the individual's identity, see e.g. Allport (1943) or Sherif and Cantril (1947). Ego-involvement was initially a conceptual notion. It then started to be used experimentally. Its application related involvement to various other constructs, contributing to psychology's theoretical corpus (Iverson & Reuder, 1956).

Post-war marketing was characterized by a socio-psychological interest (F. Conejo & Wooliscroft, 2015). This drew the ego-involvement notion into marketing, albeit directed towards products. Pioneering its application was Krugman (1965), who suggested tailoring product messages to audience involvement levels to enhance message effectiveness. Involvement research continued, gained momentum in the mid-1980s, and grew thereafter. This generated a diverse body of literature, which related involvement to various marketing aspects. Today, the involvement notion is a staple in consumer behavior textbooks, e.g., Schiffman and Wisenblit (2019), even mentioned in basic marketing texts, e.g., Kotler and Armstrong (2016).

In marketing, involvement generally refers to the interest that an individual has in a given product or category (Solomon, 2020). This prominence may derive from factors that are personal, like interests or values; or situational, such as occasions or needs. Interest can also result from external stimuli like peer pressure or marketing communications. Regardless, higher involvement generates complex purchase behaviors. These comprise more information gathering and processing, as well as more intricate and extensive purchase processes. Involvement thereby becomes an essential psychographic segmentation variable (Michaelidou & Dibb, 2008).

However, involvement is not a dichotomous variable. It instead spans an

intensity continuum, consumers to different degrees involved with a product. At one end of the spectrum, individuals show little interest in the product. Their behavior toward it is habitual and lacking effort. At the other end of the spectrum, consumers are passionate about the product. This penchant activates an intense motivational state, which then drives behavior concerning the product (Solomon, 2020). In the particular case of sustainable products, Atkinson and Rosenthal (2014) found involvement to moderate product perceptions, trust, and purchase intentions.

High involvement products tend to be more expensive and durable. Also, products that allow consumers to express their identity or which are prone to social evaluation. The heightened involvement derives from the personal or social risk tied to making the wrong choice (Solomon, 2020). However, Antil (1984) clarifies that products are not involving per se. Their involvement instead derives from the personal or social meanings given to products. This semiotic attribution is consistent with more current consumption paradigms: Products are not only consumed for what they are or do, but also for what they mean (F. Conejo & Wooliscroft, 2015).

Noteworthy is the distinction between temporal and enduring involvement. Temporal involvement refers to a heightened, albeit short-lived interest. It occurs when individuals focus more on the surrounding consumption context than on the product. An example would be when looking for a gift or addressing an emergency. Though once the situation is resolved, involvement levels diminish. Conversely, enduring involvement refers to a heightened interest over an extended time. It occurs when individuals focus more on the product than on the surrounding consumption contexts Richins and Bloch (1986). This study adopts an enduring involvement notion towards sustainable products.

Product Involvement Measures

Involvement has been assessed in various ways over the years. Early approaches entailed ranking products based on importance, e.g., Sheth and Venkatesan (1968), or rating their relative importance, e.g., Hupfer and Gardner (1971). Involvement then became measured via rated statements. However, many of these statements were either single items or multiple ad-hoc ones. Their reliability and validity were often suspect. In response to this situation, Zaichkowsky (1985) developed the seminal Product Involvement

Inventory (PII). This unidimensional measure comprises 20 bipolar items, all psychometrically robust. Until then, involvement research had progressed somewhat haphazardly. But the PII formalized this field, applied in numerous studies since its publication.

Other involvement measures were later developed, oft multidimensional. However, Mittal's (1995) or Michaelidou and Dibb's (2008) reviews highlight these instruments' lack of consensus. Given that their dimensional number and nature differ, and individual instruments' marginal impact, the PII may still be considered the measurement standard within the field. Its use unsurprisingly continues to this day. According to GoogleScholar (2021), the article presenting this instrument has accrued nearly 9,000 citations, over 150 in 2021 alone. In the particular case of sustainable products, the scale was used by e.g. Rahman (2018).

However, and despite its widespread acceptance, the PII presents limitations. On the one hand, it conceives involvement in terms of personal importance. Being an attitudinal measure, similar to the sustainability scales mentioned earlier, it becomes susceptible to the attitude-behavior gap. This makes the PII suboptimal to assess sustainable products.

On the other hand, the PII is highly redundant. It evaluates products' importance via a series of near-synonyms like important, of interest, relevant, fundamental, matters to me, or means a lot to me, among others. This redundancy generates an unnecessarily long scale. Zaichkowsky (1994) streamlined the PII from 20 to 10 items. However, and despite the reduction, the scale remained redundant. Subsequent studies thus use even more condensed PII versions. E.g., Russell-Bennett et al. (2007), Kim et al. (2012), and Rahman (2018) use just four of its items to measure involvement.

These limitations indicate the need for new involvement scales: Ones explicitly developed for the sustainable product category; ones that are not attitudinal but behavioral; and ones short enough to be conveniently applied. Hence the present scale development effort.

Methodology

Traditional scale development is empirical-statistical. It begins by generating an initial item set. After collecting data from large, representative samples, items are statistically reduced to those most reliable. This is done via techniques like factor analysis. The remaining items are finally verified/optimized

through different validation procedures (DeVellis, 2012).

The present study breaks with psychometric tradition. It uses Rossiter's (2002, 2011, 2016) C-OAR-SE scaling procedure. The latter is rationalist instead of empirical. But what makes this technique particularly controversial is that initial items are reduced before collecting data. The reduction is furthermore done via experts, not consumer samples. Finally, the reduction strives to maximize content validity, not item reliability (Rossiter, 2002).

C-OAR-SE follows six steps: 1) Construct Definition, 2) Object Classification, 3) Attribute Classification, 4) Rater Identification, 5) Scale Formation, and 6) Enumeration and Reporting. Below, each of these steps, applied towards developing a short and general sustainable product involvement scale.

1) Construct Definition

C-OAR-SE requires that the construct's object, attribute, and raters be precisely defined. Conceiving them in general terms, frequent within psychometric scaling, not only leads to divergent construct interpretations. It also muddles operationalization, reducing scale validity (Rossiter, 2002). A precise definition is particularly important in the case of involvement. The construct has been approached from a variety of perspectives. This has resulted in various definitions, some conflicting (Michaelidou & Dibb, 2008).

In C-OAR-SE, a group of experts specifies the construct's object, attribute, and raters (Rossiter, 2002). Two focus groups/workshops were thus conducted. Each lasted 90 minutes and comprised six Costa Rican social science academics. Consumers and practitioners were excluded given discussions' theoretical/abstract nature. Focus groups followed generally accepted guidelines, e.g. Stewart and Shamdasani (2015).

Two weeks before sessions, participants received Rossiter's (2011) C-OAR-SE paper to acquaint themselves with the technique. Sessions were conducted via Zoom, one each weekend, to reduce inconvenience. Sessions began with brief overviews of the present study, the C-OAR-SE technique, and the product involvement construct. Participants then used Rossiter's (2011, p. 321) evaluation form to individually specify the construct's object, attributes, and raters. Participants later discussed and reconciled their specifications until reaching an agreement.

2) Object Classification

C-OAR-SE requires to specify and classify the definitional object. Doing so determines the type of items subsequently developed. There are three types of objects: Concrete-singular ones are unique or highly homogenous. Abstract-collective objects are heterogeneous but still group into an overarching category. Abstract-formed objects are also heterogeneous but do not group into an overarching category (Rossiter, 2002).

Focus group participants agreed that the definitional object was sustainable products. They mostly classified this object (92% agreement) as abstract-collective: While sustainable products were diverse, they still grouped into a broad overarching category characterized by environmental preservation. Participants added that this broad classification also prevented the scale from being excessively specific. It thereby captured the different notions that respondents might have of this product category. This observation is consistent with Witkowski (2010), who notes that research sometimes neglects the individual meanings that ordinary people give to their consumption. It is also compatible with Dolan (2002), who indicates that sustainable consumption must contemplate its socio-cultural context.

3) Attribute Classification

C-OAR-SE requires to specify and classify the object attribute. Doing so further determines the types of items subsequently developed. Attributes come in three types: Concrete ones refer to a single, evident characteristic. Formed attributes refer to an abstract and multifaceted characteristic. Together, their different aspects conform the overarching characteristic. Eliciting attributes also refer to an abstract characteristic. But the latter is manifested by the mental and physical consequences it generates (Rossiter, 2002).

Participants agreed that the definitional attribute referred to involvement. However, they did not agree as to whether it was formed or eliciting. Upon discussion, and without denying involvement's multifaceted nature, participants preferred to classify it (75% agreement) as eliciting. They considered involvement as an internal disposition. Specifically, as the prevalence of sustainable products in people's lives, manifested cognitively, emotionally, and physically.

4) Rater Identification

C-OAR-SE requires that those who will rate the object attribute be specified. Doing so is necessary as evaluations vary according to whose perspective they capture. There are three types of raters: Individuals are used when the attribute is an internal personal difference. Groups comprise homogenous individuals, say managers. They evaluate external attributes based on their perceptions. Experts comprise more homogenous and qualified individuals. They also assess external attributes, but based on technical criteria (Rossiter, 2002).

Participants indicated (83% agreement) that raters ought to be individuals. They justified this by noting that raters would be disclosing their personal penchant for sustainable products.

Based on the previous steps, this study defines sustainable product involvement as the prevalence (attribute) of sustainable products (object) within individuals' (raters) everyday life (enduring notion), as manifested by mental or physical behaviors (operationalization).

5) Scale Formation

Scale items should reflect the object and attribute types defined. Focus groups classified the object as abstract-collective. Only one item part therefore needed to represent the sustainable product category. However, focus groups categorized the attribute as eliciting. Multiple items thus needed to capture the construct's different manifestations (Rossiter, 2002).

Focus groups acknowledged that involvement elicited cognitive, emotional, and behavioral responses. However, participants also noted that to develop a short, general scale, involvement's multifaceted nature needed to be ignored. The construct was better operationalized through behavioral items only. Doing so would make the resulting instrument less abstract, and thereby, easier to apply, understand, and interpret. Such an operationalization is consistent with researchers for decades using behaviors as involvement indicators (Zaichkowsky, 1985). It is also compatible with eliciting attributes best operationalized via physical and mental activities (Rossiter, 2002). Involvement-related behaviors were thus compiled from the literature. The search resulted, after eliminating redundancies, in 19 preliminary items. These were reduced to those most relevant as follows.

Items sourced from the literature were often formatted as personal behaviors. However, sustainable products are socially-desirable. Their consumption, especially when public, generates approval (Atkinson & Rosenthal, 2014; Naderi & Strutton, 2015). Asking respondents about their sustainable behaviors would have thus likely biased the data.

To lessen this possibility, items were reformatted per Schwartz et al. (2001): Instead of asking respondents about their sustainable behaviors (e.g., I currently buy many sustainable products), items asked respondents how similar they were to a hypothetical person engaged in those behaviors (The person currently buys many sustainable products: Nothing similar to me - Totally similar to me.) Formatting items in terms of others' behavior reduced social desirability. Yet it still allowed to infer respondents' sustainable product involvement levels.

C-OAR-SE centers on content validity to select scale items. A panel of expert judges determines the latter (Rossiter, 2002). This study used Lawshe's (1975) well-known content validity measures to assess how well items reflected sustainable product involvement. In them, the degree to which expert ratings coincide reflects items' content validity. If ratings strongly agree, there is little basis to refute the consensus. The use of experts also prevents higher authorities from challenging results. (It is acknowledged that this process remains somewhat subjective. Expert ratings are still the product of human judgment, which is fallible.)

The type of experts used to rate items depends on the construct operationalization. Abstract items require a greater inferential leap as to how well they reflect the construct. Experts with deep/broad knowledge, say academics, are necessary. Concrete items require a lesser inferential leap. Sound judgments may be obtained from professionals familiar with the construct (Lawshe, 1975). Since involvement was operationalized through behaviors, and these are fairly concrete, a panel of 36 Costa Rican marketing professionals was used to evaluate potential items.

Panelists were prequalified. They first needed to be experienced, having worked in marketing for at least ten years. They secondly had to be familiar with involvement, having applied it on the job. Each panelist received an evaluation form. The latter asked how well the 19 proposed behaviors reflected sustainable product involvement. Raters then indicated whether behaviors were a) essential, b) useful, but not essential, or c) unnecessary. The evaluation form also allowed to add any behaviors not mentioned. None

were added, suggesting completeness.

The Content Validity Ratio (CVR) of each item was calculated. This ratio derives from the number of essential attributions vis-à-vis total attributions. (CVR = $(n_e - N/2) / N/2$, where n_e is the number of panelists considering the item essential, and N is the total number of panelists.) CVR values range from -1 to +1. Content validity emerges with positive values, when over half the panelists consider an item essential. Validity increases as more panelists deem it essential.

The level of agreement between raters determined whether items were rejected or retained. Hardesty and Bearden (2004) indicate that most studies deem a 75% agreement as the minimum for item retention. Since this study intended to develop a short scale, the minimum agreement was increased to 90%. Items with CVRs thereunder were excluded from the scale. Table 1, below, shows the results of this validation procedure.

Five items qualified for the involvement scale. This number might seem insufficient to measure the construct adequately. However, Rossiter (2002) notes how psychometric canons have accustomed researchers to unnecessarily long instruments. They generally consider that more items necessarily increase reliability and validity. Yet this not always occurs. Sometimes, a higher number of items actually decreases scale validity. Several researchers thus recommend using concise instruments: Among others, Peterson's (1994) meta-analysis shows how Alphas do not systematically increase after three scale items. Burisch (1997) shows how just four items suffice to measure constructs effectively. Rossiter (2002) indicates that five items are generally enough to measure eliciting attributes, as here the case.

Moreover, in Lawshe's (1975) framework the number of items retained is irrelevant. The goal is to identify items with the highest content validity to thereby maximize scale validity. For academic purposes, the number of items might be higher. This allows to represent the theoretical domain in more detail. But for practical purposes, fewer items suffice. With this in mind, and the goal of developing a short, general scale, the five items retained were deemed sufficient.

The five items' Content Validity Index (CVI) was calculated. The latter refers to the extent to which items in aggregate, i.e. the scale, represent the construct (Lawshe, 1975). This was done by averaging the CVR values of retained items. The five items' CVI averaged 0.922, indicating strong validity. Lawshe offers critical values for CVRs to exceed chance. With 35 raters, simi-

Table 1: Proposed Involvement Items With Respective Validities

Behavior	CVR	Essential	Useful	Unnecessary
The person...				
1...currently buys many sustainable products*	1	36	0	0
2...frequently recommends buying sust. prods to friends and fam.	0.944	35	1	0
3...talks a lot about sustainable products with friends and family	0.889	34	2	0
4...plans to buy many sustainable products in the future	0.889	34	2	0
5...thinks about how sustainable products help the environment	0.889	34	1	1
Content Validity Index	0.922			
6...pays higher prices for products that are sustainable	0.833	33	2	1
7...travels longer distances to get products that are sustainable	0.778	32	3	1
8...spends more time searching for products that are sustainable	0.778	32	2	2
9...searches for information on products that are sustainable	0.778	32	3	1
10...closely analyzes sustainable product features	0.667	30	3	3
11...considers the ingredients/components of sustainable prods.	0.611	29	4	3
12...pays attention to sustainable product ads/marketing materials	0.611	29	3	4
13...shares his/her knowledge of sustainable products w. others	0.500	27	4	5
14...is loyal to a single sustainable product brand	0.333	24	5	7
15...distinguishes between different sustainable product brands	0.222	22	7	7
16...considers the national/regional origin of sustainable prods.	0.167	21	7	8
17...prefers certain sustainable product brands over others	0.167	21	6	9
18...pays attention to the manufacturing processes of sust. prods.	0.056	19	5	12
19...takes advantage of sustainable product discounts	-0.167	15	4	17

In Costa Rica, as elsewhere, sustainable products are known as ecological/green products.

lar to the present case, CVRs of .310 satisfy a 5% probability. Retained items' CVRs are all $\geq .900$. It is thus unlikely that the scale is the product of chance, supporting results.

Data Collection

A survey was conducted to assess the scale further. The five involvement items were mixed with 20 personal value items from Sandy et al. (2017). Doing so masked the survey's intent. Items were order-inverted, and a third negatively valenced. Responses were anonymous, though general demographic questions were asked. The survey was brief, able to be completed in about five minutes. These measures reduced response biases and improved data quality.

Involvement and value items were formatted alike. Both had respondents indicate their similarity to the persons portrayed. This further masked the survey's intent. Likert responses provided the data. Based on Miller (1994), six answer options were offered: 1-nothing, 2-a little, 3-somewhat, 4-quite, 5-a lot, and 6-totally similar. These categories provided detail yet reduced cognitive response loads. Numerical-verbal labels enhanced responses (Windschitl & Wells, 1996). Options' even number, lacking a neutral category, forced committed answers. This helped discriminate responses, reduce error, and improve data (Suchman, 1950).

Sustainability research sometimes uses self-selected samples. However, doing so skews results. It reflects the more environmentally-inclined consumers (McDonald et al., 2006). On the other hand, involvement scales sometimes derive from student samples, notably Zaichkowsky (1985). However, the literature warns against student samples. These are demo-psychographically unrepresentative of the general population, inadequate for research (Jones & Sonner, 2001; R. Peterson, 2001). Therefore, to give this study more credence, a sample approximating the Costa Rican adult population was used. Doing so led results to reflect the national population's sustainable product involvement better.

A brief pretest with 20 consumers ensured that items were understood and easily answered. The primary data collection followed, using a snowball sampling approach, per Cleveland et al. (2009). As part of class project, students from four marketing courses at a private Costa Rican university surveyed adults of predetermined ages, genders, education levels, and social

Table 2: Sample Characteristics

Age Cohort	%	Gender	%	Education	%	Social Class	%
18-24/Z	16.51	Male	47.68	Primary	25.58	Low	22.39
25-39/M	31.56	Female	52.32	Secondary	36.10	Low-Mid	36.87
40-54/X	23.07			Technical	6.85	Mid-Hi*	30.69
55-74/B	21.91			University*	31.47	Hi*	10.05
75+/S	6.95						
Total	100		100		100		100

Age range = 18-82, mean = 43.59, median = 42.00, s.d. = 18.15. For comparative purposes, age brackets reflect the cohorts defined by Dimock (2019). *Educational and socioeconomic groups slightly over-represent upper levels.

classes. The use of quotas ensured that the national demographic characteristics were approximated.

Surveys were paper-based, given respondents' socioeconomic diversity. Of primary concern were differences in online access. Upon finishing their surveys, respondents referred students to further potential participants, which were then contacted. This was done until students filled their assigned quotas. Students followed an administration protocol. The latter had been explained and practiced beforehand in class. Student data was complemented by data collected by the researchers, which also followed a snowball/quota procedure.

Collection bore 1,169 responses. Incomplete or patterned ones, e.g. all answers marked 3-Somewhat Similar, were excluded to improve data (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). This left 1,036 usable responses. The sample, described in Table 2, below, approximates the nation's population in age, gender, education, and social class, per INEC (2018); INEC (2020a); INEC (2020b).

Analysis

To verify the internal consistency of eliciting scales, as here the case, Rossiter (2002) recommends calculating coefficient Beta. The latter is the minimum value of a split-halves analysis, and therefore, a more conservative indicator than Alpha, see Revelle (1979) or John and Roedder (1981). A Beta of at least .700 is needed to infer internal consistency (Rossiter, 2002). To calculate it via SPSS v26, Guttman's (1945) Lambda-4 coefficient was used, which is the lower bound reliability of all splits. Its value for the five items was .839, suggesting robust internal consistency.

To assess items in more conventional terms, Alphas were calculated. Un-

Table 3: Item Characteristics
If Item Deleted

Involvement Item	Item-total correlation	Scale mean	Scale Variance	Scale Alpha
The person...				
1...currently buys many sustainable products	0.709	11.94	25.64	0.88
2...frequently recommends buying sustainable products to friends and fam.	0.787	13.31	24.397	0.863
3...talks a lot about sustainable products with friends and family	0.776	13.75	23.452	0.856
4...plans to buy many sustainable products in the future	0.761	13.34	23.874	0.868
5...thinks about how sustainable products help the environment	0.682	12.31	25.264	0.886

For the 5-item scale, range = 5-30, mean = 16.16, variance = 37.344, Alpha = .895.

like Beta, Alpha is the average of split halves. It is thus a more optimistic indicator. Alphas of at least .800 are needed for eliciting scales (Rossiter, 2002). Its value for the five items was .895. This confirms internal consistency, especially given the low item number (Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994).

Rossiter (2002) suggests using Alphas to delete items with low item-total correlations. The scale's internal consistency might thereby be improved. The five items were assessed. Table 3 summarizes their features. Item 5 showed a slightly low item-total correlation of .682. It was nevertheless retained. Its deletion would have otherwise reduced the scale's mean, variance, and Alpha below original values.

Research sometimes considers involvement as multidimensional. However, the present objective was to develop a short, general scale. The construct was thus approached from a broad perspective, assumed to be unidimensional.

Exploratory Factor Analyses (EFA) suffice to test unidimensionality (Gorsuch, 1997). However, psychometric scaling usually adds Confirmatory Factor Analyses (CFA) to verify/fine-tune exploratory results (Ahmetoglu et al., 2011). EFA/CFA on the five involvement items were thus conducted. Doing so methodologically validated results through a different scaling technique, one compatible with traditional psychometric practice.

EFA extraction was done via principal components. The number of components was not pre-established. Rotation was also dispensed with to obtain

Table 4: Exploratory and Confirmatory Factor Analyses Results

Involvement Item	EFA Component 1 Loads	CFA Factor 1 Loads
The person...		
3...talks a lot about sustainable products with friends and family	.872	.857
2...frequently recommends buying sust. prods to friends and family	.867	.860
1...currently buys many sustainable products	.852	.806
5...thinks about how sustainable products help the environment	.814	.739
4...plans to buy many sustainable products in the future	.794	.704

non-optimized results. Eigenvalues (EVs) > 1 determined the number of components to retain. Only Component 1, worth 3.531 EVs and 70.611% variance, met the criterion. Other components were well thereunder. The scree plot's drop-off (Component 2 = 0.528 EVs) confirmed retaining only Component 1. Table 4 shows how the five involvement items loaded onto Component 1. Loads range from .794 to .872 and average .839. These values suggest a well-defined single underlying construct. The compact load range further indicates content homogeneity (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). Strong sample adequacy, KMO = .843, indicates robust modeling.

To verify results, CFAs using maximum likelihood estimation were conducted. The ideal solution was again a single factor. Factors should be statistically independent, indicated by loads of at least .700 ((Hair et al., 2009). Table 4, below, shows the standardized regression weights for the five items. Ranging from .704 to .860, and averaging .793, all loads comply with said criterion. Different fit indicators support these results (see Hair et al. (2009) for specifics): GFI = .945, AGFI = .834, Chi-square = 160.222, DF = 5, and probability level = 0.000. These values confirm a clearly defined unidimensional involvement construct.

The Scale Formation step produced items of strong content validity. Though how well items related to an external criterion remained to be ascertained. The literature indicates that product involvement is co-determined by personal values, e.g. Zaichkowsky (1985). The five involvement items were thus related to Universalism. Data on this and other values had been collected with those on involvement, allowing correlations.

Universalism derives from the collective need to survive and thrive. Its ideal is a life where the welfare of humanity is enhanced. This includes preserving

nature and its scarce resources (Schwartz, 2003), precisely what sustainable products attempt.

Universalism is part of Schwartz's (1992) value framework. Unlike others used in marketing, say Rokeach's (1973) or Kahle's (1983), Schwartz's framework is cross-cultural. It derives from samples from 20 different countries, some Latin American. The latter makes it especially suited for present purposes. Schwartz obtained a near-universal structure comprising ten fundamental life-guiding values. What varied between nations/individuals were differences in degree, not kind. Given its generalizability and versatility, Schwartz's framework has become widely used (Datler et al., 2013; Parks-Leduc et al., 2015).

Universalism was operationalized via two items from Schwartz's (2003) Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ). While developing their brief PVQ version, Sandy et al. (2017) found that these two items effectively encapsulated Universalism (Alpha = .765, retest reliability = .810, external validities similar to the original instrument. Alpha presently obtained = .739). Table 5 shows how the five involvement items and their average correlate with the two Universalism items and their average.

A moderate, albeit significant relationship emerged between both averages, $r = .481$, $p < 0.01$. As Universalism increases within people, so does their sustainable product involvement. These results are consistent with what would be expected from the literature. However, involvement is a complex phenomenon. It derives from multiple variables, situational moderators, and individual characteristics (Atkinson & Rosenthal, 2014). By no means is it here suggested that personal values, much less Universalism alone, drive sustainable product involvement. Nonetheless, the correlation obtained externally validates, at least preliminarily, the proposed involvement scale.

Given the positive and significant external relation, coupled with the robust reliability and dimensionality values obtained earlier, we conclude that the five items comprise a reasonable measure of sustainable product involvement.

6) Enumeration

The final C-OAR-SE step involves explaining how items produce a total scale score. Doing so is necessary given the different object and attribute types possible (Rossiter, 2002).

Table 5: Exploratory and Confirmatory Factor Analyses Results

The person. . .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. . . thinks about how sustainable products help the environment	1								
2. . . talks a lot about sustainable products with friends and family	.632**	1							
3. . . frequently recommends buying sust. prods to friends and family	.610**	.769**	1						
4. . . currently buys many sustainable products	.580**	.653**	.712**	1					
5. . . plans to buy many sustainable products in the future	.613**	.592**	.528**	.629**	1				
6 Involvement Average	.811**	.867**	.866**	.855**	.799**	1			
7. . . considers equality very important. (S/he) always tries that everyone has the same opportunities in life.	.453**	.338**	.382**	.301**	.278**	.416**	1		
8. . . considers peace between different groups very important. (S/he) believes that one should always live in harmony.	.463**	.339**	.415**	.321**	.318**	.441**	.586**	1	
9 Universalism Average	.514**	.380**	.448**	.350**	.335**	.481**	.886**	.895**	1

N = 1,036. Correlations two-tailed and significant at the 0.01 level**. Universalism items were translated from English into Spanish and back-translated as recommended by e.g. Brislin (1970) or Cha et al. (2007). Despite slight adjustments to their Spanish versions, items' content was deemed equivalent.

Total scale scores may derive from various summed, averaged, or weighted procedures (Diamantopoulos & Winklhofer, 2001). However, enumeration was kept simple to develop a practical instrument. As mentioned in the external validation section, the five items were averaged to produce an overall score. Item and total scores would then be based on the same six-point scale, facilitating application, analysis, and interpretation.

However, a six-point scale remains awkward. Rossiter (2002) suggests that in cases like these, scores be transformed to a 0 to 10 scale. The 0 value corresponds to the absolute construct absence. The 10 value corresponds to the maximum possible score. This range is also intuitive for scale users as people have grown accustomed to evaluating objects in deciles. Rescaling responses into a common, natural format improves how results are analyzed, interpreted, and compared. An intuitive design is particularly important for non-technical scale users.

Answers were thus rescaled from a 1-6 to 0-10. Doing so is mathematically valid. Data matrices may be transformed via additive or multiplicative constants, provided that items' relative intensity is respected (Guttman, 1950); also see F. J. Conejo et al. (2019). The first answer option was anchored at 0 = nothing similar. The other five were spaced in two-point increments (2 = a little, 4 = somewhat, 6 = quite, 8 = very, and 10 = totally similar.) Using six answer options instead of eleven kept them cognitively manageable, facilitating responses; kept the number of answer options even, forcing committed responses; and increased inter-option spacing, distinguishing options better.

In hindsight, this new answer format should have been implemented while developing items, before collecting data. This post-hoc improvement was deemed to not significantly impact results. The rescaled data was nevertheless analyzed to ascertain this. Response ranges and scale averages naturally varied. These respectively went from 1-6 to 0-10, and from 2.693/6 to 4.465/10. But the factorial item loadings and external correlations were nearly identical to those initially obtained. Given its advantages, we recommend using the 0-10 answer format instead of the original 1-6 one. Table 6 shows the Sustainable Product Involvement Scale.

Discussion

This study set out to develop a short, general sustainable product involvement measure. It also set out to evaluate whether Rossiter's (2002, 2011,

Table 6: Sustainable Product Involvement Scale

Instructions: Below, we describe five* people. Please indicate with X how similar each of these people are to you. Answer options go from "0-nothing similar to me" to "10-totally similar to me." Answers are anonymous. There are also no right or wrong answers. Just be honest. Thank you.

The person. . .	0	2	4	6	8	10
1. . . currently buys many sustainable products	nothing similar to me	a little similar to me	somewhat similar to me	quite similar to me	very similar to me	totally similar to me
2. . . frequently recommends buying sust. prods to friends and family	nothing similar to me	a little similar to me	somewhat similar to me	quite similar to me	very similar to me	totally similar to me
3. . . talks a lot about sustainable products with friends and family	nothing similar to me	a little similar to me	somewhat similar to me	quite similar to me	very similar to me	totally similar to me
4. . . plans to buy many sustainable products in the future	nothing similar to me	a little similar to me	somewhat similar to me	quite similar to me	very similar to me	totally similar to me
5. . . thinks about how sustainable products help the environment	nothing similar to me	a little similar to me	somewhat similar to me	quite similar to me	very similar to me	totally similar to me

*Instructions to be adjusted according to the total item number.

2016) C-OAR-SE scaling framework was amenable to Macromarketing phenomena. Both objectives were achieved.

The Sustainable Product Involvement Scale (SPIS) developed shows robust validity and reliability. It thus suits academic research in which a general product involvement measure suffices. The scale's mere five items make it quick to administer. Not only does this allow it to be easily incorporated into studies where longer involvement measures might not be viable. It also makes the scale convenient for respondents, enhancing participation and completion rates. Finally, the scale's intuitive format makes it easily understood by respondents. This increases data quality, adding to results' clarity and theoretical development.

Notable is the SPIS's behavioral focus. Sustainability scales developed to date tend to emphasize people's environmental knowledge and attitudes. These instruments shed light on sustainable consumption drivers. However, they tend to ignore actual sustainable behaviors, the latter more realistic involvement indicators. Without being overly specific, the scale developed is behaviorally focused. It thereby resolves the attitude-behavior gap so oft encountered within sustainability research.

However, the SPIS is not only geared towards academics. It also serves practitioners. As an individual difference, involvement impacts a series of consumer behavior aspects. It influences how information is perceived, sought, and processed; how decisions are made; and which products are considered, preferred, and purchased (Michaelidou & Dibb, 2008). Practitioners may therefore use the SPIS to segment consumers. Doing so would allow them to tailor marketing programs according to the preferences of specific targets, improving effectiveness.

On the one hand, the SPIS identifies different involvement levels. Consumers could thereby be segmented in terms of low (0-3), medium (4-7), and high (8-10) average scores. All else equal, low-involvement consumers might be educated on the importance of adopting sustainable products. This would be a mid to long-term process. But it would lay the foundation for more sustainable future lifestyles. Mid-involvement consumers could be encouraged to adopt a larger quantity and variety of sustainable products. This would be a short to mid-term process. High-involvement consumers, who have already adopted sustainable products, could be commended for the latter. Doing so would reinforce and ideally increase their sustainable consumption.

On the other hand, the SPIS identifies different involvement types. Consumers could thus be segmented based on the salience of certain items. Some consumers might be characterized by planning to buy sustainable products in the future (preponderance of Item 4.) These consumers would need to be encouraged so that they convert intentions into actions. Other consumers might be characterized by recommending the purchase of sustainable products to friends and family (preponderance of Item 2.) These consumers could be leveraged as opinion leaders/influencers to increase the quantity and variety of their acquaintances' sustainable consumption.

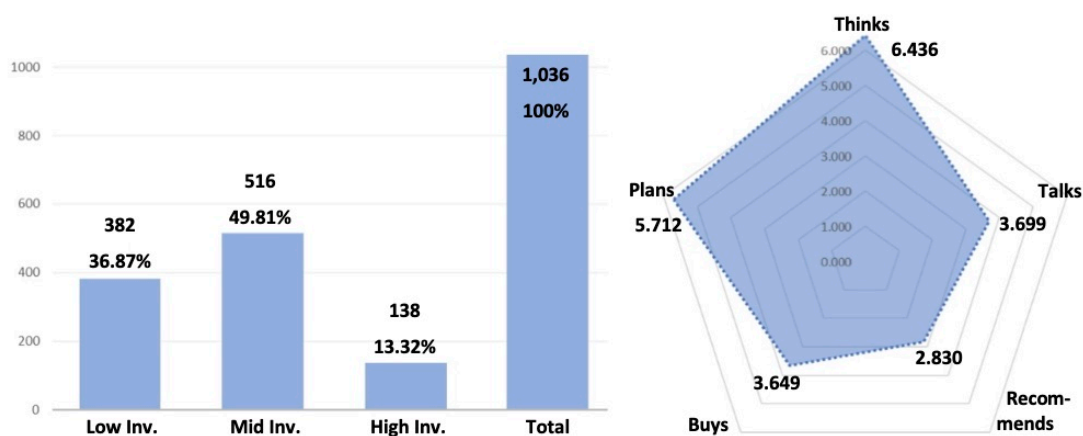
To illustrate both aspects, Figure 1 shows some preliminary results as to the levels and types of sustainable product involvement in Costa Rica. The left bar chart has respondents on the vertical axis and involvement levels on the horizontal one. Notable are the relatively weak involvement levels. Nearly 87% of respondents show moderate to low levels, and only 13% high ones. Such a low interest in sustainable products is somewhat surprising given Costa Rica's reputation for sustainability (UNEP, 2019); the country's brand long based on its environmental richness (Florek & Conejo, 2007).

The right radar chart has five axes emanating from its center. Each corresponds to an involvement item/type. Two aspects are notable. First, and consistent with the bar chart, is that involvement levels across types are relatively low. These range from 2.830 to 6.436, averaging just 4.465/10. Second, is that highest item values correspond to the most passive behaviors (thinking and planning), not the more active ones (purchase and advocacy). This pattern would be consistent with the generally low involvement levels. Also, with the attitude-behavior gap so commonly observed within sustainability research.

Importantly, the SPIS is by no means limited to the private sector. Its ability to distinguish involvement levels and types would also help the public and non-profit sectors better understand the populations they serve. The insights derived would aid towards superior policies/efforts, and help steer consumption towards more sustainable patterns. As more entities commit to the environmental imperative, it becomes essential to understand consumer behavior tied to sustainable products. The scale here developed can help in this regard.

This study's second objective was to evaluate the effectiveness of Rossiter's (2002, 2011, 2016) C-OAR-SE scaling method. Empirical verification becomes necessary as said technique fundamentally breaks with orthodox canons,

Figure 1: Sustainable Product Involvement Levels and Types



making it quite controversial.

Diamantopoulos (2005), Salzberger et al. (2016), and others offer detailed theoretical discussions on C-OAR-SE's virtues and limitations. Given space limitations, their arguments will not be repeated. However, and independently of their opinions, the present scale resulted psychometrically robust. This indicates that despite its major philosophical and methodological differences, C-OAR-SE is indeed able to produce scales as valid and reliable as those obtained through conventional psychometric means. We thus conclude that C-OAR-SE is a viable scale development technique, to be considered by researchers.

Limitations and Future Research

Despite promising results, this study presents limitations. The first pertains to operationalization. The latter focused on behaviors for being more effective involvement indicators. However, the literature has for decades recognized involvement as multidimensional, e.g., Laurent and Kapferer (1985). It comprises not only behaviors, but also cognitive and emotional aspects. Future research should thus develop short scales for each of these other aspects. Together, these scales would allow to study consumer involvement more comprehensively.

A second limitation refers to the scale's scope. This study's objective was to develop a short instrument to assess consumers' general sustainable product inclination. This required a strict validity criterion. However, this excluded

certain behaviors from the scale, reducing its coverage. Examples would be those referring to information search. Future research might thus develop more comprehensive scales with a larger item number. A broader range of behaviors would not only extend the scale's coverage, but allow more precise diagnostics.

A third limitation pertains the object. The scale developed refers to sustainable products generally. However, said category is most diverse. It spans from organic foods, through fair trade textiles, to low emission vehicles, among others. Each of these sub-categories also comprises different sectors. Because of this diversity, the developed items might need to be adapted to the different types of sustainable products. Future research should thus test the present scale within and across sustainable product categories.

A fourth limitation refers to respondents. The sample used was reasonably large and representative. Future research will thus be able to use the SPIS to assess the involvement of Costa Ricans as a whole, and that of different sub-populations. However, the sample remains limited to a single country, present results determined by local socioeconomic conditions. Future research should therefore test the scale in other national contexts. Studies might start in other Latin American countries to identify regional differences and commonalities. Studies might then extend to progressively different cultural contexts, say Anglo America, Europe, and Asia.

A fifth limitation is methodological. Scale development followed the C-OAR-SE framework. While results were psychometrically confirmed, the final item set would have possibly varied had Classical Test Theory canons been followed. Future efforts might therefore develop pure psychometric scales for comparative purposes. Moreover, and while the scale developed quantifies involvement, it does not explain how nor why sustainable products involve. These are equally important to understand. Future research might thus approach sustainable product involvement qualitatively to understand it better. Finally, sustainable product involvement seems to span an intensity range. With data possibly following cumulative response patterns, involvement would be a candidate for other non-traditional scaling approaches, like those of Guttman or Rasch.

Closing Thoughts

C-OAR-SE scaling might seem radical, even wrong from a Classical Test Theory perspective. However, the psychometric approach also has limitations. Among others, the pursuit of high Alphas may generate scales that are redundant, impractical, and even dubious from a validity perspective. Hence this alternative scaling approach (Rossiter, 2002).

Rossiter (2011) claims that his C-OAR-SE technique produces measures superior to those psychometrically derived. He even calls for traditional scaling methods to be discontinued. The present authors adopt a more moderate position. While C-OAR-SE may indeed produce robust measures, the psychometric approach's tremendous value is also acknowledged. By no means should it be abandoned.

That said, blind adherence to the psychometric dogma also constrains Macromarketing research. As fields develop, they grow increasingly diverse and complex (Most et al., 2018). Yet excessive reliance on a limited set of techniques restricts inquiry to questions amenable to those techniques. Findings thereby become less valid, reliable, and generalizable (Davis et al., 2013). With scaling limited to a single major approach, the richness of Macromarketing phenomena becomes harder to capture. The field's theoretical development may thereby be thwarted.

We thus call for methodological diversity in the scaling of Macromarketing phenomena. As this paper evidenced, C-OAR-SE is a viable complement to traditional psychometric techniques. Together, they might produce more robust measures, leading to better insights within the field. C-OAR-SE is thus seen as a useful addition to Macromarketing's methodological repertoire, to be considered by researchers in the area.

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The Three Dichotomies Model, the Self-understanding of Macromarketing and the Determination of its Domain

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Macromarketing studies emerged in the last century's seventies and eighties from the efforts of a "group of scholars grappling for meaning and structure in an ill-defined and relatively unknown field" (Hunt, 1981, p. 7). The group engaged in discussions about the definition of 'macromarketing' with reference to Hunt (1976), and macromarketing's field of study (domain); thus, definitional, motivational, and domain-specific aspects were intermingled from the very beginning. After about one hundred and twenty years of research in macromarketing studies or marketing studies (Hunt et al., 2021), confusions are still observable with regard to the definition of the concept of macromarketing, the domain of macromarketing, and its models. The paper distinguishes four research-related areas to structure its analysis with regard to motives, definition, domain, and theoretical models.

Based on Hunt's personal recollections (Hunt, 2011, 0) and a close reading of the contributions to Part I and Part II of the Macromarketing Colloquium, the paper summarizes the motivations of the group members to participate in the macromarketing seminars and to launch the Journal of Macromarketing as follows: (i) dissatisfaction with the research foci predominant in managerial marketing ('micromarketing'), (ii) interest in the societal impact on markets and marketing (and vice versa), and (iii) interest in the ethical aspects of marketing.

Hunt (1976) proposed an outline of the “total scope of marketing” based on three dichotomies: micro/macro, positive/normative, and for-profit/non-profit. The discussion of this proposal at the inaugural macromarketing seminar in 1976 revealed that the micro-macro distinction based on the level of aggregation is inadequate to separate macro- from micromarketing (Hunt, 0). Against the backdrop of the above-mentioned critical discussion of his three dichotomies model, Hunt (1981, p. 8) defines ‘macromarketing’ as follows: “Macro-marketing 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.” As Shawver and Nickels (1981) have observed, this definition is defective (Layton, 2019; Meade & Nason, 1991).

Information about the domain of macromarketing studies is detectible on the cover of the Journal of Macromarketing that — inter alia — shows the globe and the letters “Examining the Interactions among Markets, Marketing, and Society.” All four substantives used in this phrase are vague. It outlines what macromarketing research is (or should be) about: “Macromarketing is typically seen as the purview of marketers interested in examining the interactions among markets, marketing, and society” (Shapiro et al., 2009). That two of the four terms used in the phrase are sociological terms, is interpretable as commitment to the sociological roots of marketing studies.

The paper investigates, though selectively, i. e. with focus on the group of structural functional models in sociology (Grundmann & Stehr, 2009), the sociological bent expressed in the terms ‘interactions among markets, marketing, and society’ displayed on the Journal of Macromarketing’s cover sheet. Although the paper addresses the four categories or concepts in its analysis, it concentrates on ‘society’ and only touches upon ‘market’ and ‘interaction.’ The paper does not engage in the discussion of the origin of the term ‘market’ that is used in everyday language and in several theoretical languages (economics, sociology, marketing studies). It refers to two understandings of markets associated with society: the ‘market society’ based on the interpretation of ‘society’ as ‘association of individuals linked with contract’ and ‘market’ as structural differentiation of society as most comprehensive social system. ‘Interaction’ that is also a category underlying another group of sociological models, the interactionist models (Grundmann & Stehr, 2009), is at the core of social action and thus a basic category in the analysis of social systems. Regarding ‘society,’ the paper chooses to refer to

the group of structural functional models that has influenced systems thinking in macromarketing studies at lot and is accountable for the perhaps first systematic exposition of marketing theory (Alderson, 1957). By the paper's outline, the focus on structural functional models, the group of interactionist models is pushed somewhat to the periphery of the analysis, but this does not mean that it is of minor relevance for macromarketing studies.

The paper introduces three lines of argumentation which crisscross several times. First, through the four research-related areas, the paper sheds light on the motives and values of researchers and differentiates between the domain entities or research subjects; the theory or approach applied to the study of domain entities; and the models resulting from the conceptualization of the domain entities. One important aspect here is that domain entities do not stand for themselves. On the one hand, as domain entities, they depend upon common sense infiltrated with 'established' theoretical vocabularies. On the other hand, they are described, analyzed, explained, or controlled (Alderson, 1957; Hunt, 1976) by diverse scholarly theories which refer to them in order to develop, apply, or refine their specific models. Philosophers of science (Kuhn, 1962) have observed (or stated) that mature sciences are able to conceptualize domain entities based on their disciplinary theories. According to Kuhn's approach, one theory will finally win through, but this state will not last for long.

The picture that has arisen from the analysis of domain entities and their conceptualizations is quite mixed. For instance, Hunt (2020, p. 287), pointing to the relevance of a seminal article authored by Shaw (1912) for the self-image of contemporary macromarketing, gives an example for the reference to systemic language and functionalism in macromarketing studies. Shaw and other authors have addressed problems originating in the U.S. in the first decades of the last century, such as the overcoming of physical distance between producers and customers or the establishment of retail organizations ('middlemen'). These domain entities were conceptualized by commodity 'theories' (studying 'goods' and 'services') or institutional 'theories' (studying retail organizations) — note that, according to Alderson (1957) there was no marketing theory in the first half of the last century. More recently, the term 'system' was added to the name of domain entities such as 'distribution,' i. e. entities originating from Era I or II (Hunt et al., 2021) in the history of (macro-)marketing studies. Distribution, named 'marketing problem,' was present prior to the development of social or general systems theory. It

is acceptable to argue that, using a contemporary systems lens, these domain entities are conceptualizable as 'systems'; it is questionable, however, to claim that these entities were systems already in Era I or II.

Second, from the group of structural functional models in sociology (Grundmann & Stehr, 2009), the paper refers to Parsons's social systems theory (Parsons, 1977) and Tönnies's (1887, 2018) society-community dichotomy. Parsons conceives 'society' as abstract theoretical category; as such, 'society' is the most comprehensive social system. At its core, Parsonian social systems are interaction systems. Community or the communal society is a differentiation of society (the same applies to markets). For Tönnies, both society and community exist as constitutive components of social structure and none can be reduced to the other. His approach, however, is compatible with a perspective according to that society collapses into market society. While Tönnies insists on a dichotomist view on society and community, Parsons established an integrative approach.

The paper associates this difference between Parsons and Tönnies with the macromarketing community's motives and values. As the contributions to the Macromarketing Colloquium display, in connection with economic or marketing practice, the macromarketing community is devoted to the 'interests of society' rather than 'the interests of private actors.' Tönnies, an expelled Hobbes expert, interpreted society as association of individuals, linked by contractual relationships, and guided by self-interest or utilitarian motives. He positioned community in contrast to society as a realm that is governed by status and 'naturally' grown social fabric. The paper argues that the task for a social-scientific discipline, interested in the 'interests of society,' is not to replace contract by status, but to implement relationship and (non-parametric) interaction into the analysis of the social fabric.

Third, the paper connects Hunt's (1976) discussion of the 'nature and scope of marketing' with the two lines of argumentation introduced above. Hunt (1976) outlined the 'nature and scope of marketing' to analyze the approaches to the study of marketing and to address the 'nature of marketing' controversy. The inaugural macromarketing seminar critically discussed the idea that a clear specification of the domain of macromarketing studies can result from the 'aggregation' of micro level entities (Hunt, 2011; Hunt et al., 2021) — a discussion that led to a revised proposal of a definition of 'macromarketing' by Hunt (1981). In the meantime, in all fields underlying the model, distinctions have replaced dichotomies: social enterprise studies

have questioned the dichotomy between for-profit and non-profit organizations; the normative-positive dichotomy has been replaced by a distinction that can be useful in some contexts; and the micro-macro dichotomy has been replaced by multi-level analyses in many disciplines or perspectives, including macromarketing (e. g., (Domegan et al., 2020; Haase & Becker, 2020; Hyman et al., 2020; Layton, 2019).

Hunt (1976) had a third objective, however, namely to contribute to the 'marketing science' debate. What is at stake here is the model of science — outlined by Hunt (1976) at some length — in light of which the positive-normative dichotomy has to be understood. The positive/normative dichotomy remained subject to criticism for decades (Hunt, 1978; Hunt & Burnett, 1982; Hyman et al., 1991). Undoubtedly, to have pointed out that scholars draw on models of science is a merit of Hunt's analysis. A clear statement of such models facilitates their discussion or criticism.

It is also a merit of Hunt's model to have clearly stated the scientific status of the marketing discipline. The model did so, however, for the wrong reasons: a dichotomic view on positive-normative distinction and a restrictive, narrow view on the "science of marketing" (Hunt, 1978, p. 108). The paper agrees with Hunt that the positive-normative distinction "is a powerful spur to clear thinking and analysis in marketing" (Hunt, 1978, p. 109). Even scholars who refused to reject the normative dimensions of marketing thought or hold the view "that marketing is overwhelmingly normative" (Hyman et al., 1991, p. 7) agree on the view that positive and normative parts of marketing can be distinguished based on "careful thinking." In contrast, thinking in terms of dichotomy has led to problematic consequences such as the rejection of the possibility of normative knowledge.

Marketing scholars, as all scholars, have to justify the resources they gain from public sources but this justification does not include serving managers at all. As Hunt (1978, p. 108) has put it: "The prime directive for scholarly research in marketing is the same as for all sciences: to seek knowledge." As all actors, managers are free to make use of scientific knowledge that has been produced by means of public resources.

Hunt (1978, p. 108) argues "that the entire discipline of marketing does not exist solely and exclusively to serve the needs of the marketing manager" is correct. The argument could even be broadened and sharpened: why should the discipline of marketing should serve managers at all? As the 'public policy maker' (see Hyman et al., 2020) could be named 'public man-

ager' as well, what is at stake here is not management per se but if, or not marketing studies aim to 'serve the needs' of private or non-private actors or entities. As the meaning of the word 'need' is unclear, the many expressions of motives and values of macromarketing scholars may help out to clarify the case: macromarketing scholars aim at the generation of knowledge that serves society, contributes to societal well-being, or is in the societal interest. These terms are as vague as the 'needs of society' and macromarketing studies did a good job to spell out the details in empirical studies, but could perhaps put more effort in the interdisciplinary work on theory-building in this field of research.

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Measuring different facets of frugality: Lessons learned from hotel guests' experience

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Frugality is considered as one of the effective solutions in achieving sustainable development due to its curtailment and prudent traits. However, this issue has been given little attention in the marketing literature. The tourism industry contributes to huge environmental degradation due to the excessive use of natural resources, including energy and water, which exacerbated the overconsumption issues. Considering this, the present study attempts to shed some light on hotel guests' frugal behavior and aims to explore the dimensionality of frugal behavior in this context. Exploratory Factor Analysis revealed that frugal behavior is a multi-dimensional construct. The dimensions are resource minimization and care for money. It is expected that, the findings of this paper will contribute to the ongoing debate pertaining to macromarketing issues.

Introduction

Due to the environmental pollution, overuse of the natural resources, and natural disasters most of the nations are looking for way to attain sustainability (Quoquab & Mohammad, [2020a](#), [2020b](#); Quoquab et al., [2019](#)). Though

the natural resources are shrinking in alarming rate, human consumption did not reduce (Chua et al., 2020). Many scholars suggested for adopting frugal behavior in order to gain sustainability since frugality suggests for both efficiency and sufficiency in the consumption (Evers et al., 2018; Nepomuceno & Laroche, 2017).

Frugality can be described as to refrain from making unnecessary consumption and to be efficient and resourceful with the consumption (Philp & Nepomuceno, 2020). Also, frugality is associated with limiting consumption and to consume less (Awais et al., 2020; Holmes et al., 2019; N. Z. B. M. Sadom et al., 2021; N. Z. M. Sadom et al., 2020), susceptible to Long Term Orientation (LTO) (Nepomuceno & Laroche, 2017) and avoidance of waste (Lastovicka et al., 1999). Furthermore, frugality directly leads to water and energy conservation, recycling, and responsible waste disposal behavior also in line with sustainable (consume less or curtailment behavior) and green aspects and practices which also adhere to 3R –reduce, reuse and recycle concept (Yusof et al., 2017). Thus, it can be implied that frugality can be a potential measure for achieving sustainable development and to address the issue of waste management that plaguing the nation (Wang et al., 2020). Although there are discussions on frugality in the marketing literature, little has been known about its dimensions in the literature which this study attempts to address. As macromarketers, it is our responsibility not only to highlight the problems, but also to find the solutions and to make the findings available for the policy makers (Wooliscroft, 2020). Macromarketing focuses on market and societal phenomena in order to improve the overall market system for the greater benefit of the society (R. A. Layton & Grossbart, 2006; Wooliscroft, 2016). The conversation of macromarketing perspective is utmost necessity since there are severe adverse ecological, social and economic problems globally that are fueled by market-driven events (R. Layton, 2007; Mitchell et al., 2010). In order to understand how well the macromarketing mechanism can perform, the researchers in this field attempt to investigate and measure variables that deal with interactions between firms and consumers, governments, regulatory body and so on (Wooliscroft, 2016; Wooliscroft et al., 2014). In line with this motto, the present study contributes to the deeper understanding of the measure and dimensionality of hotel consumers' frugal purchase behavior.

The rest of paper is organized as follows. In the following section, the relevance to measure frugality in the context of hotel industry is justified. Next, the theory of minimalism is briefly discussed as the theoretical basis, followed

by the process flow and the phases conducted to develop the scale. Lastly, the conclusion is provided.

Relevance to measure frugality in the context of the hotel industry

Due to the environmental impact from the excessive use of natural resources (including energy and water), and excessive consumption behavior, the concern for unsustainability issues in the hotel industry has heightened in recent years (Novacka et al., 2019). For instance, United Nations World Tourism Organization (n.d.) reported that in most hotels, water takes up to 15% of total utility bills, and nearly 95% of freshwater is discharged as sewage, which usually lacks proper treatment. Besides, hotels also generate a vast amount of waste, including food, used soap and shampoo, and other garbage and each guest on the average generates over 1 kg of waste per guest day, resulting in many tons of waste per month from the hotel property (Wan et al., 2017; Zaiton et al., 2016). Due to the pressing need in addressing overconsumption issue in hotel industry exacerbated with the increasing concern towards environmental matters and society and the trend towards sustainable consumption in the recent years, sustainable tourism including sustainable hotel industry has become corporate agenda in the hotel industry (Alilahotels.com, 2020; Shangri-la.com, 2020).

Past study revealed that, hotels that adopt water-saving programs were able to reduce water consumption by 28% to 50% (Kasimu et al., 2012). Furthermore, encouraging hotel guests to behave frugally, in the means of reducing unnecessary consumption is suggested to reduce hotels' energy and water consumption and indirectly enhance cost efficiencies of the hotel. This notion was supported by Su et al. (2013) that mentioned simple and behavior-related measures could reduce 10%–15% of the energy consumption of hotels. Also, hotels can conserve 210,000 gallons of water and 143 gallons of detergent per year when customers reuse towels in the guest room (Dimara et al., 2017). As such, frugality could be a promising antidote in addressing the overconsumption issue in the hotel industry.

Theory of minimalism as the theoretical basis

Lloyd and Pennington (2020) provided the theory of minimalism. The notion of minimalism suggests for low-consumption lifestyle and a conscious decision to live with fewer possessions (Dopierata et al., 2017). It is said that, such minimalist approach offers life satisfaction, meaning, happiness and improved personal relationships (Lloyd & Pennington, 2020). Past studies found that, excess consumption materialism negatively affect individuals and the society (Kasser, 2002, 2005). For example, materialistic value negatively impact environment (Hurst et al., 2013), contributes to the financial debt (Garðarsdóttir & Dittmar, 2012), and detrimental to the personal wellbeing (Dittmar et al., 2014). This approach provides the ground for frugal behavior which suggests for being careful in everyday lifestyle and consumption behavior to limit consumption and to consume less.

The process flow

This study adopted frugality scale from Lastovicka et al. (1999) as the primary source of the items. However, this scale did not consider dimensionality of the constructs which this study attempted. Moreover, the scale developed by Lastovicka et al. (1999) is to measure general frugal behavior and not to measure hotel guests' frugality.

In developing hotel guests' frugal behavior (HGFB) scale, this study considered four phases which are (i) Defining the construct comprehensively and proposing the dimension based on the literature, (ii) Item generation, (iii) Selecting and validating the items by using content and face validity; and (iv) purifying the measurement items.

Phase 1: Conceptualization and dimensionality of the frugality construct

To conceptualize frugality, the extensive literature review was carried out. Frugality is defined as a consumer lifestyle trait characterized by the degree to which consumers are both restrained in acquiring and in resourcefully using economic goods and services to achieve long term goals (Lastovicka et al., 1999). Gatersleben et al. (2019) described frugality as an individual's restraint in acquiring and utilizing goods and services.

In addition to restraint and reduce consumption (Evers et al., 2018; Simpson et al., 2019), frugality also related to restraint and to be careful with

money. For this study, frugality is referred as a multidimensional construct that is reflected in resource minimization and care for money. Resource minimization refers as the degree to which hotel guests re-use and reduce the consumption of their own resources and hotel amenities while staying in the hotel. Conversely, care for money refers to the degree to which hotel guests restrain themselves from spending their money on acquiring products or services while staying in the hotel.

As such, this study defines frugality in the context of the hotel industry a multidimensional construct, which exhibits resource minimization and care for money.

Phase 2: Item generation

This study borrowed the scale from Lastovicka et al. (1999) as the basis. However, after reviewing literature, few more items were added to widen the scope of the scale. Moreover, items were categorised based on the nature of the dimensions.

Next, three interviews were carried out to understand whether the items are enough reflective to represent the meaning of the construct, dimensions and the context. In this process, all items were revised to suit to the research context (i.e., hotel industry) and few items were dropped based on experts' feedback. All items are measured using a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1= "strongly disagree" to 5= "strongly agree."

Phase 3: Item selection and preliminary validation

Two steps were involved in this phase which are content validity and face validity. Measurement items should display face validity and content validity as suggested by Cavana et al. (2001). Content validity is important to verify the representativeness of the items and to see how well the dimension of the concept is defined by the researcher (Sekaran & Bougie, 2016). Content validity was assured by seeking three experts' opinion on the measurement items. To perform content validity, three academicians were interviewed. The questionnaires were then revised based on the experts' feedback.

Next, the face validity was assessed which suggests for using the judgment of the research or scientific community to measure whether the items really measure the construct (Cavana et al., 2001). Face validity was assessed by interviewing ten post-graduate students from a reputed public university to

check whether the questionnaire items were readable and understandable. Therefore, the survey questionnaire was revised based on the suggestions.

Phase 4: Exploring dimensions and item purification

A survey was conducted to assist the researchers in enhancing and making the questionnaire more valid and understandable (Creswell, 1994). It also allowed the researchers to verify and/or to confirm the consistency of each measurement items measuring the variables in the study (Cavana et al., 2001; Sekaran & Bougie, 2016) and to test the internal reliabilities of the questionnaire.

A total of 150 individuals who are above 18 years old, have experience staying at 3-star and above hotel within the last four months. For this study, EFA was applied to extract the factor structure of the items for frugality and check for the dimensionality of the construct. From the analysis, two factors have been extracted; first factor consists of three items, and second factor also consists of three items. Two items were deleted because of the low factor loadings and communalities. Finalized items are showed in Table 1. The reliability test showed that Cronbach Alpha for frugality, was 0.763. Therefore, the results indicate that all constructs were reliable for the study.

Conclusion

The findings of this study contribute to the macromarketing literature in understanding the measurement and dimensionality of hotel guests' frugal consumption behavior. To the best of the researcher's knowledge, the present study is the pioneer to treat frugality as a multi-dimensional construct while previous studies operationalize frugality as a uni-dimensional construct.

As frugality is related to less consumption, which is in line with the green practices such as 3R principle (i.e., reuse, reduce, recycle), it is expected the green marketing strategies will positively affect hotel guests' frugality (N. Z. M. Sadom et al., 2020). Hoteliers and marketers should emphasize the importance of less consumption and avoidance of waste and relate it with the personal benefit and monetary gain. It is also suggested for the policy makers to design campaigns to encourage the nation to foster frugality which is to form a habit of saving and adopting conservation activities (i.e., saving

Table 1: Finalized items to measure hotel guests' frugal behavior

Construct	Items to Measure Frugality
Resource minimization	<p>1. There are many things that are normally thrown away in the hotels that are still useful (e.g., food during breakfast, shampoo bottle and leftover soap, old electronics and furniture).</p> <p>2. Making better use of resources while staying at the hotels makes me feel good (e.g., reducing water and energy consumption, not using all towels and toiletries, take only food that I can finish during breakfast buffet).</p> <p>3. While staying at the hotel, if I can re-use and reduce the item I already have (e.g., towel and toiletries), there's no need to ask for something new.</p>
Care for money	<p>4. I believe in being careful in how I spend my money while staying at the hotel (e.g., eat food in cheaper restaurant instead of buying food at hotel).</p> <p>5. I am willing to wait to choose a hotel that I want, so that I can save money (e.g., wait for online booking promotion, MATTA fair, etc.).</p> <p>6. While staying at the hotel, there are things I resist buying (e.g., expensive food and laundry services), so I can save for tomorrow.</p>

and reusing water and saving electricity in the daily lives and at to practice it anywhere they go.

Without a proper understanding of the frugality and its drivers, the over-consumption issue that plaguing the nation and the hotel industry will remain. Frugality is certainly crucial for the practitioners, academician and the government to comprehend. As Wooliscroft (2020, p. 53) mentioned in his paper, "Macromarketing is saving the world" and the world needs saving". Though the whole problem pertaining to sustainable consumption cannot be overcome overnight, the ongoing conversation and debate is needed to create better awareness, to find out effective solutions and eventually to create a better world to driven by better macromarketing mechanisms.

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Reimagining Hackathons as a Macromarketing Methodology for Community-Based Co-operative Social Entrepreneurship

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The purpose of this paper is to explore how a hackathon-based methodology can be utilised to stimulate socially innovative thinking and ideation that can inspire changemakers to tackle and solve some of societies 'grand challenges' and 'wicked problems' (Kennedy, [2016](#)). through a lens of social entrepreneurship.

Hackathons have evolved from being the preserve of the tech industry, drawing together programmers and coders to accelerate project development, to developing a broader application in health, civic, and educational settings. Thus, recently the hackathon has been reimagined as a fora that can produce multiple outcomes, based around innovation, networking, and product design and development (Cobham et al., [2017](#)).

This research will investigate how the hackathon model has been reframed and reimagined to engage young people and communities in the design of new, innovative, social ventures/social enterprises within various Welsh communities and regions. The reframing of this model has involved the transposition of hackathons from a tech setting to a broader community environment

where the context of ideation resulted in a “Hack of Kindness” methodology. The paper will demonstrate the applicability of the methodology to macromarketing methods and social value systems building (Kadirov, 2018; Layton, 2007) . As such it aims to make a potential contribution to shortfalls in macromarketing studies that have empirically explored ‘novel’ meso level marketing systems that attempt to disrupt existing or replace failed marketing systems (Peterson, 2016) to favour social, and environmental good above the profit motive.

The paper will draw on qualitative interview data with event organisers, key stakeholders and participants, both during and post event, to thematically develop what have been considered the key success factors of the approach, namely:

- A co-operative and non-competitive ethos reflecting the values of the social enterprise sector;
- Bespoke programme planning and delivery dependent on community needs and social issues;
- A pedagogy of action learning and the creation of immediate and potential value in the genesis of new,
- The development of socially innovative ideas that can then be tested post-event;
- The involvement of key community stakeholders such as funders, social entrepreneurs, and senior business support figures within the delivery of the events;
- The continuity of partnerships and relationships between participants, business support agencies, enterprise hubs, enterprise educators, and academic staff.

These findings will also highlight how a non-competitive approach has stimulated social innovation when compared to the standard competitive hackathon environs.

Finally, the paper will recognise how this methodology can be firstly applied in the content of future macromarketing studies and secondly in wider community participation and co-production as the world recovers socially and economically from the Covid 19 pandemic.

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Session II

Track *Degrowth*

Degrowth through the eyes of business students: fostering a sense of perplexity and critical thinking through learning diaries

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This paper will discuss the findings of 19 learning diaries of master students in management and organisation and marketing who attended the course Sustainable Organising in Times of Crisis in January-March 2021. The aim of the paper is to investigate how degrowth is perceived and understood by business school students whose university curricula is mostly structured around assumptions of economic growth. We contribute to the existing literature on degrowth in two ways: 1) to increase our understanding of how future generations see the concept and phenomenon of degrowth and 2) to improve our teaching methods of education on degrowth in business schools.

For the learning diary assignment students were instructed to “focus on the week’s lecture and guest lecture and accompanying reading material” as well as reflect on topics related to “sustainability issues that you have encountered in media / in your own life”. The students were instructed to include clear citations from the reading material. The learning goals of this assignment were to encourage students to create alternative scenarios of future business worlds in which economic growth is not a natural underlying

assumption of economic organizations. The reading material was in addition to lecture notes as follows: Ehrnström-Fuentes and Leipämaa-Leskinen (2019), Gibson-Graham (2008), Smith and Seyfang (2013), and Vlasov et al. (2020). The content of lectures, on the other hand, dealt with “Sustainable Transitions: Ecopreneurs, Grassroots Innovation, and Degrowth” by Maria Ehrnström-Fuentes and “Degrowth, back-to-the land ecopreneurs, and inner revolt” by Maxim Vlasov (guest lecture). The reflections in the diaries were brief, as the students were instructed to keep the length to about one page per learning diary (of five in total).

We coded the learning diaries according to the topic of lectures and articles. Our preliminary findings show that degrowth was a novel concept for the majority of the students and it caused some perplexity and confusion in terms of what it actually means in practice. Most of the students connected the meaning of degrowth with that of ecopreneurs and grassroots innovations, the two other topics of the lectures, and had trouble to think of economic organizations that are not built to grow and produce profits. Many small entrepreneurs make a strategic decision to stay small and make better profits (increased profits still contribute to economic growth although these ventures are small). Yet in this case the complexity of ‘profit-maximization’ was also discussed as some of the cases discussed during the lectures were not about producing economic values but about creating a more flourishing and nurturing environment. However, in the learning diaries the students did mix sometimes growth and profits assuming that without growth there is no profits. We also found that those students who had come in contact with degrowth previously in other courses, media discourses, or personal activism were able to make deeper reflections about the radical reorganization of societies and businesses needed in order to achieve degrowth. In addition, we found that some of the students had a more critical stand to the literature and lectures that connected degrowth with individual change processes (e.g., through ecopreneurs and grassroots innovations) pointing out large-scale mobilizations, rather than minimizing one’s own footprint, are more relevant if societies are to create a degrowth economy.

Based on our findings, we argue that the students perceive degrowth very differently depending on how they make sense of the word, and how they make sense of the world that they live it in. Instructors teaching degrowth in business schools need to take these differences into account when designing courses that include concepts that radically challenge the growth logics built

into contemporary economic theory. Putting together our findings and the learning goal of the assignment we can state that in order to better reach the learning goal encouraging students to create alternative scenarios of future business worlds, more material of concrete “degrowth examples” and theoretical knowledge that support such alternatives should be added to the course material.

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Transformative Branding — Exploring the Role of Branding in Marketing for a Better World

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Conceptualisation of Transformative Branding

Branding has recently garnered increasing attention when it comes to challenges and opportunities for marketing to more fully engage with its societal responsibilities (Berthon & Pitt, 2018; Conejo & Wooliscroft, 2015; Moorman, 2020; Vredenburg et al., 2020). This illustrates branding's emerging role in contemporary society as an agent for encouraging both market and societal change. This research introduces the notion of transformative branding to demonstrate how branding, a process conventionally undertaken at the firm level to achieve marketing management goals (e.g., brand equity, competitive advantage), can be conceptualised and implemented at a macro level towards prosocial change. In this vein, we add to research on exam-

ining branding through a macromarketing lens (i.e., Berthon and Pitt (2018) and Conejo and Wooliscroft (2015)).

Transformative branding is defined as a dynamic capability deployed by firms to facilitate stakeholder co-created brand meanings that draw on hybrid market and social logics. We contend that transformative branding encompasses two underlying activities that drive macro-level change according to hybrid logics. We suggest (1) building a vision for transformation through leadership and (2) implementing transformation through coupling. Shaping markets and society via these two activities creates opportunities for transforming economic, regulatory, socio-cultural, and political environments. More specifically, through supporting a new basis for economic exchange for the market system beyond profit maximisation (economic), using regulative power and influence to advance social and environmental justice (regulatory), reorienting consumer culture away from hyperconsumption (socio-cultural), and engaging in brand activism to bolster involvement in socio-political issues (socio-political), transformative branding works to challenge the dominant social paradigm from within the market system.

Further, transformative branding is conceptualised as a dynamic capability that can be enacted by a variety of market agents, including those that promote, encourage, and action social change (e.g. social enterprises) as well as organisations that do not have social change as their primary purpose. We suggest it is the collective actions of brands which shifts and transforms market and social systems, one brand's actions alone, although impactful will not action immediate institutional changes.

By identifying leadership and coupling as concrete and specific market-shaping activities of transformative branding, we offer a useful way to unravel the 'how' of market shaping towards market and social change. As such, we envision transformative branding as a pathway towards societal transformation that envisages a more sustainable future.

Future Research Directions

We introduce transformative branding as a first step towards understanding how branding can operate as a process towards prosocial change. We also advance a number of future research directions to help develop a flourishing field of research. Future research on transformative branding as a dynamic capability should identify other possible market-shaping activities and

propose measures of the effectiveness of such activities as conduits for market and societal transformation. There is also scope to explore the cumulative potential arising from 'context-sensitive micro-level' actions that enable widespread change (Beverland, 2014, p. 378) i.e., how the prosocial actions of an individual brand prompts other brands and actors to follow. There is moreover the need to more fully consider the ethical implications of transformative branding. This could examine the 'darkside' of transformative branding e.g., those firms and stakeholders that only claim to be transformative, but do not engage in market-shaping activities. In particular, future research should examine cases where discrepancies exist between transformative corporate discourse and dynamic capabilities, towards developing checks and balances for legitimate transformation. Lastly, future research could similarly build on emerging research on the darkside of market shaping (e.g., Cova et al. (2021)).

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Session III

Track *Sustainable Business*

Sketching Consumers' Experiences of Access-based Fashion Consumption

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COVID-19 has critically changed our world and lifestyles, prompting some consumers to change their fashion consumption. Driven by factors such as financial circumstances or awareness of sustainability, an increasing number of consumers have been sharing fashion items with others instead of buying them (Baek & Oh, 2021). This consumption behaviour, called access-based fashion consumption or fashion sharing, allows consumers to temporarily access fashion items without ownership and includes renting, borrowing and co-ownership. Recent studies, such as Won and Kim (2020), focus on consumers' intentions and considerations for engaging in access-based fashion consumption particularly on online sharing platforms. However, research is still needed on the fashion sharing experiences of consumers to gain a deeper understanding of this phenomenon.

By using content analysis, this work aims to explore the characteristics of consumers' sharing practices based on consumer-generated content, which is publicly available on Instagram. This presentation seeks to contribute a nuanced understanding of access-based fashion consumption during this particular time. In addition, this presentation will explore how COVID-19 influences consumers' experiences of fashion sharing, contributing more broadly

to addressing the paucity of research addressing consumer experiences in times of global threat.

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Session IV

Special Panel *The Effect of Covid-19 on Food Consumption Patterns: A Global Study of the Pandemic and Implications for Food Marketing Systems*

The Effect of Covid-19 on Food Consumption Patterns: A Global Study of the Pandemic and Implications for Food Marketing Systems

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Ahmet Ekici Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey

Presentation: Impact of Covid-19 on Food Consumption Patterns in Turkey

Forrest Watson, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey

Ahmet Ekici, Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey

Presentation: Impact of Covid-19 on Food Consumption Patterns in Germany and the Netherlands

Marcellis M. Zondag, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, MI, USA

Lena Steinhoff, University of Rostock, Rostock, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Germany

Benedikt Alberternst, Freie Universität Berlin, Berlin, Germany

Presentation: Impact of Covid-19 on Food Consumption Patterns in the U.S.

Russell J. Zwanka, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, MI, USA

Marcellis M. Zondag, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, MI, USA

Ann Veeck, Western Michigan, Kalamazoo, MI, USA

Presentation: Impact of Covid-19 on Food Consumption Patterns in China

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Hong Zhu, Northeast Normal University, Changchun, China

Hongyan Yu, Sun Yat-sen University, Guangzhou, China

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The novel coronavirus (COVID-19) is the most dangerous global health emergency in recent history. As of March 15, 2021, the pandemic had spread to 223 countries, areas, or territories, resulting in 120 million confirmed cases and over 2.5 million deaths worldwide (World Health Organization, [2021](#)). Epidemics and pandemics, particularly ones requiring quarantines, not only cause widespread illness and death but can lead to acute interruption of economic systems and everyday consumption activities. With its global reach, Covid-19 has been particularly disruptive of markets, including food marketing systems. This special session, with linked papers, reports on an ongoing global study of the effects of the pandemic on food marketing systems. Specifically, the research addresses the following questions:

- How did food marketing systems change as a result of the pandemic?
- How did psycho-social factors influence the changes?
 - Sense of agency (Bandura, [2006](#), [2009](#))

- Perceived knowledge (Park et al., 1988)
 - Coping strategies (Carver et al., 1989)
 - Positive and negative emotions (Devonport et al., 2019; Evers et al., 2018)
- How does the influence of the psycho-social factors vary according to nation, demographics, and social and physical distance from infected individuals?

This research project had its origin in February 2020 when the coronavirus first began affecting daily life in China. At that time, we conducted a nationwide survey in China, resulting in over 1,000 completed questionnaires. As Covid-19 became a global pandemic, we added other nations and additional international researchers to our project. To date, our research team has administered a common survey in the U.S., Netherlands, Germany, U.K., Qatar, Turkey, and Iran.

The survey questionnaire asks a number of questions related to how food marketing systems were altered at the peak of the epidemic, including changes in food shopping, preparation, and consumption practices. Topics include the use of alternative market channels, the stockpiling of food, and preventative diets. The questionnaire also includes scales that examine the risk profile of consumers, including sense of agency, coping strategies, and anxiety levels, both at the general and the food-focused level. Standard demographics are also part of the questionnaire, such as age, occupation, income, and household composition. Respondents were also asked how relationally and physically close they are to known virus-infected patients. The survey also includes eight open-ended questions related to how eating and shopping patterns have changed during the epidemic.

The special session reports findings from the survey in five nations: Turkey, Germany, the Netherlands, the U.S., and China. Major changes in food behavior will be reported, as well as the links among sense of agency, emotions, coping strategies, and perceived knowledge of the pandemic. The special session will end with a discussion of the commonalities and differences among the nations. Ultimately, our findings are intended to provide recommendations related to how food marketing systems can be designed to be mobilized for emergencies. In addition, this research aims to extend a theory of consumer agency by examining the dynamics of agency during a disaster, as well as providing a more holistic understanding of the connections

between the characteristics of food marketing systems and well-being (Block et al., 2011; Bublitz et al., 2013).

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Session V

Track *Food*

Providing Nutrition Information on Restaurant Menus: A Systematic Review

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According to the Food and Drug Administration (FDA), approximately a third of all calories consumed are from foods purchased away from home (Food and Drug Administration, 2018). Additionally, over the past 20 years, the United States obesity rate has grown dramatically and was last estimated at 42.4% in 2017-2018 by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) (Hales et al., 2020). In an effort to curb the obesity rates in the United States, the "Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act of 2010: 124 Stat. 119" (2010)(ACA) of 2010 included a provision that mandated that all restaurants that had more than 20 locations included caloric information on their printed menus and menu boards for regular menu items. The intention of this provision was that by providing nutrition information on the menus and menu boards at chain restaurants, consumers would be exposed to the information and that it would inform their decisions resulting in healthier decisions being made when ordering items from the menu. This paper intends to provide a systematic review of the evidence in peer-reviewed journal articles about the efficacy of this provision of the ACA, to identify gaps in the current literature, as well as avenues that could be pursued for future researchers.

Research Methods

To begin this systematic review of the literature in the area, the authors performed a broad search of all articles that assessed the impact of nutritional information labeling on restaurant menus or boards, after implementation of ACA in 2010. To prevent limiting the search to a specific range of articles (Webster & Watson, 2002), entire online databases of EBSCO Academic Search Premiere, EBSCO Business Source Complete, EBSCO Health Source Nurse and Academic Edition, MEDLINE, ScienceDirect, and PsycINFO were searched. Key terms were searched individually and in combinations to capture the provision of nutritional information in menus at restaurants. They included keywords such as, 'restaurant(s)', 'menu', 'calorie labeling', 'nutritional information', and 'impact'. The search was extended to include all relevant articles published until June 2020. Additionally, the reference list of two previous systematic reviews was also scanned to include relevant literature (Long et al., 2015; Sarink et al., 2016).

A preliminary search resulted in 3750 articles. Post removal of duplicates, the following inclusion and exclusion criteria was applied. Only papers in the English language and published after the enactment of the ACA were included. Webster and Watson (2002) suggest that a complete review should cover a topic but not restrict itself to a specific methodology, hence this review included all study designs, including qualitative methods. Papers that focused on a minority or special group such as children, or parents who influence their choices, were excluded as were papers beyond the geographical scope of the ACA, i.e., outside of the United States. Article titles and abstracts were then scanned for relevancy. In line with the objective to evaluate the impact of menu calorie labeling in the presence of federal law, studies that focused on formats beyond calories, e.g., traffic lights, physical activity symbols, sodium or fat content, were also excluded. After removal of articles that did not meet the criteria, entire texts were scanned for relevancy, and articles not pertinent to the study objectives were further removed. Quantitative studies within the remaining articles were then assessed according to a checklist based on the Effective Public Health Practice Project (EPHPP) quality assessment tool for quantitative studies (Armijo-Olivo et al., 2012). After alignment between the authors, articles with weak EPHPP ratings were also excluded. The final result was a total of 16 publications that were included in the review.

Results and Discussion

This review differs from the previous ones in the same area based on its focus on only studies that were conducted after the implementation of the ACA 2010. The included studies included dependent variables such as the calories or nutritional values of the meal choices made following menu exposure, the perceptions of the restaurant, the sales of the menu items, and evaluations or perceptions of the menu itself. After assessing the studies included in this review, we conclude that menu labeling with nutritional information is a low cost intervention that shows positive outcome effects in consumer decisions and, at a more macro level, consumer well being. This review concludes that with the role of several moderating factors the presence of nutrition labeling had an overall influence on reducing calories consumed. There was a reported decline in consumption of higher caloric food items (such as regular salad dressing vs. low fat and tacos), and an increase in purchase of non-alcoholic beverages (Auchincloss et al., 2013; Krieger et al., 2013). There was also a positive impact of nutrition labeling on self-reported purchase intentions and awareness of calorie information (Feng & Fox, 2018; Gala et al., 2018; Krieger et al., 2013; Larson et al., 2018; Vaccaro & Huffman, 2018).

However, there were four key areas where we identified gaps in the literature that we suggest future researchers explore in order to provide a more complete picture of the effect of providing nutrition information on menus. First, this systematic review of the literature shows that only a limited number of articles have examined awareness of nutrition label results as well as a measure of socioeconomic and race-ethnic differences. Given the effect of menu labeling on purchase decisions, it is necessary to take into account varying socioeconomic positions and race differences and to create programs and interventions that specifically seek to include all groups. In the long term it may be necessary to move beyond simple menu labeling and offer products that are reformulated with lower calories to remove the onus of caloric understanding from the individual (Kemper & Ballantine, 2017; Sarink et al., 2016).

Second, most of the studies in this review were restricted to fast food items, a category in which higher caloric content and perceptions of being unhealthy may be taken synonymously. More recently, there has been an increase in consumption of high caloric food products deemed as 'superfoods' within higher socioeconomic groups in Europe and North Amer-

ica, leading to a greater demand for products that may be rich in calories but still considered healthy (Reisman, 2019; Wetters et al., 2018). Superfoods have been described as foods that are appealing and calorie dense such as chocolates (Rozin, 2005). There is a need for further exploring such emerging trends in consumption that change how the balance of calorie consumption and impact on health is viewed by individuals.

Third, only one article included in this review takes into account the health context and dietary restraints that individuals place on themselves when making food choices (Droms Hatch, 2016). Past research has shown that food choices can be complex and influenced by a number of factors including culture and heritage, convenience, body image, income, mood, and situational context (Delores, 2004; Deshpande et al., 2009; Neumark-Sztainer et al., 1999). Consumption decisions may further be influenced by health guilt (or the absence of it) resulting in choices that are moderated by the influence of such emotions (Burnett & Lunsford, 1994). It is suspected that accounting for such factors would further moderate purchase decisions as well as the how much the labels are noticed by individuals when examining restaurant menus.

Finally, policy makers focus on implementation of nutrition labels to help address obesity and food related health issues. However there is little in the literature that aims to understand the impact of nutrition labeling on groups with existing eating disorders. One study (excluded from review due to eligibility criteria) by Haynos and Roberto (2017) focused on examining the effects of nutrition labeling on disordered eating. They found that participants with anorexia nervosa and bulimia nervosa ordered significantly less and those with binge eating disorders ordered significantly more in the menu labeling condition. Advances in technology have led to increased use of calorie tracking mobile apps that encourage calorie restrictions (Tsai & Wadden, 2005) that may have psychological impact on individuals when presented with nutrition labels. There is a need for future research to understand if the benefits of menu labeling outweigh the disadvantages it may pose for certain groups.

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“Nutritional-Score” Pricing Effects on Food Pantry Selections

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Introduction

Approximately one out of ten households in the U.S. experienced food insecurity in 2019 (U. S. Department of Agriculture, 2020). Food pantries have taken on an important role by helping those with both short term and persistent food insecurity by providing free food to those in need. Compounding the issue of hunger is the problem that diet related health issues and chronic disease are far too common in households of food pantry clients (Weinfield et al., 2014). That food insecurity could lead to obesity and chronic disease is a counterintuitive association, yet it is a pernicious issue effecting the quality of life for many. As a result, improving the healthfulness of the food that food pantry clients take home can play an instrumental role in improving clients' health. Because quality of life is a key pillar for macromarketers (Shultz, 2007), steps that can improve the health of such vulnerable populations are important areas to study. Marketers are uniquely positioned to help food pantries in this task; for example, this study examines one way to encourage clients to

make healthier food choices at the food pantry.

The way food pantries distribute food has changed over time. Instead of handing out set prepackaged bundles of food, pantries are increasingly arranged for clients to choose their own food (Remley et al., 2013). There are pros and cons to this approach to distributing food. First, if clients pick foods they want then they are more likely to consume it, compared with a fixed basket of predetermined items. In essence, this approach cuts down on the societal problem of food waste (Aschemann-Witzel et al., 2018). Second, as normalcy is an important construct to consumers (Baker, 2006), allowing clients to shop for their own food approximates a standard shopping experience and helps preserve the clients' sense of dignity. The drawback is that allowing choice allows for the choice of less healthy food. To help with this issue, many different approaches have been examined to explore what could be done to encourage healthier decisions in a food pantry (An et al., 2019). One type of food pantry intervention that has not been examined is incentives through the food budget. Food pantries are viewed as a "price-less environment" (Wilson, 2016, p. 131). Clients do not have to spend money and can typically select a specific number of food items from the pantry. However, the food pantry still has control over the budget constraint of food pantry customers. Namely the food pantry can adjust the relative price of each food item by making some items count more (or less) against the total number of specific food items for the month. This research examines how adjusting this relative price to incentivize healthier food choices at a food pantry affects client choice of unhealthy food items.

We examine the effects of the change in the relative price of food on the selection of less healthy food items in the context of a field study conducted over a two-and-a-half-year period. The remainder of the abstract describes the context of the field study. The analysis of the data shows the intervention, i.e. relative price change, resulted in fewer unhealthy items chosen by food pantry clients. However, the effects of this intervention were not uniform across all clients.

Background

The Des Moines Area Religious Council (DMARC) Food Pantry Network implemented a change to one food pantry location. The goal was an intervention to enhance healthy eating patterns of their clientele in a client-choice food

pantry system. Using funding from a grant from the Community Foundation of Greater Des Moines, DMARC launched a pilot program to incentivize healthy choices and make the experience more like grocery shopping environment. In this new environment, clients are given a total budget of 36 points per household member per month to use in selecting food items. These points are then spent on food where each food item is given a price ranging from one (e.g. fresh vegetables) to five points (e.g. sugary breakfast cereals). The point structure, called Nutritional-Score, was designed by a registered dietitian nutritionist to rate the healthfulness food items so that healthier items were given a point score of one. The least healthy items were given a point score of five.

Data

Beginning in September 2017 the intervention was implemented. However, to make a proper comparison to the data collected prior to the intervention, we must account for several factors. First, the types of food available and selected by clients varies by season. To account for this, we identify the three months corresponding to the baseline period as Summer and the three months (September, October, and November) following the baseline period as Fall. Second, to ensure any changes in observed behavior are the result of the intervention as opposed to a different set of clients visiting the food pantry, we limit our data set to clients who visited at least once in the baseline period and at least once more in the Summer or Fall through 2019. This gives us a total of 3,498 observations across 403 people. As the total count of less healthy food items (Nutritional-Score of 4 or 5) was collected by DMARC's systems both before and after the intervention, we can directly compare the count of less healthy food items after the intervention.

Analysis

To understand the effects the intervention had on clients, we build a model to predict the count of less-healthy items selected by clients in our limited sample. We propose the use of a zero-inflated Poisson (henceforth ZIP) model to analyze the data as it improves the overall model fit and allows two distinct segments of food pantry clients. The ZIP model treats the observed data as

a mixture of these two latent distributions, Poisson and Bernoulli. As such, this model is flexible in a way that allows pantry clients to adjust to the relative price changes by viewing less-healthy food items in a non-compensatory manner, i.e. avoiding less-healthy items altogether, or in a compensatory manner, e.g. choosing fewer less-healthy items due to the higher cost.

We use Bayesian methods to estimate the model for two main reasons. First, Bayesian methods allow us to use exact, non-asymptotic inference, which is an advantage since we have a limited sample size. Second, Bayesian inference does not rely on p-values; instead, it facilitates answering questions that align with our research interests by conditioning on the available data.

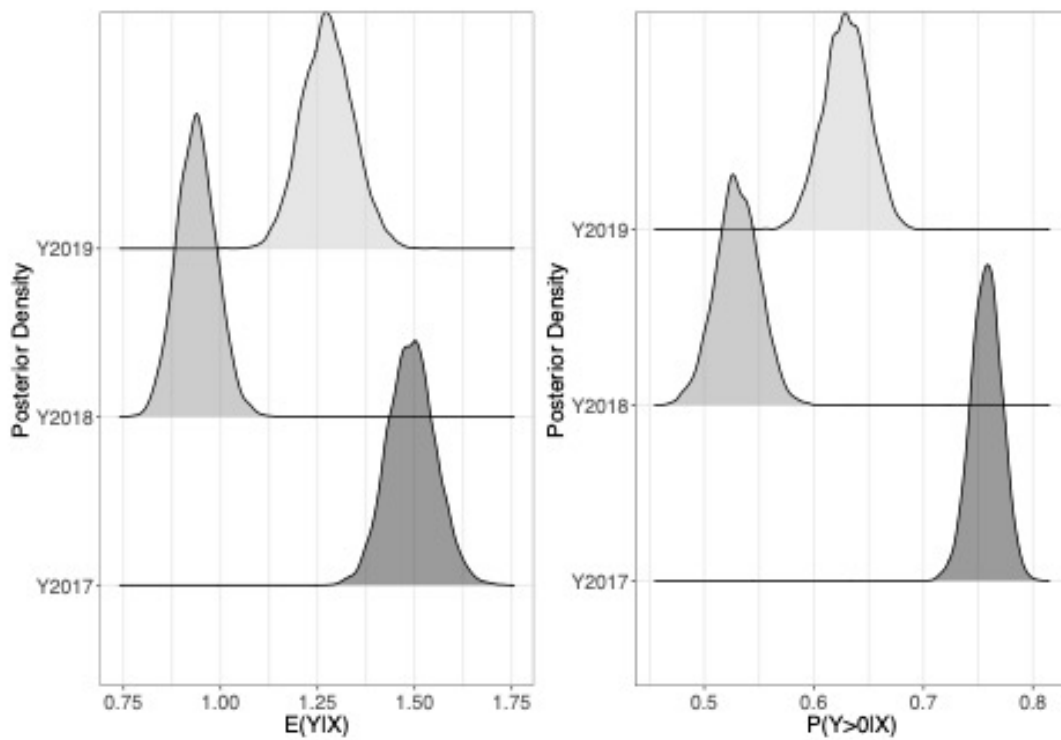
Results

In what follows, we examine posterior distributions of relevant quantities to assess the impact of the nutritional scoring program. We find that, in the short run, comparing the three months before the intervention to the three months following the intervention, clients choose fewer less healthy items after the intervention. The probability that the incentive decreased the expected number of less-healthy items in the short run is estimated to be 0.7828. The probability of choosing any less-healthy item also decreased in the short run with the posterior probability of a negative effect estimated to be 0.9736, indicating strong evidence in favor of the desired outcome on this metric.

To assess the long-term effects for a representative pantry client, we compare posterior distributions for the summer prior (2017) to the intervention to the analogous posteriors for the two summers following the intervention (2018 and 2019). Specifically, Figure 1 shows posterior distributions of the expected number of unhealthy items (left) and the probability a client will select an unhealthy item (right). A similar pattern is apparent for both metrics. That is, the expected value of the number of less-healthy items and the probability of choosing at least one less-healthy item are highest in the pre-period of summer 2017. Both metrics saw a dramatic decrease in the summer of 2018 followed by a slight increase in the summer of 2019. However, even after this increase, there were still fewer less healthy items being selected by food pantry clients.

Upon further exploration of the long-term data, an interesting pattern emerges when we examine the two distinct sets of segments in the ZIP distribution, e.g. the segment of clients who will not choose a less healthy food

Figure 1: Posterior distributions of the expected number of less-healthy items, $E(Y | x)$, and the estimated probability of choosing at least one less-healthy item, $P(Y > 0 | x)$, for a typical food pantry client, in summers of 2017, 2018, and 2019.



item compared with the segment who would be open to choosing some number of less-healthy items. We find that the decrease in the average number of less-healthy items selected after the intervention is almost entirely driven by clients who avoided the less-healthy items altogether. Specifically, we find that the proportion of clients unwilling to consider less-healthy items became larger and stayed larger, going from approximately 5% of clients to approximately 20% of clients from 2017 to 2019. However, we do not find any sound evidence that the intervention resulted in fewer less healthy food items selected by those clients in the segment willing to choose less healthy items.

Conclusion

Overall, our results show a dramatic shift in the selections made by the food pantry clients. We find healthier food choices followed the intervention of linking the relative price of food to nutritional quality so that less healthy food consumed more of the client's budget. Of particular importance is how this change occurred. This change was not homogeneous, instead it was driven by a segment of the total sample. The proportion of individuals who avoided selecting any less healthy item increased dramatically after the intervention. However, a large proportion were still willing to choose items that were less healthy, and the intervention had little effect on this segment of our sample. This could mean that the health benefit of the intervention is concentrated in a relatively small segment of food pantry clients.

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How Do Agricultural Stakeholders Perform Institutional Work Through AI? — A Macromarketing Perspective

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This paper offers a macromarketing perspective of how agricultural markets evolve through institutional work performed by diverse stakeholders deploying artificial intelligence tools. In recent times, artificial intelligence-based disruptions have been rapidly transforming the food industry and more agricultural practitioners and food marketers have turned to data science and artificial intelligence for enhancing efficiency, scale and sustainability outcomes (Intel, 2019). Artificial intelligence-based tools usher in novel machine-to-machine and machine-to-human interactions into agricultural markets, which affects growing, harvesting, packing, processing, marketing, consumption and disposal of food (Strange & Zucchella, 2017). More importantly, the deployment of AI in agriculture is transforming relationships amongst agricultural businesses and their stakeholders, giving rise to tensions and ethical concerns on data privacy and ownership as well as new forms of cooperation. We make the case that AI in agriculture is germane to the macromarketing discipline, as it addresses societal problems of food insecurity but also creates conflicting interests amongst different stakeholders (Shultz, 2007). We

focus on the various forms of institutional work, which is “the purposive action of individuals and organizations creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions,” (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006, p. 1) enacted across AI-based agricultural markets. In this theoretical paper, we ask:

1. How do agricultural stakeholders maintain institutional practices (for example, farming techniques used by ancestors) while adopting AI tools?
2. How do stakeholders create new markets by deploying new AI tools?
3. How do new forms of tension and cooperation emerge among stakeholders deploying AI tools?

Marketing scholars such as Närvänen et al. (2021) recently discussed the nature of institutional work in food waste reduction. However, mainstream macromarketing scholarship is how diverse stakeholders embrace, maintain and resist institutional arrangements brought about by emergent technologies. Our work, which is at the intersection of macromarketing, institutional theory and technology, would address the above gap.

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Unhealthy Food Marketing To Children and Youth: Shifting From Offline to Online

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Introduction

Obesity can be regarded as one of the most alarming health issues in the society. Especially unhealthy diets of children and youth have become an increasingly severe macro-level problem across the world, witnessed in the high rates of childhood obesity (Robinson, [2017](#)). Particularly diets including sugary drinks, other high sugar products (e.g. sweets and desserts), low-fibre products and red meat are shown to predict increase in weight (Fogelholm et al., [2012](#)). The obesity issue is a good example of a wicked problem that is complex, multi-layered, and not solvable through simple initiatives (Kemper & Ballantine, [2017](#)). A reduction of advertising of unhealthy food and beverages has been introduced as one of the most effective ways to reduce obesity (Gortmaker et al., [2011](#)). In this study, unhealthy food products refer to food products containing high levels of fat, sugar, or salt (De Jans et

al., 2019). Highlighting the topicality of the issue, the UK has recently published plans to completely ban online marketing of unhealthy food products to lower the increasing obesity levels (Sweney, 2020).

Unhealthy Food Marketing to Children Viewed Through a Macromarketing Lens

Marketing of unhealthy food products has been proposed as one of the main reasons for the current obesity situation (McAllister et al., 2009) and especially unhealthy food marketing targeted at children is a severe concern (World Health Organization, 2019). Studies have suggested that the major portion of food marketing to children focuses on unhealthy food products (De Jans et al., 2019). This is a powerful example of the close connection between the systems of marketing, markets, and society, and 'the impact of marketing systems on the society' (Hunt, 1981, p. 8). As studies have demonstrated how broadly children are exposed to the marketing of unhealthy food, policy-makers have taken different types of marketing regulations and guidelines into action (e.g. Lwin et al., 2020). Furthermore, several voluntary efforts such as the EU pledge (i.e. food companies' pledge to change food advertising to children) have been initiated in order to protect children.

The evolvement of technology and the internet have created new contexts for marketing systems (Layton, 2007) and raised new relevant questions about marketplace change (Shultz, 2007). Today, traditional marketing communications channels such as television and radio cover only a narrow portion of the marketing environment surrounding children, while the role of digital marketing has become more significant. The statistics estimate that the amount of time children spend online has exponentially grown during recent years. For instance, watching influencers' videos on YouTube has taken a major portion of children's media consumption (Anderson, Jiang, et al., 2018). However, not much is yet known about online marketing to children and studies have already argued that the current regulations originally created for offline channels are not similarly applicable to the online environment (De Jans et al., 2019). Unhealthy food marketing to children shifting from offline to online environment represents a different type of market system entailing new types of concerns, which need to be understood.

The Purpose of the Study

Similarly to traditional media channels, studies indicate that unhealthy food products dominate the advertising in social media (Coates et al., 2019; Folkvord et al., 2019). The still rather unregulated online platforms have become a popular arena for food marketers to target the young audience (Smit et al., 2020). Studies have shown the powerful impact of the bond between, for instance, the social media influencer and children/youth (Smit et al., 2020). These so-called parasocial relationships are characterized by interactions between influencers and their followers which differs from traditional marketing utilizing popular cartoon characters or celebrity endorsement (Folkvord et al., 2019). However, not much is known about the phenomenon of unhealthy food marketing to children in social media. This study attempts to address this gap. The purpose of this study is to describe and analyze the social media content generated by social media influencers and food companies to market unhealthy food products to children.

Methodology

The study utilizes a netnographic research method, which includes several operations in four different categories: (1) interrogatory operations consisting of initiation of the study, (2) data-collection operations consisting of investigation, immersion, and interaction, (3) data analysis, interpretation, and integration operations, and (4) presentation options for conveying results, implications, and innovations (Kozinets, 2019, pp. 137-138). In the initiation phase, the study was planned in a way that the collected data would correspond to the aims of the study. After this, the data generation started with an explorative approach to investigate, which social media channels were worth closer scrutiny and what are the best practices to collect data (Kozinets, 2019, p. 213). Finally, the data consisted of social media postings (pictures, text, and videos) published by social media influencers and food companies to promote unhealthy food products. The data was generated in three popular social media channels utilized by youth: YouTube, Instagram and TikTok. The postings were searched by using hashtags commonly used by social media influencers to indicate a commercial collaboration and by visiting social media profiles of food companies. The collection of the data occurred between August 2020 and February 2021. Altogether 141 postings

were gathered, all of which are set in the context of online food marketing in Finland and published in 2019-2021.

The first step of the data analysis was to become familiar with the data. The data was open-coded inductively. Two researchers conducted the first round of analysis, using the analysis software Atlas.ti, which enabled a systematic way of coding the features identified in the data and detecting recurring themes. The second analysis step focused on the rhetorical tactics utilized in the postings (e.g. Zhou et al., 2020). The classical division of ethos, pathos, and logos was utilized (Aristotle, 1954); 'ethos' referring to the rhetorical ways in which the communicators convince their trustworthiness, 'pathos' representing the communicators' emotional appeals aiming to get the emotional involvement of the audience, and 'logos' referring to a persuasive technique convincing the audience through logic and reasoning. This type of analysis allows us to gain understanding about the persuasion modes within the ever-changing landscape of food marketing on social media, and to reconsider the regulations and policies regarding marketing of unhealthy products to children and youth.

Initial Findings

The analysis process is still ongoing. The initial findings reveal that the food marketing sphere taking place in the online world is often at odds with the governmental and voluntary efforts to protect children from unhealthful marketing. This is an important finding as there is a strong societal pressure to reduce and regulate digital marketing of unhealthy food to children globally (World Health Organization, 2019). When shifted to social media platforms, marketing of unhealthy food targeted to children seems to gain new dimensions and features. These include social media influencers eating and drinking unhealthy food items in different types of everyday life situations, playing with food, and even sometimes encouraging their followers to try to do the same or to post their own versions of the original picture or video. In some cases, the marketed unhealthy food products are being presented as a part of a healthy, regular diet, which especially questions the role of the food marketer enhancing the well-being of children and youth.

Concluding Discussion

The study will shed light on the complex food marketing environment in social media, which surrounds children and youth in their everyday life. In social media, the boundaries between commercial and non-commercial content as well as social and parasocial relationships are often blurry, and these blurry boundaries are especially challenging for children to cope with. In this environment, also the persuasive techniques are different when compared to traditional marketing channels. For instance, seeing their favorite vlogger testing an unhealthy beverage might appeal to children in ways no television commercial would.

This study is of interest to macromarketing, as it shows how social media can be instrumentalized to market unhealthy food products to children and youth – a marketing practice that may have severe consequences to quality of life in the society in terms of healthy diets. Being quite strictly regulated in traditional marketing channels, unhealthy food marketing to children has largely been shifted to less regulated online platforms. This shift has not only changed the location of the problem but also created new types of dimensions to the issue, which were in the focus of this study. Studying the ways how markets work is at the core of macromarketing (Shultz, 2007). Thus, in order to find paths to develop food marketing systems so that they would better support healthy diets and protect the vulnerable consumer group of children, a profound understanding of the unhealthy food marketing to children in the online environment is highly important.

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Plant-Based Meat: An Exploration of Consumer Adoption of Novel and Innovative Food Products

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Global animal agricultural systems contribute to an array of interrelated environmental, social and economic issues including food scarcity, climate change, and habitat and biodiversity loss. Driven by both product innovation and growing consumer demand, the market for more sustainable, plant-based alternatives to meat and other animal products is growing. In order to identify potential means of facilitating dietary shifts and product adoption, this research sought to understand the knowledge and consumption practices of plant-based meat substitutes. To address this, 24 semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with users and non-users of plant-based meat substitutes in New Zealand. Findings indicate that awareness and adoption of plant-based meat substitutes were largely centered on social practice. Online and offline social networks enabled the spread of shared meanings and competencies regarding the acquisition, preparation and consumption of plant-based meat substitutes, which in turn facilitated transformations of social norms and attitudes. However, in order to enable widespread dietary transformations away from unsustainable animal-based systems, both production and consumption side solutions are advised. Policies are needed to support supply-side shifts that expedite production and consumer access

to sustainable alternatives, and demand-side efforts are needed to further disseminate new meanings and competencies to shift consumer preferences.

Session VI

Track Marketing History

The Formation of the Transgenic Food Market in Brazil: A Historical Analysis of the Controversies Reported in *O Estado de São Paulo*

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Transgenics are genetically modified organisms (GMOs), which can be plants, animals or microorganisms, "which have had DNA introduced into their genetic material from the same or other organisms" (Rocha & Marin, 2011, p. 3340). Transgenic foods, also known as Genetically Modified Foods (GMF), were introduced in Brazil in 1998, after the National Technical Commission on Biosafety (CTNBio), an organ of the Federal Government, authorized Monsanto's production of herbicide-tolerant (Brasil, 2020; Marinho & Minayo-Gomez, 2004). Brazil is the second largest producer of transgenics in the world (Cropplife Brasil, 2020). Transgenics accounts for 94% of Brazil's soybean crop and 84% of its corn crop (Abrasco (Brazilian Association of Collective Health), 2018).

GM foods have become socially and academically relevant in Brazil (e.g. Camara et al., 2009; Marcelino & Marques, 2018; Ribeiro & Marin, 2012; Rocha & Marin, 2011) and have received substantial news coverage (e.g. Globo, 2017; magazine, 2018; Uol, 2018). Part of this visibility was derived from Bill 34/2015, which provides for the removal of the polarization generated in

the identification of transgenics in food labels (Federal, 2019). While some important agents believe that transgenic food is safe and is a way to increase food production (Camara et al., 2009; Pimentel, 2010), there are those who believe that it can cause problems for human health and the environment (Abrasco (Brazilian Association of Collective Health), 2015b; Barbeiro & Pipponzi, 2005; Idec (Brazilian Consumer Protection Institute), 2019).

The production, marketing, and consumption of GMF involves a wide range of agents. The relations between them can have quite different aggregate consequences. There are farmers, producers, ruralists, non-governmental organizations (e.g., Greenpeace), scientists, government Camara et al. (2009), associations (e.g., the Brazilian Association of Collective Health (Abrasco)), commissions (e.g., CTNBio), and consumers on both sides of this issue. Table 1 shows some of these groups present in the transgenic food market and their positions.

Regarding the seed production market, “the Brazilian market is highly concentrated around the German Bayer, which acquired Monsanto and the Monsoy brand in 2018” (Medina, 2021, p. 236). With the exception of the national Brazilian Agricultural Research Corporation (Embrapa), crops released in Brazil use transgenic technology and pesticides produced by the six large transnational companies that also lead the transgenic sector at a global level: Monsanto (United States), Syngenta (Switzerland), Dupont (USA), Basf (Germany), Bayer (Germany) and Dow (USA) (Repórter Brasil, 2013). The high degree of market concentration places Brazilian farmers in a vulnerable situation given the evident asymmetry between these companies and small producers.

While large farmers tend to defend transgenic foods, small farmers tend to question its use, despite also prioritizing the economic aspects — whichever is more profitable (Almeida et al., 2015). The uncertainties, for the authors, affect more when these farmers are in the position of consumers, as they claim that they prefer to eat foods that are not transgenic. However, the farmers who are most critical of food, especially those linked to social movements, “showed more conviction about the harm of these crops to health and the environment”, in addition to “tend to emphasize the negative sociocultural impacts presented by this technology”, since “the perverse side of transgenics would be in their threat to the independence of small producers, to the control of companies over seed production and to small-scale agriculture in general” (p. 211). As for scientists, it can be said that they permeate some

Table 1: Interest Groups Involved in the Different Sides of the Controversy over Transgenics in Brazil

Groups	Stances on the use of transgenic foods
Farmers	There are farmers against and in favor of transgenic food.
Manufacturers – Multinational companies	They are in favor of the production of transgenic food.
Ruralists	The ruralist sectors, which for years have occupied parliament in the so-called ‘ruralist bench’, pressed for more liberalizing biosafety legislation. Therefore, they support the use of transgenic food.
Non-Governmental Organizations — Greenpeace and Brazilian Consumer Protection Institute (Idec)	They are against the use of transgenic foods because they understand that they can pose risks to health and the environment.
CTNBio	It supports the use of transgenic foods and is the commission responsible for issuing conclusive technical opinions, in addition to other attributions.
Abrasco	The association states that the effects of transgenics on health and the environment are not yet sufficiently known, and emphasizes that the cultivation of transgenic seeds, usually in a monoculture regime, has resulted in an increase in the use of pesticides. Therefore, among other factors, they understand that food can pose risks to health and the environment.
Government	Anti-transgenic discourses are built from left-wing political discourses and scientific discourses, and pro-transgenic discourses are built from scientific discourses and, in the beginning, Monsanto’s discourse (linked to right-wing politicians).

Developed by the authors based on Abrasco (Brazilian Association of Collective Health) (2015b), Almeida et al. (2015), Brunelli (2011), Fernandes and Assunção (2017), Marinho and Minayo-Gomez (2004), Medina (2021), and Repórter Brasil (2013)

of the groups highlighted in Table 1.

It is observed that the technique of transgenics came with the so-called Green Revolution (Pinazza & Alimandro, 1998), which began in the 1970s, and gained strength with the idea that the use of the technique could increase production, and, consequently, reduce the hunger problem (expanded in the face of great wars) (Pinazza & Alimandro, 1998). In addition, some researchers reject the idea that transgenic foods are a solution to fighting world hunger (e.g. Alvez et al., 2019; Pinazza & Alimandro, 1998), since an increase in production alone will not guarantee food security, because the food still has to reach everyone.

It is also emphasized that, as stated by Fernandes and Assunção (2017, p. 19), "the introduction of genetically modified plants in agriculture is a product of the period of neoliberal globalization". Silva (2015) reports that the logic of global development in agriculture can be observed in Brazil more sharply in the 1970s, with the expansion of neoliberal policies and the entry of multinationals into the field. It is in this sense that Fernandes and Assunção (2017, p. 19) emphasize that the decision-making process in Brazil, regarding transgenic foods, "responds more to the interests of the industry than to those of the environment and public health". Thus, following the movements of modernization of the field, in 1998, in Brazil, the first transgenic soy was released. At the time, the president of the republic was linked to the right. In 2003, despite the president of the republic being linked to the left, he was faced with the "fait accompli" situation, and "to the surprise of the social sectors that supported him, he gradually formalized the illegal planting of transgenic soy" (Fernandes & Assunção, 2017, p. 19).

It is worth noting that the following problems have been pointed out: a) an excess of pesticides in transgenic techniques (Abrasco (Brazilian Association of Collective Health), 2015b; Barbeiro & Pipponzi, 2005; Idec (Brazilian Consumer Protection Institute), 2019), with some herbicides being extremely toxic (Abrasco (Brazilian Association of Collective Health), 2015a); b) a lack of post-marketing monitoring (Ribeiro & Marin, 2012); c) there is little knowledge about its adverse effects (Marcelino & Marques, 2018; Valle, 2015); d) studies of risk assessment of the use of biotechnology over the long term are still incipient and controversial (Ribeiro & Marin, 2012); and e) a worsening of weed problems, in addition to the displacement or extinction of native plant species (Bauer-Panskus et al., 2020).

This scenario makes this a relevant object of study based on the concept

that “markets are sites of conflicting practices that raise controversies over their very organization” (Blanchet & Depeyre, 2016, p. 41). Controversies can be defined “as dispute processes during which actors make sense of a situation by confronting their interests, beliefs, values, and opinions with those of others, and, in so doing, elaborate social facts” (Blanchet & Depeyre, 2016, p. 50).

Kjellberg and Helgesson (2007) have demonstrated that a historical perspective makes it possible to understand the creation and restructuring of markets, as well as the reconfiguration of agents in these contexts. Markets are performative, existing only from practices guided by the often-conflicting interests of agents (Kjellberg & Helgesson, 2006, 2007). Considering the performance of markets contributes to a better understanding of marketing systems (Lloveras & Ntounis, 2014). In the particular case of GM foods, the controversies can be seen in any point of this “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 products, services, experiences and ideas”; and “that emerge in response to or anticipation of customer demand” (Layton, 2011, p. 259). Although science does not yet know for sure about the potential negative consequences of the production, marketing and consumption of GM foods, it is evident that such possibilities may reach large levels of aggregation, which may have a direct impact on social well-being.

The aim of this research was to analyze, from a historical perspective, the controversies regarding the transgenic food market as reported in an important Brazilian newspaper, *O Estado de São Paulo*. We map all newspaper articles using the keywords “transgenic food” - in the online version of the newspaper. We found more than 1,200 articles, between 1998 and 2020. We noticed, however, that there was a period that concentrated of the articles, between the years 1999 and 2003. In such a period of time, not only did the relative size of the news increase, but also frequently made the covers of the newspaper. Our understanding is that the subject has gained public notoriety. When analyzing the articles, we also observed that the articles started to present different positions from the agents present in the field, indicating strong controversies. Thus, this research, part of a broader research project, analyzes the existing controversies in articles published in a large Brazilian

newspaper with national circulation about GM foods.

O Estado de São Paulo was chosen because it is considered one of the main newspapers in Brazil (Lins & Alves, 2021), founded in 1875. Regarding the newspaper's profile, Fonseca (1997, p. 115) emphasizes that the newspaper occupies "a singular role in the press, acting as a 'private apparatus of hegemony' in favor of the liberal cause, under which it chooses the defense of capitalism and political/economic domination, or, in a word, the 'status quo'".

To Witkowski and Jones (2006), historical research applied to marketing can draw on a variety of sources (e.g., newspaper articles). We consider the newspaper to be an entity that represents the actions of several actors, and thus can reveal representational practices (Kjellberg & Helgesson, 2006), as Merabet and Barros (2021) did when they analyzed the formation of the organic food market in a trade magazine.

As for the results, first it is worth emphasizing that the newspaper is a non-human actor which often exerts pressures the release of GM foods in this country, influenced by clear pressure from other countries such as the United States, which already had a robust market in 1999, and multinational firms such as Monsanto. This goes in the direction of Fonseca (1997), when he emphasizes that the newspaper is inclined towards the defense of capitalism. Despite this, the policy of the government of Brazil remained unclear until 2003, following the example of Europe, which was more restrictive in the use of these foods and imposed moratoriums and comprehensive labeling rules.

We observed several agents with conflicting interests in the transgenic food market, such as NGOs, including Greenpeace and the Brazilian Consumer Protection Institute (Idec), scientists, political agents, commissions, other agents related to the environment, ruralists, farmers and related agricultural institutions, social movements, commissions and councils of a variety of natures. There were so many conflicts that despite the permission granted by CTNBio in 1998 for the production and commercialization of Monsanto's transgenic soybeans, Idec was granted a court injunction barring this permission and this decision was only modified in 2003. The big question at the time was that Idec - and other institutions and scientists - argued that more research was necessary about the effects of transgenics on human health and especially on the environment, since by law CTNBio was able to waive an Environmental Impact Study, as it did in this instance (O Estado de São Paulo, 2003).

Despite the judicial ban, pressure from various agents resulted in the publication of Provisional Measures throughout this period, approving 'illegal soybeans' in some crops from Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil to avoid financial losses. Even with the ban, articles reported the contraband and full production of transgenic soy. Informality - and illegality - also pushed for the release of GMF production and trade in 2003. Although experts have described the food as safe for human health and there is no evidence indicating environmental risks (and there is even evidence of its benefits, since these foods require less pesticide use, for example, which contradicts the research mentioned above), concerns over the government's lack of definition in terms of the health and environmental risks of these foods still appear in some articles.

It can be said that the articles from 1999 and 2003 show conflicts regarding the production and marketing of transgenic foods, but at the end of 2003 and in other years it was observed that the discussions were more focused on labeling issues (but the controversies continued). Based on the results, it can be said that transgenic foods are far from being unanimous and that there are two sides: production, which involves cost reduction, increased competitiveness, and market expansion; and consumption, which questions the premature entry of transgenic foods, as there is still no complete guarantee that such foods are safe for human health and the environment and the consumer's right to know what they are consuming. Thus, it can be said that the controversies about transgenic foods have pitted ruralists interests and large farmers (and other agents related to them) on one side in favor of production and marketing and less stringent labeling rules to reduce costs, increase competitiveness and expand the market, against environmentalists (and other agents related to them) who are against transgenic foods and favor strict rules for the labeling and tracking of this type of food production, questioning whether such foods are safe for human health and the environment, and arguing that consumers have the right to know what they are consuming.

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Marketizing New Zealand's WW1 Nurses for a 21st Century Fit

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Introduction

War and armed conflict, invariably marked as a key event in the history of a nation, provide fertile ground for historians and heritage makers. Marketers leverage this opportunity to provide audiences with a rich assortment of consumption products that enable memory, whether it be in the form of history, legend, or myth. The products of war can become powerful brands with equity built on their ability to evoke strong emotions and capture collective symbolic meanings for a nation or group (Holt & Holt, 2004). Memory and myth, whether based purely on factual account or repurposed for a better 'fit' can be profitably wrapped into products (Hawkins, 2015), such as books, commemorative events, children's toys and stories, films, and touristic structures and landscapes (for example, museums and dark tourism offerings).

The aim of this paper is to demonstrate how a historical event packaged as an iconic heritage cultural brand can be marketized and modified over time to ensure brand longevity and continued emotional commitment and loyalty through the leverage of stories and associations more closely aligned with modern day audiences. Our study focuses on the New Zealand (and Australian) Anzac brand and how one hundred years from the end of WWI,

the New Zealand Army Nursing Service (NZANS), previously given little attention as a key actor in the ANZAC effort is becoming aligned with the Anzac brand. We consider what purpose this fulfils in the creation and sustaining of the Anzac story overall and highlight the ways in which recently the nurses' story has been marketized to add intensified and expanded meaning to the Anzac brand and appeal to the tastes of contemporary audiences and brand stakeholders by providing a valuable lever for marketization and continued societal cultural values. To date, there is a scarcity of marketing analysis that examines the marketization of history and its role in iconic cultural branding. By focusing on New Zealand WWI nursing as a co-opted narrative in the Anzac brand, this work contributes to the understanding of how marketers package and contemporise history for appeal to audiences through both sustaining and reworking cultural branding.

Conceptual Framing

Marketisation of history

The process of marketization pertains to the opening up of an industry to market forces whereby the adoption of market or quasi-market practices ideally results in greater efficiency, effectiveness, and responsiveness (Grafton et al., 2016; Hall et al., 2012). Giesler and Thompson (2016) have recently suggested marketization as an 'institutional disruption'. Memory influences marketization over time and acts as a social process (Brunk et al., 2018). Thompson and Tian (2008, p. 597) describe marketization as a "mythologized representation of popular memory that serves the competitive and ideological agenda of one commercial producer that can function as a contradictory, and identity devaluing, counter memory for another". Marketization also has the capacity to silence other alternatives (Halbwachs, 1992; Lipsitz, 1997), where the past may be refashioned iteratively to challenge or displace history as understood into a competitive product for the market (Brunk et al., 2018). History can be constructed and stored for dissemination in a way that serves a predominant world view or preferred way of thinking. Historical events can be told directly as they were recorded by sources at the time, or sometimes, while kept essentially correct, may be used to achieve other goals, either through a process of distortion or reframing. The increased access and capabilities of media makes history more accessible to multiple

audiences. Branding of a historical event is thus closely tied to the marketization of history. Historical events that become 'branded', particularly those that reach an iconic status (Holt & Holt, 2004) have great capacity as vessels for narrative and myth, symbolism and tangible commercial products that reinforce cultural meanings drawn or emerging over time of the historical event.

Cultural iconic brands

Successful brands represent deeply held socio-cultural values and relations in a community, thereby helping to sustain and reinforce a sense of belonging, unity and continuity (Kravets & Öрге, 2010). Strong association with dense cultural and symbolic values open to exploitation along with consumption products and commercial artifacts enables a brand to assume value beyond its nominal exchange value (Brown et al., 2003; Holt & Holt, 2004). By performing myths, brands feed cultural desires and through complex interactions and high symbolic content meet society's desires and address cultural contradictions and ambiguities (Holt, 2006; Holt & Holt, 2004; Urde & Greyser, 2015), thus providing a lever for marketization. Embodiment of cultural values can lead to brand iconization, which also allows for culturally driven branding, use of imaginative resources and myth creation through a "complex interaction among businesses, consumers, influential actors (e.g., connoisseurs) and popular culture (e.g., movies)" (Kravets & Öрге, 2010, p 208). Cultural brands do not always incorporate a tangible product or indicate a producer but are "symbolic forms that stand for dominant ideals, ideas and values in a given society" (Kravets & Öрге, 2010, p. 205). As an event, a war that significantly changes a nation's image or circumstance has the capacity to become a brand, just like tangible goods, people, or ideas. Soon after the earliest battles in which ANZACs fought, in both Australia and New Zealand it became very apparent that the term Anzac had significant symbolic and commercial pull (Hawkins, 2015). War history that is shaped into an iconic cultural brand becomes an efficient repository for stories and myths that can radically transform society (Kravets & Öрге, 2010; Manning & Uplisashvili, 2007) and become embedded in national and collective identity. For heritage war brands to remain relevant, they must continue to reinforce their values through new avenues, revitalised for a contemporary market (Urde & Greyser, 2015; Urde et al., 2007).

Time periods and Sources

The paper examines the early years of the 20th century and particularly the years of WWI (1914-1918). Analysis examining current marketization is attributed to the context of the present day. Sources include contemporaneous documents from digitised copies of Kai Tiaki (the Journal of the New Zealand Nurses Association) and newspapers on the Papers Past website. There are also several available published memoirs, diaries and letters by nurses of the time. Recent articles and books detailing the work, organisation and experiences of First World War nurses have provided interpretations and analysis (e.g. C. Hallett, [2011](#); C. E. Hallett, [2014](#); Kendall & Corbett, [1990](#); Rogers, [2003](#), [2018](#)), and given that much of the contemporaneous media accounts of the day were highly mediated by censorship. Information drawn from a fragment of a vast volume of resource available on the 'WW100' website has also been a valuable resource.

Study Context

The ANZACS

New Zealand took the call to arms in August 1914 seriously, as too did other parts of the British Empire (Defence Department, [1924](#)). In December 1914, troops from the First Australian Imperial Force and First New Zealand Expeditionary Force joined forces in Egypt to become the Australia and New Zealand Army Corps, soon becoming known by the acronym ANZAC. ANZAC troops fought collectively and separately in some of the most inhospitable landscapes and brutal battles of WWI. The group first saw military action on the Gallipoli Peninsula on 25th April 1915, with an amphibious landing at Gaba Tepe beach, now known as ANZAC Cove. Following Gallipoli, from 1916 troops were deployed to the Western Front, where several further now infamous battles saw the same mass casualties and loss of life as the failed Gallipoli venture. For New Zealand, overall losses in WWI were extremely high, amounting to a 58% casualty rate, (Defence Department, [1924](#); Fox, [2016](#)).

The WWI New Zealand Army Nursing Service

New Zealand nurses' enthusiasm to enlist was at first met with resistance from both the NZ Government and military leadership (Maclean, 1932) a job believed best undertaken by male medical doctors and medical orderlies, with battlefields considered no place for women (who would be, if anything, a distraction). Finally recognising the benefits of Australian and New Zealand nurses being present to tend to their own (Press, 1915), 550 NZANS nurses served overseas from 1915-1918 (Studholme, 1928), working under extremely challenging conditions and with significant risk to themselves, especially if working on hospital ships anchored offshore in close distance to enemy fire (Rogers, 2018). Upon demobilisation and return home in 1919, several months after Armistice, NZANS nurses attempted to pick up their normal lives back in New Zealand. Unlike their male counterparts, nurses were not offered land or subsidies made by the Government in recognition of service. While some married and left nursing, those that remained were often physically exhausted and living with similar psychological traumas soldiers did.

Marketisation of the ANZAC brand and the ANZAC nurse

The ANZAC effort is today remembered not only for the sacrifice paid to the motherland but ardently regarded as a symbol of the dawning of nationhood for Australia and New Zealand (McCreanor et al., 2019; McGibbon, 2018). The history and legend of the ANZAC particularly pertains to the April 25th, 1915 landing at Gallipoli and plays an important role in New Zealand culture, encapsulated as the Anzac story, reflecting the collective identity and young nation symbolism that today exists as a "prominent and enduring cultural symbol" (Holt, 2006, p. 357). The heritage and attributes of Anzac endow it with iconic cultural heritage brand status. The term ANZAC/ Anzac has a shared and deeply emotional meaning for Australians and New Zealanders, protected by law in both countries. The marketization of the Anzac story and its emotive culturally embodied message has ensured the continuance of meaning into the conscience of new generations of New Zealanders, packaged in a way that is both memorable, relevant and appealing. The occasion of one hundred years since WWI saw a programme,

'NZ WW100' (<https://ww100.govt.nz/>) that ran through 2014-2018. As part of that remembrance, a proliferation of country-wide initiatives took place: commemoration services, documentaries, histories, displays, children story books and entertainment films.

Very early in the post-war period however it became obvious that nurses were not considered part of the emerging Anzac legend, a product of the times, where women were still considered dependent on men and the role of nurses secondary to that of the soldier (Rees, 2008). Although early Anzac celebrations in Australia and New Zealand saw nurses marching in processions, by the late 1920s in Australia nurses were either absent or marched with the boy scouts (Harris, 2017). It is claimed by many authors that the work of the NZANS, until more recently, was more or less set aside as they did not portray the desired imagery or place relegated for women in the WWI Anzac story and therefore not a fit with the brand's personality. The question is raised as to why now these nurses are being profiled and foregrounded within the traditional well-established Anzac cultural landscape. Both the NZANS and its Australian counterpart, the AANS, although working closely with ANZACs, were never considered part of the ANZAC force per se, which was born in Gallipoli as a gendered male fighting concept. We suggest that the role New Zealand nurses played in WWI is now recognised for its marketability to further bolster the Anzac story and meet public demand for popular consumption of history. However, we would also contend that a newly aware audience wants a more nuanced story, and that younger women, in particular, crave more active and assertive role-models as part of the Anzac legend. Female nurses meet this need, and have, for this reason been incorporated and re-worked into key commercial heritage outputs, such as the First World War commemorative exhibition at Te Papa Museum, Wellington and in the ANZAC Girls TV series. The NZANS, as an integral actor co-opted into the Anzac brand story, provides another layer of social capital to complement what has until recently been held tightly around the Australian and New Zealand men who fought in the conflicts as the core essence of the brand. The nurses' stories, told through modern media, create vivid memory markers and are indeed more interesting than any dry historical account of, for instance, development of the WWI nursing service, that would have previously been the most desired medium for dissemination of history.

Packaging the Anzac nursing story within the marketization of the overall public Anzac brand and its narrative is valid. It has appeal to many audi-

ences and demonstrates that women played a vital role at and just behind the front line and were not all passive actors waiting at home for the end of the war. The brand creation of the nursing service through media, public interest in history, and narratives arising from the stories of heroism and loss adds another layer of richness to the Anzac story. Today, across Australia and New Zealand recognition of the annual Anzac Day Dawn Service is far from dwindling. Continued marketization, which keeps brand associations and attachment high serves to ensure that the Anzac story is retained. The history of the NZANS in WW1, arguably worthy of elevation to an iconic service brand itself, has a great deal of agency today as part of the Anzac story overall, serving many functions within it. Mayes (2018) suggests in a popular press piece that it is women who will be the traditional guardians and keepers of the Anzac tradition and rituals going forward, so it is imperative that the Anzac brand narrative and associations are made increasingly relevant for them.

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How Fast Became Normal: Temporal Rhetoric in 20th Century U.S. Advertising

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This paper interrogates the macro, cultural meanings surrounding time in consumer culture, specifically as they relate to the phenomenon of social acceleration in modern societies (Rosa, 2013). Using Roland Barthes' theory of cultural myths (2012) and a methodology inspired by Barthes' Rhetoric of the Image (1977), this paper asks: "How did fast become normal? And what was the role of marketing?" A semiological analysis of historical advertisements in the 20th century United States reveals how repeated representations of time helped naturalize the cultural myth of "time is money" in modern consumer culture, and thus the normalized belief that time is a resource to be spent, invested, or otherwise wasted. Twenty-one themes are identified, each showing a unique aspect of the social beliefs surrounding time. This research lays important groundwork for understanding how macromarketers can engage constructively with social issues stemming from a hastened temporality.

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Session VII

Track *Social Conflict and Market Dynamic*

Social Conflicts and Market Dynamics

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Markets, small and large, can engender social conflict or reduce it. This reality begs important questions about the interactions among markets, marketing, policy, consumption and society that lead to peaceful and prosocial outcomes in/for markets or hostility and lose-lose outcomes. The purpose of this track is to explore these quintessentially macromarketing issues, from various perspectives, and to consider ways markets and marketing can be instruments of conflict resolution and sustainable prosperity.

Social conflict occurs when persons, groups, or social sub-segments pursue mutually exclusive or incompatible objectives (Kriesberg, 2007). Studies of social conflict include Marx's work on class struggles (Marx and Engels 1848) and the emergence of western (e.g., Homer 750 BCE / 1950) and eastern civilization (Mo Tzu 5th BCE in Watson 1967). Manifestations of social conflicts are legion, including for example, resources conflict, social movements, and violent conflict such as riots and war (e.g. Deutsch, 2006; Shultz, 2015); conflict between organizations in the market (Lewin et al., 2011, e.g.), and in in customers' dissatisfaction with services (e.g. Weiermair, 2000).

In some cases, social conflicts have been used to promote a particular market (e.g. Chaudhury et al., 2020), in others social conflicts diminish the market. The consequences of unchecked social conflict can vary; social conflict that escalates can retard investment and decrease market produc-

tivity (Burkink & Marquardt, 2009), creating social ideological divisions that foment distrust (De Dreu & van Knippenberg, 2005), Barrios et al. 2020), and reduce the probability of mutually satisfying conflict resolution (Manfredo & Shultz, 2007). Such outcomes adversely affect the well-being of producers, distributors, retailers, consumers, and society in general (e.g. Barrios et al., 2016; Shultz et al., 2005; Sredl et al., 2017).

Marketplaces, when well managed – inclusively and justly – have the capacity to resolve conflicting ideologies and/or to buffer the impact of conflict on individual’s well-being (e.g. Barrios et al., 2019). The session includes scholars who will discuss different macro perspectives regarding how and why markets create and exacerbate, exploit, or reduce and resolve social conflicts, the outcomes on societal and consumer well-being, and plausible methods for deeper and more useful understanding.

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The Dynamics of Markets and Social Conflicts: The Case of Colombia's 2021 Protest

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Social conflict, especially when systemically violent, is an insidious condition that clearly decreases the well-being of consumers and societies, potentially on a massive scale (Deutsch, 2006; C. J. Shultz, 2016). It occurs when two or more interacting persons or groups pursue zero-sum or incompatible objectives (Deutsch, 1973). Studies of social conflicts can be traced to many sources and events, including for example class struggles and to the very roots of civilization (e.g. Tuchman, 1984).

Social conflicts are not limited to individuals fighting for their freedom, against repression or over scarce global resources; they also manifest in our mundane, everyday interactions. We face several consumption-conflicted situations in daily life, such as customer-dissatisfaction or disenfranchisement in response to merchant behaviors and policies. However, these mundane conflicts can escalate, including attacks on brands (Kucuk, 2019), product boycotts (Commetric, 2020) and boycotts of entire countries (Hyslop et al., 2006), which in varying degrees may raise concerns about market ideologies and the extent to which market economies and marketing systems compound problems or offer solutions.

In this presentation we explore, through Macromarketing lenses (e.g. Barrios et al., 2019; C. Shultz et al., 2020), the Colombian protests that have occurred since April 28 of 2021, and likely will continue up to and beyond

our presentation at the 2021 Macromarketing Conference. These protests started as a response to tax reform, and rapidly escalated into violent acts from both government and protesters that have severely affected the country. At the time of this writing, more than 50 people have been killed and 578 people injured due to violence (Deutsche Welle, 2021)); economic losses are estimated to be approximately 2.88 Billion USD (Vargaz, 2021). These events/measures are horrifying; that they are occurring in the middle of a COVID peak, which has killed 80,000 people, is unthinkable and requires difficult questions regarding conflict management, governance and market dynamics, if we are to ensure peaceful resolution and just outcomes, now and going forward.

Our analysis will draw on theoretical and conceptual foundations to identify the economic, social, political, and market related factors that have created/exacerbated this conflict, and can mitigate and ultimately resolve it (e.g. Barrios et al., 2016)(Deutsch, 2006)(DeQuero-Navarro et al., 2020; Laczniak & Shultz, 202; C. J. Shultz, 2015; Sredl et al., 2017). Initial findings from ongoing field observations, depth interviews and secondary reports will be shared, for the purposes of informing participants regarding events in Colombia, to generate macromarketing discussion vis-à-vis equitable and peaceful resolution of conflict, and to shape policy and practices in ways that facilitate a more inclusive, equitable and sustainable marketing system for Colombia and its citizen-consumers.

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Making Black Lives Matter — Becoming an Anti-Racist Marketing Academy

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In a commentary in the Ruby Anniversary issue of the *Journal of Macromarketing*, “A Macromarketing Call to Action—Because Black Lives Matter!” (Francis, 2020), I express the hope that scholarship that acknowledges and addresses structural and systemic racism would be catapulted into more prominence. I note that, “(r)ooting out systemic racism from all aspects of marketing will require the largely White research complex to courageously acknowledge the systemic racism of their own field. If we aim for transformative rather than performative change, every area should be subject to interrogation.” And I ask the question, “How might we reimagine the marketing field as anti-racist?” (Francis, 2020, p. 142).

In this presentation I will discuss what it means for the marketing academy to be anti-racist given that, “(p)ower and privilege operate across a range of academic pursuits—most notably in the review process, but also in the training, recruitment and support for doctoral students, the development of more racially inclusive pedagogy, and the running of conferences” (Francis, 2020, p. 142) among a range of other areas. Marketing is not the only discipline to have taken notice of systemic racism (“Americian Economics Association”, 2020). Across the globe, faculty members and students in universities have made extensive demands to address research and pedagogy as well as university culture, practices and norms (Ballard et al., 2020). University administrations have responded by putting out statements that “Black Lives Matter”,

by agreeing to charters (e.g., the Scarborough charter in Canada¹), committing to racial diversity and inclusion strategies, and developing targeted, hiring and scholarships.

Yet, against this flurry of activities, we are reminded that similar moments of racial reckoning have produced limited systemic changes. For example, in chronicling the events that led to racial reckoning at Duke University in 1969, with the occupation by the Afro-American Society of the Allen building, Segal (2021) challenges the idea that real change was achieved. The prevailing narrative of change, he concludes, “overlooks the powerful shape-shifting resiliency of traditional racial attitudes at Duke. . . . Duke deployed an array of strategies to resist change, even when faced with protest. Change, when it did occur, came very slowly because racial inclusion was never a core value of the university”.

How can we make racial inclusion a core value of the marketing academy? The presentation will draw on a number of theoretical and conceptual foundations including critical race theory, afro-pessimism, post-colonial theory and decoloniality that recognizes the multiple ways in which the colonial project and racism embeds itself in the marketing academy as discussed in Francis (2020). From the impact of endowments from racist benefactors such as Edward Colston and Cecil Rhodes (Kearns, 2020) to the racist ideas of “academic luminaries”, marketing scholarship is also founded on disciplines that have been shown to be deeply rooted in racist ideas such as the imagined ideas of “western civilization” that “. . . is explicitly white supremacist.” (Kennedy, 2019) or have been complicit by its silence on race such as in the field of economics (Koechlin, 2019).

The presentation will discuss ways in which a truly anti-racist academy can emerge so that a diversity of ideas can flourish along with the faculty and students of color.

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Examining Interactive Value Formation and Beneficiary Value in Development Programmes at the Bottom of the Pyramid

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In this paper, we argue for a need for a closer examination of the value creating dynamics arising from and in targeted development interventions in developing countries. These interventions led by Western actors generally aim to provide methods and resources for developing local, communal self-sufficiency, improving social and economic networks and creating a foundation for democratic development. Yet rarely the final value is taken into account when considering outcomes and assessing impact. For instance, importing Western-Eurocentric economic models to developing countries is a practice frequently criticised for extending paternalism, neo-colonialism and excluding the local experience, particularly that of women (e.g. Bonsu & Polsa, [2011](#); Varman, [2019](#)). In a similar vein, research on value co-creation at the bottom of the pyramid (BoP) has followed a logic of value co-creation that buttresses the 'neutrality' of the beneficiary discourse in this literature (Vargo & Lusch, [2004](#)).

Several authors in the BoP literature (Bonsu & Polsa, [2011](#); London et al., [2010](#); Parthiban et al., [2021](#)) have highlighted the relationship between busi-

ness development and poverty alleviation. BoP producers may have limited opportunities to create and capture value due to various constraints, such as the lack of resources and power, keeping them trapped in poverty. In their study, Parthiban et al. (2021) focus on technology-mediated awareness and engagement creation between rural artisans and their urban customers that enables co-creation and allows to capture value. Many successful BoP ventures initiated by social entrepreneurs, rest on altruist motivations whereby the goals are not only to be profitable, but to 'make a difference' in the lives of BoP families. According to Carlton et al. (2013), social entrepreneurs have learned how their business concept would fail unless local social partners with faces and places were brought into the market creation and product development / distribution process. With this the traditional firm-centred stakeholder view is replaced with decentred stakeholder networks that are perceived as jointly created and equitably shared partnership view: partnerships are needed to create social and economic value at the BoP. London et al. (2010) demonstrate mutual value creation and the importance for ventures sourcing from BoP producers to link the farmers closer to non-local customers in order to better respond to different market preferences. Similarly, multinational corporations should adapt their business practices at the BoP markets: Esko et al. (2013) stress the importance of including local partners and NGOs in the value chain to increase legitimacy, include local knowledge and diminish institutional barriers for market participation.

Recognizing that firms must reconsider the traditional Western mindset on business models, partnerships and relationships in the BoP context (Parthiban et al., 2021), value creation discourse rests on the assumption that value is universally beneficial and jointly created by the producer and the customer through the construction of mutual goals. This draws less attention to possible negative outcomes of value creation. In BoP development interventions negative value may appear during or at the end of a well-intended interaction programme as value is manifest through relationships that are unequal in influence and resource endowments (that is, power). Adding a critical dimension to the mutual benefit approach of the BoP-value co-creation nexus, we connect theoretically with recent discussion on interactive value formation (IVF; (Echeverri & Skålén, 2011, n.d.; Makkonen & Olkkonen, 2017). IVF provides a neutral point of departure whereby relationships and practices in which resources are shared allow for value to become created and / or destroyed. IVF has previously been theorised in commercial and public

projects from mostly the provider perspective and focussing on why collaboration fails (Diaz-Méndez & Saren, 2019; Järvi et al., 2018; Makkonen & Olkkonen, 2017; Prior & Marcos-Cuevas, 2016). Power disparities in the relational dynamics and resource dependencies can create conflict in several ways; nevertheless, theorization of such conflict is typically omitted in the value literature (e.g. Laamanen & Skålén, 2015).

Development interventions are projects that include international aid providers' (intergovernmental institutions, NGOs and business organizations) and local beneficiaries amongst whom interactive relational dynamics (including resource dependencies) develop but in unequal power and resource contexts. Of particular interest here is the development of relational dynamics over time in terms of the resources provided and managed in these relationships. Our research question considers existing development programmes in context and asks to which extent do well-intended development programmes create value in interaction with the local beneficiaries and beneficiary networks? Empirically we focus on the relational dynamics of IVF in two development interventions in Cambodian and Ugandan communities. These are two programmes initiated by Western aid organizations to empower women in the Global South by creating entrepreneurial capacity and infrastructure amongst a wider network of beneficiaries. Our analysis of the two cases follows a longitudinal ethnographic engagement approached from the perspective of both the international and the local actors.

- a. Case 1, Cambodian women-led agricultural cooperatives: 14 focus groups among smallholders, 10 interviews with buyers and six workshops with local field teams since 2018
- b. Case 2, Ugandan agricultural community; Five interviews including views of NGO representatives and a local entrepreneur 2021.

A large Western NGO initiated the Cambodian case. The study among the female smallholders within agriculture demonstrates the need for continuous planning based on the daily needs of the beneficiaries. The first study in 2018 indicated how collaboration among the smallholders is required to offer higher production volumes. These higher volumes provided economic value not only for the farmers but also for the buyers. The group, rather than the individual farmer, becomes an interesting partner for potential buyers who benefit from establishing long-term partnerships with trusted partners. Thus,

collective value was created and can be labelled as relationship value. Subsequently, it was necessary to start building clear relationships between these producer groups and buyers to guarantee all members the same possibilities as it turned out that some of the most active and capable producers were utilizing the contacts occasionally for their own purposes thus potentially creating negative value for the others.

Similarly, a large Western NGO initiated the African case. It illustrates the need for a proper timeline and planning in the local context of investing and building a small agricultural firm, in this case a chicken farm to guarantee value co-creation on the whole community level. If the planning follows a solely Western perspective, there is a risk that not enough attention is paid to the whole value chain and resources such as time and money are used to strengthen the production facilities rather than making a social impact and creating value for all beneficiaries equally. To tackle this problem, it was essential for a NGO to get a commitment from the local authorities and also include the private sector in the project. By establishing a sustainable ecosystem with several beneficiaries, here the chicken farm, the smallholder farmers providing maize not only to the farm but also to several other buyers, the private sector providing essentials, and the government supporting the community initiative, a development project can become sustainable. In practice, a dynamic way of planning is essential for continuity that guarantees a longitudinal aspect also when the NGO withdraws from the project.

In conclusion, the development programmes benefit from well-planned and effective collaboration of non-profit, profit, and governmental organizations building sustainable ecosystems and creating longitudinal mutual value. Our initial analysis shows that in addition to economic and other well-being impact, the development programmes we studied created both positive and negative value for beneficiaries. When it comes to both positive and negative value, if the value is unequally distributed in the project network, then there is also potential for conflict. Thus, when looking at the impact of development projects also negative value and the value distribution would be important to investigate to guarantee success and prevent conflicts.

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Social Conflict and Market Dynamics: The Case for Meta-Analysis

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This working study begins with some rudimentary assumptions vis-à-vis Macro-marketing. Firstly, it is the study of interactions among markets, marketing and society (of Macromarketing, [2021](#)); the formation and impact of marketing systems on society and society on marketing systems (Hunt, [1977](#)). Functioning marketing systems create economic and societal value by facilitating the creation and exchange of products, services, experiences, and ideas (e.g. Layton, [2007](#)); malfunctioning or devastated marketing systems disrupt or eliminate such creation and exchange, and accordingly harm people, economies and societies (e.g. C. J. Shultz et al., [2005](#)). Marketing systems that deliver valued goods, services, experiences and ideas enable fulfillment of consumers' needs and wants, thus serving as an important instrument for positive Quality of Life (QOL). Balanced versus imbalanced marketing systems directly affect members' QOL with positive and negative effects occurring in proportion to imbalances (Sirgy, [2021](#); Sirgy et al., [2001](#)). A framework for understanding the "balance" in those systems, which in turn can shape policy and practice to ensure people and communities flourish, is useful and developmental (C. Shultz et al., [2021 \(forthcoming\)](#); C. J. Shultz et al., [2017](#)). Constructive engagement, particularly with distressed or devastated marketing systems, is imperative to enhance the well-being of stakeholders in/of the systems – including the most vulnerable people in it or disenfranchised

from it (C. Shultz et al., 2020). Macromarketing research and subsequent practice will benefit from the advent and application of new or novel-to-macromarketing methods intended to distill large aggregations of data in lucid and meaningful ways, to shape further understanding, policy and practice.

Flourishing marketing systems typically will adapt to gradual changes in internal and external conditions – and subsequent variances in consumer needs and demands – to ensure production, delivery and consumption of an assortment of goods, services and experiences to facilitate the stasis of well-being; however, sudden changes due to natural disasters, war, or other catastrophic events can disrupt the positive contributions that marketing systems make toward solidarity, peace, eudaimonia, community and QOL within its served communities (C. J. Shultz, 2016). To date, research conducted within distressed market systems indicates a wide range of conditions that account for the deprivations and hardships faced by impacted individuals and communities (e.g. DeQuero-Navarro et al., 2020; Wooliscroft, 2021). Findings suggest the presence of common themes, catalysts and consequences of market dysfunction across time and place. Examination of these effects in aggregate however is lacking, hence our interests in meta-analysis

Meta-analysis is a helpful research technique for estimating effect sizes across disparate studies and resolving the uncertainty of inconsistent findings (Sacks et al., 1987). Fisk (2006) specifically encouraged meta-analysis techniques within the macromarketing domain to broaden the conversation to other disciplines and audiences, and to generate new and valuable research ideas. A recent content analysis of the last 12 years of articles published in the Journal of Macromarketing reveals a dearth of meta-analysis, with only one example from the overall pool of 291 articles (Ekici et al., 2021).

Toward this outcome, this presentation offers a preliminary assessment of the need for meta-analysis of the extant literature pertaining to refugees and other forcibly displaced persons (FDP) – with emphasis on their individual QOL and community well-being. Specifically, the requirements for conducting a meta-analysis of the absolute and relative effects of identified predictors and moderators of FDP well-being, defined in both material and subjective terms, are considered (e.g. Field & Gillett, 2010). Contingencies within each stage of the proposed Refugee Pathway and its associated vulnerabilities provide additional context (C. Shultz et al., 2020), as do extant projects involving the study and well-being of FDP, principally in/from Afghanistan, Bosnia

and Herzegovina, Burundi, Colombia, Iraq, Lebanon, Myanmar, Syria and the USA.

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Session VIII

Track *Climate Change*

Changing the Climate in the Classroom: An Enquiry-Based Approach

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Our beautiful Earth is becoming inhospitable to us. How should educators, researchers, & knowledge creators respond to this existential threat? By accepting an unpalatable truth: our mainstream approach to learning, education, & research is actively co-producing the very opposite of what we need at this time of unsustainability. (Bradbury et al., [2019](#), p. 3)

We, the co-producers of this paper, are dedicated educators. However, like Bradbury et al. ([2019](#)), we worry that our efforts are exacerbating the climate emergency. We prefer to be part of the solution rather than the problem, and ask “How can my intellectual capital as a marketing scholar help make the world a better place beyond helping marketers better meet consumers’ economic needs?” (Andreasen, [2005](#), p. 133). Therefore, we are

embarking on an unusual journey for marketing scholars, particularly those from the Asian region (Eckhardt & Dholakia, 2013): A participatory action research (AR) project, directed at transforming our teaching practice. Our goals are to better serve our stakeholders, and to contribute to macromarketing conversations about designing and delivering ethical education, in view of the existential threat of climate change.

The climate emergency (IPBES, 2019; IPCC, 2018) results from the effects of greenhouse gases (GHG) produced by economic activities supporting over-production and over-consumption; in turn supported by materialistic cultural and business norms, and a dominant social paradigm privileging humanity and technology (Catton Jr & Dunlap, 1978; Mittelstaedt et al., 2014). Colleagues from the humanities and physical sciences routinely offer social and environmental critique (e.g. of Concerned Scientists, 2019). However, for marketers it is 'business as usual', with a dominant logic of unfettered consumption, competition, and profit (Kemper et al., 2018; Kemper et al., 2019). In the climate emergency, a logic of business and demand growth is at odds with increasingly scarce natural capital (Prothero & McDonagh, 2021; Shultz, 2017). Without 'magic' science and zero consumption growth, Malthusian consequences such as widespread starvation, disease and social unrest are inevitable (IPCC, 2018; Mende & Misra, 2021; of Concerned Scientists, 2019). Macromarketing commentators have noted that "pedagogical approaches predominated by micro-managerial perspectives . . . fail to recognize the developmental potential of marketing to affect positive social change, and fail to acknowledge that marketing at its core is a societal institution." (Radford et al., 2015, p. 466). While some progress has been made in confronting the DSP's damaging norms and values in the classroom (e.g. Shapiro et al., 2021), the result can be intentions rather than actions (Killbourne & Carlson, 2008). The infamous 'attitude-behavior gap' (Grunert & Juhl, 1995) highlights the role of entrenched systems and structures (Little et al., 2019; Senge, 2010; Shultz II, 2016). Thus, socially responsible marketing education must create minds open to a zero-carbon future, and to necessary change. The Covid-19 experience suggests 'business as usual' is not unassailable.

Inspired by that thought, we are motivated to evaluate and transform our teaching practice, building on previous engagement with macromarketing scholars (Authors, 2019, 2020). Following Shapiro et al. (2021), we move away from objective, disengaged enquiry in favour of more organic, two-way and

collective learning. We start 'at home', with colleagues in our own department. This paper reports on the pilot stage of a shared collegial enquiry about marketing education practice and climate change. The pilot is part of a wider enquiry that will make three important contributions: (1) Empirical evidence from higher education practitioners about the drivers and barriers to change, building on previous conceptual work (Authors, 2019, 2020); (2) Support for higher education decision makers (e.g. policy makers, university management) in making necessary change to a low carbon society; (3) Support for pro-climate marketing education practitioners. By using action research (AR), we answer calls for a "thorough investigation of a group or a community's reality with the goal of consciousness-raising to help them discover their strengths and needs in order to foster capacity, explore the underlying dynamics of social practices, and improve wellbeing" (Saatcioglu & Corus, 2019, p. 9), and for a wider 'collaborative shift' in research approach (Bennett & Brunner, 2020). We support our practice as a community of scholars; and by extension our students, as future leaders, citizens and important players in transition to a low carbon society.

To effect necessary change, we adopt an enquiry (rather than advocacy) based approach, drawing on the principles of action research (AR). AR is helpful to challenging rather than reinforcing current thinking, systems, practices, processes and outcomes. However, despite over seven decades of history (Lewin, 1947), AR is not widely used in the business school (Guertler et al., 2020). We speculate that as AR is an emergent design, it has limited appeal to increasingly risk-averse scholars and funding bodies. Unlike traditional survey-based or interpretive approaches, AR necessitates democratic, collaborative enquiry rather than efficient approaches privileging researcher-as-expert; iterative cycles of enquiry (plan-act-observe-reflect) requiring multiple research competencies; tolerance of uncertainty, complexity, and ambiguity; and an appetite for publishing risk, as reviewers can be suspicious of departures from the norm (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2005). In conservative contexts such as those in Asia, AR is likely to face even higher barriers to adoption (Eckhardt & Dholakia, 2013). Despite these challenges, we feel that AR offers considerable potential for macromarketing research, offering a useful framework for reflective, iterative enquiry into our own practice, and hence an opportunity to 'think different', as Steve Jobs famously asserted. Our objectives: (1) To identify opportunities to innovate marketing syllabi and pedagogies to challenge rather than exacerbate the climate emergency;

(2) To identify drivers and barriers to change; (3) To influence senior decision makers - marketing department heads and education leads, business Deans, and campus education leads.

Following guidelines for high quality action research (Bradbury, 2015, see) we ask: How might we (as marketing educators) support ourselves, our students, our colleagues, our institutions and policy makers in addressing climate change? This question is particularly important in Southeast Asia (SEA), which is an under-researched context (Eckhardt & Dholakia, 2013; Woollicroft & Ko, 2021) with growing economies and populations, rapidly emerging and sizeable consuming middle classes, a limited history of environmentalism; and where research practice follows traditional, and often unhelpful, Western trajectories (Eckhardt & Dholakia, 2013; Shove, 2010). Our approach follows the plan-act-observe-reflect cyclical approach of AR. We are five colleagues and co-researchers, all women, based in a SEA campus of a Western university. Reflecting Asian demographics, we are relatively youthful (mostly in our 30s) and ethnically diverse (Chinese, Indian and European). We bring a wide range of life experiences including managerial roles and motherhood. Collectively, we have 80+ years involvement in marketing teaching, learning and research; and draw on research approaches ranging from experimental design and quantitative modelling to post-structural ethnography. The unifying thread is a desire to make a difference.

Cycle 1: The first author developed (plan1) and delivered (act1) a departmental Zoom seminar outlining the problem and first thoughts about the project, and invited colleagues to opt in. Four chose to do so, resulting in five co-researchers, the majority of academic staff in a small department. We then captured our past and present education experiences with respect to marketing logics and climate change in a reflective essay (Gibbs, 1988). At time of writing these are complete and loaded in a shared drive. The next step is to engage (observe1) in collective sense-making (Mills et al., 2010; Weick et al., 2005), memoing about our responses to each other's essays, thus taking a phronetic, iterative approach to analysis (Tracy, 2019). Next, (reflect1), we will discuss our sense-making in a recorded Zoom session, producing four outputs: (1) Discussion transcript to add to our data corpus; (2) Co-created framework capturing a gestalt of our practice (the 'research' component of AR); (3) Implications for our teaching and research practice with respect to climate change (the 'action' component of AR); and (4) A plan for the next cycle of research (plan2 for Cycle 2). Our ambition is to

present the framework and our action plans at the 2021 Macromarketing conference (act2), and to incorporate feedback (observe2 and reflect2) into our planning for the next cycle (plan3 for Cycle 3). The process exemplifies the emergent nature of AR. The process is path-dependent, with each cycle building on the one previous.

The climate emergency has inspired us to interrogate ourselves and our marketing education practices. The participatory AR project described here has the wider goals of transforming our teaching practice to challenge rather than ossify legacy marketing logics; and contributing to macromarketing conversations about how ethical education might be designed and delivered. An AR framework enables structured collaboration, supporting us in learning about our learning, and in understanding how we might better fulfil our social contract in this unprecedented time of disruption and existential threat. The climate emergency has inspired us to interrogate ourselves and our marketing education practices. The participatory AR project described here has the wider goals of transforming our teaching practice to challenge rather than ossify legacy marketing logics; and contributing to macromarketing conversations about how ethical education might be designed and delivered. An AR framework enables structured collaboration, supporting us in learning about our learning, and in understanding how we might better fulfil our social contract in this unprecedented time of disruption and existential threat.

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No Climate Change in Marketing Classrooms? The View from Best Selling Marketing Textbooks

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Concerns such as climate change, the depleting of the ozone layer, fuel shortages, pollution, and health issues have caused consumers and legislators to become more aware of the need . . . (to) conserve resources and cause less damage to the environment. In the past 10 years, corporate responsibility has evolved from a nice-to-have silo to a fundamental strategic priority. Today, companies of all sorts are spurring change across a broad range of issues including climate change, education, and poverty . . . (and commitments) to eliminate waste and reuse valuable materials within their own walls. (Lamb et al. 2019, p.6)

The current climate emergency results from over-production and over-consumption, deriving from a logic of growth at odds with scarce natural capital (Prothero & McDonagh, 2021; Shultz, 2017). Against this backdrop, universities play a vital role in providing the human and social capital required to avoid the Malthusian consequences of widespread starvation, disease and social unrest (Mende & Misra, 2021; on Climate Change, 2018; Union of Concerned Scientists, 2019). Business schools are directing greater attention to sustainability issues, with the AACSB urging members to 'step up' to address the damage done by privileging profit over planet (Bach, 2019).

Even the conservative business press is calling for change, e.g. the Financial Times: “The global pursuit of net-zero carbon emissions is a huge undertaking, and only possible with the help of businesses” (Colback, 2020, online), and the Economist: “Climate change is about to upend the corporate world. Firms must react fast” (Scriven, 2020). Many business schools have responded by adopting the United Nations’ Principles of Responsible Management Education (PRME) and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as part of their charter.

It seems reasonable to assume that marketing scholars would respond to key stakeholder calls for change. Unlike other business disciplines, marketing is “uniquely positioned to embrace and internalize sustainability as a framework for scholarship, practice, and curricular integration” as a result of an external focus on consumers and markets (Upadhyaya et al., 2019, p. 1). Marketing educators are thus well positioned to prepare tomorrow’s leaders for necessary change. However, marketing operates within the dominant social paradigm (DSP), characterized by neoliberal ideologies privileging economic growth and individualism (Catton Jr & Dunlap, 1978; Kilbourne et al., 1997). As overconsumption is the main driver of the existential threat of climate change and its attendant social ills (Pearce, 2014; York et al., 2003), challenging over-consumption is essential in order to respond to calls for change from key stakeholders. How, then, has the discipline responded?

In order to establish how contemporary marketing education is addressing the climate emergency, we conducted a study of best-selling introductory marketing textbooks. While we acknowledge that excellent non-traditional texts are available (e.g. Belz & Peattie, 2009; Hopkins, 2016; Laasch & Conaway, 2017; Peterson, 2021), these are not usually specified for foundation courses. Foundational texts are a proxy for the dominant narrative as they are typically used to design and implement curricula (Fuchs & Henne, 2018). However, few previous studies of marketing textbooks have addressed environmental sustainability, and those that have present a troubling view. Nearly 20 years ago, an analysis of 21 texts found very little environmental coverage, and concluded that sustainability had been crowded out by ‘hotter’ topics (e.g. e-commerce and globalization) (Demoss & Nicholson, 2005). The authors called for a fundamental rethink of the discipline. 10 years later, analysis of the top 10 marketing textbooks found that 90% emphasized small government, free competition, profit and market share, and consumer responsibility (Cabrera & Williams, 2014). The authors concluded that marketing

Table 1: Summary of climate-related mentions — top 10 selling marketing textbooks 2020

Key terms*	% of texts mentioning	Total mentions all texts
Emissions	100%	69
Carbon footprint	80%	15
Carbon	70%	15
Greenhouse gas	60%	11
Global warming	50%	10
Carbon emissions	50%	6
Carbon dioxide	50%	5
Climate change	40%	6
Fossil fuels	40%	5
Ozone	20%	3
Greenhouse effect	10%	3
Carbon Monoxide	10%	1
Total		149

*Terms receiving zero mentions: cap-and-trade, carbon (offsets, sequestration, tax, trade), climate (action, science), global (environmental change, temperature), net zero carbon, Paris Accord / Agreement, polar amplification / climate, science-based targets, sea ice

was a neoliberal conception privileging deregulation, individual choice and idealization of the market rather than collective well-being. Recent calls for disciplinary transformation (e.g. Lusch, 2017; Ostrom et al., 2015; Shultz, 2017) and a focus on technology and expanding service economies (e.g. Rust, 2020) support those views.

It is timely to re-evaluate how the marketing canon addresses climate change. We too focus our attention on introductory marketing texts, the fundamental pedagogical resources shaping a broad body of students' knowledge of marketing. Following Cabrera and Williams (2014), we first identified the 10 top selling introductory marketing textbooks for 2020 (EduHub 2020 – see Appendix). Next, we created a list of key terms drawn from our reading of the climate change and business-related literature (see Table 1). Two undergraduate research assistants searched the textbooks for these terms, inserting relevant text segments into a spreadsheet. They found that only half of the top selling textbooks mentioned the terms “climate change” (six mentions) or “global warming” (10 mentions, see Table 2). Overall, if each textbook conservatively totaled 20,000 words, then of 200,000 words, only 149 (less than 0.0001%) related to climate change; and in nearly 7000 pages, less than 1% (0.22%) mentioned climate-related terms at all.

The most detailed references to climate change were found in Lamb et

al. (2019) (see epigraph) and Solomon and Marshall's (2019) coverage in relation to consumerism movements:

(Consumerism is currently concerned with business) activities that harm the environment and the potential damage to our planet. Worries about climate change, entire species going extinct, widespread exposure to carcinogens and harmful bacteria, and many other issues are front and center. As consumers and the media place more and more emphasis on this, many of us are much more mindful of environmental issues when we shop and when we make decisions about the foods we eat, the clothes we wear, the buildings in which we live and work, and the cars we drive. **And marketers are following the consumerism call to action** (e.g. Patagonia) . . . Some analysts call this new value conscientious consumerism. We see evidence of its impact everywhere, in the form of vegan restaurants, electric cars, recycling activities, solar heating panels on homes, and more. (p. 205, bold added)

In short, there was no critical analysis or explanation of the complex linkages between climate change, overconsumption and marketing in best-selling introductory marketing textbooks. While we were unsurprised, we wondered how the students felt about the disconnect between their life and educational experiences. In a follow-up interview we asked them for their thoughts and impressions after close reading of 10 basic marketing texts. This is what they said:

So I want to go into fashion marketing, sustainability in terms of fashion . . . the more I work on this project and the more I'm in my classes . . . we're doing a campaign thing and we chose Zara because that's fast fashion and extremely bad for the environment . . . I feel like every single thing that I do in school now is revolving around sustainability. Which if you asked me a year ago I would have been like "no I don't think so".

. . . sustainability is becoming a larger and larger issue. So the more that politics is presented on the news, and people start bringing up the societal issues that are happening, it grew my interest . . . are the products are sustainable but the way that they are sourced, labour practices, things like that is also pretty important to me . . . I'm constantly looking to connect with executives and people

who are industry leaders to be able to share and to understand their perspective. What do they think the world is heading in 5-10 years is becoming a larger concern amongst all of our class.

Clearly the wider social context and their learning experiences have a material influence on their world view and interests, and like business schools and firms, sustainability is important. We then asked about their expectations versus what they had found in the marketing texts:

... I don't really know whether I was surprised or not by the data that we collected because I assumed we wouldn't find a lot of information about climate change, but I also kind of like had high hopes that we would.

yeah ... We did find a substantial amount on technology, which obviously plays a role – I just did not expect that it would play that much of a role. ... Climate change definitely wasn't in every single book, which I was taken aback by ...

These comments capture a disconnect between experience, and pedagogical narrative. That is of concern, as contradiction between knowledge and what is taught can cause cognitive dissonance and psychological stress (Cunsolo & Ellis, 2018), perhaps contributing to rising levels of student anxiety, disengagement, and contract cheating (Fung, 2019); (Stockman & Mureithi, 2019).

We hope that marketing educators adopt PRME and SDG values, and discuss linkages between overconsumption and climate change in their classrooms. However, our experiences, discussions at educator conferences and these preliminary findings suggest that the dominant narrative in marketing still “misrepresent(s) reality and inculcate(s) college students into the principles and practices of neoliberalism” (Cabrera & Williams, 2014, p. 364). We observe that marketing educators struggle with the structures and strictures of workplaces and publishing systems, and their desire to offer future-oriented education. It is therefore not surprising that few business scholars challenge current orthodoxies in their classrooms (Kemper et al., 2020). However, challenge them we must (Kemper et al., 2019; Little & Helm, 2019). By adopting a macro rather than micro-managerial perspective, marketing curricula can “recognize the developmental potential of marketing to affect positive social change” and “acknowledge that marketing at its core is a societal institution.” (Radford et al., 2015, p. 466). Marketing educator associations (e.g.

AMA, EMAC and ANZMAC) can offer guidance and resources, and consider how to redirect the discipline towards constructive rather than destructive directions. Concerted efforts can lead to the development of contemporary classroom resources, including an open-source textbook, which can assist marketing educators in addressing climate change in their classroom expertly, responsibly, and confidently. Change is required urgently so that history judges marketing and marketing scholars as a force supporting rather than hindering the climate literacy of future international business leaders and global citizens.

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Table 2: Top 10 selling marketing textbooks 2020: Key Terms, Page and Chapter Exposure (source: Eduhub 2020)

Rank	Author(s)	Title	Edn	Year	No. pages	Key terms (frequency in text) (total for any key term per textbook)	Mentions	Exposure
1	Lamb, Hair, & McDaniel	MKTG: Principles of Marketing	12th	2019	419	Carbon emissions (1), carbon footprint (2), climate change (1), emissions (4), ozone (1) (total: 9)	1	0.24%
2	Kerin & Hartley	Marketing: The Core	8th	2020	573	Carbon (1), climate change (1), emissions (3) (total: 5)	1	0.18%
3	Kotler & Armstrong	Principles of Marketing	17th	2018	720	Carbon (1), carbon dioxide (1), carbon emissions (3), emissions (12), global warming (2), greenhouse gas (1) (total: 20)	2	0.27%
4	Kotler & Armstrong	Marketing: An Introduction	13th	2017	660	Carbon (1), carbon emissions (1), carbon footprint (1), emissions (1), global warming (2), greenhouse gas (2) (total: 8)	2	0.31%
5	Kerin & Hartley	Marketing	14th	2019	778	Carbon footprint (1), climate change (2), emissions (3), greenhouse gas (1) (total: 7)	2	0.26%
6	Grewal & Levy	Marketing	7th	2020	703	Carbon (3), carbon dioxide (1), carbon footprint (2), emissions (4), fossil fuels (1), global warming (1), greenhouse gas (1) (total: 13)	1	0.14%
7	Pride & Ferrell	Marketing 2020	20th	2020	729	Carbon (1), carbon dioxide (1), carbon emissions (1), carbon footprint (3), emissions (5), greenhouse gas (2) (total: 13)	0	0.00%
8	Boone & Kurtz	Contemporary Marketing	18th	2019	512	Carbon (2), carbon footprint (1), carbon monoxide (1), emissions (2), fossil fuels (1) (total: 7)	0	0.00%
9	Perreault, Cannon & McCarthy	Basic Marketing: A Marketing Strategy Planning Approach	19th	2014	765	Carbon dioxide (1), carbon emissions (1), carbon footprint (1), emissions (7), fossil fuels (1), global warming (3), ozone (2) (total: 16)	3	0.38%
10	Solomon, Marshall & Stuart	Marketing: Real People Real Choices	10th	2020	626	Carbon (2), carbon dioxide (2), carbon footprint (1), climate change (1), emissions (5), fossil fuels (2), global warming (2), greenhouse effect (2), greenhouse gas (1) (total: 18)	3	0.49%
TOTAL					6,485		15	0.22%

Key: HC = hardcover, PB = paperback.

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Doing Something Simple for the Climate? Consumer Responsibilization and Counter-Conduct

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This paper explores consumers' counter-conduct to being responsibilized to make more climate friendly dietary food choices. We study a recent marketing campaign by a Swedish poultry producer that encourages customers to "do something simple for the climate" by consuming chicken rather than beef. The campaign commensurates and compares food choices with transport choices, namely eating chicken, eating beef and aviation. We trace reactions against the campaign's consumer responsibilization on social media and complaints lodged with the Swedish Consumer Agency. Mobilizing Foucault's notion of counter-conduct, we analyze these reactions across three empirical themes that emerged relating to climate change, animal ethics and supporting agriculture. Our attention to the dynamics of counter-conduct allows us to show how the consumer responsibilization process is produced and negotiated recursively and constitutively. We observe that while consumers do not resist their individualized subject positions as such, they ask to be governed just slightly differently. Asking how consumer responsibilization is resisted, our study emphasizes the contested nature of what consumer responsibility

means and how counter-conduct becomes constitutive of consumer re-
sponsibilization itself.

Introduction

Discourses of consumerism have been found to permeate society, or 'society of consumers', which is characterized by excessive consumption and waste, and often a focus on individualization and an emphasis on freedom of choice (Bauman, 2001, 2007; Gabriel & Lang, 2015). As part of these dynamics, consumer research has found that a broad range of societal problems, including sustainability issues, are expected to be solved through individuals' consumption choices (Giesler & Veresiu, 2014). Bauman (2007) related these developments to the wider neoliberal turn of the Thatcher era, and based on this, Yngfalk (2016) suggested the term 'neoliberal consumerism' to capture how freedom might not only empower individuals but also restrict them as they are given the duty to account for their individual lifestyle and simultaneously for broader societal objectives such as public health or sustainability (cf. Rose et al., 1999, p. 87). Neoliberalism is here understood in terms of a neoliberal governmentality perspective and research tradition (M. Foucault, 2008; Rose et al., 1999). Both organization and consumer scholars have examined how consumers are constructed as 'responsible' for making adequate choices, for example in a sustainability context (Caruana & Chatzidakis, 2014; Caruana & Crane, 2008; Nyberg et al., 2013; Yngfalk, 2016). And while Shamir (2008) further acknowledged that nowadays "responsibility is the practical master-key to governance", he also pointed out that neoliberal responsabilization is "unique in that it assumes a moral agency that is congruent with the attributed tendencies of economic-rational actors: autonomous, self-determined and self-sustaining subjects" (2008, p. 7).

Building on Shamir's (2008) notion of responsabilization and prior work in governmentality studies (M. Foucault, 2007a, 2008; Rose et al., 1999), consumer researchers have explored how consumers are managed or governed through 'consumer responsabilization' (Giesler & Veresiu, 2014; Kipp & Hawkins, 2019) or lately consumer de-responsibilization processes (Pellandini-Simányi & Conte, 2020). Central to this has been Giesler and Veresiu (2014) theorization of consumer responsabilization as four distinct but interlinked processes: personalization whereby solutions to social challenges are redefined by constructing the 'responsible consumer' as a "morally enlightened agent" (p.

841); authorization through the mobilization of established sources of knowledge and expertise; capabilization through the construction and offering of goods and services that “solve” the problem; and finally transformation of consumers in accordance with the subject position of responsible consumer. In this paper, we inquire consumers’ transformation into responsible consumer subjects, theorized by Giesler and Veresiu’s (2014) but not studied empirically by them, in more detail. That is how consumers take up being transformed into responsible, “morally enlightened” consumer subjects and specifically how it is contested.

Within consumer research, a small number of recent studies have probed struggles against responsabilization in more detail, outlining how consumers reacted to responsabilization in the context of green consumption, namely by being indifferent, by negotiating the meaning of green consumerism or by engaging in anti-consumption (Soneryd & Uggla, 2015). Following this discussion, Eckhardt and Dobscha (2019) asked whether it is possible that consumers resist the subject positions that their responsabilization creates. Based on a study of how consumers experience their own responsabilization in the context of conscious pricing, the authors abstracted that resistance to the subject positions that consumer responsabilization creates are indeed possible. Given that their research question and findings center on consumers’ experiences, specifically consumers experienced discomfort, we argue that this emerging interest for how consumers resist responsabilization is a topic that deserves further empirical and theoretical engagement. To summarize, we still know relatively little about precisely how consumers might oppose their own responsabilization and what exactly, what part of the consumer responsabilization model, they resist. The implications are both practical and theoretical: With ‘consumer choice’ having emerged as a standard way of addressing pressing societal concerns, the extent to which such attempts at governing transform consumers into responsible consumer subjects, is vital knowledge.

On this backdrop, we study consumers reactions to a recent marketing campaign by Swedish poultry producer Kronfågel. The campaign “Do Something Simple for the Climate” made use of sophisticated calculative techniques encouraging consumers to make climate-friendlier dietary choices, in short, by switching from eating beef to eating chicken. To emphasize the greenhouse gas (GHG) emission saving potential of this switch, Kronfågel compared the emissions saved by eating chicken rather than beef to emis-

sions from airplane travel. We argue that it is possible to interpret Kronfågel's campaign as a reproduction of a neoliberal consumer responsabilization discourse that mobilized rationalities and techniques of a form of climate governmentality (Lövbrand & Stripple, 2011; Paterson & Stripple, 2010).

Although the campaign was circulated during the prime time of the Fridays for Future movement, it received criticism in various circles, especially on social media but also via complaints for 'misleading advertisement' that were lodged with the Swedish Consumer Agency Konsumentverket. We traced these contestations on Kronfågel's Facebook page, several Facebook groups, and in formal complaints made to the Swedish Consumer Agency. We analyzed these struggles using a thematic analysis and an abductive approach. In order to explore the power dynamics that form the basis of the campaign and to trace the reactions that it triggered, we employ a governmentality lens (M. Foucault, 2007a, 2008). Since our interest is with the responsabilization process' encounter with the frictions and controversies of reality, and in particular the extent to which consumers accept their own transformation into the subject position of 'responsible consumer', we mobilize Foucault's notion of counter-conduct (2007a). Doing so, we reinterpret the five elements of counter-conduct (asceticism, mysticism, the role of scripture, eschatological beliefs and community) outlined in Foucault's (2007a) initial discussion this notion into a less context-specific analytical framework. We follow these counter-conduct elements, and their dynamic relationship, across three distinct thematic areas of concern that emerged from the material, namely concerns for climate change, animal ethics and over Swedish agriculture. This allows us to tease out the reactions against the campaign, which can be understood as a moral struggle (Balsiger & Schiller-Merkens, 2019), whereby different arguments and teleological aims were pitted against each other shaping market meanings and consumer norms (Hiatt & Carlos, 2019; Levy et al., 2016). Ultimately, this was a deeply political contestation about the meaning of being a 'responsible consumer'.

With our study, we provide an empirical case of consumer responsabilization in a climate change context and make two theoretical contributions to this scholarship (Giesler & Veresiu, 2014; Kipp & Hawkins, 2019). Specifically, we make two contribute to prior research on reactions and resistances to consumer responsabilization (Eckhardt & Dobscha, 2019; Soneryd & Uggla, 2015). Firstly, we contribute to prior research on reactions and resistances to consumer responsabilization (Eckhardt & Dobscha, 2019; Soneryd

& Ugglå, 2015) with a more nuanced account of resistance to consumer responsabilization, showing how different parts or processes of consumer responsabilization are more contested than others. While Eckhardt and Dobscha (2019) found that consumers resisted the individualized focus on consumer choice, we find that the personalization attempt of addressing climate change was not resisted but instead accepted by consumers. The consumer contestations that we observed, in contrast, relate primarily to the forms of knowledge (authorization) used to legitimize this form of climate action and to the products and infrastructures (capabilization) used to encourage consumers to make necessary changes. Thus the resistance revolves primarily around what it means to be a responsible consumer. With this we confirm prior findings by Soneryd and Ugglå (2015) about consumers sensemaking of responsibility but extend them by specifying how this negotiation and co-constitutions relates to the different processes of the consumer responsabilization model. Secondly, we contribute to this scholarship with an alternative understanding of resistance to consumer responsabilization based on Foucault's notion of counter-conduct. This allows us to understand how contestations against responsabilization unfold but also how these reactions become constitutive of the responsabilization process itself. In the next section we outline this literature in more detail.

Neoliberal Consumerism and Consumer Responsibilization

Previous research in both organization and specifically in consumer studies highlighted how consumers are constructed as 'responsible' and encouraged "to understand and enact their lives to be free" (Rose et al., 1999, p. 87) (also Yngfalk, 2016). In the organization and management literature, research has showed how corporations have discursively constructed citizens as 'responsible consumers' (Caruana & Crane, 2008; Nyberg et al., 2013). For example, Caruana and Crane (2008) explored how a travel company devoted to responsible tourism, constructed 'consumer responsibility' discursively. Caruana and Chatzidakis (2014) further conceptualized the notion of consumer social responsibility (CnSR) (Vitell, 2015). Using a multi-level and multi-needs perspective, the authors emphasized how consumer responsibility is formed by multiple agents - a perspectives that brings forward also the

interactions between CSR and consumer responsibility.

Critical consumer and marketing scholarship has highlighted how marketing discourses can be powerful in configuring consumers as subjects with certain responsibilities. This includes the recasting of consumers as 'co-creators' of value (Zwick et al., 2008), as 'prosumers' (Cova & Cova, 2012) or as 'cautious consumers' in the context of healthism (Yngfalk & Fyrberg Yngfalk, 2015). Thus, rather than defining the consumer as a sovereign agent, the consumer is here understood as constructed and shaped discursively. Moreover, responsibility is not necessarily assumed as a pre-existing category, but these research perspectives emphasize the role of different market actors and discourses in shaping our understanding of who is to take responsibility for what and how.

Many of these studies draw on Foucault's work on governmentality and subsequent research to theorize how the consumer is subjectified. Governmentality broadly refers to an "ensemble formed by institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, calculations, and tactics" (M. Foucault, 2007a, pp. 108-109). It thus implies an art of governing, mentalities of government reflecting the "bodies of knowledge, belief and opinion in which we are immersed" (Dean 2010, p. 24). Central to neoliberal governmentality (M. Foucault, 2008), however, is the above-mentioned creation of individuals' autonomy and freedom, while engaging subjects in their own and in others entrepreneurial self-regulation (Rose et al., 1999, p. 139) (see also Yngfalk, 2016).

In the climate context, authors have shown how global warming is increasingly rendered governable through the introduction of carbon accounting techniques (Lövbrand & Stripple, 2011), often taking aim at the individual's will and capacity to "do their part". Here, individuals are governed to self-manage their consumer and lifestyle choices in accordance with what they term a 'personal carbon budget' and 'the conduct of carbon conduct' (Paterson & Stripple, 2010). From this perspective, individual carbon accounting practices subtly steer individuals to carefully manage the impact of their own choices. This resonates with a long-standing interest in Foucauldian accounting studies (Mennicken & Miller, 2012; Miller & Rose, 2008; Townley, 1996) and also with consumer research within a Foucauldian tradition (e.g. Giesler & Veresiu, 2014; Yngfalk & Fyrberg Yngfalk, 2015; Zwick et al., 2008). What deems this perspective so interesting is its attentiveness to how power operates in the construction of consumer subjectivities.

In consumer studies, a growing stream of governmentality-inspired research has mobilized the concept of 'responsibilization' to further describe the conduct of consumers' conduct (Giesler & Veresiu, 2014; Jagannathan et al., 2020). Responsibilization here links "to the new forms in which the governed are encouraged, freely and rationally, to conduct themselves." (Burchell, 1993, p. 276). It is further described by Shamir as "as a call for action; an interpellation which constructs and assumes a moral agency and certain dispositions to social action that necessarily follow" (2008, p. 4). Moreover, Shamir denoted neoliberal responsibilization as "unique in that it assumes a moral agency which is congruent with the attributed tendencies of economic-rational actors: autonomous, self-determined and self-sustaining subjects" (p.7). Using this notion of responsibilization, a growing stream of consumer research has explored how consumer subjects under a neoliberal governmentality are subtly steered towards their own ethical self-management.

Giesler and Veresiu (2014) theorized 'consumer responsibilization' as four distinct but interlinked processes that together form the so-called P.A.C.T routine. Personalization refers to how the subjectivity of the responsible consumer is considered fundamental to solving social problems. Authorization captures how this moralistic problem definition is economically and morally legitimized through different forms of expert knowledge. Capabilization describes the development of relevant products for consumers to manage themselves responsibly and transformation depicts the final phase of consumer responsibilization where consumers have adopted their new self-understanding as the responsible consumer. Using Giesler and Veresiu's theoretical model and adding to their conceptualizations of responsible consumer subjects (e.g., as bottom-of-the-pyramid -, green -, health-conscious - and financially literate consumers), Kipp and Hawkins (2019) problematized how consumers are responsibilized as 'development consumers'. What this theoretical model offers is a nuanced understanding of consumer responsibilization processes. While the model emphasizes how societal problems are redefined to be solved at the individual level, it also draws attention to the role of knowledge and expertise in legitimizing consumer responsibility, to the material characteristics and moral market infrastructures that support consumer responsibilization, and to the difficulties achieving a "transformation" in the sense of consumer behavioural change.

Resisting Consumer Responsibilization

Although consumerism as such, and consumer responsibilization in particular, are both strong contemporary discourses, the focus on individualized approaches to responsibility has not remained uncriticized (e.g. Akenji, 2014; Maniates, 2001). For example, Maniates (2001) problematized the 'individualization of responsibility' for its inherent depoliticization of dealing with environmental policy challenges, since environmental problems are to be solved in the personal sphere rather than in the political sphere. While learning about sustainable consumer choices is of great importance, there is often an asymmetrically focus on individuals' responsibility diverting attention from structural change (Akenji, 2014; Kipp & Hawkins, 2019).

Following this critique, questions arose over whether and how consumer responsibilization can be opposed by other forms of governing (Pellandini-Simányi & Conte, 2020) or resisted by individuals themselves (Eckhardt & Dobscha, 2019; Soneryd & Ugglå, 2015). Research on consumer resistance includes a rich tradition of studies in consumer culture theory that explore consumers countervailing actions at both the individual and at the collective level. This comprises phenomena such as anti-consumption movements like consumer boycotts (Holt, 2002; Kozinets & Handelman, 2004) but also research on ethical or sustainable consumerism (Harrison et al., 2005). This research has analyzed in detail how consumers escape or counteract mainstream marketplace culture and discourses forming it. Given the scholarly interest in how "responsible consumption requires the active creation and management of moral subjects" (Giesler & Veresiu, 2014, p. 840) as well as a more general interest within governmentality studies in how power operates, we focus on resistance to neoliberal governmentalities, particularly neoliberal consumer responsibilization.

An emerging stream of research has addressed this by asking how consumers respond to responsibilization (Soneryd & Ugglå, 2015) and how consumer responsibilization is resisted (Eckhardt & Dobscha, 2019). Soneryd and Ugglå (2015) have highlighted potential responses of consumers to responsibilization by juxtaposing two literatures — green governmentality and political and green consumption. From their review, the authors have identified several forms of consumer responses: (a) being indifferent to individual environmental responsibility (e.g., because of resource scarcity or routinized behaviour); (b) negotiating what is considered reasonable and re-constructing

what is conceived normal in relation to green consumption; and (c) responding to responsabilization based on anti-consumption, forming collective identities or working on the self. Although their account provides a comprehensive overview of reactions to consumer responsabilization, it offers little insights into how and why the consumer subject position that this responsabilization creates are resisted (Eckhardt & Dobscha, 2019).

To understand in how far consumers might resist their own subjectification, Eckhardt and Dobscha (2019) studied of how consumers experience responsabilization in form of conscious pricing. Their research took place in the context of Panera Cares cafés, where 'food secure' customers were asked to pay what they considered reasonable to contribute to the issue of food insecurity. The study showed that consumers felt physical or psychological discomfort about eating in an environment characterized by food insecurity, and philosophical discomfort concerning the organization Panera Cafés. In contrast to previous accounts, Eckhardt and Dobscha (2019) thus provided a case of how consumers resist their subject positions, namely as they experiencing discomfort.

On this backdrop, we aim to explore in more detail how resistances to consumer responsabilization unfold and what is contested. We conceive Giesler and Veresiu's (2014) theoretical model helpful to better understand what parts of the consumer responsabilization process are contested. We argue that the particular forms of how consumers, when faced with attempts at responsabilization, might organize to raise their voices collectively is an issue that deserves further exploration. To understand how consumers react to being conducted, we draw on Foucault's (2007a) concept of counter-conduct.

Counter-Conduct as Resistance

In an article titled *The Subject and Power*, Foucault stated that: "(...) in order to understand what power relations are about, perhaps we should investigate the forms of resistance and attempts made to dissociate these relations." (1982, p. 780). In this vein, we now turn towards how power is not always accepted but struggled over building on Foucault's concept of 'counter-conduct'. While the relationship between power and resistance can take different arrangements, such as hegemonic or autonomous ones, it takes a relational form in Foucault's work on governmentality, where resistance is an important component of power (Heath et al. 2017).

To describe resistance in a governmentality context, Foucault (2007a) used the notion 'counter-conduct' (French: contre-conduite). He used the concept in relation to the development of pastoral power in early and Medieval Christianity, and to the many alternative Christian communities that developed in response and opposition to this. It thus refers to forms of anti-pastoral resistance, a struggle "against the processes implemented for conducting others" (M. Foucault, 2007a, p. 201). In this sense, counter-conduct is not about not wanting to be governed, but rather about "how not to be governed *like that*, by that, in the name of those principles, with such and such an objective in mind and by means of such procedures, not like that, not for that, not by them". (M. Foucault, 2007b, p. 44).

The five elements of anti-pastoral resistance Foucault (2007a, pp. 204-215) refers to are ascetism, community, mysticism, scripture and eschatological beliefs. These should surely be understood as derived from the specifics of the localized case, but in the following we attempt to rethink these in more general terms. For the purpose of this study, re-read Foucault's original discussion of counter-conduct in *Security, Territory and Population* and reframed the five elements into an analytical framework that can be mobilized in other empirical settings than the Medieval Christian counter-movements that Foucault studied. Table 1 provides an account of these elements of counter-conduct in their original context and from a general interpretation.

The first element is ascetism. Foucault argues that pastoral power to a large extent developed as a reaction to ascetic practices of previous times and shows how the practices of ascesis disrupted the structures of power relations between the pastor and the parish. We understand asceticism as a specific form of the more general notion of self-restraint as an active choice.

While ascetism has an individualizing tendency, the second element of counter-conduct, community, refers to a very different approach. Community draws on how Christian congregations developed alternative forms of communities that dispelled of the role of the pastor and his power. Often drawing on the notion of being chosen, these groups let obedience to the pastorate make way for a form of reciprocal obedience, where they would obey each other as if obeying God. We mobilize this element to trace how campaign reactions alluded to the forming of a collective.

The third main element of counter-conduct to pastoral power is mysticism. Mysticism refers to an experience that escapes pastoral power and its system of truth. While the pastor had a central role to mediate communications be-

Table 1: Elements of counter-conduct		
Element	Anti-pastoral counter-conduct	General interpretation
Ascetism	Engaging in ascetism and self-restraint, not considered appropriate by the Church	Self-restraint as active choice
Community	Dispelling the role of the pastor as a central figure of authority, developing reciprocal obedience within group	The forming of a collective in opposition to the government attempt
Mysticism	Foregrounding experiences beyond relationship with pastoral system of truth, immediate communication with God	Dismissal of a certain knowledge system and truth and instead foregrounding other less transparent ones
Scripture	Direct engagement with biblical scripture to short-circuit pastoral governing attempt	Drawing on scientific and other forms of knowledge, bypassing the claims to authority by the government attempt
Eschatological beliefs	Disregarding the pastor's role to judge and guide the flock on the basis of God's eventual return	The dismissal of the government attempt due to eventual judgment from 'truer' source of power and knowledge

tween the soul and god, for example through the system of confession, mysticism allows for an immediate communication with god. Mysticism, Foucault argues, was a reaction to a knowledge system building on gradual cumulation and revelation. In a broader sense, we reinterpret this as a dismissal of a knowledge system building on rational calculability towards something that escapes it.

Fourthly, another form of counter-conduct was the return to and emphasis on the scripture, described as the use of biblical text to short-circuit the pastoral governing attempt. We expand the notion of scripture to understand it as the direct engaging with, pointing to, and drawing on foundational texts and sources of knowledge. We take this to imply an invoking of a direct relationship to such sources of (true) knowledge, bypassing or calling into question the knowledge claims.

Finally, the fifth element of counter-conduct that Foucault mentions in the context of pastoral power are eschatological beliefs. This refers to the discrediting of the pastor's role on the basis of god's eventual return to guide the flock instead of the pastor. In a broader sense, we see this as the dismissal of the governor's attempt with reference to the eventual judgment from a 'truer' source of power.

In summary, counter-conduct can be thought of as the struggle against the processes of being conducted — originally pastoral power — (M. Foucault, 2007a, p. 201), that “both disrupts and reinforces the status quo” (Death, 2010, o. 235). Researchers across different disciplines have lately started to mobilize this concept, including in social movement studies (Death, 2010), organization and management studies (Miller & Rose, 2008; Villadsen, 2021) and lately consumer studies (Gurova, 2019). Yet, it remains a rather nascent approach to study how governmentality is contested. Following Rådestad and Larsson (2020, o. 92), who recently suggested that we need to understand how “neoliberal strategies of responsabilization produce new forms of resistance and counter-conducts”, we mobilize ‘counter-conduct’ to explore how responsabilization through personal carbon accounting is resisted. The next section elaborates how we empirically traced Kronfågel's campaign, and the variegated reactions it sparked.

Methodology and Methods

The empirical focus of this study is Kronfågel's "Do something simple for the climate" marketing campaign and the reactions that it triggered. The collected empirics comprise material from the campaign itself but the focus lies on the reactions it triggered. Kronfågel is Sweden's market leader for chicken. The organization is housing several major brands that focus on different types of poultry. Over the past decades, Kronfågel has initiated various large-scale advertisement campaigns ranging from "Chicken on Friday" to "take the bird path". While the company had already established a focus on taste and health, a more recent campaign "Do something simple for the climate" (original: Gör något enkelt för klimatet) targets the climate change mitigation potential of eating chicken (Kronfågel 2020; Resumé 2019a). In September 2019, public spaces in Stockholm and other cities in Sweden were covered with posters from Kronfågel's new campaign, Do something simple for the climate. In essence, the campaign suggested to consumers that eating chicken instead of beef has a lower climate footprint, raising their awareness and encouraging behaviour shifts. In order to highlight the emission saving potential of eating chicken, Kronfågel used a comparative element in their campaign, relating the emission reduction potential of switching from beef to chicken to those of modes of transportation, namely flying and driving. To establish such a comparison, the company used CO₂ equivalent (CO₂e) as a measure for both activities.

The collected campaign material includes images of advertisement posters, Kronfågel's TV advertisement clip as well as screenshots of online advertisement material from the organization's website. The campaign comprised different parts. One segment of the campaign comprised large posters featuring an airplane in the sky, and the text "En plan". Of note, 'Plan' means both "plan" and "airplane" in Swedish, giving rise to the dual meaning of both making plans for climate mitigation and alluding to flying. Below the airplane, the poster continued: "If everyone who reads this chooses chicken instead of beef one single time, it's like compensating for 14 long-haul flights on a jumbo jet. Do something simple for the climate tonight. Kronfågel." At the bottom of the poster, in fine print, was a reference to Kronfågel's website: "See how we made the calculation at [kronfagel.se](https://www.kronfagel.se)"¹ (Figure 1 and 2). An-

¹<https://www.kronfagel.se/hallbarhet/planeten/klimatsmart-mat/> (accessed 9 March 2021).

other component of the campaign comprised smaller posters with the text “Chicken has a tenth of the impact on the climate compared to beef”, and the slogan to “do something simple” coupled with pictures of chicken meals (Figure 3). The campaign also featured a TV advertisement, which was made available both on YouTube and Kronfågel’s own Facebook page (where it prompted around 350 of the comments that underpin the next section). The 30-second ad begins with shots from an airport, panning over roaring airplane engines and planes that get ready for take-off. In the next shot, what looks like 10-20 airplanes hover above the clouds, after which they enter the screen again over the heads of a family getting ready for an outdoors meal (of chicken, we see on a serving plate) in front of their red wooden house, perhaps a Swedish country house. A child’s voice over is heard: “If everyone who sees this film chooses chicken instead of beef, one single time, that compensates for 51 long-haul flights on a jumbo-jet. Do something simple for the climate.” As clarified by the campaign website, the difference of reach between the poster campaign and the TV campaign prompts the difference between 14 and 51 flights (Figure 4).

While studying marketing campaigns is not new to the consumer responsibility literature (e.g. Kipp & Hawkins, 2019), this project specifically explored how consumers voice their concerns about a specific campaign and their responsibility as moral agents. For doing so, we requested, as a first step, formal consumer complaints submitted to the Swedish Consumer Agency. We received over 90 complaints in form of digital scans. As we realized that some of the formal complaints strongly resembled each other and since we were aware of ongoing online debates around the campaign, we decided to also trace consumer reactions on social media. Knowing about the official complaints, we were aware that social media discussions were likely to be rather critical than applauding. Since we are interested in the kind of themes that foster not only reactions but also counter-conducts, we did not consider this as being problematic. To also assemble a collection of consumer reactions online, we manually searched several social media groups and pages that contained discussions about the campaign. As the campaign only ran in Sweden, we focused on Swedish social media groups as well as Kronfågel’s social media pages. We compiled screenshots of all social media posts and comments retrieved, which we anonymized and translated from Swedish into English. In total, we gathered over 430 posts and comments from four Facebook groups/pages and one YouTube video. All

Figure 1: Poster "En plan", translates to "A plan/plane". Authors' own photo, 17 September 2019, Östermalmstorg in Stockholm.



Figure 2: Excerpt from calculations on Kronfågel's website: "Chicken's impact just a tenth of beef's". <https://www.kronfagel.se/hallbarhet/planeten/klimatsmart-mat/> (accessed 9 March 2020)

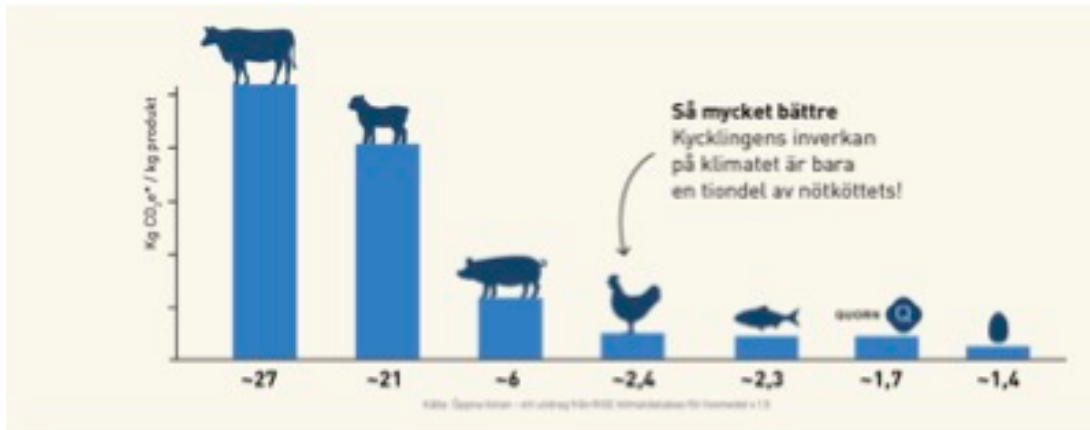


Figure 3: The Kronfågel campaign in the Stockholm subway. Photo: Lena Johansson. <https://blogg.landlantbruk.se/enfotimyllan/> (accessed 9 March 2021).

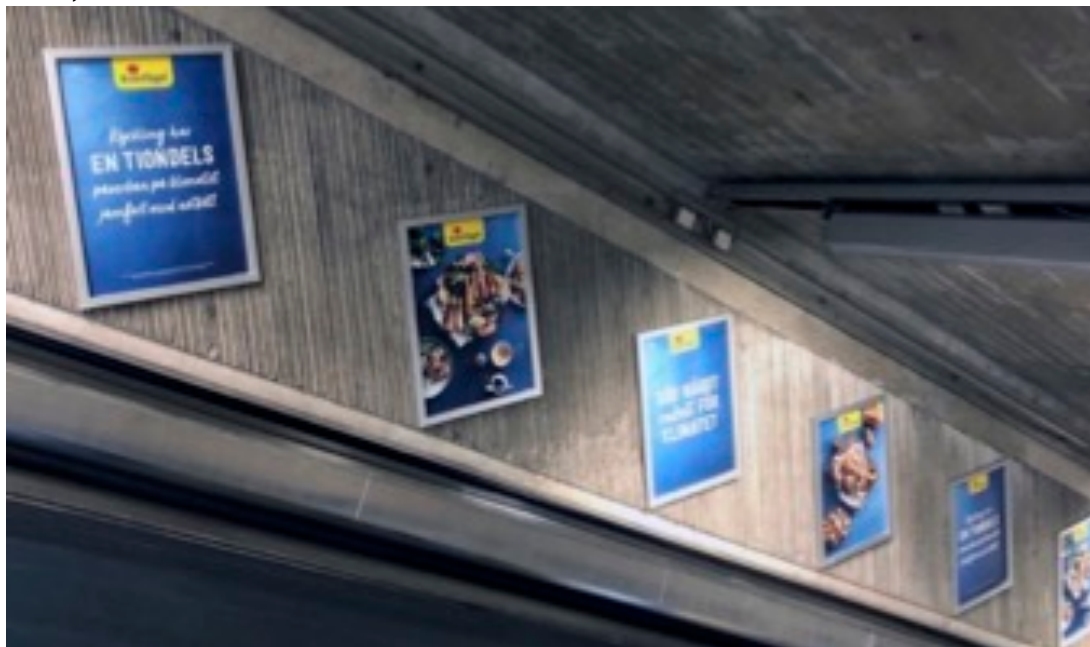


Figure 4: Snapshots from TV advertisement

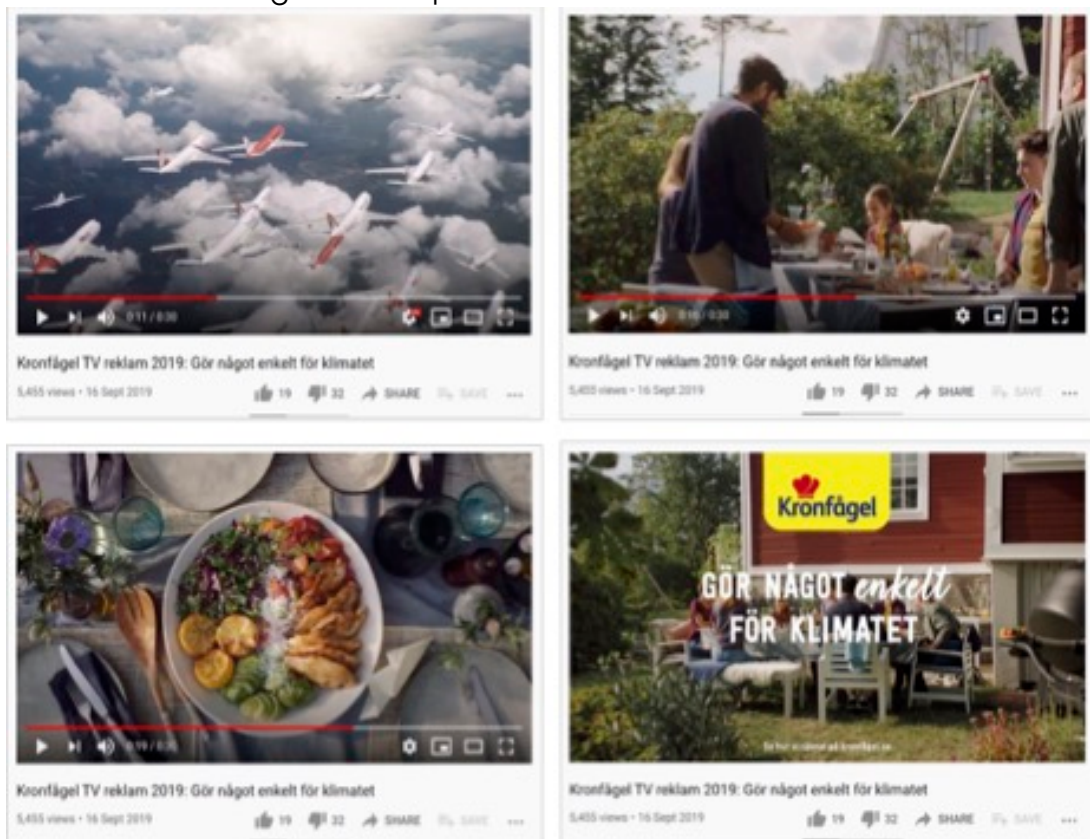


Table 2: Empirical material

Type	Where names (Facebook group withheld for anonymity)	Description
Campaign Material	TV spot via YouTube	YouTube Video
	Kronfågel's Website	Screenshots of campaign elements (text and photos)
	Kronfågel Facebook Page	Screenshots of campaign elements (text and photos)
	Kronfågel's app	Screenshots of campaign elements (text and photos)
Consumer Reactions	Poster	Photos of campaign posters
	Official complaints filed to the Swedish Consumer Agency "Konsumentverket"	More than 90 complaints submitted
	Kronfågel's official Facebook page (more than 16,000 fans)	350 comments
	Facebook Group; anti-flying theme (about 2,500 members)	23 comments
	Facebook Group; anti-flying theme (almost 12,000 members)	52 comments
	Facebook group, climate theme (around 6,000 members)	12 comments

empirical material was gathered in the beginning of 2020, a few months after the advertisement campaign had started and also a few months after what might have been "a first wave" of reactions had settled. Table 2 below provides an overview of the empirical material that we collected and translated. In October 2020, we inquired with the Swedish Consumer Agency whether any case had been opened against Kronfågel, but received the response that the agency presently "had no ongoing supervisory case open" against Kronfågel. The agency continued: "It is however not ruled out that one can be initiated against the backdrop of complaints to the agency". As of December 2020, no news of such developments had come out.

Our approach to analysis is abductive, moving back and forth between the empirical data and our theoretical interests in a spiral-like pattern as described by Peregrina Schwartz-Shea and Dvora Yanow (2012, p. 28). We began our analysis by familiarizing ourselves with the campaign material and

contextualizing it by reading newspaper articles that we retrieved about the campaign. Thereafter, we translated all consumer complaints and social media comments, carefully read them and colour-coded all these reactions, which form our main analytical material. After this familiarization phase, we pursued a three-stage coding procedure in NVivo that mainly followed a segment-by-segment and sometimes line-by-line coding strategy (Charmaz, 2006, pp. 51-53). We coded all text elements starting with open coding, then focused coding and then axial coding. We follow a qualitative, thematic analysis as a suitable approach to explore and analyze how consumers reacted to the marketing campaign. Through this procedure, three empirical themes emerged from the material: The first theme suggested that the campaign was misleading because the absolute numbers of chicken meals necessary to “compensate” a flight were problematically concealed or because one must reduce both meat consumption and flying. The second theme drew on incalculability arguments centering on the ethical problem of suffering on chicken farms, while the third theme consisted of accusations that Kronfågel were pointing fingers, promoting one product at the expense of another and to the detriment of Swedish agriculture more broadly. In a next step, we tried to better understand how resistances occurred within these themes. We engaged with governmentality themes in thinking about the campaign, but gradually shifted our focus towards the reactions, therefore needed conceptual toolbox to understand this form of resistance. In Foucault’s work, we found the notion of counter-conduct, which we engaged with abductively at the time of coding the three themes and in an iterative manner. As part of this process, we did a number of exercises where we compared the five elements with the emerging concepts and the three themes. Followingly, we came up with a conceptual structure where we mapped which of Foucault’s (2007a) five elements of counter-conduct were visible in each of the three themes. In summary, we found this concept helpful in understanding the struggles against being conducted (originally pastoral power; see M. Foucault (2007a, o. 201)), and used the elements of counter-conduct to tease out how consumer responsabilization was resisted.

Findings and Analysis

The Campaign as a Process of Consumer Responsibilization

Kronfågel's 2019 "Do something simple for the climate" campaign, asked consumers to do something simple for the climate by switching from eating to beef to eating chicken.. We understand Kronfågel's campaign as a reproduction of a broader consumer responsabilization discourse. In our analysis, and resonating with Shamir (2008), the corporate actor is responsabilized through this particular form of governmentality, while also articulating and reproducing a discourse of managing 'responsible consumers'. Following Giesler and Veresiu (2014), the first processual step of consumer responsabilization is personalization. A part of this step, solutions for societal challenges are redefined through "the development of a particular morally enlightened agent, the responsible consumer" (p. 841) which is then contrasted with "consumer's individual desires, aspirations, and choice capabilities with an immoral other: the irresponsible consumer." (ibid.) With their campaign, Kronfågel established a connection to different debates in Swedish society including discussions about sustainable or rather climate friendly diets (IPCC 2019; Chapter 5, p. 6; Willett et al. (2019)) but also the Swedish flight shame debate (Coffey, 2012). We find that Kronfågel's campaign is a clear example for this first step of consumer responsabilization. The Marketing Manager at Kronfågel picks up that it might not always be easy for consumers to align their choices with these demands, stating that:

"We know that many people find it difficult to know how and what to do to avoid contributing too much to the climate imprint. We in the food industry need to help the consumer navigate this. We want to provide simple solutions that can both do good for you as a human being while being good for the planet. It's time for us to tell you that by choosing chicken instead of meat, you contribute to significantly less greenhouse gas emissions" (Resumé 2019a, citing Susanne Zabrodsky)

What this emphasizes is that Kronfågel actively called upon consumers action to choose chicken over meat in order to contribute to mitigating emissions. Making this choice is portrayed as a win-win for humans and the planet.

Following Giesler and Veresiu, consumers responsabilization is in a second step, referred to as authorization, legitimized through certain forms of expertise be it economic, psychological or scientific knowledge, used to legitimize “the responsible consumer subjectivity both economically and morally” (2014, p. 841). Here, the campaign authorized consumers to “do something simple for the climate” by choosing chicken over beef backed by detailed calculations to compare chicken’s emission reduction potential to that of beef and moreover of airplane flights. For the calculation, Kronfågel did not only make use of their own expertise but they received help from the Research Institute of Sweden (RISE) (Resumé 2019b). On Kronfågel’s website, interested readers could follow the calculations that transformed counterfactual emissions from beef-not-eaten, aggregated to compare with long-haul flights or miles driven with a car.

The third step in Giesler and Veresiu’s model, capabilization refers to developing a market, product or service that allows consumers to engage in their self-management in line with ethics and morality. In the case of Kronfågel’s campaign, no new product or service as such was developed. Instead, chicken was portrayed as climate friendlier food choice compared to beef. We understand this as an attempt to capabilize consumers to self-manage, as it entails the active construction of a product to choose in the process of becoming a responsible consumer.

The final step that Giesler and Veresiu emphasize is transformation, whereby consumers adopt their new ethical and moralized self-understanding (Giesler & Veresiu, 2014, p. 842). Although life-cycle analyses have highlighted that chicken on average entails less GHGs than beef (e.g. Willett et al., 2019) and despite of being timely placed in the midst of climate change debates in autumn 2019, Kronfågel’s campaign received strong headwinds of criticism. These make us wonder whether consumers’ transformation, as envisioned in the consumer responsabilization process, really is as smooth as depicted. In total, more than 90 consumer complaints were filed to the Swedish Consumer Agency under the formal category of ‘misleading marketing’. Several of these complaints specifically made use of the category of ‘misleading environmental claim’, i.e., claims about positive or no environmental impact, or less harm compared to competing products or services (citation). Consumers also turned to the company’s social media to complain about the campaign. While the Swedish Consumer Agency has not yet made a decision, the criticism led to some parts of the campaign being removed early

Table 3: Elements of counter-conduct and thematic areas of concern

Concerns/Teleological Goals	Emission ductons	Re-	Animal ethics	Swedish culture	agri-
Element of counter-conduct					
Ascetism	X		X		
Community	X			X	
Mysticism			X		
Scripture	X		X	X	
Eschatological Beliefs	X			X	

on (Resumé 2019c). What went wrong and why did the campaign prompt such reactions?

Tracing Counter-Conducts across Three Thematic Areas of Concern

Interested in the reactions that the campaign caused, we traced how and why consumers reacted so strongly across different empirical sites, namely official consumer complaints as well as the different Facebook pages and groups. Returning to Giesler and Veresiu's (2014) processual model of consumer responsabilization, a central finding was that consumers did not complain about their responsabilization for climate change as such, meaning that they did not question that climate change should be solved on the individual level (personalization). Instead, many rather advocated for this. We suggest that while we can understand Kronfågel's campaign as a reproduction of consumer responsabilization process, where the personalized and individualized approach to solving societal challenges seems to be an accepted norm, this process of responsabilization does not unfold as smoothly as Giesler and Veresiu's model suggests but instead is contested. In the following we dive deeper into these counter-conducts, differentiating between three thematic areas of concern and the counter-conduct strategies employed. Amongst these complaints, three thematic areas of concerns appeared dominant: (a) emissions reductions; (b) supporting Swedish agriculture, particularly beef production, and finally (c) animal ethics. Table 3 summarizes how we were able to identify the various elements of counter-conduct across the three thematic areas. What we learned from the counter-conducts was that many of the concerns related to what the best dietary choice would actually entail and why.

Emission reductions

The first thematic area of concerns relates to the role of GHG emission reductions, specifically the calculations and comparisons that Kronfågel made in its campaign. Climate change mitigation thus appeared as the main teleological objective in this theme, while the arguments revolved around the question of what is the “best dietary choice” and how is this legitimized. For example, consumers evoked alternative sources of knowledge and calculations (scripture) and the need mitigating greenhouse gas emissions from ‘both’ eating chicken and flying (ascetism). Another prominent argument related to the absolute scale necessary for the flights to be compensated, and in how far consumers would be misled by how Kronfågel portrayed relevant information in the campaign. We interpret this, and the online contestations, as the forming of a community in opposition to both Kronfågel and potentially uninformed ‘others’.

Scripture: Problematic Comparisons and Too Narrow Calculative Scope

Kronfågel’s campaign led to heated discussions about emissions reductions in several forums on social media. For instance, it was in a Facebook group for people committed to not flying that the first call to make formal complaints to the Swedish Consumer Agency came up. Climate-related comments also arose adjacent to the TV advertisement posted on Kronfågel’s own Facebook page. In the following, we trace how the discursive concern for emissions reductions prompted a broad range of arguments that questioned the basis of the campaign’s — its calculation and the comparisons invoked by Kronfågel. We see similarities to Foucault’s observation about the role of scripture in the Middle-Age Christian counter-movements, in the sense that they similarly allude to how climate facts “speak for themselves” and do not need any intermediary shepherd” (cf Kronfågel).

As part of this, a central concern revolved around what was included in the campaign’s calculation and comparisons, and more generally the types of knowledge used to legitimize chicken as a climate-friendly dietary choice. For example, one commentator challenged the comparison of different forms of emissions:

All those comparisons are misleading and you can’t compare emissions from food consumption with emissions from going by car or flying since they haven’t been measured in comparable ways. I have never seen a calculation for driving which includes roads, garage, tires, motor heater, and everything else that’s part of car culture. Most of the time not even the car itself is

part of the calculations.

Concerns about the type of emissions included also extended to arguments about the specific form or origin of emissions, arguing for the distinction between GHG emissions emanating from fossil sources (carbon dioxide) versus those from biological cycles (methane) in the rearing of grazing animals. Similarly, concerns over deforestation connected to soy production, which is often used as feed in large-scale chicken production, formed part of debates over what is integrated into the underlying GHG emission calculation and more importantly, what is absent from it. One source that was frequently brought up was the EAT-Lancet report (Willett et al., 2019), as well as here, a reference to the scientific journal *Science*:

Kronfågel suggests that it is climate-friendly to switch to chicken meat. That is factually incorrect. See for example the study in *Science* <link> where the least emissions intensive chicken meat still emits more than the most emissions intense legumes, per 100 g protein. See also the EAT-Lancet report, which also points out the importance of moving away from animal products for both the planet's and our own health.

Sometimes, while still referring to alternative sources of knowledge, the tone went sour also in this line of argument: "And to switch chicken against chickpeas how many long-haul flights does that correspond to?". These commentators suggested that it was more appropriate to eat plants directly rather than indirectly as in the case of eating animal-based proteins: "Why not eat the wheat and soy directly instead?" In summary, we see similarities between these concerns over emission reductions and a return to scripture, given the focus on knowledge claims and expertise on GHG emission calculations.

Overall and in order to account for these inclusions and absences, commentators within this theme frequently drew on alternative calculations (in the broad sense of the word) and comparisons, and sometimes evoked alternative sources of authority. It is therefore that we interpret these comments to align with the scripture element of counter-conduct and also the authorization stage in Giesler and Veresiu's (2014) model.

Ascetism: We Have to Reduce Both Flying and Meat Consumption

Furthermore, the choice of goods used in the comparison itself, chicken and beef, was questioned. On the one hand, this was given that plant-based diets or flexitarian diets are often recommended as healthy for people and the planet. On the other hand, a second area of concern that emerged

from these complaints, suggested going a step further reducing both meat consumption and flying. Here, the details of the calculation and knowledge sources were in the background. Instead, we understand this as a general call for ascetism, or self-restraint for a higher purpose. For example, one commentator argued that there is no “room” or budget for bad choices: “If we are to solve the climate crisis it’s not possible to compensate a bad choice with a good one, we have no room for any bad choices at all.” And in the same vein, another commentator promoted veganism by pointing out Greta Thunberg as a role model that both eats plant-based, has committed to no flying, and reduces her consumption in general.

On Kronfågel’s Facebook page, their social media manager “Ebba” responded to many of the comments, often using one of several seemingly pre-written responses. Ebba explained that Kronfågel used the comparison as “numbers are more understandable and more relevant in one’s daily life. Maybe it can even help our choices in the store and contribute with an increased understanding around how our food choices impact the environment and climate.” Yet, complaints about the potentially misleading nature of the advertisements continued:

The problem is that your campaign becomes misleading. It sounds like you can compensate and treat yourself with a vacation flight or one’s car rides only by choosing chicken instead of beef. But we have to both eat less meat AND stop using fossil fuels at the same time, just like you also write here, but that doesn’t come through, unfortunately, in the ad campaign.

Eventually, this led “Ebba” to state that she would note this and put forward the feedback. The concerns for protecting consumers from being misled, alludes to the next element of counter-conduct, which we develop below under the heading of community. What we find here, however, is that these comments about chicken consumption in relation to other food choices and in relation to other types of consumer behaviour link to the element of asketism in Foucault’s counter-conduct but also to the stage of capabilizing consumers to make ‘responsible’ and climate-friendly dietary choices.

Community: The Ad Misleads ‘Others’ Who are Not Knowledgeable Enough — a Collective Call to Action

Early when the campaign was launched, a prominent leader of the anti-flying movement, made a post in an anti-flying Facebook group, arguing for the misleading nature of the ad. The activist’s argument can be summarized

as calling into question whether “most people” would fully understand that it was not enough that one person made the switch from beef to chicken.

I have filed a complaint against Kronfågel for misleading marketing. Feel free to do it yourselves too on the Consumer Agency’s website. It’s quick, one just files in a form. (...) Kronfågel writes the following in their ad: “If everyone who reads this chooses chicken instead of beef one single time, it’s like compensating for 14 flights with a jumbo jet. Do something simple for the climate tonight”. The risk with this ad is that the reader may perceive it as if one, by choosing chicken instead of beef simply can “compensate” for a flight, which of course is not correct. On Kronfågel.se one can read it is required that 1,224,000 eat chicken instead to reach the same amount of emissions as 14 long-haul flights on a jumbo jet. If you, too, think this ad is misleading it’s possible to file a complaint on konsumentverket.se.

Some discussion erupted, and many agreed calling the campaign’s comparison a “mistake”, “farfetched” or even as “greenwash”. Below the activist’s post, a number of people commented that they had now also filed a formal complaint. Someone asked whether it was OK to use the activist’s original post in the complaint form, which she allowed. And so it was that a substantial number of the 90 complaints that were eventually lodged with the Swedish Consumer Agency consisted of a (sometimes slightly altered) version of her original text, pointing out that “at Kronfågel.se one can read it is required that 1,224,000 eat chicken instead to reach the same amount of emissions as 14 long-haul flights on a jumbo jet.”

What we see here, we argue, is the emergence of a collective call to action, the forming of a community, through the use of similar arguments, sometimes even the exact same text, and the turning against the “misleading” claims of Kronfågel and towards others in the community. Hence, the argument that the campaign was misleading constructed this community in opposition to potentially “less informed” others, fearing that “(i)f those types of misunderstandings spread it can cause great harm to the environment.” The basis of this community forming, however, seems to be the content of the campaign and the way how it uses calculations and certain forms of knowledge.

Eschatological Beliefs: Other Judges Yet to Speak

Several of the formal complaints drew heavily on arguments along the lines of consumer protection, suggesting that it should not be necessary to be “very observant and fairly creative” in interpreting the ad correctly. As

part of the discussions at Kronfågel's own Facebook page, "Ebba", the social media manager, made continuous reference to the campaign website, pointing angry commentators to "see how we have calculated". This, however, did not help as commentators questioned the need to "read the fine print" or "click further as a consumer to get adequate information". As part of this, several made references to the formal complaints and their impact, emphasizing that:

it should be possible to understand the ad and the information you give there without having to go and search onwards via various links. The law is like that and it applies to Kronfågel too. The result from the complaints will show that.

The last part of the above comment also points to a tendency for Foucault termed eschatological beliefs, the belief in the final judgment day, reinterpreted for our purposes to signify a commitment to other judges with which the community has a direct interlinkage (cf the Christian counter-movements and God after his return to Earth). Such judges and other forms of authority that would decide over Kronfågel's future were here impact of consumers' official complaints, boycotts and also the role of Market Courts. Commentators called upon Kronfågel to "Do the right thing and pull it back immediately, since it in all likelihood anyway will be penalized (due to consumers complaints)". Some of those questioning whether chicken was the right choice even hoped for more drastic consequences for the firm: "Do something good for the environments (sic), replace all meals which would have contained a Kronfågel chicken with vegetarian alternatives and hope the company goes bankrupt". And moreover, one commentator turned to other angry commentators, alluding to recent developments where misleading environmental claims in marketing were increasingly under legal scrutiny from market authorities. We interpret these statements on actors and outcomes, which might decide over Kronfågel's fate, as a shared eschatological belief and at the same time advocacy of other forms of authority that decide over the campaign's future and thus its inherent form of consumer responsabilization.

Animal Ethics Concerns

A second empirical theme that we identified from the empirical material dealt with concerns over animal ethics and welfare as a teleological objec-

tive. Here, a major concern was that the campaign did not account for the negative side effects of industrial chicken farming for the animals. As we shall see, animal ethics concerns coupled the use of scripture, here demanding disclosure and transparency about chicken production, with references to the incalculability of animals' suffering, which we understand as a form of mysticism in counter-conduct terms.

Scripture: Demanding More Disclosure About the Reality of Chicken Production

We saw above that problems with the chicken industry were briefly alluded to by commentators in the anti-flying groups. As part of this, concerns such as "(...), (I)t makes the chicken industry seem like a good thing, but it is connected to a range of other environmental problems and — not least — an enormous suffering" were raised. These worries over the lack of ethics in industrialized chicken production were also brought up in some of the formal complaints: "Misleading (advertisement) since they make it seem like an ethical choice to choose chicken, although it is an ethically despicable industry from the animals' perspective".

In addition, Kronfågel's Facebook page itself turned into a forum for ethical concerns. Several people posted repeated questions about the production conditions in Kronfågel's facilities, not necessarily with any direct reference to the content of the campaign. The posting of the commercial and the many comments below thus became an arena for a distinct discussion on the ethics of animal production, driven by a small number of persistent critics. We understand this as a calling for more transparency and disclosure aligned by underlying notion of critique. The following quotes call for better "reporting", "hidden number(s)" and "keeping track" to account for the health and wellbeing of the chicken:

How many chicken survive from hatching to fully grown? The sector should report how high the mortality is among the chicken.

How many grow fully and reach the slaughterhouse out of these? Do you keep track of chickens that die along the way. Or is that a hidden number. That nobody keeps track of? They grow abnormally fast and some individuals finally can hardly walk. The parent animals for breeding are probably suffocated if they get too much feed because they grow so much and fast. These meat-chicken are designed by the industry. Only to live their month and then slaughter. Imagine if we managed cows that way?!

Kronfågel how are the laying hens put to death? Are they transported to slaughter?

And while 'Ebba' tried to provide more information on the health conditions and mortality rates, she was just met with more questions. These calls for increased transparency about and disclosure of industrial chicken production, similar to commentators concerned over emission reductions, thus also related to the importance of certain expertise and knowledge, here in form of animal health data. These queries largely dismiss the general claim around the problem with the calculation and the comparison made in the campaign. Instead, they put forward "suffering and death": "The biggest error with that commercial is that it encourages eating chicken, who go through horrible suffering and death for a short taste experience. See www.djurfabriken.se (the animal factory)." What we will see in the next section, is that these quests for more transparency and knowledge are, however, coupled with concerns for the incalculability of some of its elements.

Mysticism: The incalculability of the incomprehensible suffering of chicken

While many commentators uttered concerns over limited information of chickens' health conditions, others alluded to a form of incalculability of such "suffering and death", that is, that numbers are not helpful for accounting for it. Suffering here is not calculable, it is incomprehensible: "It's just a load of greenwashing to profit on industrially produced chicken who have been killed after having endured incomprehensible suffering. You don't save the world by torturing animals."

Here, we see links to Foucault's observation of mysticism within the Christian counter-movements in the sense that it — in a similar manner — questions the knowledge basis of the governing attempt, which for the pastors of pastoral power just as for Kronfågel, took the form of the gradual cumulation of knowledge. There is thus something paradoxical, we argue, where on the one hand, (calculative) facts and figures are used to paint a gruesome picture of suffering and call for further information disclosure (scripture). On the other hand, much of what is debated dismisses the rational, calculation-based approach of comparing foods based on a commensurated entity of carbon dioxide, on the grounds that chicken suffering is 'incomprehensible' and beyond calculation. Thus, we argue, that these are examples of how, for some, the knowledge claim (chicken as the less harmful choice) becomes meaningless in the face of chickens suffering.

Supporting Swedish Agriculture

The third thematic area included concerns for and by Swedish farmers, particularly beef farmers, who argued that the campaign constituted “finger pointing” that made them look bad in comparison to chicken. Protecting Swedish agriculture and engaging in a sustainability transition in collaboration was voiced as a key objective. This criticism must be understood against the backdrop of oat milk producer Oatly’s recent campaigns against milk — and subsequent conflict with traditional dairy producer Arla (Goldberg, 2019). In an article in the advertising industry’s trade magazine *Resumé*, the discursive link between the Oatly-Arla controversy and Kronfågel’s call to switching beef for chicken is described:

One of the critics of the campaign is the farmer Rickard Axdorff. He has previously been critical of Oatly’s campaign “Ditch the Milk” (Spola mjölken) and believes that Kronfågel made the same mistake — creating divisions between their breeders. “As for me, I will use my consumer power and I do think that Kronfågel doesn’t get any major uptick of sales through speaking ill about others (...) and making a fool of themselves. One can hope that we in the future get companies with employees within agriculture, including the value chain, who stand up for agricultural production so that we don’t have to deal with anxious marketing managers and their vegan buddies at the ad agencies. That’s what people like.” he writes in a blog post. (Goldberg, 2019)

As we shall see, comments in this theme often made explicit reference to the Oatly example, while also referring to other arguments, such as the suggested environmental benefits of beef agriculture for carbon sequestration and biodiversity, and as we saw above, complaints about the inadequacy of the calculation.

Scripture: Sequestration, regenerative farming and hipsters without knowledge

Similar to what we saw in the two other themes, comments in this group in support of Swedish agriculture also referred to certain forms of knowledge to protest the message to switch from beef to chicken and thus the means

of contributing to climate change mitigation. One of the most common arguments drew on the notion of carbon sequestration, often coupled with the suggestion of cow grazing's contribution to biodiversity and open landscapes:

Kronfågel, it would be better than to encourage people to choose Swedish. Swedish beef is among the most climate friendly beef plus all the other benefits Swedish cattle does in the Swedish landscape. To try to promote oneself's excellence by talking about others' faults is just foul/dirty."

Some pointed specifically to so-called regenerative farming, arguing that the sequestration of carbon dioxide into the ground (as grass grows back) is larger than the methane emissions from cows' metabolism. A large majority of the comments under the video posted on Kronfågel's Facebook page could be categorized as belonging to this theme. Responding to some comments about the suggested superiority of plant-based foods, Ebba elaborated: "All food production unfortunately has a climate impact. (...) We want to clarify that chicken is a good alternative and argue that you don't always have to eat plant-based to be climate conscious." This, however, was disputed in a series of comments, here in abridged form:

Kronfågel, all food production does not have a negative climate impact like your products. Vegetables and beef from regenerative farms contribute to a larger sequestration than it emits. So stop with your ridiculous lies. (...). Pasture-based food production is truly the future! (...) One kilo beef from our regenerative farm contributes to sequestering at least a kilo carbon dioxide, net. That is around a million times more climate smart than your broiler meat. A lot of flying, that is.

In a similar manner to the insinuation in the blog post quoted above, it was suggested that the positive contribution of grazing animals could not be understood by the urban population:

Hej! Seems like Kronfågel doesn't understand that beef cattle in Sweden are part of an ecosystem, which keeps old meadows and pastures open and contribute to biodiversity, which really is GOOD

for the environment. This fact is too difficult to understand for hipsters on Södermalm (trendy Stockholm area) or politically correct journalists in this country.

Some also made reference to animal ethics issues, committing to “no more cancer broiler for us” and to “eat meat from freely grazing meat cattle” instead. In summary, commentators within this theme returned to scripture, here facts and figures about cattle production - specifically the potential of regenerative farming and pasture. In the next section, we delve deeper into how the campaign caused divisions amongst different types of farmers while also uniting them.

Community: Farmers joining forces against Kronfågel

We have already alluded to how the comparison with Oatly’s campaign to “ditch the milk” was mobilized to signal a general discontent with Kronfågel’s way of advertising a switch from beef to chicken:

Yes so you do like Oatly and talk shit about another branch of agriculture but that’s how it becomes when you can’t live on own merits but you should be ashamed.

Copied but anyway. In the climate debate all dirty tricks seem to be allowed and right now the finger is pointed both here and there. First Oatly against the milk and now Kronfågel attacking beef. Isn’t it about time to understand the connections and realize that farmers need each other? Oatly and Kronfågel are two successful companies that should be able to live on their own merits, instead of shaming others. Oatly had barely started their massive campaign “Ditch the milk” before it was time again. Now it’s Kronfågel who see themselves as climate smarter than red meat.

Many asserted a number of versions of how “both Kronfågel and Oatly should be ashamed” and that they would never choose Kronfågel chicken again. A key line of reasoning was that Swedish agriculture needed protection and collaboration, for instance in competition with foreign imports: “Bad arguments — definitely wrong to compare Swedish foods in that manner. Like comparing apples and pears! Would be better if Swedish producers collaborated against foreign imports!”

Thus, through this element of counter-conduct we see how a community forms around collaboration in Swedish agriculture and in opposition to what is described as “pointing finger”; “smearing”, “attacking”, “dirty tricks” and “talking shit” by Kronfågel. As we shall see in the next section, we also argue that there is an emergent threat implied in many of these comments, of what will happen to Kronfågel in the future.

Eschatological Beliefs: The Tide Will Turn on Kronfågel

Closely connected to the notion that farmers should “stick together” (alluding to the emergence and constitution of a community) were insinuations about punishment or judgment that would eventually befall Kronfågel. As part of this, a number of comments made reference to the discontent among Kronfågel’s “own suppliers”. Instead of accepting the division between chicken breeding and cattle rearing in terms of climate impact, these commentators foregrounded the relationships between different forms of farmers as “colleagues”. One commentator asked: “Aren’t Kronfågel’s growers 95% farmers? Do they accept throwing dirt on their colleagues’ cattle???” Yet another critiqued: “(...) Your suppliers are not behind your distasteful campaign! One promotes one’s good without stepping on a colleague, distasteful!” Some even suggested skipping “your damn chicken” and another argued:

Since I work with farmers within all production branches I know it’s a very collegial profession. I therefore have real difficulties seeing that you have your meat suppliers with you on this train? I think most farmers know that all branches are needed for our environment, our open landscapes and for our diversity. And I hope most consumers understand that too. I honestly think this advertisement does more harm than good from an environmental perspective. And you have lost everyone in my family as customers.

We understand this not only as the forming of a community but also as another suggestion for a future ‘judgement’, where farmers will unite and turn against Kronfågel, specifically in their role as suppliers.

In summary, we see resemblance with the comments made in the thematic area of Swedish agriculture with three elements of counter-conduct: emphasizing scientific insights into the environmental impact of different types

of farming (scripture), the forming of a community understanding of Swedish farmers to collaborate rather than point at each other, and the suggestion of a 'judgement day' to come through farmers, who are Kronfågel's suppliers (eschatological beliefs).

Discussion

In the preceding and exclusively negative empirical account (as one might note), we observed and traced social media reactions and complaints to the Swedish Consumer Agency around Kronfågel's campaign to "do something simple for the climate" by switching a meal from beef to chicken. We understood this in the context of the broad notion of consumer responsabilization (Giesler & Veresiu, 2014; Kipp & Hawkins, 2019) and prior governmentality studies on individual carbon accounting techniques (Lövbrand & Stripple, 2011; Paterson & Stripple, 2010). Given the contestations the campaign caused, we took it as our task to delve deeper into the issue of whether and how consumers are transformed into responsible subjects or contest their responsabilization. given the contestations the campaign caused. Our study suggests that completing the responsabilization process did not unfold smoothly as what it means to be a 'responsible consumer' was formed and negotiated collectively through consumers contestations. We traced how these resistances unfold across three empirical themes. All three empirical themes had a distinct over-arching, teleological objectives for why the campaign, and the consumer responsabilization it entails, was contested. While one theme was concerned over the campaign from a climate change mitigation perspective, another one foregrounded animal ethics in chicken production, and a third one pointed out the need to support Swedish agriculture rather than sow division and discord.

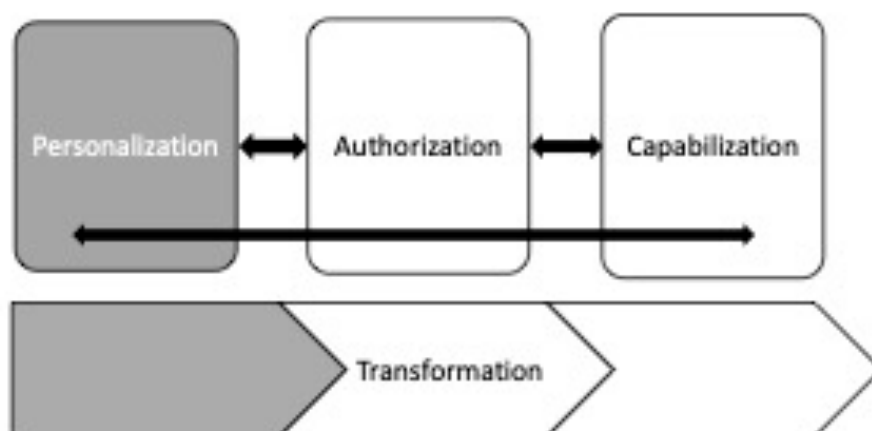
Throughout the three empirical themes, we traced five elements of counter-conduct specifying in more detail how the campaign was resisted: scripture, ascetism, community, mysticism, and eschatology. We mobilize these elements of counter-conduct from Foucault's description of how pastoral power was resisted (2007a, pp. 204-215), indicating not a break with responsabilization per se but a wish to be conducted just slightly differently. The five elements of counter-conduct allowed us to identify how this resistance occurred: the dynamics within, and both similarities and differences between, the three empirical themes. In particular, we could observe stark differences

in how different truths and various sources of knowledge were mobilized, and how these link to dietary choices and how different communities were formed. Through this approach, we draw attention to the negotiated and contested meaning of being a responsible consumer, and to the interrelation that Giesler and Veresiu's model of consumer responsabilization points out. Furthermore, we show how resistance against consumer responsabilization unfolds while also being constitutive of responsabilization itself.

The Negotiated and Contested Meaning of Consumer Responsibility

Tracing the reactions that the campaign triggered, we realized that much of the contestations revolved around the negotiated meaning of consumer responsibility. Our findings suggest that what it means to be a 'responsible consumer' is formed and negotiated collectively through consumers' contestations. Analyzing this moral struggle, we found that interestingly, none of the concerns that we identified questioned the idea that neoliberal consumer responsabilization entails rendering solutions to climate change personal. What we mean is that the reactions did not call into question individual's responsibility for 'appropriate' consumption choices in the governing of climate change. This finding differs from Eckhardt and Dobscha's (2019) account of consumers resisting their own subjectivation in the case of Panera Cares, since we observe how those that react to the campaign seem to accept the subject position of 'responsible consumer' — but disagree vehemently on what it means to consume responsibly. A first contribution of our study is thus that we add to ongoing discussions on how consumer responsabilization is resisted (Eckhardt & Dobscha, 2019; Soneryd & Uggla, 2015) by nuancing what part of the responsabilization process is contested (Giesler & Veresiu, 2014). What was questioned and became central to the negotiation efforts, however, was the particular manner of Kronfågel's call to action (cf. Shamir, 2008) and thus the meaning of being a responsible consumer. We argue that the five elements of counter-conduct that we traced amongst the three thematic areas many times indicate the interrelatedness of the authorization and capabilization processes, and eventually also to the transformation processes of Giesler and Veresiu's consumer responsabilization model. For example, Kronfågel's attempt to authorize consumer responsabilization through complex calculations about the GHG emission reduction

Figure 5: Consumer Responsibilization Revisited



from switching from beef to chicken was contested as other forms of knowledge were emphasized such as the emissions of other foods or calls for transparency about chicken's wellbeing. Similarly, the idea of capabilizing consumer responsabilization by constructing chicken as a climate-friendly dietary choice was called into question as commentators introduced both possible 'advantages' of other foods — both plant-based diets and beef — and questioned whether eating chicken really was the best dietary choice from a climate perspective but also from other sustainability angles. We argue, that the transformation of individuals into responsabilized consumer subjects does therefore not only depend on accepting one's individual responsibility, but also on the co-construction of what consumer responsibility means — how it is legitimized (authorization) and how it enabled (capabilization). These findings confirm Soneryd and Uggla's (2015) account of consumer negotiating their responsibility, but links it back to the specifics of the consumer responsabilization process. Following from this, we understand consumers' transformation as a process that underlies and it is dependent on the interdependent processes of personalization, authorization and capabilization (Figure 5).

Counter-Conduct as Constitutive of Consumer Responsibilization

We also contribute to prior scholarship on how consumer responsabilization is resisted (Eckhardt & Dobscha, 2019; Soneryd & Uggla, 2015) with an alternative understanding of resistance namely by mobilizing Foucault's (2007a) notion of counter-conduct. Soneryd and Uggla found through a literature

review study that consumers respond to responsabilization either by indifference, by negotiating what is normal or by forms of anti-consumption. Adding to this, Eckhardt and Dobscha's (2019) observed resistance to consumer responsabilization as consumers experienced discomfort, suggesting that consumers resist the personalized subject positions created. In contrast, our findings indicate that consumers accepted the individualized subject positions created as part of the responsabilization processes. However, we were able to illustrate how what constitutes consumers' responsabilization for "doing one's part for the planet" is continuously negotiated, co- and re-constituted.

To explore these struggles, which we understand as constitutive to governing through responsabilization, we mobilized Foucault's (2007a) concept of 'counter-conduct'. The notion is helpful, Foucault (2007a) argued, especially because it sheds light on the constitutive and recursive relation between conducting conduct and related counter-conducts. As McKinley and Pezet (McKinley & Pezet, 2017, p. 4) emphasized, "'government', here the conduct of consumers' conduct, is predicated on the assumption that the governed will always adapt, resist, subvert or ridicule the practices of governing, to some degree". Instead of suggesting alternative modes of climate governance (say, through regulation), the complaints revealed tensions and desires about how to be conducted slightly differently, presumably 'even better'. This included, for example, suggestions that pointed out the need to account for all emissions and for animal welfare and the importance of avoiding misleading consumers. Similarly, concerns over casting a damning light on beef farmers likewise do not question consumer responsabilization as such, but suggest that Swedish farmers should collaborate in this transition rather than alienating each other through their marketing campaigns and practices.

Since our study does not account for consumers' actual behaviour, we cannot tell in how far consumer's transformation — here in the sense of switching from beef to chicken as Kronfågel envisioned — is achieved. Yet, we argue that some sort of transforming of individuals by subjectifying them as responsible consumers still takes place — or has already taken place — given consumers in-depth discussion about what constitutes responsible consumption on social media. These findings emerge in line with Foucault's discussion about counter-conduct to Christian pastoral power, where he referred to the elements of counter-conduct as 'boundary elements', that continuously are re-used, re-established and taken up by the governor (the Church

in that case) and that belong to the “general horizon of Christianity” (M. Foucault, 2007a, p. 215), here the general “horizon” of responsible and sustainable consumption. What we mean is that as the responsabilization attempt encounters the reality, it encounters a “myriad of aspirations, associations, alliances, and activities” (Mennicken & Miller, 2012, p. 22) and a range of related counter-conducts. These counter-conducts in turn contribute not only to resistance against but also to the constitution of responsabilization as such.

Implications and Future Research

Our account of the contested nature and construction of consumer responsibility emphasizes the complexities that making sustainable and climate friendly choices can entail. While consumers encounter these complexities when making (ethical) choices, our case emphasizes that marketing practitioners too need to be mindful of them as the Kronfågel case suggests. Moreover, policymakers and decision-makers might be able to learn from the case as it emphasizes that even amongst those, who are willing to take individual responsibility for the climate crisis, it often remains unclear, contested and subjective what good choice entails.

We foresee three arrays for future research. Firstly, we were specifically interested in the contestations and struggle triggered by the campaign, for which reason our study might miss out on the integration of additional voices from those not concerned about the campaign. Future research could explore this or a similar context, paying attention to the formation of different communities in debates about the future of meat in a climate context and the role of the consumer therein. Secondly, we heard from Ebba, Kronfågel’s Social Media Manager, that the firm intended to ‘help’ customers in making climate-friendlier dietary choices. However, we know little about how other members from the organization reacted to the campaign and, in particular, to the outcry that it triggered. Thus, it would be interesting to better understand how this specific case shaped the firm’s future CSR activities. And thirdly, the campaign built on a range of calculative techniques, specifically the commensuration of greenhouse gas emissions across different types of consumer behaviours (eating food and transportation) and across different types of meat (beef and chicken). Future research could explore the role of these calculative techniques in more depth, focusing on the role of individual carbon accounting in emerging truth games situated at the interplay

between subjectivation and objectivation (M. / J. F. M. Foucault, 2000) for sustainable diets in a climate context.

Concluding Reflections

Our account and analysis have mobilized the notions of consumer responsabilization and counter-conduct to trace a contemporary controversy over consumption choices. In particular, we explored how neoliberal forms of consumer responsabilization in a climate context were resisted through a multiplicity of calls to be governed just slightly differently. We showed the variegated approaches to counter-conduct mobilized both 'against' Kronfågel, 'against' uninformed others and as part of an active self-management. Building on prior theorizations of consumer responsabilization processes (Giesler & Veresiu, 2014), this research emphasizes how the processes of personalization, authorization, capabilization and transformation are deeply interconnected. In particular, we showed how the transformees, that is, the governed, go through a form of transformation as they call into question precisely what it means to be responsible and how responsabilization takes place through authorization and capabilization. Interestingly, personalization as such, here redefining climate change as an issue of enlightened, responsible consumer choice, was not called into question. By mobilizing the five elements of counter-conduct, we were able to show in detail with which means such negotiation of responsabilization takes place, and how this differs decidedly between different themes and groups. Our mobilization of counter-conduct helped us to contribute to previous research on how consumer responsabilization is resisted (a) by showing how resistances related to specific consumer responsabilization processes (authorization and capabilization) and (b) by how these contestations worked not per se against the power of responsabilization but can be understood as constitutive of the form of power itself.

All in all, we suggest that our account is reflective of, and informative to, broader ongoing discussions of climate governance, as it touches upon issues of the responsibilities of individuals and corporations, and upon the often-cited growing polarization across the urban/rural divide. We hope to have shown, with empirical detail, the complexities and power relations at play when attempts at governing individuals' climate conduct encounters the paradoxes of lived realities and livelihoods.

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Understanding the role of consumption and activism in coping with climate change emotions

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The threat of climate change has grown over many decades. With the impact of increasing carbon emission, worsening weather conditions and biodiversity, evidence is emerging that a significant portion of the population is psychologically affected (Clayton et al., 2017). As a result, many are taking to activism to have their voices heard (Turns, 2019). A large portion of this population consists of young individuals. From a business point of view, this is giving rise to a new group of consumers and citizens– climate activists – who had previously flown under the radar and received little academic attention (Roser-Renouf et al., 2016). The question is are these consumers another form of ethical consumers (Papaoikonomou & Alarcón, 2017), anti-consumers (Chatzidakis & Lee, 2013), or those who aim to live a self-sufficient lifestyle (Gorge et al., 2015)? As there is widespread climate activism of young generation globally, businesses and governmental organisations will have to learn how to cater for consumers and citizens with significantly different expectations. Hence, understanding the psychological/emotional state and behaviours of this group is important for the future of consumer marketing as well as health, educational and other government service providers. Recent post-capitalism notions of radical incrementalism involve civic,

political, and environmental activism in sustainable consumption behaviours (Dermody et al., 2020), but more research on how activists envision and hope for a sustainable future has important implications for understanding whether consumers work within or outside the market system for systemic change (Mittelstaedt et al., 2014).

This study aims to understand emotions experienced by climate activists and their coping strategies, including the role of consumption and activism. Drawing on Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) model of Stress and Coping, the study adopted a qualitative approach through interviews with 12 members of the Extinction Rebellion activist movement. Data was analysed using thematic analysis, revealing several findings. First, the findings identify that climate activists experience a mix of emotions including eco-anxiety, grief, fear, worry, anger, uncertainty, and hopelessness, which are triggered by a range of antecedents such as a loss of ontological security, self and family-related concerns, lack of self-efficacy, and other cognitive drivers. Furthermore, it underlines how different climate change emotions are interrelated. Most importantly, the study discovers that the younger activist experience eco-anxiety, and specifically explores how this relatively understudied concept (Clayton et al., 2017) relates to other climate crises emotions.

Participants adopted several coping strategies, some of which involve avoiding the stressor (i.e., climate change), suppressing their emotions through rational thinking and expressing emotions. Activism as coping strategy enables this group to express their negative and positive emotions through nurturing hope about the future and fulfilling self-centric needs. At the same time, consumption revolves around forming positive emotions as a result of either one's own ecological consumption behaviours or behaviour of others. Furthermore, it plays a key role in avoiding anticipated guilt associated with non-ecological behaviours. From a marketing standpoint, the study directs attention to changing consumption drivers, and consumer lifestyles towards minimalism and self-sufficiency (Gorge et al., 2015); it also provides new perspectives about sustainable marketing based on psychological well-being (Van Dam & Apeldoorn, 1996), and draws attention to macro-level threats to business and other providers influenced by climate activism. For academia, the present study sheds light on underexplored areas of climate change emotions and coping strategies in the context of marketing and consumer psychology.

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Session IX

Panel — Covid in the Americas

The COVID-19 Pandemic and Social Conflict: Perspectives from the Americas

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Marcus Hemais *Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro, Brazil*

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The SARS-CoV-2 virus and the COVID-19 disease it causes have been systematically and globally devastating, inflicting death and institutional disruption or destruction wherever the virus has spread. This phenomenon is by any measure a pandemic (World Health Organization, 2020). The growing death-count and calculations of financial losses are shocking and humbling. The death toll is now more than 3.5 million people (WHO 2021). Toward the end

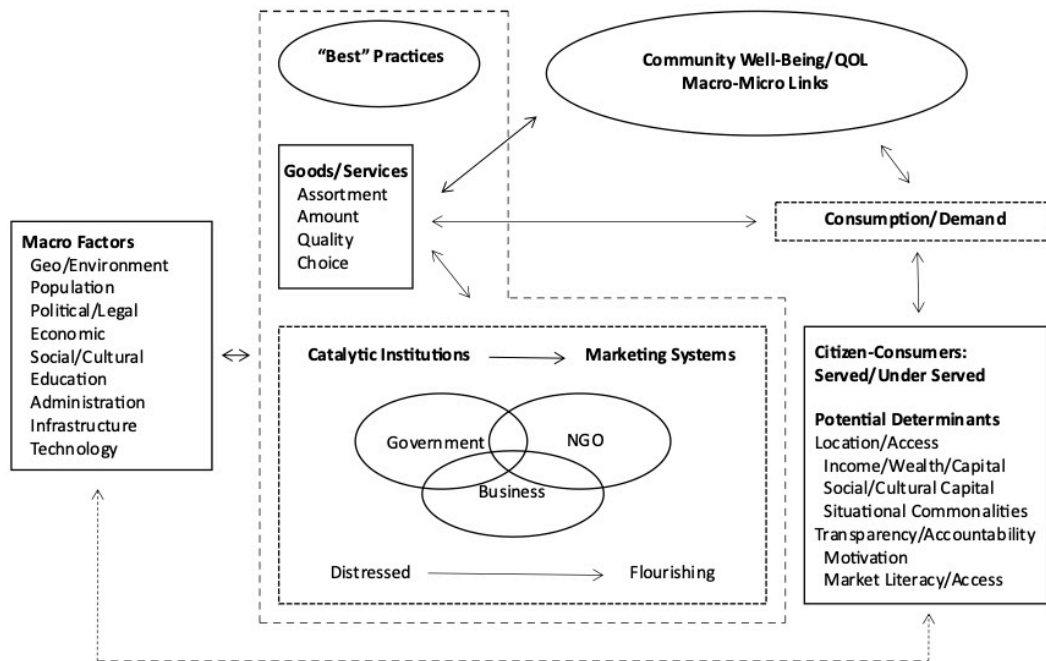
of 2020, financial losses were estimated to be \$11 trillion, with future losses of \$10 trillion expected; comparatively, investments in preparedness would have been about \$39 billion (World Economic Forum, 2020). Marketing systems and the stakeholders of them have not been spared, as the availability and assortment of goods and services has been altered and consumer outcomes have been changed, often fatally; in a counterintuitive twist, some stakeholders have seen their well-being improve.

The scope and scale of the damage/fortune varies greatly by country and region, policies, access to goods and services, and level of vulnerability, race, wealth and privilege. The pandemic has been greatly mitigated and infection rates nearly eliminated in a few countries (e.g., Vietnam, New Zealand), thanks to the recognition of scientific findings to contain the virus and the implementation of sound policies and practices to control it and to treat COVID-19 symptoms. In other countries the virus seems to be spreading uncontrollably (e.g., India) or has spread more than it should have, given the resources available (e.g., USA). In some countries the pandemic has been sub-optimally managed or profoundly mismanaged, often politicized, and the result of or impetus for social change and social conflict — sometimes, violent conflict (e.g. Colombia).

The purpose of this special session/panel is to assemble a team of scholars studying the impact of COVID-19 on well-being. Each presenting author or panelist is a member of a research team contributing to a larger tome, *Community, the Economy, and COVID-19: Lessons from Multi-Country Analyses of the SARS-CoV-2 Pandemic* (Shultz et al., 2021). Each research team was encouraged to use a macromarketing framework, first introduced nearly a decade ago (Shultz et al., 2012) and subsequently expanded over the years (e.g. Shultz et al., 2017) and occasionally refined for specific contexts of study (e.g. Shultz & Peterson, 2019). An example of the framework is found in the Figure 1

The Framework maps various Macro and Micro factors — some more significant than others, in any given context — that must be considered/administered by Catalytic Institutions and Citizen-Consumers, to provide the appropriate policies, practices, and Assortments of Goods and Services, which in turn create/maintain Marketing Systems that enable Communities to Flourish. Those communities may be “small” and local, or “large” and national, including aggregations and political economies in the forms of countries. Note that varying motives, goals, interests and an enduring presence of social traps

Figure 1: Toward a Systematic Framework to Facilitate QOL in Distressed and Flourishing Communities (Shultz et al., 2017)



in any system can lead to social conflict that prevents or deters flourishing, especially during crises such as a pandemic. Those conflicts and traps also may create policy/market/marketing opportunities to innovate, to make changes, to develop and institute new products, services and experiences that can enhance individual QOL and community/societal/national/global well-being.

Given the format of this year’s Macromarketing Conference, administered digitally in three separate time zones, this special session will focus on the Americas; specifically, studies administered in Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, and the USA, for the purposes of applying the framework and ultimately to share lessons learned and potentially some best practices to eliminate or mitigate future pandemics and other systemically wide and national/global crises.

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Session X

Special Session: Transformative Consumer Research

Market Dynamics of Resilience and Recovery from Social Conflict

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This special session assembles a team of scholars with active research streams studying the complex interactions of policy, marketing and consumption in conflicted and deeply traumatized markets. Social conflict and traumatizing events can profoundly alter markets; they occur in many shapes and forms: war, terrorism and other violent conflict; environmental and natural disasters; corruption, disenfranchisement and criminal activity; economic upheaval; pandemics and other health crises. These forces threaten or harm consumers, communities, countries, regions, and the marketing systems ostensibly designed and intended to provide and sustain. Marketing Systems – and the policies, marketing activities and consumption in them – can be suddenly, significantly and irrevocably disrupted, with profound implications for individual quality-of-life (QOL) and societal well-being.

Even the most resilient individuals, institutions and states can be victimized by social conflict, crises or trauma (e.g. Alexander, [2013](#); Hirschberger, [2018](#); Yong, [2020](#)). Resource scarcity, systemic indifference or oppression can be devastating (e.g. Bone et al., [2014](#)). In some instances, the conflict and trauma become chronic or trigger new conflicts and traumas; the cumulative effects may lead to resignation, despair and – in worst cases – societal disintegration. Constructive, collaborative engagement among governments, NGOs, businesses, and the most traumatized stakeholders are

paramount for resilience and recovery (e.g. C. Shultz et al., 2020).

Noteworthy are investigations of vulnerability and recovery in the wake of disaster (e.g. Baker et al., 2007), adaptation following a personal or family health crisis (Pavia & Mason, 2004; Pounders & Mason, 2018, e.g.), and the challenges facing marketplaces that suffer from war, terrorism, and dysfunctional governance (e.g. Fehl et al., 2020; C. J. Shultz et al., 2005). These studies reveal extensive disruption and adaptation; they also offer glimmers of hope for understanding and enhancing collective relief and resiliency (c.f. Baker & Mason, 2012; C. J. Shultz, 2007).

What has become clear from the studies shared here: consumers, families, small businesses, NGOs, and communities are integral to resilience and impactful, timely responses amid conflict, uncertainty and trauma. The ways in which such practices emerge; markets, marketing and consumption adaptations evolve; underlying mechanisms and tensions shape responses, the meanings and agency created, and best policies and practices for recovery are worthy of investigation – indeed, they demand it.

Lastly, the presentations draw on extant data from diverse contexts of crisis and social conflict; they identify some commonalities in the cascading effects of trauma upon vulnerability, develop plausible frameworks involving micro, meso and macro levels of the phenomena, and suggest research-based responses and good practices for relief and recovery in different types of social conflicts, communities, vulnerabilities, and market disruptions.

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Explosions of Conflict and Corruption: Catalysts for Mutual Prosperity in Lebanon and the Middle East

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To be in Lebanon is to see and to experience chronic, systemic conflict and dysfunction, on the precipice of explosion. Located in a cauldron of complex and interacting geographic, meteorological, political, economic, religious, cultural, consumer, military, militia and market(ing) forces – which individually and collectively oscillate between delivering and relieving societal shocks – Lebanon’s resilience is frequently tested; indeed, the country is being severely tested, on many fronts. To ensure resilience and another recovery rather than resignation and societal collapse, one needs to study Lebanon’s complex marketing system and the effects of the aforementioned factors on it. Those factors and their dynamic interactions must be systematically understood, accounted for, and adroitly managed to ensure a sustainable and prosperous marketscape, sense of national community and ultimately a peaceful country in a region not typically associated with peace (Shultz et al., [2017](#)).

There is tragic irony in Lebanon’s current condition. A country small in size, on the shores of the eastern Mediterranean Sea, it reveals an intrinsically beautiful and bountiful landscape and coastline. A fairly new state in an ancient land, Lebanon is part of “the fertile crescent,” where markets, market-

ing, and complex and cooperative societies may have first emerged (Lane, 1991). Fifteen years of civil war; subsequent occupations by more powerful bordering countries Syria and Israel; ongoing and often unwanted sectarian interventions by regional powers Iran and Saudi Arabia; “home” to half a million stateless Palestinians (UNWRA, 2019); temporary residence to nearly two million Syrian refugees – approximately a third of Lebanon’s population (UNHCR (2019) – and a steady torrent of political cynicism and corruption raise concerns about the limits of resolve and resilience by the historically indefatigable and industrious Lebanese people (DeQuero-Navarro et al., 2020) and the future of their country, once known as the Switzerland of the Middle East.

The past year has been especially challenging for Lebanon. As the country has had to deal with a succession of ills including a crippling economic crisis, which has seen the local currency lose over 80% of its value, the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic, and on-going street protests demanding the departure of the ruling political class (Aoun & Aoun-Barakat, *in press*). Some Lebanese fear the most recent blow, a devastating explosion in the Beirut port resulting from improper/illegal storage of nearly three thousand tons of ammonium nitrate, may have been the catastrophe that finally breaks the will of the people; others believe this event so clearly laid bare the ineptitude and corruption of the government that all surviving Lebanese and the international community will mobilize and cooperate to usher in systemic change and a renaissance (The Editorial Board, 2020).

In this presentation, which draws from a longitudinal macromarketing study of Lebanon, including new data collected following the port explosion, the authors will explore the systemic complexities of Lebanon and the roles markets, marketing, policy, and institutional and citizen-consumer initiatives can play and are playing to bolster resilience and to stimulate another recovery. Some attention is directed to social dilemmas in Lebanon’s consociational politics, and how these dilemmas may be affecting policy-making locally, nationally, and regionally. The authors share a systemic framework to facilitate understanding and solutions via cooperation of catalytic institutions and consideration for all stakeholders. Implications for constructive engagement are discussed, including marketing-based efforts to facilitate conflict resolution, social justice, economic development, transparency and accountability– all of which enhance resilience, are vital to recovery, and help to actualize sustainable peace and prosperity in Lebanon, the region and among global stakeholders.

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Consumer Trauma and the Power of Collectivity

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“There is the before and the after. We all have to live in the after.” – interview informant

Markets and consumption are sources of meaning and relational connections, but can also instill risk, vulnerability, and social conflict (Baker & Mason, 2012). Following a market tragedy such as the Paris attacks or Las Vegas concert shooting, consumers may be torn by the marketplace shock and emotional turmoil (Fehl et al., 2020). Similarly, consumers may be thrust into uncertainty through a shocking health diagnosis, which leaves them distressed and disrupted (Mason & Pavia, 2015; Pounders & Mason, 2018). When such phenomena occur, marketplaces, consumption, identity, and life itself may all be thrown into question. Unfortunately, such health and marketplace shocks seem an ongoing fixture in contemporary society as consumers face continuing outbreaks of COVID and growing social injustices. This research explores how marketplace communities and consumer collectivities respond in the immediacy of a shock to reconnect with their shared space and then generate meaning in their adaptation over time leading to resiliency.

A defining element of trauma, whether personal or collective, is the immediacy of experience and its transformative nature. Cultural trauma oc-

curs “when members of a collectivity feel they have been subjected to a horrendous event that leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness, marking their memories forever and changing their future identity. . .” (Alexander, 2012, p. 6). Following such trauma, both consumers and communities significantly alter consumption to respond to their immediate vulnerability (Baker et al., 2007; Pavia & Mason, 2004; Shultz et al., 2005) and transform their physical surroundings as a result. How the collectivities form or evolve as individuals and communities rebound through necessity, their desire to seek connection to one another, and express emotion about the event via meaningful consumption acts linked to their shared space is examined. Specifically, we extend Alexander’s Theory of Social Trauma by focusing on individual responses in the moment, prior to group processing and understanding of an event, and how individuals’ attempts at sensemaking pull them towards collective consumption acts and communities. We examine how the sum of individual responses can either bind the community more closely together or deepen schisms by selectively highlighting certain narratives presented as more authentic.

We ground our study in qualitative inquiry and contexts of three life-threatening events – the Paris terrorist attacks, Las Vegas concert shooting, and serious illness diagnosis. To date, we have conducted semi-structured, in-depth interviews with over 50 individuals experiencing an existential, disruptive shock. These include survivors, consumers, and service providers associated with the traumatic event as well as several involve longitudinal interviews. We have also reviewed articles and documentaries, examined the archival data of memorials and social media, and visited with venue owners in the affected spaces and health experts. Analysis of the data suggests immediacy of response involves engaging in collectivities and collective consumption acts for relief, remembering, sense-making, and taking action in both liminal and embodied ways. This collective engagement leads to ongoing responses of recovery and resistance, redefining the sense of self, while ultimately providing a foundation for building resiliency for those able to reconnect with the community. Excluded individuals or groups may be both physically and symbolically sundered from others and their previous sense of self. Traumatic events are, by their nature, transformative. Insights into the power of collectivity and place is key to understanding the immediacy of response and process of recovery following a marketplace trauma, and ultimately offers lessons for communities, businesses, and public policy response.

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Contributions of Marketing to Restore and Maintain Normality During Persistent Conflict

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This presentation will focus on the repeated cycles of resilience and recovery that can and do occur in places subject to marketplace and societal trauma from persistent conflict, and the role that marketing and market participants play in sustaining resilience and speeding recovery during those cycles. In traumatized markets, the marketing system is stripped down to its most basic functions, with a focus on maintaining supply chains and distribution of basic products and services.

We propose that necessary ingredients for resilience and recovery include social (societal) resilience and motivation to persevere, endure and overcome hardships, previous level of economic development, previous experience with recovery, resources (financial and human capital) to apply to recovery efforts, existence of processes/procedures for rapid rebuilding, and a base of experienced and motivated entrepreneurs. Motivation to return quickly to normality will be enhanced by a path to better manage risks in the future, even if some level of persistent risk continues indefinitely.

These processes are illustrated with a case study of Israel, which has been subject to nearly continuous low-level conflict for most of the past century, punctuated occasionally by more intensive conflict and a looming existential threat. Despite these security challenges, the economy has managed steady and even rapid growth and development, and remarkably quick recovery from specific episodes of marketplace trauma. Previous studies have focused on a range of psychological, economic, social and political effects of terrorism (e.g. Somer et al., [2007](#); Somer et al., [2005](#); Waxman, [2011](#)), in-

cluding the effect of terror-related traumatic stress on materialism and maladaptive shopping behaviors (Ruvio et al., 2014; Somer & Ruvio, 2014), but have not specifically examined the effect of persistent conflict on the marketing system or the contribution of marketing and consumption to coping and recovery from marketplace trauma. We will illustrate the role of marketing and effects on marketing with a longitudinal study of Jewish-Arab cooperation in the agribusiness sector, including research and development of new products, production, and retail distribution, and discuss implications for further research and application to other contexts.

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Small Businesses: Community Change Agents in Social Movements

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Social movements are prolonged episodes of social upheaval and generally occur because of tears at the fabric of a community due to phenomena such as war, pandemics, social conflict, or economic recession. In the U.S., we are simultaneously experiencing three such moments. The covid-19 pandemic, the Black Lives Matter movement, and economic upheaval and restructuring have sent shock waves across communities in the United States. These circumstances have disrupted the healthcare system, local, national, and global markets, and have impacted social relations across the United States. Local businesses, the focus of our analysis, are deeply affected by these phenomena as millions of American consumers are out of work, local consumer bases are weakened, and our collective values are in a dynamic, continually negotiated state. Quarantines and stay-at-home orders that are issued to slow the spread of Covid-19 and protect the public also create impediments to businesses' abilities to interact with their consumers. Social protests against the systemic discrimination and oppression of people of color, as well as against stay-at-home mandates, masks, and social distancing guidelines are fueled by competing and polarizing media narratives. All these responses to social upheaval and unrest complicate and shape businesses' approaches to creating and delivering value to their local communities.

Our research interrogates the active and constructive ways in which local business owners engage with and reach their consumers. These adaptive approaches involve bringing their products or services to consumers inside their homes or creating low to no touch delivery options. Additionally, many local businesses take a community approach to the pandemic and coordinate and collaborate with other local business owners to create a network of support to alleviate the economic shortfalls resulting from the pandemic. Further, some businesses communicate their support of the Black Lives Matter movement by displaying signs, joining local citizens in protests, or actively engaging through social media. While businesses' adaptive responses are important in sustaining their businesses, they also impact community solidarity (or lack thereof) and collective identity.

Our presentation will focus on the unique challenges local businesses are facing and will examine the constellation of responses to these events. In particular, we will examine how business owners make sense of their role in creating and rebuilding community in the face of the Covid-19 pandemic, the Black Lives Matter movement, and the economic recession. We examine their narratives of trauma and resilience (Baker & Baker, 2016) the social networks they draw upon and are impacted by (Alexander, 2012), and the practices they use to constructively engage with the markets they serve (Shultz, 2007). We use depth interviews, surveys, content analysis, participant observation and secondary data sources to support our theorizing.

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Session XI

Panel — Macromarketing Pedagogy

“Save the Macromarketers!”: Insights on Moving Macromarketing into the Business School Curriculum

Stan Shapiro *Simon Fraser University*

Mark Peterson *University of Wyoming*

Julie Stanton *Penn State University*

Joe Sirgy *Virginia Tech*

Tina Facca-Miess *John Carroll University*

In the recently published Ruby Anniversary Issue of the Journal of Macromarketing which celebrated 40 years of the journal, Shapiro et al. (2021) reflect on 40 years of macromarketing pedagogy. They conclude that macromarketing pedagogy prepares students to be both better citizens and better decision makers in all areas affecting well-being (p. 107). Yet, macromarketing has remained on the margins of the business school curriculum for decades. Ominously, Hunt (2020, p. 290) asserts that the macromarketing part of the marketing discipline risks going out of existence if macromarketing education fails to enter the business school curriculum at all levels.

This panel session features veteran teachers who have moved macromarketing into the business school curriculum in a variety of ways. Julie Stanton will build upon a 2020 online teaching effort that involved “macrotizing” a Kotler-based Principles of Marketing course to present more gener-

alized guidelines for vaccinating other marketing courses with macromarketing. Current *Journal of Macromarketing* editor Joe Sirgy will offer wisdom about how quality-of-life concepts can serve as important structure in a macromarketing course in "Injecting QOL-related Content into Macromarketing Curriculum". Tina Facca-Miess will offer her perspectives about infusing macromarketing into marketing courses at the graduate and undergraduate levels in "Teaching Macromarketing in Marketing Courses". Finally, Mark Peterson will provide insights for those wanting to bring macromarketing content into a semester-long course on sustainability in "Macromarketing as a Focus in a Sustainable Business Practices Course".

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Session XII

Track Macromarketing Pedagogy

Source-and-Hack: Macromarketing Pedagogy via Cocreated Course-Client Experiential Projects

Linden Dalecki *Pittsburg State University*

“It was a philosophy of sharing, openness, decentralization and getting your hands on machines at any cost to improve the machines and to improve the world. This Hacker Ethic is their gift to us: something with value even to those of us with no interest at all in computers.” (Levy, 2010, p. vii)

Over two decades ago, LeClair and Stöttinger posited “business students have increased expectations for real-world applications in their educational experience” (1999, p. 31). More recently, experiential learning course-client projects have been described as “a pedagogical path to macromarketing education” (Radford et al., 2015). Scholars have also argued that “we will likely see an increase in the demand for a pedagogy characterized by critical and systems thinking, one that incorporates approaches to learning based on experiences, enquiry, and problem-solving” (Shapiro et al., 2021). From an experiential learning course-client project sourcing standpoint “a major potential problem is lack of client interest and availability in working with students” (Kennedy et al., 2001, p. 150). Likewise, Levin and Peterson point out, “the biggest obstacle is finding an appropriate (course) client” (Levin & Peterson, 2016, p. 42). This “appropriateness obstacle” is compounded where macromarketing relevance is a priority given that very few “off the shelf” client marketing projects exhibit a high degree of explicit macromarketing parameters, likewise for “standard issue” marketing courses as described in their university’s course catalog. Thus, “hacking” marketing projects via a cocreative process where instructors and students encourage course-client representatives to incorporate broader social and environmen-

tal goals is a potential and highly recommended pathway. “Hacking” here is meant in a positive sense of, along similar lines to the original “hacker ethic” as articulated by Levy in the epigraph above as well as here (Levy, 2010, p. 23): “access to... anything that might teach you something about how the world works should be unlimited and total. Always yield to the hands-on imperative!” In the current context one might fruitfully “hack” the epigraph to read as follows: “a philosophy of sharing, openness, decentralization and getting your (students) hands on marketing at any cost to improve the marketing and to improve the world.”

Factors likely to contribute to ease and fit in securing experiential course-client projects with “macromarketing-hackability” include opportunities that: 1) feature an extremely wide array of prospective course-clients as well as a broad variety of potential course projects that are reflective of the entire marketing discipline, 2) are as accessible to marketing instructors in low-density rural and/or depressed rust-belt zones as to instructors teaching on campuses surrounded by thriving metropolitan areas, 3) enable marketing instructors with limited—or even a nonexistent—networks of practitioners to access marketers who are eager to engage with marketing instructors and students, 4) efficiently facilitate the crafting and description of a given course project’s initial focus and scope in clear and simple terms, and 5) enable and streamline the communications process such that it fluently translates current academic concerns and academic jargon vis-à-vis industry concerns and industry-speak in order to optimize macromarketing course-project modifications, resulting in a better and more relevant fit between the given marketing course and course-client. The current paper assesses the factors detailed above vis-à-vis Riipen (“Riipen is experiential learning”, n.d.), a relatively new experiential learning platform designed to integrate real-world client projects into relevant business courses. As alluded to above, the paper also outlines strategies for hacking projects to ensure they have macromarketing relevance.

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Imparting Values, Challenging Neutrality- Tackling Macromarketers Pedagogical Predicament

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Macromarketing deals with the effect of marketing activities on society (Laczniak & Shultz, 202; R. Layton, 2007; Wooliscroft & Ganglmair-Wooliscroft, 2018). Therefore, it is macromarketers' responsibility to care about the "consequences of large marketing systems on large social issues. . . and social welfare" (Fisk, 1981, p. 3). Fisk further notes that these issues are "environmental deterioration and renewal, economic development of national economies, the influence of marketing on the quality of life, and marketing efficiency in mobilizing and allocating resources" (p.3). Outcomes of marketing systems, the core of macromarketing, have direct implications for the quality of life of the community (e.g. (Jagadale et al., 2021; R. Layton, 2007). Notwithstanding, marketing systems create myriad externalities and internalities in the form of inequality, injustice, environmental decay, information asymmetry, indignity, and exploitation (e.g. Redmond, 2018; Roy Chaudhuri & Jagadale, 2021; Williams et al., 2021). It leads to the marketing system failure (e.g. Redmond, 2018) that give rise to the sufferings of a majority of actors in the marketplace (Klein, 2019) (R. A. Layton, 2015). These failures can substantially reduce the effectiveness of the marketing systems i.e. its ability to better societal and environmental well-being (Harris & Carman, 1983).

Macromarketing's abiding goal is to create a better society and world (e.g. Laczniak & Shultz, 202; S. Shapiro et al., 2021). It is becoming a central concern of macromarketing scholarship (e/g/ Wooliscroft & Ganglmair-Wooliscroft, 2018). Besides, these concerns are getting intensified due to the impact of the novel Coronavirus which is dramatically changing global and

local market systems (Roy-Chaudhuri and Jagadale 2020). It is evident the way novel Coronavirus is wreaking havoc in developing countries like India. The real question is how do macromarketers do it. It requires conscious efforts on the part of marketers, policymakers, and academics to create a blueprint of what is required to be done to achieve this. One way is to create a socially responsible marketing charter for community, country, and global betterment (e.g. Wilkie & Moore, 2014).

Unfortunately, the above-mentioned issues are of peripheral concern to the B-schools in India (Babu & Thakur, 2017). The 'macro' focus is gradually reduced in management education (Mathai 1980). "Management education in India is reduced to "Simulacra" (cf. Baudrillard, 1994) that has no relevance to the issues and problems of our society" (Ojha, 2017, p. 55). Scholars have raised the skepticism regarding if any 'real' value addition is done to the students (Babu & Thakur, 2017). Surprisingly, the issues that are most relevant to society like poverty, inequality, environmental degradation, climate change, etc. are kept outside the realm of B-schools in any form possible. The 'big issues' do not find the way in curriculum or classroom discussions and are considered to be constricting the effectiveness of the program.

Remarkably, due to the macromarketing's focus, that is unique in itself, it is in a position to contribute through sensitizing marketing/management academia (particularly, students and managers) about the above-mentioned issues. S. Shapiro et al. (2021) posit that macromarketing "provides the valuable knowledge and tools necessary to encourage and equip students to tackle these challenges" (p. 105). However, it throws pedagogical challenges in discussing the issues that are perceived as peripheral for business education, but relevant to society, due to the narrow focus of the schools (e.g. Babu & Thakur, 2017; Ojha, 2017).

Multiple things have been attempted in this direction. S. J. Shapiro et al. (2006) and S. J. Shapiro et al. (2009) have published a consolidated macromarketing reading list. Further, S. Shapiro et al. (2021) posit that marketing education should impart students with system-based critical and socially aware thinking. They present four decades of macromarketing pedagogy and discuss pedagogical approaches of professors from six countries through mini-cases. Moreover, they conclude that there would be "the demand for a pedagogy characterized by critical and systems thinking, one that incorporates approaches to learning based on experiences, inquiry, and problem-solving" (p. 112).

This work addresses the abovementioned gap and takes a qualitative (Yin, 2011) (Roy-Chaudhuri and Jagadale 2020) and critical reflection approach (Freshwater, 2011; Hickson, 2016). It reflects on the author's experience of imparting 'values' to tackle the social problems using marketing knowledge in their classes, particularly rural marketing and strategic marketing courses. Further, it discusses the case of the Institute of Rural Management Anand (IRMA) in India about how they address the pedagogical challenges while attempting the democratization of management techniques and tools. IRMA was established to address the issue of professionalization of 'peoples' organizations working for 'rural' disenfranchised populace viz. cooperatives, civil society organizations (CSOs), and socially responsible corporates. It aims at privileging societal interests through 'collective agency'.

The author is a faculty in a premier B-school in India. The challenges faced by the author are mainly on account of the resistance from students to discuss the 'macro' issues relevant to society. Thematic analysis of data collected by interviewing 17 students to explore resistance, and authors critical reflection on their experience yielded several themes. Decoupling of business and society, self-serving normative expectations from MBA program, less relatability with the social issues due to the students' privileged socio-cultural backgrounds, less interesting course delivery- inability to enthuse students and imperfect moderation by instructors, narrow understanding of value imparted — just a customer value, cultural preferences of students, apprehensions of students about limited agency as business managers, political views of students on social issues and shared norm amongst students of not discussing issues having social overtones. Interestingly, introduction to wicked problems in-class discussions led to the instructor being stereotyped as a 'socialist' and stimulatingly, students arguing about the 'value-neutrality (?)' of 'capital' (De Soto, 2000); and students' argument that there could be a course on social issues. Students further argue that it shall not be portrayed as overarching i.e. affecting 'everything' (?). We face tremendous difficulty given this challenge to prepare students to even listen to the wicked problems.

Our attempt to address these challenges was multi-pronged, with the understanding that content and method cannot be entirely separated. Our objective was to make students aware of the 'silos' they live in and sensitized them towards the need to collectively support a concept and practice of socially responsible business (e.g Baker, 2011; S. Shapiro et al., 2021). Follow-

ing Aristotle's approach to drama in his 'Arse Poetica'- i.e. study, describe, classify, and abstract, we introduced them to the live projects with 'problem' orientation- having larger connotations for the 'societal problems' and its resolution.

We designed two exercises, for second-year MBA students, having bearings on the macrosystems' outcomes of well-being and sustainability. 1) In the strategic marketing course, we discussed a case of 'market creation' at the bottom-of-the-pyramid using low-cost sanitary napkins as a case in point. We introduced students to the issues of menstrual hygiene in India and required them to visit the 'field' to understand its nuances and possible roadmap to create a market. 2) In a rural marketing course, to expose students to the complexities of the phenomenon, we introduced them to the problems associated with the waste management practices in cities and the role of rag-pickers as environmental cleanliness agents. We also ensured that students explore the lives of vulnerable rag-picking women. In this case, too, we expected them to suggest ways to constructively engage with the rag-picking women to improve their overall well-being and the best waste management practices that can impact climate change. Essentially, our larger aims were to ensure students' holistic understanding of the real issues and the hands-on application of sophisticated marketing techniques to the grassroots problems.

Both these courses are 1 credit (20 sessions of 75 minutes each) courses taught in-person with the class enrolment of 60 students each. This particular assignment was designed as a mini-project and graded with 20% weightage. Other class assignments included case memos and quizzes which were not related to the mini-project which spanned over a term (12 weeks). We divided students into groups of four with at least one female student per group. We ensured that a group consists of students from diverse educational backgrounds. To gain insights on these issues we arranged students' exploratory visits to the 'field' through different organizations. Our earlier attempts to discuss these issues through the case study discussions did not yield good results with students raising the fundamental issues like the very efficacy of these cases and so what type questions.

We introduced students to the 'field' in two batches each (of 30 students) for a day-long visit. Students interacted with multiple stakeholders including rag-picking women, women in the reproductive age group (these discussions were mostly led by female students), and functionaries of organizations. The

mini-project output was submitted as a project report. Yet, we had a class discussion for sharing student's experiences and reflections that facilitated peer learning.

Their first-hand encounter with the social systems (in which humans relate to each other), and physical systems (human exists in the biosphere) brought us some results in the form of students' receptivity to the wicked 'problems' (Pittz et al., 2019). Students, understanding the gravity of problems in hand, started realizing the limitations of looking into the marketing problems from a dyadic perspective. Limitations of the individual agency were highlighted by many students. Some interesting learning outcomes were 1) their improved ability to comprehend the value chain in its entirety and 2) their understanding of the perceived need to constructively engage across the spectrum in the value chain to address the wicked problems. Some students in our formal discussions with them emphasized the need of bringing in systemic change, they meant system-wide change. Many students, particularly female students requested a simulation work-shop on these issues. A few students, interestingly, started questioning the efficacy of 'jargonized' management language and theoretical frameworks. Words 'systemic', 'religion' and 'social and cultural power' came up frequently in the discussions and experience sharing. Most of them highlighted a need to have grassroots understandings of the real issues to comprehend its 'macro' implications. We, in the future, plan to introduce a 'social' immersion program as a part of our marketing courses so that student's understanding of marketing does not really remain dyadic and systems' view is seamlessly incorporated by them.

Based on our experience of the students 'field work' we argue that these service-learning experiments in developing context have larger implications for the macromarketing pedagogy. Service learnings are more focused on students' understanding of the theoretical nuances of problems in hand through their reflections on the service experience in the community (Ferrari & Chapman, 2014). We also discuss the macro 'pedagogical experiment' of IRMA based on the service learnings. IRMA has appropriately incorporated service learnings, through its village stay segment, so that the students gain a broader understanding of the course content and discipline with a greater sense of civic responsibility (e.g. Bringle & Hatcher, 1995). In a village stay segment students stay with a family in a village for close to eight weeks to understand the rural lives and experience the socio-economic challenges deprived population face. Remarkably macromarketing and IRMA objec-

tives are similar- 'to save the world' (Fisk, 1981).

We posit that creating a collective agency is possible through the right 'content' and appropriate 'method'. The arguments are evidenced by the success of IRMA in buttressing the Indian development and dairy sector based on the values of citizenship, justice, equality, stewardship, and quality of life' (S. Shapiro et al., 2021).

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Food for Thought: Teaching Food Sustainability through a Macromarketing Lens

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Research on food sustainability has gained traction in recent years as concerns for the environment persist. In today's market, the reluctance of consumers to purchase suboptimal foods has been at the heart of food waste, impacting environmental, social and economic sustainability. In this pedagogical paper we explore the area of macromarketing and sustainability specifically focusing on food sustainability. Rooted in the theoretical foundation of David Kolb's experiential learning theory, a classroom exercise was given to undergraduate students to further develop insights into consumer behaviour with regard to food sustainability. We sought to make the personal political by encouraging students to connect their own consumer behaviour with the need to focus on social issues in their future practice as marketers. While final assignments have yet to be graded, discussion results show that food waste is often related to poor meal planning practices, cooking too much to be consumed, and failure to store foods properly. Furthermore, there is the added dimension of consumers' aversion to purchasing suboptimal foods from the store. Through this exercise we make a contribution by integrating sustainable practices through a pedagogical exercise on consumer behaviour.

Introduction

The classroom exercise discussed in this paper answers the call for more pedagogical contributions to the area of macromarketing and sustainability (Radford, Hunt and Andrus 2015;(Shapiro et al., 2021) and in particular food sustainability (Beverland, 2014). The United Nations (UN) has identified 17 sustainable development goals as a call for action to promote prosperity while protecting the planet (Nations, 2019). Goal 12 is to “ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns” (Nations, n.d.), with the UN noting that each year approximately 1/3 of all food produced ends up being wasted – either rotting in consumers’ or retailers’ garbage bins or spoiling during harvesting or transportation. Globally, the food sector accounts for about 30% of total energy consumption and about 22% of total greenhouse gas emissions (Nations, n.d.). Both the UN and researchers from multiple fields of study have identified avoiding food loss and waste as one route to ensuring a sustainable food supply (Alexsandrowicz et al. 2016; (Aschemann-Witzel et al., 2015; FAO, 2013; Garnett, 2011; Godfray et al., 2010; L. Reisch et al., 2013).

We had two over-arching goals in mind while developing this pedagogical exercise. First, we wanted students to reflect on their own food consumption practices. While food waste can occur anywhere along the supply chain, in developed economies, consumer waste appears to be a major contributing factor (Beretta et al. 2013; Buzby and Hyman 2012). Therefore, it is important for our students to consider their personal role as consumers, as well as their role as future marketing practitioners (Dietz et al. 2009; (Prothero & McDonagh, 2021; Redman & Redman, 2014). Research indicates that consumers who are aware of problems relating to food waste contributing to environmental damage, are more likely to purchase abnormally shaped food, for example (Loebnitz et al., 2015). Thus, the earlier consumers are initiated to the problem, the greater the chances of having them respond faster. And a good starting place is educational institutions. According to a Harvard Business Review (Kanter, 1991), environmental issues need to be integrated into the curricula.

We agree with Ray Benton (2015, p. 119), when he says “It is doubtful we would be where we are, in this saga of waste, without the help of marketing professionals” and that we should “begin in the classroom” when it comes to figuring a way out (cf. Prothero & McDonagh, 2021). We further agree with Shapiro and colleagues (2021) that “educational institutions. . . need to

prepare students to think proactively, respond effectively, and bring about positive change.” Therefore, we sought to help our students make a connection between insights gleaned about their own consumption and their future role as marketers, and in particular, how they might prioritize sustainability issues, as our second goal.

While sustainable consumption analyzed in the macro perspective takes into account issues of the place of consumption (Giulio et al., 2014), sustainable consumption policy (L. A. Reisch & Thøgersen, 2017), and tools and indicators (Polonsky et al. 2014), the same concept in a micro perspective focuses on consumer behavior (Smyczek, 2020). Transformation to a more sustainable society requires action at different levels, from international to local action to that of the individual level (Adgar, Arnell and Tompkins 2005). With regards to education initiatives, micro-level influences including commitment of individual universities or departments (Molthan-Hill et al., 2020) can have a significant influence. Individuals at the micro-level are key decision makers, individuals communicate through media to influence wider societal opinion, and individuals who educate classes of students or impact educational policy. Thus, it is important to recognize that action taken across multiple levels, with different actors at micro and macro-levels can be effective in addressing sustainable development challenges (Molthan-Hill et al., 2020).

Education for Sustainable Development is defined as “the process of equipping students with knowledge and understanding, as well as the skills and attributes required to work and live in such a way that safeguards environmental, social and economic wellbeing both now and in the future” (QAA 2014). Strong support is evident for addressing Education for Sustainable Development through the embedding of sustainability into the curricula of different disciplines (Dawe et al., 2005). Business disciplines serve as the vanguard of embedding sustainability in various institutions, driven both by macro-level initiatives and “micro-level appreciation by individual educators of the potential for business graduates to effect macro-level change throughout their careers” (Parkes 2017).

In this paper we begin by investigating fundamental aspects on food sustainability in which suboptimal foods are highlighted. Following a discussion on relevant literature, the theoretical foundation for the pedagogical exercise will be introduced proceeding to an overview of the exercise. Next, a detailed description of the assignment will be given, and outcomes thor-

oroughly reviewed. We conclude with a discussion of limitations and suggestions for future pedagogical endeavors.

Literature on Food Sustainability

Food waste has an impact on environmental, social and economic sustainability (Aschemann-Witzel, Giménez, et al., 2018). Food loss and waste represents substantial economic costs to businesses and society and causes enormous environmental impacts and costs (Gooch et al., 2019). Approximately 1.3 billion tons of food, about one third of the edible food produced in the world for human consumption, gets lost or wasted every year (FAO, 2011), equating to about US\$ 989 billion (Louis & Lombart, 2018). On a per capita basis, consumers waste between 95 and 115 kg of food in a year in Europe and North America (Louis & Lombart, 2018). Over 40% of the losses occur at the consumer and retail levels (Louis & Lombart, 2018). Fruits and vegetables have the highest wastage rate of any food (Lombart et al., 2019), with supermarkets rejecting produce “at the farm gate due to rigorous quality standards concerning weight, size, shape and appearance of crops”, which results in “large portions of crops never leaving the farms” (FAO, 2011). This is because supermarkets seem convinced that consumers will refuse to buy food that has imperfect or suboptimal appearance (FAO, 2011). Food not purchased due to perceived sub-optimality is often wasted in the store, and this contributes to the problem of food waste (Aschemann-Witzel, de Hooge, et al., 2018).

Suboptimal or imperfect foods are products which deviate from normal or optimal products on several bases (De Hooge et al., 2017). These bases are: i) appearance standards (in terms of weight, shape and size) (Bunn et al., 1990); ii) best before date labeling; and, iii) packaging (e.g. torn wrapper, dented can) (White et al., 2016). Research indicates that consumers were willing to purchase suboptimal fruits only when the optimal fruits were sprayed with pesticides (Bunn et al., 1990), or when the deviation was moderate as opposed to extreme (Loebnitz & Grunert, 2015). In terms of packaging damage, consumers under high cognitive load considered superficial packaging damage as a possible source of contamination and health/safety risk (White et al., 2016) and were less inclined to purchase them. Furthermore, 62% consumers indicated they prefer buying food with the longest remaining shelf lives (Newsome et al., 2014). Loebnitz et al. (2015) found that consumers

with higher problem awareness regarding food waste contributing to environmental damage, were more likely to purchase abnormally shaped food. So, increasing consumers' awareness of food waste problems can increase their purchase intention of such food items.

The topic of the assignment is, therefore, very timely. In addition to the UN identifying sustainable consumption as an important goal, it seems that marketers are beginning to respond. For example, in 2014 two university students, Thibaut Martlain and Quentin Dumoulin, founded Second Life, a company that sells 'ugly' fruits and vegetables that would normally be refused by grocery stores to Quebec consumers (Kucharsky, 2014). The company estimates that since 2016, it has saved close to 3 million pounds of ugly produce from landfills or plowing under, at the same time saving consumers close to \$CDN 1.4 million (Second-Life, n.d.). In May, 2019, Quebec serial entrepreneur Jonathan Defoy launched the Food Hero app, which allows customers to check their local IGA or Metro grocery store for deals of between 25 to 60% off food that is still good but approaching its best before date (Montreal, 2019). Currently only available in two Canadian provinces (Quebec and New Brunswick), the app promises to save consumers up to \$CDN 1500/year on their grocery bills while allowing grocery retailers to avoid the costs associated with trucking unsold food items to the landfill. Canadian grocery chain, Loblaws, is offering consumers the opportunity to purchase 'Naturally Imperfect' food items, at its Real Canadian Superstores and No Frills locations, at a price discount of up to 30%. According to a Loblaws spokesperson, the lower prices improve accessibility to fresh fruit and vegetables for consumers who might not normally be able to afford them and also help farmers have a market for smaller or misshapen food they would otherwise throw away (Kashty, 2015).

Theoretical Foundation

The theoretical foundation for this pedagogical exercise can be found in David Kolb's (1981, 1984) experiential learning theory. Kolb (1984, p. 41) defines learning as "the process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience. Knowledge results from the combination of grasping and transforming experience." Based on this definition, Kolb's model of experiential learning portrays two modes of grasping experience (Concrete Experience and Abstract Conceptualization) and two modes of transforming experience (Reflective Observation and Active Experimentation).

Concrete Experience involves sensory and emotional engagement in some activity. Concrete experience evokes feeling. Reflective observation involves watching, listening, recording, discussing, and elaborating on the experience. This phase also involves making connections across experiences but without necessarily integrating theories and concepts. Abstract conceptualization involves integrating theories and concepts into the overall learning process – this is the in-depth thinking phase of the cycle. Active experimentation is the doing phase, in which the student engages in a trial-and-error process in which the accumulation of sensory experience, reflection, and conceptualization is tested in a particular context.

Kolb's model is a stage model, which means that learners move through the various 'modes' or activities. Regardless of where a student starts, completion of all components is necessary for the most effective learning (cf. Holtzman et al., 2008; Klink & Athaide, 2004). Thus, as we design experiential learning assignments for our courses, it is important to ensure that all stages of the cycle are included.

Overview of the Exercise

This assignment was used in a senior year undergraduate course on Consumer Culture Theory (Fischer, 2019; Ulver, 2019), but could be adapted for use in other courses, e.g., Introduction to Marketing, Marketing & Sustainability or Marketing & Society. The assignment is one of three that require students to examine and reflect on their own consumption habits in light of the articles they've been reading for the course, and write 1500 to 2500 words. The focus of the assignment is on food consumption and sustainability.

Prior to working on the assignment, one week of a 12-week semester is dedicated to discussing the topic of food sustainability. The course is set up in such a way that students team up to present a research paper to the class. They summarize and then critique the research. Students are urged to design their presentation in order to encourage class participation. The three readings assigned for presentation during the food sustainability week were:

- "The Scandalous Supermarket Waste that Stays Invisible" (blog post) (Grim, 2019) plus "Food wastage footprint & Climate Change" produced by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO)

- “Household-level dynamics of food waste production and related beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours in Guelph, Ontario” (Parizeau et al., 2015)
- “Who buys oddly shaped food and why? Impacts of food shape abnormality and organic labeling on purchase intentions” (Loebnitz et al., 2015)

The readings worked well as a package, although other journal papers could be substituted, along with videos (e.g. De Hooge et al., 2017; Symmank et al., 2018; van Giesen & de Hooge, 2019; Xu et al., 2021). The blog post together with the FAO document acted as a good introduction to the topic and laid out some simple facts about why food waste is a problem, the scale of the problem and how we, as consumers, can contribute to a solution. This last aspect was particularly important, since we wanted students to reflect on their personal role as consumers, and “seek to develop understandings . . . from within” (Dolan, 2002, p. 171).

Since the school where the exercise was used is in the same province as the Guelph, Ontario study, it was chosen with special purpose. Indeed, during the first use of the assignment, a student from Guelph was in the class. The lead author had also lived in Guelph; this allowed for a discussion of their rather unique and rather intensive recycling program to occur on an informal basis after the paper had been presented.

The third article was chosen to provide students with empirical evidence on how consumer preference is influenced by abnormal shapes of food. Unless the food deviates extremely from the norm, consumers’ purchase intentions of abnormally shaped food are not influenced significantly. Furthermore, awareness of food waste issues act as drivers of purchase intention of abnormally shaped food. These findings, we hoped, would influence the students to amend their own attitude and purchase intention towards sub-optimal foods, as they work their way through the assignment.

Assignment Text

The assignment involves creating and framing learning experiences through the process of preparing a bowl of salad. The aim of the assignment is to encourage students to gain a deeper understanding of personal consumption in relation to pro-environmental behaviours through practical exposure. Students are to leverage their experience to further gain knowledge and

adaptive reasoning of the subject matter. Thus, the assignment text and detailed description of the assignment will be given. The assignment text reads as follows:

For this assignment, you will need to prepare a bowl of salad using at least three different kinds of vegetables/fruits. Like Loebnitz et al. (2015), you need to focus on how you behave as a consumer and tell the story of your journey throughout the process of preparing that bowl of salad. Primarily you will discuss your story of choosing the vegetables/fruits that you picked and what factors influenced your purchase decision. You will discuss in detail the physical aspect of the product you picked, the number of each product you picked, the packaging material you used to transport the products back to your home and how you disposed of waste. Finally, you will apply what you have learned in the course readings to help you understand the process of consumption better.

Making a salad was chosen over preparing some other kind of meal for a couple of reasons. First, we wanted to be sensitive to the religious and dietary preferences of our students. We thought it would fit the needs of vegans, vegetarians, carnivores and those on special diets (e.g., gluten free). Twice during the semester the professor announced that if making a salad posed any problems, the assignment could be customized to meet students' needs. No one asked for an adjustment to the exercise. The professor had also asked for a show of hands regarding who did the grocery shopping in the students' households. In the discussion which followed, it was clear that parents performed the grocery shopping and meal making duties in the majority of households, with only a few students living on their own and performing these duties. Since this exercise was first conducted during the Covid-19 pandemic, this situation may have been more predominant than it would have been at other times. We, therefore, wanted students to have a fairly simple meal to shop for and prepare, allowing them to focus more on other aspects of the assignment.

As is the practice of this school of business, students were provided with a grading rubric in advance of completing the assignment. It read as follows:

Detailed Description of Assignment

Part 1: Planning (2 marks out of 15)

Describe what kind of salad you are going to make. What products do you need? How much salad would you make? For whom are you making the salad (e.g., a large bowl for multiple people, a large bowl for you to consume later or just one serving)? How many items of each product do you need?

Part 2: Shopping (4 marks out of 15)

Tell us about your journey to the store. How did you travel to the store? Where did you find your items? How did you search for the items? What were the key criteria that you used for picking the items? Did aesthetics (how pretty the products are), firmness, ripeness or any other feature influence your purchase decision?

How did you carry the products to the counter? Did you use the superstore trolley? Did you put the products in a plastic bag before wheeling them to the counter? How did you carry the products from the store to your home? Did you request a bag at the counter or did you carry your own bag?

Part 3: Make a bowl of salad (3 marks out of 15)

Explain the process of preparing the salad. Did you use any kind of food 'wash' to cleanse the fruits/vegetables? Did you have to peel your fruits/vegetables? What did you do with the peels? How did you dispose of the packaging materials?

Part 4: Applying the Theory (4 marks out of 15)

Do you consider yourself to be a pro-environmental person? Before reading the articles provided, were you averse to buying cosmetically less than perfect fruit/vegetables? Did the concept of

food waste based on food shape abnormality influence your purchase decision? Going forward, do you anticipate being kinder (not be averse) to less than perfect fruits/vegetables?

Does your family (or you) engage in recycling practices at home? How do you dispose of various types of items – compost, plastic, paper, glass? Did any of the articles influence you to rethink your disposal practices?

Part 5: What did you learn? (2 marks out of 15)

What did you learn about consumption by thinking about the purchase process of fruits/vegetables in order to complete this assignment? What do you think marketing practitioners could learn from this form of consumer research?

This five-step process exhibits a creative learning experience for students to grasp concepts and apply theory through personal decision making. The planning phase is essential for students to analyze and study the objectives of the assignment before collecting the ingredients to make the salad. This phase offers the opportunity to set predetermined goals and the way in which these goals will be achieved. Phase two requires implementation of the first phase by which physical collection of ingredients takes place. Questions are developed to address who, what, where, when, why, and how the implementation process took place to bolster success. Phase three involves execution of making the salad with the ingredients previously gathered. Students are to reflect on their process of execution to gain further understanding of techniques used and steps taken to produce their final outcome. Phase four involves theoretical application assisting students to critically reflect on classroom concepts. This phase builds clarity of consumption behaviours and future endeavours with regard to food sustainability. Finally, phase five makes connections between academic knowledge and practice allowing students to reflect on the assignment and apply outcomes to their future as prospective marketing practitioners. Thus, enabling a deeper understanding of food sustainability and personal consumption in a real world context.

We asked students to tell us whether they were preparing a meal for themselves only or for their family for two reasons. First, under Covid-19, living

circumstances might not be the same as when the pandemic passes and allows for students to return to previous living arrangements. In order to compare year-over-year results, we felt this would be important to note. Perhaps more importantly, previous research has demonstrated that caring for and respecting the preferences of near family members can take precedence over the desire to avoid food waste in day-to-day practice (Cappellini & Parsons, 2012; Graham-Rowe et al., 2014).

Outcomes

At the time of writing, students had not yet submitted their assignments for grading. Our university's Research Ethics Board required us to wait until after final grades had been submitted for the semester before determining which students had granted us access to their assignments to be used as data for our study. We anticipate having this data in hand in time for the conference. In the meantime, we offer some comments on classroom discussions that provide insight into students' attitudes and consumption behaviours.

During the class discussion, both the article presenters and other students in the class declared that they had previously been unaware of the magnitude of the food waste problem and how it impacts our environment (Williams et al., 2012). When asked if they could give an example of a time when they had thrown food away, students responded, expressing the same feelings of guilt as discussed in the literature (Aschemann-Witzel, de Hooge, et al., 2018). They also discussed buying in large quantities/bulk and how that contributes to food waste (Williams et al., 2012), how the aesthetic properties of fruits and vegetables influenced their purchasing habits (Loebnitz et al., 2015), impulse purchasing of fruit as a result of store displays, and the role of expiry dates (Wansink & Wright, 2006). These unsought results of consumption echo what previous researchers have found. Food waste is often related to poor meal planning practices, cooking too much to be consumed, failure to store foods properly, etc. (Evans, 2012; Stefan et al., 2013; Terpstra et al., 2005). Suggestions for how to reduce food waste were then discussed, including: buying only what you need, buying local and buying in season. During the discussion, students indicated that they felt both consumers and the supermarkets were to blame for food waste issues (Gruber et al., 2016).

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Pedagogical Endeavours

A limitation for the current exercise arose when one student revealed that he usually purchases his groceries from an online platform. This technically obviated the opportunity of the student being a consumer in a physical store setting, going through the experience of making a choice between different options of food. As a future area of study, one could look at the type of online grocers (grocers with a sustainability agenda vs. no such agenda) that students subscribe to in order to reflect their sustainability commitment.

Silchenko and Askegaard (2020, p. 134) have examined whether the ideology of healthism, described as “as individual’s preoccupation with and responsibility for health, raised to the level of super-value”, informs marketing and consumer research in the food domain. It would be interesting to research the impact of healthism on consumers’ preference for or avoidance of ‘ugly’ foods, and whether consumers high in healthism require special efforts to persuade them to purchase such foods. Scholars have encouraged researchers to understand consumer’s food-related behaviours in relations to their motives, value orientations and social context (Beverland, 2014; Dolan, 2002). In a similar vein, classroom exercises that bring into focus students’ attitude toward sustainability (Xu et al., 2021) and well as attitudes opposing sustainable consumption (Smyczek, 2020) can be useful to starting a debate on the role of individual consumers, as well as the responsibility of marketing practitioners to work towards achievement of the UN’s sustainable development goals could be valuable.

From time to time the marketing and macromarketing literatures have offered tantalizing glimpses of what might be an important role for marketers, marketing researchers and consumer researchers in the sustainability ‘cause’. Mitchell, Wooliscroft and Higham (2010), for example, suggested ‘sustainable marketing orientation’ as a ‘new’ approach to marketing strategy over a decade ago. We would love to see course syllabi for marketing strategy courses designed from this perspective.

Building on the work of Dolan (2002), Prothero and McDonagh (2021) argue that sustainability and sustainable consumption needs to be approached as a political project. It would be interesting to learn of dissertation research which takes an action research approach to dealing with food waste issues, perhaps recommending strategies to overcome institutional inertia and resis-

tance.

A fair amount of research has already been conducted on the 'voluntary simplicity' phenomenon, but we have only really scratched the surface of researching the intersection of voluntary simplicity and sustainability (see Peyer et al. (2017) for an example). More research at the intersection of sustainability and other consumer trends, for example, green consumerism (Viswanathan & Varghese, 2018), the slow food movement (Chaudhury & Albinsson, 2015), ethical consumption (Papaoikonomou & Alarcón, 2017), the 'Foodie Identity' (Ulver, 2019), or lifestyles would be beneficial (Hüttel et al. (c.f. 2020) work on anti-consumption and well-being). Do these various labels point towards the same consumption beliefs, attitudes and practices or are there important distinctions among them?

This research further points to opportunities to integrate exercises into other applicable courses. Particularly, the exercise could aid in understanding the green consumer within Marketing and Sustainability Courses. The psychographic segmentation of green consumers proposed by the National Marketing Institute classify green consumers based on their attitudinal differences surrounding sustainability into the following categories: lifestyle of health and sustainability, naturalities, conventionals, drifters, and unconcerned (Viswanathan & Varghese, 2018). Students might use this exercise to better understand how businesses can promote environmental and socially responsible products, practices and brand values to the green consumer.

Additionally, Marketing Research Courses could utilize this exercise to develop a comprehensive understanding of how different segments view ugly produce. Through research techniques, students would benefit from hands-on experience of individual data collection and analyzing and interpreting data relevant to marketing decisions.

Further, the exercise could be used in Strategic Marketing Courses through which the exercise coupled with instructions and debrief on marketing claims (used for any product by the student) could provide insights into strategic processes and efforts to maximize marketing plans. This could be further extended by looking at products beyond fresh produce encouraging students to develop a deeper understanding of consumer consumption across product categories. Lastly, future endeavors might consider implementing exercises into a Marketing and Society Course. The exercise could help gain awareness on how consumption of ugly produce can benefit society as a whole through pro-environmental consumption habits.

Conclusion

It seems the time is right to be considering not only what we mean by 'sustainability' (Kemper & Ballantine, 2019), but how it can be woven into the fabric of marketing instruction, along with marketing and consumer research (Davies et al., 2020). We offer this exercise as a small contribution to this effort.

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An “Expanded Voice” Macro-Sustainability Approach to Teaching Principles of Marketing

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This paper reports on how a team of authors located in six different countries maintained a macromarketing lens on the subject of sustainability, threading related challenges and strategic demands throughout an existing introductory marketing course. Macromarketing — typically described as the study of the connections between markets, marketing & society — goes beyond traditional notions of sustainability to include aspects such as the climate crisis, distributive justice, marketing systems, market failures, marketing’s impact on socio-economic development and Quality-of-Life. In many ways, a macromarketing focus captures the purposes behind the United Nations’ Sustainable Development Goals, making it a useful lens for generating the outcomes that more contemporary sustainability strategists desire.

To represent this focus in our current effort, we introduce the term “macro-sustainability”. We define this as the attainment of sustainability within the provisioning actions of individuals, companies, organizations, and governments as well as their collective effects in marketing systems, in a way that fully integrates societal, economic, and environmental factors. Indeed, we acknowledge Shultz and Peterson (2019) who argue that a macromarketing lens is imperative if achievements and strategies with regard to sustainability are to be properly understood and designed. The complex systems in which sustainability issues emerge and action is desired requires a macro view in order to identify elements necessary for solutions. In other words, a “hacking” to infuse sustainability into an introductory marketing course necessarily involves macromarketing.

Marketing classrooms are most often focused on the micro level, failing to account for wider societal and environmental issues. In this paper, we argue for the inclusion of the wider macro-sustainability focus throughout marketing education. With that objective in mind, we developed and delivered a Kotler-based introductory marketing course, but one that integrated both the micro and the macro, infusing the course with macro-sustainability. This was done through an “expanded voice” perspective that included complementary micro and macro class sessions in a given week, using a traditional managerial marketing textbook but supplemented by “bigger picture” macro-sustainability materials. The course was offered in a hybrid format, with synchronous class sessions over Zoom accompanied by asynchronous portions. The home instructor taught the micro focused classes. Each of the six cooperating academics created and presented, via Zoom, two classes in the semester, providing broader macro perspectives on traditional textbook material. We also used a controversies approach to support discussion and learning, during which student teams took contrasting positions on what corporations, consumers and government should or should not be doing in a variety of domains.

We taught this course to 150 second-year undergraduate students at an elite Turkish university and then conducted a quantitative and qualitative assessment of course effectiveness in promoting macro-sustainability, including comparing results with a conventional marketing course. The results of these assessments indicated student awareness of macro-sustainability topics had been increased through our redesigned offering, and that there was a shift from more simplistic and problem-oriented notions of sustainability to ones

that were more complex and solution-oriented over the semester. The results also suggest, however, that adopting macro-sustainability values may be the result of a process of gradual acceptance over time rather than a “shock of recognition” event.

In closing, we offer a model of how marketing classes at all levels can be ‘hacked’ with a macro-sustainability approach. As a way of assisting others who also wish to “macrotize” their course offerings, the visuals used in the course are now available, along with a significant amount of other “open source” material at Pedagogy Place, a new teaching resource on the Macromarketing Society web site.

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Learning from Poverty through Ethnographic Stories: A macromarketing perspective

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Neal (2017) advocated the role of business schools in achieving the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) on eliminating extreme poverty by 2030. The seventeen goals are ambitious and require systematic efforts from all individuals and organizations worldwide, including business schools. However, marketing education is falling short of teachings management students to think that way. Business schools should also join these efforts as management education can play an essential role in poverty reduction. Management students, working with multinational firms across different sectors, can play a crucial role in the betterment of subsistence consumer merchants.

Scholars have reiterated that business schools must help students learn about the base of the pyramid (BOP) markets, also known as subsistence marketplaces, because of their implications for business and society (Gordon, 2008; Viswanathan et al., 2016). Field-experiential learning activities consist of real-world observation, reflection, and application which contextualizes learnings with personal lived experiences (Schaller, 2020) and enhances learning outcomes. Radford et al. (2015) highlighted the limitations of the curriculum that studies micro-marketing topics. Hence, it is essential to integrate the macromarketing perspective to help students develop a holistic understanding at the systems' level. The interest in teaching macromarketing concepts has increased in recent years (Shapiro et al., 2021).

I have been offering an elective course, "BOP Markets: Perspectives and Solutions (BOPM)," offered to 2nd year MBA students for the last three years.

The traditional pedagogical tools such as lectures, in-class exercises might be helpful in other marketing courses; I felt that this course needed a different approach as most of the students had never seen or experienced the BOP context firsthand. There is an acute shortage of resources about the low-income context, and one of the best ways to learn more is by experiencing themselves and generate bottom-up insights.

Gordon (2008) pointed out the limitations of the traditional pedagogies while teaching unfamiliar concepts such as BOP markets and advocated the role of direct, meaningful experience. Educators have been using experiential learning exercises to educate and engage with students better way vis-à-vis traditional pedagogies (Radford et al., 2015). Hence, I have designed a novel exercise where students need to develop an ethnographic story based on multiple interactions with respondents from the low-income context. McDougal et al. (2020) advocated the role of storytelling in enhancing the students' confidence and competence. This exercise has been designed with this objective as well. Most management students haven't seen or experienced poverty from close quarters; hence, an activity based on multiple interactions with the selected respondent has been designed. The ethnographic story exercise consists of three stages: 1. A short lecture and class discussion about the bop context (level of analysis- micro & macro). 2. An ethnographic story development based on multiple interactions with the identified respondents (level of analysis- micro). 3. A reflective exercise and class discussion (group and multi-group) to facilitate active learning and co-create shared understanding at an aggregate level (level of analysis- macro)

The exercise was designed as a multi-step process to make the learning experience incremental. The class of 26 students has identified one respondent from the low-income context based on convenience. All students interacted with them every alternate week with a few exceptions due to the ongoing pandemic. They attempted to understand the multiple facets of their lives such as consumption (purchase decisions, frequency, channel preference, brand preference, etc.), financial (banking, insurance, etc.), education, healthcare, housing, etc. Each student developed their ethnographic story based on the primary data collected over multiple interactions. After that, students in the group identified common themes across sectors, i.e., healthcare, housing, education, etc., and developed a shared understanding at the group and the class level (developing aggregate meso perspective). This group-level activity helped them understand a few systematic chal-

allenges. Then, students attempted to map the dominant issues with market-based solutions to facilitate a discussion and help students develop critical thinking skills. After that, students have to answer a set of specific questions after a few days (delay) to reflect and share their perspectives. Lastly, all students came together and discussed the key findings to learn from each other and co-create a shared understanding of the lives of the marginalized. I have also drawn from the experiential learning theory to assess the effectiveness of this assignment. The following activities can be considered to enhance the macromarketing content of the experiential exercise: 1) Mapping of SDGs with the dominant themes and the story to see an overarching picture at an aggregate level; i.e., 26 BOP households; 2) A critical discussion of a nuanced sectoral analysis of the data (for example- overall healthcare status of 26 poor households) followed by best managerial practices (through case studies, etc.) in the healthcare for BOP markets. Students identified a few challenges at the systems level and provided recommendations.

Students should learn from the best managerial practices; however, the learning outcomes will be pronounced if the marketing pedagogy is domesticated to reflect the local marketing system (Bradshaw & Tadajewski, 2011). Hence, this exercise helps students identify issues at a micro-level and propose customized solutions after accounting for contextual factors to the extent possible. The analysis at the group level facilitates students to develop multiple perspectives.

The objective of the exercise is to help students understand a granular, micro-level understanding of the life circumstances of the poor and their interactions with society and markets, who are trying hard to meet their basic needs. It will help students develop macromarketing perspectives and commit students to realize SDGs. As the novel exercise was designed for the first time for the online classes, students were asked subjective questions in the reflective exercise. Twenty-six filled responses were received. Most of the students rated their experience very good, and keywords which regularly appeared were 'insightful,' 'helpful,' 'interesting,' 'unique,' and 'new experience.' Students' feedback suggests that they have migrated from sympathy for the poor to 'informed empathy' aligned with the previous studies (Viswanathan et al., 2016). They also learned about market-based solutions through case studies and articles and problems via the ethnographic story assignment. Many students have shown an intent to solve some pressing issues. Some students went beyond the project's scope and helped the cho-

sen respondent in their capacity by providing resources or connecting them with relevant organizations with resources. I certainly hope that in the future, most of the management students will play a significant role in realizing the SDGs, including the reduction of extreme poverty by 2030.

The details of how the exercise was rolled out and the learnings for the participants have been elaborated. The objective of this paper is to propose using an experience-based innovative pedagogy, i.e., ethnographic story exercise, to develop a holistic understanding at a micro and macro level to facilitate better contextual managerial decisions. Although this exercise was specifically designed for the “BOPM” course, it can be applied across other marketing courses, such as retail management and consumer behavior, where nuances of a context need to be explained for better learning outcomes. Key lessons for marketing educators have been brought out along with some challenges and recommendations for the future.

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Session XIII

Special Session: Connecting Macromarketing with Industry and Government

Connecting Macromarketing with Industry, Government and Stakeholders

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Macromarketing has, in many ways, defined itself by its lack of relevance to individual firms and with that has avoided being relevant to business (in general), government and other stakeholders. That was not the intention in Fisk's (1981) invitation to take part in the affairs of the *Journal of Macromarketing*. When marketing is a provisioning technology, 'owned' by society, studies of that technology have a responsibility to translate and transmit results of studies to society and appropriate institutions.

A recent discussion with Roger Layton reinforced my belief that for macromarketing to rise to the prominence it deserves — promoting marketing for the good of society/ marketing as a provisioning technology — we need to be a little less precious.

We need to engage with industry, with government and stakeholder groups. We need to make our research available to the citizens that ultimately pay the bill for our research.

We should not be telling business how to do business better, rather how to do better business. We should not provide managerial insights, but insights for managers. But, we cannot continue to leave our research untranslated in conferences and journals, we need to reach out to government, industry and society.

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Transvection-Based Marketing: a low-value escape hatch for New Zealand producers

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At its core, marketing is a provisioning technology that through transvections aims to match supply and demand in society. The macro-marketing view considers the interactions of this technology between markets, marketing, and society. This paper explores the potential benefits of deploying transvection-based marketing in the New Zealand primary sector and examines how its influence could positively impact value creation and capture, productivity improvement, and importantly, the well-being of all New Zealanders.

Introduction

New Zealand as a nation, aspires to move beyond being a low-wages, low-value economy to a more sophisticated high-wage, high-value economy. One where its people can enjoy remuneration levels sufficient to meaningfully participate in all of life's opportunities. The country's Finance Minister, Grant Robertson, ([n.d.](#)) agrees, stating, "So, today in this first Wellbeing Budget, we are measuring and focussing on what New Zealanders value — the health of our people and our environment, the strengths of our communities and the prosperity of our nation. Success is making New Zealand both a great place to make a living, and a great place to make a life." Achieving this objective beyond the beehive narrative means the nation's enterprises,

particularly those in the primary sector, will need to step up to the next level, become genuinely world-class, and then compete successfully on the global stage.

Transvection-Based Marketing

Achieving such a goal will require levels of investment, innovation, policy support, productivity improvements, and research and development not seen for many generations in New Zealand. In the midst of this future-proofing shift from ideology to reality, transvection-based marketing can play a central role. Transvection is a concept originally developed by Wroe Alderson in the 1960s. It offers unique perspectives encouraging advanced, non-linear thinking, about how raw inputs are shaped, transformed, and guided, through dynamic channels to satisfy the demands of carefully targeted consumers.

Transvection System Design (TSD) is a precision tool employing a dynamic systems approach, which operates in harmony with ecological systems and their feedback loops. Transvection-based marketing is a multi-dimensional provisioning technology powered by innovation and information. Its operating system utilises a deep understanding of organisational behavioural systems and acknowledges a world where heterogeneity represents the needs and wants of real consumers in the real world.

A well-designed transvection system is capable of transitioning a raw input in nature via effective production and manufacturing processes, unique value propositions, viable business models, relevant customer knowledge, effective networks, and relationships, into offerings that meet the demands of consumers in society¹. In a metaphorical sense, a transvection can be viewed as a river upon which dynamically transforming goods and services are carefully shaped and then delivered as they flow from their origin to their destination². In nature, some parts of the river flow faster, more dynamically, and more powerfully, than others. Understanding and successfully navigating these flows is critical in nature and the real world. The challenge for transvection-based marketers is to understand and interpret these flows. Ask-

¹Alderson (1965, p. 86) defines a transvection as, "the unit of action by which a single product is placed in the hands of the consumer after moving through all the intermediate sorts and transformations from the original raw product in the state of nature."

²The transvection is a measure of the efficiency of the processes involved in turning the raw materials into finished goods in the hands of the consumer." (Wooliscroft et al., 2006, p. 37)

ing the right questions is fundamental to great design³.

Importantly, and specifically to New Zealand, transvection-based marketing strategy, when embraced, can provide the means to escape from low-value traps, which many firms are caught, restrained, or trapped in. For instance, the New Zealand primary sector presents with a cultural history of commodity trading, based on weak transvection chain knowledge and resources. It is an addiction that has prevented many in New Zealand society from flourishing and enjoying a higher standard of living.

Drucker (1958) once suggested, “Marketing is the most effective engine for economic development”, a solid endorsement of the discipline. Can the relative scarcity of end-to-end marketing systems across the primary sector account for why New Zealand remains a low-wage economy? One, that has seemingly surrendered to low levels of productivity⁴.

Transvection-based marketing strategy, when fully embraced, is potentially an unequalled thinking and doing tool, offering strategic guidance out of low wages and low productivity. As a platform, it is positioned to optimise value, enhance customer experiences, cope with competition, deal with disruption, and open up innovation opportunities. Transvection-based marketing is a smart idea.

The New Zealand Challenge

As a country, New Zealand is predominantly a producer of primary agricultural products (as was Korea 50 years ago) with a significant need to export them to earn its living⁵. A considerable percentage of this primary production output is traded through low-value commodity platforms and in-market

³In management there is a tendency to identify a weakness, then try to find ways to relieve the symptoms. But it would be more fundamental to insist on understanding why the objectives are not already being met. What is it in the design of a corporation that is inhibiting success? Forrester (2021)

⁴New Zealand’s disappointing productivity performance has held back its standard of living, and wellbeing more generally, for many years. In simple terms, productivity can be thought of as working “smarter” rather than “harder”. For the last 25 years or more New Zealand’s income per person has stayed at about 70% of the average of that in countries in the top half of the OECD. New Zealand’s position among OECD countries would be even weaker if not for the relatively long hours (on average) that people in New Zealand work. (Commission, 2021)

⁵Primary sector exports make up 78 percent of total merchandise exports and more than half of total exports when including services. New Zealand Herald (2019) Primary sector exports make up 78 percent of total merchandise exports and more than half of total exports when including services. New Zealand Herald (2019)

intermediaries for relatively poor returns⁶ Low returns are particularly amplified when the distortions in transactions across the end-to-end transvection are taken into consideration⁷. This is primarily (not solely) because the 'profit party' has a strong tendency to occur after the final transaction, the one responsible for placing the product into the hands of the ultimate consumer. For example, Coleman (2014) reports, "For the winery, the highest gross margin by far is to sell to the consumer directly. A visitor who walks out with a bottle of the Napa Valley Estate Cabernet pays the full retail price, all of which goes to the winery." This is an illustrative example for this narrative, but most food and beverage products in New Zealand demonstrate a similar gross margin performance.

Ultimately, marketing system design and its professional implementation dictate the outcome for the system's participants. Critically, marketing systems of the future will need to become increasingly resilient and innovative to cope with elevated levels of disruption, compliance, and competition. Challenges will include accounting for the real costs of externalities, living with more stringent social licencing requirements, and acknowledging the very real limits to growth. For example, an acknowledgement of finite resources has recently been demonstrated by Levi Strauss & Co⁸. Shaw (2021) reports, "American apparel company Levi Strauss & Co is encouraging its customers to buy less as it strives to tackle the climate crisis and issues of overconsumption. The San Francisco-based multinational, which first set up its denim retailing business in 1853, is asking its customers to wear their clothes longer and to buy less often."

Choosing to build premium business models that are innovative, customer-centric, planet friendly, people friendly, and future-proof across the entire transvection makes sense at every level. Unfortunately, many of New Zealand's agribusinesses continue to embrace a unit volume growth-orientated, production mindset. This lowest-cost, commodity supplier, farming legacy is contributing to the country's producers being caught in low-value traps. They represent a serious hangover from the past. The ramifications and conse-

⁶Commodities are the most volatile asset class. It is not unusual for the price of a raw material to halve, double, triple or more over a very short time. (Kowalski, n.d.).

⁷A transvection is, "A single unit of action of the marketing system. This unit of action is consummated when an end-product is placed in the hands of the ultimate consumer, but the transvection comprises all prior action necessary to produce this final result, going all the way back to conglomerate resources." Alderson (1965, p. 62)

⁸Because Earth is essentially a closed system, there is a finite amount of matter on the planet and in its atmosphere. All of the matter that we have now, is all the matter that there will likely ever be on Earth. Earth (n.d.)

quences of poor marketing approaches combined with failed 1980s neo-liberalism are reverberating throughout the country to the present day⁹. They have delivered devastating consequences to the wellbeing of the New Zealand environment and its society¹⁰. The Orwellian influenced could accurately assert that some kiwis are now more equal than others.

Dr. Ganesh Nana (2021), Chair of the New Zealand Productivity Commission had this to say,

For the last thirty or forty years, New Zealand's main approach to maintaining and growing our living standards has relied on adding more people into the workforce, having employees working longer hours, and expanding production in industries with damaging environmental impacts. This approach is not sustainable. Long working hours can be harmful to individual and social wellbeing, our labour force participation rates are already high, and we are harming our natural resources and taonga.

The Underweight Marketing Challenge

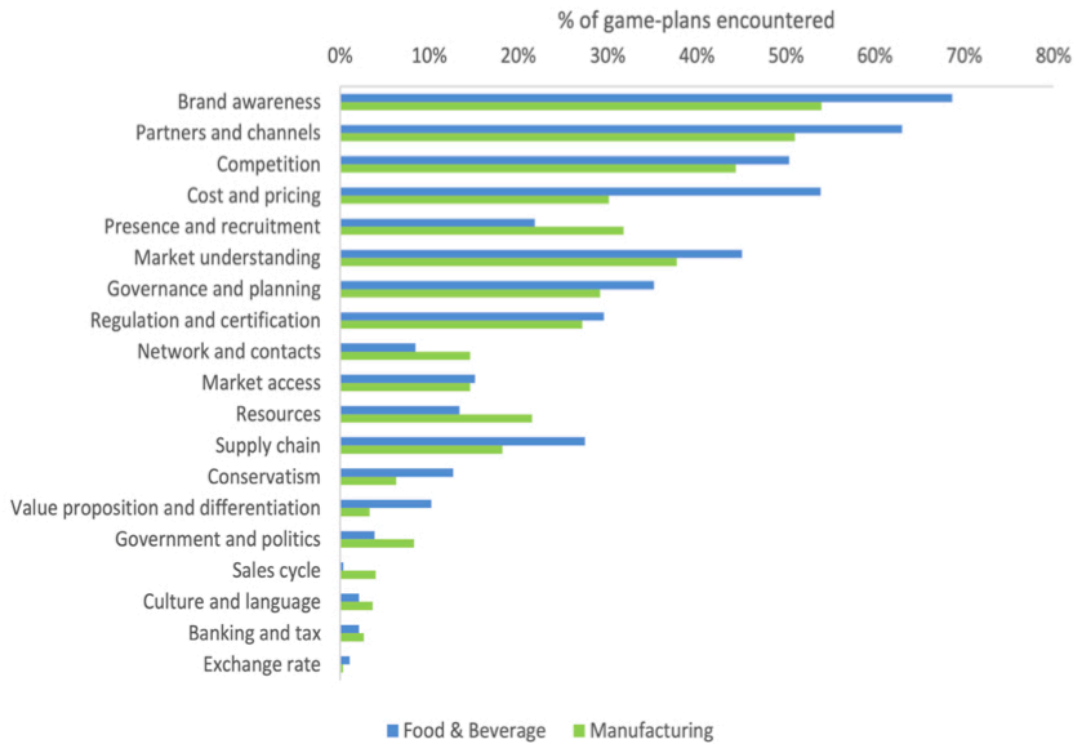
A New Zealand Trade & Enterprise report (2021) researching the exporting challenges of New Zealand firms ranked challenges from most to least commonly reported. The Food and Beverage and Manufacturing data breakdown is provided in Figure 1.

If you were to conduct an exercise in designing a successful transvection system for exporters there would be a strong case to suggest the vast majority of elements ranked in the visual above should belong to the jurisdiction of marketing. This is particularly the case for brand awareness, partners and channels, competition, and cost and pricing. S. et al. (n.d., p. 10) highlight the challenge further stating, "In short, our results suggest that many exporting firms face difficulty in building the profile of their brands. In addition, exporting firms' route to the destination market often passes through some intermediaries such as retailers and distributors rather than directly to the end consumers. It is common for firms to use partnerships and other

⁹Labour leader Jacinda Ardern says neoliberalism has failed and New Zealand has always been served well by interventionist government. Cooke (2017))

¹⁰The top 1 percent of the population has a quarter of all the wealth in New Zealand. The rich are holding on to their wealth despite successive governments, the GFC, and other periods of economic boom or bust. The result is that inequality in NZ has not improved for at least the last 18 years.Hanauer (2019)

Figure 1: Challenges ranked from most to least commonly reported. Source (2021) NZTE.



suitable channels to create a stronger market presence. This challenge is particularly problematic for firms who are new to the market and have not had the opportunity to establish overseas contacts and networks.” Not successfully dealing with these challenges can leave ‘money on the table’ for more innovative operations upstream to capture.

Many so-called in-market partners (intermediaries) generate superior premiums by taking control of the profitable interactions at the ultimate consumer interface. These interactions are largely denied to enterprises that are underweight in marketing. This is because the marketing system they rely on has not been designed from end-to-end. If it was, the way value is captured for the producer would have been integrated into the system’s architecture as a top priority. When the key design input decisions in a transvection are left to the enterprise positioned at the ultimate consumer interface, the financial outcomes for risk and reward are often distorted. From a societal perspective, these outcomes can be felt through low wages and reduced standards of living for New Zealanders.

An innate awareness of transvection design is key to understanding value creation and value capture. Upstream enterprises can often leverage incumbent history, in-depth market knowledge, and strong existing relationships to capture the lion’s share of value leaving producers to wonder what happened. Their investment in consumer infrastructure and talent also plays a role. They can afford to invest because they are profitable. They are profitable because they manage the transvection to their advantage. As an animal leaves the farm on transport for the processor, the transvection has only just begun. Sadly at this point for many farmers, the transvection is already over. Their years of hard work is represented by one small sorting moment and the reward is often small too¹¹.

Sadly, such outcomes do not always reflect appropriate risk and reward equity across the transvection. For example, a beef farmer may take between 18-48 months to produce the perfect Aberdeen Angus. In stark contrast, a typical high street red meat retailer can curate a retail offering from multiple sources and only has a product possession risk of days, yet their profit per kilo is often far superior to the per kilo profit the producer receives. The speculation risk endured by producers in such cases is disproportionate to

¹¹Alderson refers to sorting as the practice of breaking down or building up collections of goods, most often referred to as assortments. This means that sorting in this respect is about increasing or decreasing the homogeneity or heterogeneity in collections of goods. (Gadde & Hulthen, 2003, p. 2)

the way value is distributed. In a case like this, the transvection system design responsible for producer profitability demonstrates a poor design. Risk for the producer is poorly priced because the transvection has not communicated the right information to the ultimate consumer¹².

A full transvection from gate to plate helps a marketer understand how value is being distributed by capturing and mapping all of the transactions (ownership changes), transformations (processes where utility and value is added to raw materials), and sorts (essentially logistics, making sure the offer is in the right place at the right time), responsible for placing the final product into the hands of the ultimate consumer. The role of the transvection system designer is to create, interact with, and influence the provisioning ecosystem enabling the transvection to be optimised. The ability of transvection-based marketing to drive value creation and value capture for businesses is invaluable¹³.

Across the New Zealand agri-business sector, suboptimal transvections can be observed. Many sectors currently demonstrate an inability to consistently thrive in the cyclic commodity channels they have chosen to operate in. Of course, there are many reasons for changes in commodity cycles, but cycles change, constantly. For example, Morrison (2021) reports, "Shares in The a2 Milk Company plunged to their lowest level in a year after the dairy company reported a "challenging" first half, with profit dropping 35 percent as the Covid-19 pandemic disrupted sales." Rae (n.d.) looks at another primary sector highlighting, "Gross farm revenue for sheep and beef farmers in Otago-Southland is forecast to drop 10.6% to average \$552,300 per farm for 2020-21, Beef + Lamb New Zealand's mid-season update shows." Wallace (n.d.) highlights, "The high value of the NZ dollar is eroding prices and limiting the chances for improved farm gate prices." In commodity trading, markets are cleared by price, not by innovation or information¹⁴.

When business models are geared for volume, innovation nuances (identi-

¹²Risk has a cost and a value. In many cases, however, the customer has little idea of the risks and therefore has a limited appreciation of what it's worth. For this reason, contract negotiation has to include a clear articulation of risks and their value, which is why prior risk analysis is particularly valuable. Negotiators need to understand both the risk and the rationale for pricing it and be able to defend it when speaking with the customer. Kiewell et al. (2014))

¹³"A business's ability to capture value is most easily tested with one simple challenge: Can you raise prices without losing customers?" Jorgenson (2014)

¹⁴"Alderson argues that discrepant, heterogeneous markets can be cleared by either innovation or information. Innovation includes producing goods to satisfy needs currently unmet, or inducing demand for existing products through marketing efforts." (Priem et al., 1997, p. 148)

fiable by examining transvections) presenting new value creation and value capture opportunities, are likely to be overlooked by the pressure to compete¹⁵. Missing these opportunities negatively impacts enterprise returns making them less able to invest in innovation and this is how some enterprises become trapped in low-value business models. These low-value situations can also reinforce the status quo, encourage defensive thinking, and lock in conservative behaviour.

As Brackenridge (2016) notes, "New Zealand must challenge the status quo, blow apart the traditional price-taker mentality and move to a market-shaping model, one where we forgo a volume mentality for a value mindset... we need to transform not what we're selling, but the way we're selling it." This is a strong endorsement of the need to reinstate marketing and it reinforces the importance of value-capture. Going further, it supports serious investment in research and development of transvection systems design, which has the theoretical capacity to address these challenges, along with the potential to innovate marketing per se.

Another benefit of investing in transvection system design is developing elevated levels of protection from commoditization pressures. For example, D'Aveni (2010) reports,

Zarification is an example of a commoditization phenomenon in label deterioration. The deterioration is caused by a competitor at the low end of the market who creates a dominant low-price-and-benefit position that expands the market share of the low-end of the market. Like a stellar black hole, the low-end competitor creates such a dominant price-benefit position that it literally swallows up the positions around it.

An enterprise utilizing transvection systems design to analyse Zara's end-to-end provisioning system would realise that Zara leverages cutting edge production technologies to emulate famous fashion house designs and then accelerates the delivery for consumers offering more choice and much sharper prices.

¹⁵"If we are to maximise the potency of assortment of members of our society, we need to maintain the heterogeneity of products and avoid deficient sorts. An efficient market is not one in which every product is reduced to a commodity and sold for the lowest price, contrary to economic thinking, rather it is a market where the key heterogeneous attributes are maintained and both producers and consumers benefit from a matching process that leads to maximum potency of assortment. Identifying deficient sorts, as a part of transvection analysis or on its own, is a macromarketing tool for system wide potency maximization." (Wooliscroft & Wilkes, 2018)

If you were a Zara competitor, understanding this dynamic provides an excellent place to start engineering an effective response. For example, climate change policies are likely to work against the throwaway mindset of Zarafication. According to Docktrill (2020), "When it comes to the planet, Zara gets a 'Not Good Enough' rating from us." Docktrill continues, "It is important to remember that Zara has fast fashion traits such as on-trend styles and regular new arrivals. This business model is inherently harmful to the environment." New Zealand fashion enterprises are in a perfect position to design marketing systems that counter Zara's accelerated production advantage, however, it all starts with transvection system design, not fashion design.

The New Zealand red meat industry represents a primary sector that has famously struggled. The industry's financials remain cyclic, erratic, and sub-optimal. Doyle (2000, p. 299) highlights what may just be a key piece of the puzzle suggesting,

There is a paradox in how top management view marketing. On the one hand, marketing has become accepted as the central driver of shareholder value. Every world-class company now puts building long-term relationships with customers at the forefront of strategy. Yet while the role of marketing in achieving competitiveness and creating value is undisputed, the place of marketing professionals appears increasingly questioned.

The absence of professional marketers sitting around board room tables can often be felt by the customer through the experience delivered¹⁶. The red meat business delivers through a homogeneous business model with intentions of transitioning to value. This is a heterogeneous aim, so this would suggest an inherent conflict of purpose. It also suggests the presence of defective sorts¹⁷.

¹⁶"Many companies think they are customer-focused. Few are. A Bain study showed that 80% of companies believed they were providing a superior customer experience, but only 8% of customers thought so." Davidson (2009)

¹⁷When there is no heterogeneity of offering at the consumer end, due to a deficient sort in the transvection, there is no motivation for producers to maximise quality or heterogeneity. (Wooliscroft & Wilkes, 2018, p. 1039)

The Productivity Challenge

Writing this article was inspired by my reflection on New Zealand and its poor productivity over many decades¹⁸. I wanted to understand what had caused such a significant and persistent productivity problem. Such a situation remaining did not match the country's aspirations for a transition to high-wages or its aim of providing its citizenry with world-class living standards. Brook (2021) claims, "While many advanced countries have suffered from falling productivity since the Global Financial Crisis, New Zealand's productivity performance has been lacklustre since the mid-1990s. Our productivity growth since 1996 has been a paltry 1.4 percent and our output per hour worked is 40 percent below the top half of OECD countries." Figure 2 below highlights New Zealand's OECD position, and its struggle in a GDP per hour worked context.

Ten years after Sir Paul Callaghan's passing, Mandow (n.d.) reminds New Zealanders that Sir Paul frustratingly stated, "We have a great lifestyle. Yeah right. So why do we work so hard and earn so little? Our productivity was then, and is still, among the worst in the OECD. We work longer hours for less money than almost anyone in the developed world. We choose to be poor." Rosenberg (2018, p. 6) provides the rationale and national importance for New Zealand enterprises to embrace marketing stating, "Our main exports – dairy, meat, forestry, horticulture, tourism – all pay near minimum wages with notoriously poor working conditions and increased reliance on low-skilled immigration." Hendy and Callaghan (2013) suggested the decline in prosperity, catalysed by Britain joining the European Economic Community (EEC) on 1 January 1973, was embedded due to persistently low levels of innovation and poor productivity.

Hendy and Callaghan (2013:33-34) believed, "The free market, the tool most beloved of our laissez-faire reformers, did not deliver sufficient levels of innovation for our economy to grow at an optimal rate. Countries that took more pragmatic, less ideologically driven approaches to science and innovation policy have left New Zealand behind. The gap in prosperity between New Zealand and other advanced economies is, in fact, a gap in knowledge." According to Nolan et al. (2019, p. 3), "A key characteristic of New

¹⁸ "New Zealand is one of a small number of OECD countries with both a low level of labour productivity and low productivity growth. Countries with productivity records similar to New Zealand are Mexico, Greece, Portugal, Israel, and Japan." New Zealand Productivity Commission (2019)

Figure 2: GDP per hour worked Source: OEC

Country	GDP per hour worked (USD)	Hours worked per week	Average Earnings (USD)
Ireland	\$109	34.1	\$50,490
Luxembourg	\$107	29.0	\$68,681
Norway	\$93	26.6	\$54,027
Denmark	\$85	26.6	\$57,150
Belgium	\$81	30.3	\$55,590
Switzerland	\$79	29.9	\$66,567
France	\$77	29.1	\$46,481
United States	\$77	33.5	\$65,836
Austria	\$76	28.9	\$53,903
Sweden	\$76	27.9	\$46,695
Netherlands	\$75	27.7	\$56,552
Germany	\$74	26.6	\$53,638
Iceland	\$72	28.5	\$68,006
Finland	\$69	29.6	\$45,698
United Kingdom	\$64	29.6	\$47,226
Australia	\$61	32.7	\$54,401
Italy	\$61	33.0	\$39,189
OECD - Total	\$59	31.9	\$48,587
Spain	\$58	32.5	\$38,758
Canada	\$58	32.5	\$53,198
Slovenia	\$51	30.8	\$40,220
Lithuania	\$48	31.4	\$28,914
Czech Republic	\$47	34.3	\$29,281
New Zealand	\$47	34.2	\$44,031
Israel	\$47	36.5	\$39,403
Japan	\$47	31.6	\$38,617
Estonia	\$46	32.9	\$30,297
Portugal	\$45	33.1	\$26,634
Turkey	\$44	35.2	
Poland	\$44	34.7	\$31,970
Slovak Republic	\$43	32.5	\$25,452
Korea	\$41	37.8	\$42,285
Latvia	\$41	31.9	\$28,454
Hungary	\$41	33.1	\$26,223
Greece	\$37	37.5	\$27,459
Chile	\$30	36.8	\$26,916
Mexico	\$22	41.1	\$17,594

Zealand's relatively weak economic performance has been poor productivity. The economy is like a car stuck in first gear, where faster growth comes from revving the engine rather than driving more efficiently."

Value Creation and Value Capture

If the demand for premium, value-added products exists, why do so many of New Zealand's agricultural enterprises decide to sell their production output in a manner that ensures almost no real control over the value created, or the value captured? The chosen strategy embeds producers in distribution channels that leak profits and lock their operations in commodity traps. These traps offer no easy way out and almost no pricing control. Professional marketing practitioners should not be allowing such a situation to exist in the first place, and they certainly should not allow such dynamics to continue unchecked for decades. The system needs to be reset, redesigned, and rebooted. One of the defining questions of the day is: why has this not happened already?

Professor Ben Wooliscroft, Professor of Macro Marketing at Auckland University of Technology suggested, "Jim. If you let the big guys design the transvection. . . they will." What Ben means is, if you engage powerful companies in ecosystems where they are given the headroom to develop and dictate the terms of trade, they will¹⁹. Think supermarkets in New Zealand. There are two major entities and they have significant market share and power. They are in a position to dictate terms to suppliers. In distant global markets, similar power imbalances exist, and being locked into trading with them means no escape from a poorly designed transvection. Sean Connery's advice in the 'Untouchables' comes to mind. In his role as Jim Malone, he suggested it was not wise to take a knife to a gunfight.

Premium food and beverage consumers with heterogeneous needs become satisfied when the premium products they demand are made available to them from an enterprise they can engage with, believe in, and trust. This is where New Zealand can differentiate, small can be beautiful. The country is perfectly positioned to be a disruptive game-changer in premium food and beverage, but changing the game means its industries must de-

¹⁹"I believe that most (suppliers) have little or no negotiation power . . . They're forced to be in a position of being a price taker, it's like, 'take this on board or don't supply us, or have your product deleted'." (Checkpoint, 2020)

sign (and redesign) transvections that support achieving these aspirations. Products must be world-class. Hoping and praying to be the next Bang and Olufsen, IKEA, Lego, or H&M will not make it so.

The Case for Reinstating Marketing

This paper has argued the case for transvection-based marketing to be given the green light in New Zealand. It has also put out an emergency call for marketing to be rescued from obscurity. Achieving this objective requires a top-down approach. Who would have ever thought reinstating marketing would become a change management exercise for many enterprises? The ground-breaking, game-changing, work of 1960s pathfinders, Levitt, Alderson, Forrester, and Drucker is more relevant today than ever.

How did their great thinking become so sidelined? What happened to intellectual rigor? These days, it feels like many organisations just hit the repeat button and hope for a miracle to change their fortunes. New Zealanders are still waiting for that miracle. Meanwhile, for some reason, the marketing discipline appears to have been forgotten. In many companies, marketing has been rendered subservient to finance, production, operations, and human resources. These functions are without a doubt, very important, but ask yourself, why does a business exist? If you believe Drucker, it is for one reason, and one reason only. To create a customer, or as Levitt amplified, to produce customer satisfactions. The principal driver for bringing that goal to life is marketing.

A highly regarded marketing professor shared a telling comment with me at the beginning of the Covid 19 outbreak in 2020. He suggested, marketers have been relegated to writing copy. That is indeed sad news, but I fear the sentiment is closer to the truth than many would like it to be. Looking at board member appointments across numerous enterprises, the evidence is there for all to see. Marketing is underweight, under-represented, and underwhelming. Marketing has gone missing. The absence of marketing professionals at the highest levels of enterprise governance and strategy has sadly been normalised²⁰.

²⁰... few months ago, I heard from one of our leading marketing academics (whose confidence I must respect), who said that from recent interviews with senior directors across a range of businesses (funded as part of an ESRC Digital Social Research grant), marketing is becoming increasingly seen as purely digital in many businesses, with the consequence that marketers are less involved in strategic decisions. The evidence was suggesting that "mar-

Levitt and Alderson were not the only ones with strong ideas on marketing. Brenner (2018) reports Drucker once suggested, "Marketing is so basic that it is not just enough to have a strong sales department and to entrust marketing to it. Marketing is not only much broader than selling, it is not a specialized activity at all. It encompasses the entire business. It is the whole business seen from the point of view of its final result, that is from the customer's point of view. Concern and responsibility for marketing must therefore permeate all areas of the enterprise." I think Levitt, Alderson, and Forrester would have approved of Drucker's sentiments, as they had all been travelling in parallel universes. What was in the 1960s water?

There are many reasons offered for why marketing is not at the centre of more New Zealand organisations and that is a great shame. Its omission represents a huge lost opportunity for the country and its citizens. Until the country's industrial default and volume-driven orientation can be brought under control and reset, innovative, and durable customer satisfactions are going to be much harder to create. Unfortunately, highly paid captains of industry gazing at each other across the nation's boardroom tables and mouthing the word 'value' is not going to be enough. Great marketing matters, believing in it matters even more, and transvection-based marketing could turn out to be the smartest idea of them all.

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Mimicking Real-World Systems in Macromarketing

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This paper makes the case for using research methods that mimic real-world systems in which phenomena that are of interest to macromarketers exist.

Macromarketing is the study of systems and specifically of interactions of markets and marketing from a societal perspective (Bartels & Jenkins, 1977; Shawver & Nickels, 1981; Wooliscroft, 2021). Macromarketing can be thought of as a discipline that addresses problems with large societal impacts. Obesity is an example of an issue which fits this description. Obesity has increasingly negative societal impacts (Ministry of Health, 2020) and many of its drivers are system-dependent (Hall, 2018; Wright & Aronne, 2012). For example, one of the key drivers of obesity is food and beverage choice. Food and beverage choice in turn is shaped by a system that is purposefully designed to influence shoppers' choices with the aim to maximise profits (e.g., supermarkets).

This begs the question `what can macromarketers learn from commercial

marketers?’ Specifically, commercial marketers conduct extensive market research to optimise price levels, the placement of their product at the point of sale, and their product packaging. Macromarketers could use similar research tools for their purposes. Such tools should ideally resemble the systems in which consumers make their choices. One promising avenue would be to utilise research systems that mimic the look and feel of grocery shopping websites. Utilising such a system would be advantageous for a number of reasons: First, it would counterbalance the increasing lack of realism of many experimental studies (Wooliscroft, 2021) by providing high levels of internal and external validity. This is because it allows researchers to test a variety of interventions in a research system which very closely approximates reality (e.g., a website mimicking a website).

Second, part of the power of such a research system is that, if policy recommendations are adopted, the change impacts the entire system and thus is likely to have far-reaching and long-lasting societal benefits. Examples of system-wide changes are compulsory health warning labels (e.g., alcohol), restricting the availability of a product (e.g., tobacco), mandating plain packaging (e.g., tobacco), or increasing the price of unhealthy products (e.g., sugar tax).

In summary, this paper suggests that mimicking systems that are part of the problem in the real-world, could become part of the solution for macromarketers. This paper showcases an early version of a research system that is designed to achieve the above aims.

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The Scrappy Entrepreneur as Macromarketer

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The introduction to a recent Journal of Macromarketing special issue exploring the intersection of entrepreneurship and macromarketing emphasized that research on entrepreneurship encompasses psychology and argued that “the heart of entrepreneurship is the entrepreneur” (Morrish et al., 2019). The current paper builds on themes and findings from that special issue, exploring psychological dimensions underlying the mindsets, decision-making styles, preferences and activities of “scrappy entrepreneurs.” The term “scrappy entrepreneur” in the current paper is intended as an homage to Claude Levi-Strauss’ concept of the tinkering “bricoleur” who cobbles together inventive artifacts using scrap materials (Lvi-Strauss, 1966), as well as to Saras Sarasvathy’s notion of the “effectual entrepreneur,” who has much more in common with an odds-and-ends scrap-synthesizing “cupboard cook” than to a plan-and-source “chef-de-cuisine” (Sarasvathy 2021). Further, in the context of personality, “scrappy” obviously conjures up the notion of individuals with an “aggressive and determined” psychological constitution and a readiness to “scrap” / fight. Arguably representing the largest subset of innovative entrepreneurs, scrappy entrepreneurs launch ventures at the other end of the spectrum from the category of entrepreneur and startup detailed in the article from the Journal of Macromarketing special issue titled “Exploring Entrepreneurs’ Perceptions of Venture Capitalists’ Added Value” (Vaidyanathan et al., 2019).

Despite the widespread attention paid to VC-backed startups in popular as well as in academic contexts, Amar Bhidé points out that “few individuals start (firms) with the ideas and human capital necessary to secure VC funding” (Bhide, 1986, pp. 141-147). Thus, few founders even have the option

to consider accepting or rejecting said funding. This is not only the case for marginal mom-and-pop startups (“the many small proprietorships that have little prospect of attaining significant size or profitability” (Bhide, 1986, p. 25)) — fully 95% of startups innovative and promising enough to eventually make the Inc. 500 list launch with no access to VC funding (Bhide, 1986, p. 141). The current paper synthesizes Bhidé’s findings regarding key mindset dimensions of founders of firms that Bhidé operationalizes as “promising ventures” and compares his findings to those of much more highly cited researchers also focused on psychological and behavioral dimensions associated with the founders of successful ventures, including work by Saras Sarasvathy (2001, 2008), Steve Blank (2020; 2020; 2014; 2010), and Manfred Kets de Vries (FR & De Vries, 2003; FR et al., 2007; Kets de Vries, 1985). In addition to contextualizing Bhidé’s psychological findings and frameworks regarding entrepreneurs in conjunction with the researchers just mentioned, the paper explores the implications of Bhidé’s research vis-a-vis macromarketing, with particular emphases on new-market-generation at the aggregate level (Hunt, 2011), as well as the social implications of the exploitation — both in the sense of “utilize” as well as in the sense of “using unfairly to one’s advantage” — of what Bhidé’s scrappy entrepreneur-interviewees identify as “deadbeat” customers on the one hand and as “street fighter” employees on the other (Bhide, 1986, pp. 87-88).

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Well-being Budgets and Perceived Quality of Life

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Well-being and perceived Quality of Life (pQOL) are buzzwords in popular media, academia and government. This research investigates the complexity of Well-being/pQOL and consumption, and their applications in government and public policy initiatives.

From a (macro-)marketing perspective, consumption's relationship with Well-being/pQOL is ambivalent as it has the ability to contribute, but also reduce perceived Well-being. Most people (at least in the Western world) actively strive to be happy (Lyubomirsky et al., 2005) and that happiness can be achieved or at least facilitated by consumption.

A perceived right to happiness and wellbeing is a relatively recent phenomena (Fox, 2012), coinciding with the industrial revolution and an emerging culture of consumption (McMahon, 2018). Coinciding, governments were supposed to "provide conditions in which human beings could flourish" (McMahon, 2018, p. 7) and as early as 1793 the French Jacobin Constitution declared that "The goal of society is common happiness" (Alphahistory, n.d.).

The path from philosophical considerations and political declarations to the operationalization and integration of well-being and happiness indicators or measures in everyday policies is challenging. Traditionally, happiness and well-being were philosophical issues that draw on two broad traditions, hedonism and eudaimonia (Peterson et al., 2005; Sirgy, 2021), focusing either on pleasure or meaning in life. A rise of scientific interest in the concepts from a psychological and economic point of view from the mid-twentieth century, coincided with increased criticism of using the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) to measure the goodness of a society (Fox, 2012). Psychologists (and marketers) started to investigate Subjective Well-being (SWB), comprised of a

cognitive evaluation of life overall (or of individual life domains) and hedonic well-being (Diener et al., 1999). Although part of SWB's conceptualisation, hedonic aspects are frequently not included in SWB measures, which often consist of one overall, evaluative question.

These broad overall evaluations of one's life are regularly included in national and supranational studies (Inc, 2021; OECD, n.d.). More recently, interest in these concepts extends even further and includes determining the impact of budgeting decisions and national policies on (perceived) well-being. For example, Scotland, New Zealand, Iceland, Wales and Finland form the Wellbeing Economy Governments partnership (<https://wellbeingeconomy.org/wego>) with New Zealand terming their 2019/20 (and to some extent 2021) budgets 'Well-being Budgets'. Another famous example is Bhutan's Gross National Happiness (<http://www.grossnationalhappiness.com>), investigating broader aspects of quality of life and well-being than traditionally reported by economic indicators like Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

Well-being research and applications in policies have boomed since to turn of the millennium and big advancements have been made to capture the wellbeing of people on an individual, communal and national level. There are many challenges related to well-being, happiness and QOL applications. These include:

- The conceptualisations and operationalisation of the concept
- Questions to what degree perceived well-being can be influenced in the short term
- The application of national well-being initiatives including budgets driven by well-being considerations

Perceived well-being is influenced, enabled or hindered by consumption choices (or the lack thereof), the framework for that consumption is set by local and national policy considerations. The presentation will show different view-points using examples from New Zealand's Well-being Budgets and Bhutan's Gross National Happiness.

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Environmental Collaboration within a Supply Chain

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The purpose of this research is to address environmental concerns in the supply chain as a collective effort with retailers, manufacturers, suppliers, and logistic partners. Environmental collaboration is defined as the inter-organisational interactions among supply chain members in terms of shared planning and collaborative activities to achieve environmental objectives (Gölgeci et al., 2019). A macro marketing perspective is important to underpin the genesis of environmental collaboration in a supply network (Sheth & Parvatiyar, 2021). Reason being, sustainability is a multifaceted subject that can't be addressed at an individual or market level only (Marien, 2015). The global, corporate, societal and individual level impact requires a system network understanding (Sheth & Parvatiyar, 2021). The interlink between global collaboration, governmental policies, corporate initiatives and green consumption should be considered as a network rather than in isolation of each other (Mazutis et al., 2020).

Theoretically the phenomena under exploration fall under green consumption and green production (Kumar et al., 2013). The green consumption literature focus on the business to customer side of sustainability in terms of green branding, green behaviour, and green marketing (Mohd Suki & Mohd Suki, 2015). These studies are relevant and significant in increasing sustainable behaviour, however, does not address the subject of green production which is an important challenge for increased sustainable behaviour of consumers (Sarkar, 2012). This is because often consumers find it challenging in adopting a sustainable behaviour due the significant change in lifestyle needed because of the lack of green products and sustainable solutions available to them (Sheth & Parvatiyar, 2021). Hence, increasing sustainable consumption requires commitment, selfless acts and change of lifestyle choices from the customers (Flaherty et al., 2020). The phenomena of green production are mostly addressed by the supply chain management literature (Tseng, Islam, Karia, Fauzi, & Afrin, 2019). The empirical findings of the green production in the supply chain management discipline include hard skills like green manufacturing, eco-designing, green supplier criteria, recycling, reverse logistics, renewable energy etc (Ellram & Murfield, 2019)). However, the supply chain discipline does not address the soft skills needed to combine the hard skills of sustainable production within the supply network. Hence taking a system network perspective that is the essence of a supply chain network this research seeks to understand the phenomenon of green initiatives, environmental collaboration and relationship marketing (Flaherty et al., 2020).

Therefore, this research proposes to address this disconnect between the two perspectives of marketing and supply chain management literature by adopting a business-to-business perspective to acknowledge three essential rationales. Firstly, environmental issues are larger than the capabilities of an individual or an individual organisation to solve (Kennedy, 2016). Hence a collaborative lens within a system network is needed to explore sustainability (Gölgeci et al., 2019; R. A. Layton, 2015). Secondly, the capabilities, resources, governance and influences of supply chain networks are evident in determining green production and green consumption at a global stance (Marien, 2015) . Thirdly, the marketing relationship theories can aid in theoretically underpinning the relational attributes that binds green consumption and production in harmonization (Dyer et al., 2018). The aim is to understand the underlying impact of internal green initiatives of an organisation on their

capability to environmentally collaborate with their stakeholder. Then to further understand this network the fundamental relational attributes that bind this collaboration is discussed.

The theoretical underpinning of this research is based on the Natural Resource Based View and Relational Theory are adopted as theoretical underpinnings of this work (Dyer & Singh, 1998; Oliver, 1997). Firstly, the Natural Resource Based View aids in allocating resources of an organisation towards a sustainable competitive advantage (Michalisin & Stinchfield, 2010). The theory of Natural Resource Based View helps the researcher understand their resources and capabilities that are critical to motivate retailers to initiate environmental collaboration that provides a long lasting economical competitive advantage for the organisation and supply chain partners. Secondly, Relational Theory aids in understanding the impact of investing in relational assets, sharing knowledge, using complementary resource capabilities and governance mechanism on environmental collaboration (Dyer et al., 2018). The theory will help the researcher recognise the aftermath of environmental collaboration within the supply chain and in which attributes (investing in relational assets, sharing knowledge, using complementary resource capabilities and governance mechanism) the manufacturers, suppliers and logistic partners are willing to invest to implement environmental changes.

This research adopts an inductive grounded theory methodology using thematic analysis and constant comparison. The sample size of 21 participants comprised of retailers, manufacturers, suppliers, logistics and associations in the furniture industry of New Zealand. The themes that emerged from the thematic analysis explored the categories of green initiatives, environmental collaboration, and relational attributes. The themes of Green initiatives explored the organisation's "green" or "sustainable" initiatives before any attempts of collaboration between channel partners occurs (Adhikari et al., 2019)). Environmental collaboration category explored the themes that contributes to collaborative behaviour between channel partners such achieving circular economy, recycling, reverse logistics etc (Gloet & Samson, 2019). Finally, relational attributes explored the themes that underpin the relationships of the channel partners that assists collaborative behaviour to occur (Ellram & Murfield, 2019). The findings of this research models a conceptual network of sustainable value co-creation throughout the supply chain network (Domegan et al., 2019; R. Layton, 2019). The themes of each category demonstrate the macro, micro and meso level collaborative net-

works that result in sustainable production (R. A. Layton, 2015).

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The Story of Waiau: Promoting Systems Thinking Regarding Hydroelectric Power Generation

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The functioning of modern society is intricately tied to electricity consumption. Society has come to rely implicitly on Internet-based information systems that could not function without access to enormous resources of electricity. To slow global warming, faith is put in replacing fossil-fuel burning vehicles with electricity-consuming vehicles. This paper presents the story of Waiau, once New Zealand's second biggest river by water volume. The story includes a cast of human and non-human characters including a prominent electricity-generation company, a beautiful lake, an aluminium smelter, environmentalists and shellfish. As with any story there is a plot, and from the plot lessons arise — in this case, there are lessons regarding changing public perceptions on what is deemed saving the environment. The story reveals the value in systems thinking regarding hydroelectric power generation.

Session XIV

Track Ethics, Equity and Social Justice

The Papal Encyclical “Fratelli Tutti” and its implications for Macromarketing

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Introduction

Fratelli Tutti (FT) is the 3rd encyclical of Pope Francis (2020), the other two being *Lumen fidei* and *Laudato si'*. FT was published on 3 October 2020, the feast day of St. Francis of Assisi. The English version is 92 pages long with 287 paragraphs and 288 footnotes. The major theme of FT is its affirmation of the Catholic social teaching (CST) principle of “Human Dignity” as embodied in universal fraternity and social friendship. FT builds on some of the thinking espoused in previous encyclicals, particularly *Laudato Si'* (LS) and *Caritas in Veritate* (CiV). However, unlike LS which was directed at the environmental crisis and CiV which was a response to the financial recession, FT is a more general reminder of all people of goodwill that the recognition of universal human dignity is a moral imperative with massive social consequence for all humanity. It just so happened that FT was published during the COVID-19 pandemic and thus could incorporate some of the experiences of the pandemic.

FT builds on the corpus of CST and explicitly incorporates principles such as the common good (# 154), solidarity (# 174), preferential option for the poor and vulnerable (# 69, # 233), and the universal destination of goods

(# 124). In terms of references, the most common citations are to the encyclicals *CiV*, *LS*, *Centesimus Annus* and the apostolic exhortation *Evangelii Gaudium*. We begin with highlighting the connection of CST with macromarketing. We then briefly discuss the overall themes of FT especially the application of Human Dignity to many social issues that we see. FT includes a number of themes that are directly connected to economics, business and marketing. We elaborate on the grand implication that the current global market system needs adjustment or reform. Finally, we link some of the suggestions of FT to the UN SDGs.

CST and Macromarketing

As CST involves a distinct normative moral approach to social ethics, it has regularly been featured in the *Journal of Macromarketing* as well as the *Journal of Business Ethics*. CST principles such as the common good, human dignity, and solidarity are closely connected to the interactions between marketing, markets and society. While CST is based on the Catholic religion, the possible non-sectarian derivation of CST principles has been demonstrated previously (see Klein & Laczniak, 2009). CST provides a comprehensive list of various socio-economic principles as outlined by Dann and Dann (2016) in the context of social marketing. This section will further elaborate on some of these principles and their connection to macromarketing.

General themes of FT

FT is addressed not just to Catholics or people of faith but to every member of the human family. Pope Francis makes the story of the Good Samaritan the pivotal piece of his encyclical. In # 64 he writes: “for all the progress we have made, we are still ‘illiterate’ when it comes to accompanying, caring for and supporting the most frail and vulnerable members of our developed societies. We have become accustomed to looking the other way, passing by, ignoring situations until they affect us directly.” And in # 67: “the parable shows us how a community can be rebuilt by men and women who identify with the vulnerability of others, who reject the creation of a society of exclusion, and act instead as neighbors, lifting up and rehabilitating the fallen for the sake of the common good.” The parable of the Good Samaritan un-

derscores the importance of the principle of human dignity that is applied to various social issues that FT deals with such as capital punishment, rights of immigrants, just war, human trafficking, better politics etc. This section will elaborate on these general themes in FT.

Market system reform

Of particular relevance to this conference proposal is the implication of FT to the field of macromarketing. The topic that relates to markets that is most developed is that of the dangers of globalism (# 12 and # 125) and therefore, the need to regulate global institutions and perspectives (# 108, # 132, # 146, # 165). In # 12, Pope Francis writes: "We are more alone than ever in an increasingly massified world that promotes individual interests and weakens the communitarian dimension of life. Indeed, there are markets where individuals become mere consumers or bystanders." Other themes that imply the need for reform of the current market system include: the diminishment of the worth of labor (# 20, 162); the negative impact of technologies (# 33, 42, 45); damaging consumer life-styles (# 36, 222); the problematics of free markets (# 122, 168); and unbridled financial power (# 172).

Regarding the diminishment of the worth of labor, in # 20, Pope Francis writes: "This way of discarding others can take a variety of forms, such as an obsession with reducing labor costs with no concern for its grave consequences, since the unemployment that it directly generates leads to the expansion of poverty. . . . Instances of racism continue to shame us, for they show that our supposed social progress is not as real or definitive as we think." In # 162 he emphasizes the need for good employment. He writes, "in a genuinely developed society, work is an essential dimension of social life, for it is not only a means of earning one's daily bread, but also of personal growth, the building of healthy relationships, self-expression and the exchange of gifts. Work gives us a sense of shared responsibility for the development of the world, and ultimately, for our life as a people."

Another theme that FT takes up is that of the negative impact of technology. # 33 notes how technology made us prisoners of virtual reality and contributed to us losing the taste and flavor of the truly real. In # 42 Pope Francis points out how digital communications seek to bring everything out in the open totally disregarding a person's right to privacy.

In # 36, Pope Francis is critical of the obsession with a consumerist lifestyle

especially when few people are capable of maintaining it. In # 222 he notes that “consumerist individualism has led to great injustice. Other persons come to be viewed simply as obstacles to our own serene existence; we end up treating them as annoyances and we become increasingly aggressive.”

These themes together with the dangers of the free market and unbridled financial power set the stage for the call for reform of the current market system. Again, these economic themes are a reemphasis of previous social encyclicals but have special significance to the post pandemic context that we are in. We elaborate and reflect on these in greater detail in this section.

Conclusion

In this final section, we will link the various points of emphasis in FT, particularly the market system shortcomings, to the UN sustainable development goals. We will outline FT’s implications for macromarketing by connecting these linkages with the observations noted in the previous section.

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Applying the Integrative Justice Model to Evaluate the Influence of Digital Storytelling on Cultural Perceptions of a Social Issue

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We utilize the context of digital storytelling, in this application a film series, as a strategic social marketing tool to investigate the impact of exposure to new information, and the extent to which it can change social perceptions and potentially shape cultural norms. To evaluate the impact of digital storytelling as a just means to promote positive social change, we employ the Integrative Justice Model (IJM), a normative ethical framework for evaluating justice, or fairness, in marketplace exchanges, particularly when engaging with impoverished or marginalized consumers (N. Santos & Lacznia, 2012; N. J. Santos & Lacznia, 2009a, 2009b). In response to a call for ethical frameworks for social marketers (Carter et al., 2017), Kennedy and Santos (2019) propose a macro-social ethical marketing framework in which the IJM provides useful guidelines for a social marketing code of ethics.

In light of increased corporate engagement in low-income markets, characterized as the base-of-the-pyramid market, Santos and Lacznia (2009b) developed the IJM which postulates five inter-related components that are essential for treating poor consumers in a fair and just manner. These five elements are: 1) authentic engagement without exploitative intent; (2) co-creation of value; (3) investment in future consumption; (4) genuine interest

representation of stakeholders; and (5) focus on long-term profit management. The elements are derived through an examination of thirteen theoretical frameworks in moral philosophy, marketing theory, contemporary management theory well as religious doctrine. It is beyond the scope of this paper to detail the derivation of the IJM and the normative theory building process it followed. These can be found in Santos & Laczniak (2012; 2009a, 2009b). It is also beyond the scope of this paper to examine the application of the IJM to various domains. Interested readers can read Laczniak & Santos (2011) for an application to Macromarketing; Santos, Laczniak & Facca-Miess (2015) for an application to transformative justice and Santos (2013) for an application to social entrepreneurship.

Given the lack of clarity regarding the common perception of contemporary concepts of complex social issues, for example racism, this work aims to garner a macromarketing, big-picture view of the state of cultural perceptions regarding Africa's contributions to Christianity. We posit that the basic Christian principle: all people are created in the image and likeness of God, and are thus equal, has been overshadowed by secular media, public education, and conflicting ideologies, especially prevalent in secular settings. Further, young Christians educated in public, secular schools may not have a clear understanding of this core tenet of the Christian faith tradition. We investigate this topic to better understand the status quo, and potentially propose bridges to understanding, and peace-building, based on a shared understanding of our innate equality as human beings, deserved of respect for human dignity. As Catholic Social Teaching (CST) further suggests, once mutual respect is achieved, people are free to work toward the common good, in solidarity with one another, serving man's needs in subsidiarity where what can be achieved at the community level is not to be overshadowed by a larger, authoritarian institution or government.

Kennedy and Santos relate "social fairness" to equity and justice in society (2019), highlighting two aspects of social fairness. Commutative justice addresses fairness of the exchange between individuals or groups in society, and requires equality and reciprocity in transactions (N. J. Santos & Laczniak, 2009a). For a social marketing effort to be fair, the commutative justice perspective could require access to relevant information, meaningful choice options and freedom from coercion. To further ensure fairness in social marketing, the distributive justice perspective suggests the distribution of benefits should have the greatest impact the least advantaged members of society

(the difference principle) (Rawls, 1972). We propose digital storytelling as a means of social marketing can significantly transform (potentially misguided) perceptions of a social issue. Kennedy and Santos (2019) call for a shift in traditional approaches to social marketing planning, particularly by practitioners, requiring them to listen to their stakeholders. To ensure amplification of the voice of the (potentially vulnerable) stakeholder, our methodology includes a pre to post comparison of justice perceptions related to the social issue under study. We utilize the tenets of the IJM with corresponding decision principles as the basis of the survey instrument (Facca-Miess & Santos, 2016). In addition to listening to stakeholders, value must be co-created. However, when stakeholders are targeted as a market by an outside party such as a government, a contradiction arises between the needs of self-identifying target markets and authoritarian, top-down approaches which are often used in social marketing to target groups that may not perceive any issue at all (e.g., racism, homophobia, xenophobia).

In addition to macromarketing perspectives, this work also considers various communication theories prominent in the pre-Internet era, to reflect on traditional influences in audience research. In the early '70s, Katz, Gurevitch and Haas (1973) identified various needs when surveying movies, television and newspapers as media. These are 1) cognitive needs such as the need to understand, 2) affective needs relating to strengthening aesthetic or emotional experience, 3) integrative needs related to strengthening one's confidence, credibility or stability, 4) needs related to strengthening contact with family, friends and the world, and 5) needs related to escape or tension release. Film audience researcher Bruce Austin (1983) articulated five prominent reasons why people attend films: 1) an enjoyable and pleasant activity, 2) relaxation, 3) arousal/excitement, 4) social activity, 5) communication resources. Austin's perspectives are underscored by uses and gratifications theory which considers the uses to which people apply their media behaviors and the gratifications they derive from such usage. See Dobos and Dimmick (1988) for a complete uses and gratifications literature review.

In the early 80's, McQuail noted the resistance by the media to research findings, suggesting that in the case of research implemented outside the media organization, there is unlikely to be any direct influence on mass communications, or on management, unless it is sponsored by powerful interests, clients or governments (McQuail, 1984). Flash forward to today's internet era and the impact of powerful interest groups on mass media communication is

not only apparent, but overwhelming. Austin suggested audience research could be used for policy issues at the formulation, implementation and evaluation stages, requiring both qualitative and quantitative approaches. In researching audiences of the arts, Rothman (1992) reviewed a number of techniques for ensuring audience loyalty by achieving and maintaining customer satisfaction. These include mystery shopping where researchers play the part of customers (Hurst, 1992); participant observation, a less-structured form of mystery shopping in which the researcher records his/her own experiences, and observes and discusses the experiences of others. Monitoring and recall studies use established panels to report on performances they attend, either immediately after exposure to the performance or film, or some-time afterward to determine their reaction.

This work aims to evidence support for the use of digital storytelling, presented in two key formats, a film-series for faith-based audiences (Eternal Word Television Network, EWTN) as well as a motion picture film for secular audiences. We propose that digital storytelling, in this case in the form of film, either series or motion picture format, can fulfill the cognitive need for understanding a complex social issue. Further, affective needs can be met through the emotional experience of testimonials from diverse others in aesthetically pleasing settings such as in Africa. Moreover, integrative needs are met as the new information strengthens the viewer's confidence and credibility on the complex social issue under discussion. Finally, as the viewers share their reactions and perceptions, and potentially transform their worldview, contact with friends and family are subsequently strengthened, leading to greater social interaction and stability.

Research Objectives

1. To develop a baseline analysis of varied cultural understandings of the history and contributions of Africa to Christianity
2. To measure the impact of Drums of Africa™ on the perceptions of both Christian and secular viewers.
3. To evaluate the extent to which digital storytelling can have a transformative impact on cultural perceptions of a social issue

Methodology

For a baseline analysis prior to exposure to the film, a quantitative online survey tool, grounded in the IJM framework, will be designed and distributed by the authors. A comparable post-viewing, longitudinal online survey will follow.

Overview of Film

Africa is a continent with diverse, beautiful cultures and peoples. Many see her as a late-comer to Christianity. But she was right there from the start, alongside the early churches. What really happened? How did documented history get it wrong? Why is her compelling story not part of the common knowledge in the visual representation of Christian influence in the world? This 10-part film documentary series, *Drums of Africa*, uncovers the hidden truths of the two-thousand-year contributions of the people of Africa and African ancestry to Christianity. It follows the diverse continent's naturalness. It draws attention to its intellectual richness, cultures, geography, social life, values, communities, development, liturgy, faith, devotions, everyday life, challenges and opportunities, and of course, key players. It is told through the voices of the people in their world as they know it.

Digital Story Synopsis

It is a story. It is a song. It is a drum echoing through the continent to the ends of the earth. Adjourning the West, from Numidia as part of the ancient Berber Kingdom that stretches from Morocco to Algeria, to Egypt of the iconic learned class of Alexandria facing the East across the Mediterranean Sea, to the inlands of Africa of the south nations, this is a continent and a race that has received much and given back much to the world. Yet many of the peoples' stories remain to be told; astonishing truths about their heritage have not been given their prime place. This documentary series uncovers the hidden stories and truths of the two-thousand year contributions of the people of Africa and African ancestry to Christianity. It is the first major film series, (digital storytelling) to deliver a representation of African Christian stories untold through the voices of the people in their world as they know it.

Study 1 — Baseline Analysis Study 1. A will be conducted in Western cul-

tural settings including a Catholic Midwestern US university, and a European public university in Germany. Both institutions are expected to have both Christian and secular respondents. Further, we include respondents from low-income or impoverished settings such as American inner cities and resettled refugees, both Christian and secular. H1: Westerners who practice a Christian religious tradition are significantly more likely to be interested in the story of African contributions to Christianity, compared to those who do not H2: Secular Westerners are significantly more likely to agree that Africa does not have intellectual richness comparable to Western thought H3: There is no significant difference between Christians and secularists regarding the extent to which they agree that the philosophies of early Western universities were shaped by African traditions H4: Christian African-Americans are significantly more likely to be interested in the story of African contributions to Christianity, compared to secular counterparts

Study 1.B will be conducted in varied African settings including University of Ghana, Hekima Peace Studies Institute, the Kibera (slum) in Nairobi, and refugee camps Kakuma, Kenya and Dzaleka, Malawi. Each institution and setting is expected to have both Christian and secular respondents. H1: Secular Africans who do not practice Christianity are significantly more likely to believe that Christianity is a Western imposition on Africa

H2: There is no significant difference between secular Africans and secular Westerners regarding perceptions that Christianity is a Western imposition on Africa

H3: African Christians are significantly more likely to agree that Christianity is consistent with African Traditional Religions

H4: Marginalized Africans (e.g., refugees) are significantly more likely to be interested in Africa's contributions to Christianity compared to secular African's in university settings

This baseline analysis fulfills Research Objective 1 and will provide insights into the perceptions of both Christian and secular respondents in both Western and African settings, inclusive of wealthy and impoverished settings.

Study 2 will measure perceptions of the same respondents (paired-samples) post-viewing of *DrumsofAfrica*TM to assess significance of change attributable to viewing of the film series. Qualitative research in the form of video responses will be utilized for further promotion of the film and topics related to the objectives of the *DrumsofAfrica*TM project. We note the additional promotional uses of the research to highlight the impact of the work, and to

build bridges.

This work takes a macro-social approach to evaluating the influence of digital storytelling as a social marketing tool by investigating variances and commonalities in cultural perspectives of a social issue.

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Ethical value creation for equity and social justice: Aligning value postures in service systems

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Introduction

More than ever, business is expected to create and deliver value to networks of stakeholders including workers, suppliers, and communities ethically and transparently. However, this goal is not easy to achieve, and a business is likely to draw criticism if it is not seen acting authentically. Traditional theory is not helpful as models based on neoclassical economics and competitive strategy feature outdated assumptions of static contexts largely divorced from social realities (Diaz Ruiz et al., 2020). Therefore, an approach that reflects contemporary, complex markets, the communities in which they are embedded, and the relationships and processes that unfold within and between them, is needed (Fisk, 2006; Hunt, 2020; Vargo et al., 2017). Hence this paper asks:

RQ: 'How can value creation processes be approached in order to create and deliver value ethically, with and among market and community stakeholders?'

Theoretical background

We begin by adopting a service ecosystem perspective, which expressly focuses on the creation and delivery of value within dynamic, complex, nested service systems. In service-dominant (S-D) logic, the service ecosystem is the context in which resource integration and value co-creation processes unfold (Vargo & Lusch, 2004). Service ecosystems are “relatively self-contained, self-adjusting systems of resource-integrating actors that are connected by shared institutional logics and mutual value creation” (Vargo & Lusch, 2016, pp. 10-11). Within service ecosystems, actors co-create value by integrating resources through service-for-service exchange. The service ecosystems in which value co-creation processes unfold are nested (Koskela-Huotari et al., 2016), where the largest is the global economy and the smallest is two individuals interacting with one another (Maglio & Spohrer, 2008). Therefore, a service perspective adopts a multi-level view encompassing levels of aggregation including national economies, markets and industries, communities, organizations and individuals.

Hence, service ecosystems are complex systems – “made up of a large number of parts that interact in a nonsimple way” (Simon, 1962, p. 468). In addition to multiple moving parts, interactions between actors and between layers contribute further complexity. Thus, service ecosystems feature emergent properties. A system with emergent properties features capabilities and properties not present in its constituent elements (Elder-Vass, 2010). In other words, the system is more than the sum of its parts (Simon, 1962). Emergent properties are an outcome of synergy, i.e., the manifestation of complex interactions that result in greater outcomes than could be achieved by system elements in isolation (Sawyer, 2005).

Reflecting the importance of emergence in service ecosystems, we draw on Sawyer’s (2005) social emergence perspective to guide our theorization. Social emergence holds that phenomena emerge from unplanned individual interactions in five mutually constituted ontological levels or ‘frames’ of analysis: individual level, interaction level, ephemeral emergents, stable emergents, and social structure (Sawyer, 2005). Emergence in service ecosystems therefore presents a useful lens to examine the issue of ethical creation and co-creation of value within and between stakeholder communities.

Methodology

Social emergence has previously been used in marketing research to explore dynamic change in social systems (e.g. Baker & Nenonen, 2020; Taillard et al., 2016). Here, we integrate the social emergence perspective (Sawyer, 2005) into the S-D logic paradigm (Lusch & Vargo, 2014; Vargo & Lusch, 2016) to engage in typology development (C., 1978; Jaakkola, 2020). Our typology explains how organizational actors (firm owners, managers, and employees) can approach value co-creation processes in a way that creates and delivers value with and for stakeholders, delivering responsible business in an authentic manner.

A typology of value postures

Inspired by traditional typologies of business 'strategic postures' (e.g. Ansoff, 1984; C., 1978; Porter, 1980), we propose five 'value posture' types – at micro-level: 1) individual and 2) operational value postures; at meso-level: 3) relational and 4) strategic value postures; and at macro-level: systemic value posture. We define a value posture as the way in which focal actors think about and practice value creation and delivery with other actors or stakeholders. We use the term 'value postures' to capture the different contexts, approaches, stakeholders, mindsets, and activities of value creation processes enacted by a focal actor (Little et al., 2006).

Value posture 1: Individual – lower-micro-level, self-focused perspective

An individual value posture describes the approaches encountered at the lower-micro-level. Here, individuals, governed by their own attitudes and values, cognitive processes and value perceptions, seek out personal satisfaction and a sense of purpose within the context of their immediate contacts and network. Value perceptions are not uniform across groups, but instead, reflect diverse goals and judgements (Vargo & Lusch, 2016). An individual value posture is equally present in all actors involved in resource integration, e.g., customers and employees.

Value posture 2: Operational – upper-micro-level, within-firm perspective

An operational value posture describes approaches encountered within a firm or organization. Here, actor interactions occur through conversations, meetings, and negotiations (Sawyer, 2005) with the focus being primarily on meeting immediate organizational expectations. These interactions influence roles and preferences, and impact system properties. An operational value posture is assumed within the smallest of all service ecosystems (Maglio & Spohrer, 2008) and employees of all levels are engaged in delivering to internal value propositions. Their goals include those applicable at individual-level together with the social need to be productive and fulfilled in their interactions with their colleagues. The resources drawn on to deliver this value posture include business systems and intra-firm relationships.

Value posture 3: Relational – lower-meso-level, externally focused perspective

A relational value posture includes (B2C and B2B) customers and suppliers as predominant stakeholders and focuses on value-in-exchange and value-in-use, and individual interpretations of what constitutes value (Vargo & Lusch, 2004). The value is delivered by front-line, external-facing employees who draw on enterprise assets (including relationship-specific assets) to interact with a broad range of primary stakeholders, both internal and external. Relationships, formal contracts, and informal shared intentions deliver reciprocal value for all actors. The ability to build long-term, trusting, reciprocal relationships and form strategic partnerships with likeminded organizations are crucial. Such agreements foster pluralism and enable mutual business growth, predicated on reciprocal understanding and shared goals.

Value posture 4: Strategic – upper-meso-level, industry & market perspective

A strategic value posture is assumed by an organization's top management, senior leadership team and Board. Concerns include financing the business, enhancing long-term cash flows, sources of risk and key business drivers, with the goal being organizational longevity and survival. Rather than an internal or inter-organizational focus, scope widens to industry and markets. Hence, primary stakeholders include industry leaders, investors, investment analysts, industry observers and media commentators. Organizational assets

drawn on at this level include competitive positioning, strategic competencies and capabilities, and brand capital of single or multiple businesses. Inter-organizational assets (e.g., alliances, business ecosystems, networks, etc.) and publicly owned assets (e.g., roads and utilities) are critical to enabling overall firm and wider industry goals of continued growth and longevity. Clusters, alliances, and industry associations are an expression of a strategic value posture. Through collective effort, actors in an industry behave strategically to protect their own interests, and that of the industry. Institutional governance is achieved through formal contracts coupled with accepted industry standards and norms.

Value posture 5: Systemic – macro-level, intra- and inter-society perspective

A systemic value posture reflects the nature of an actor's approach to wider society and the natural environment, the focus of macromarketing (e.g. Fisk, 2006; Hunt, 2020) (DeQuero-Navarro et al., 2020); and of marketing systems research (e.g. Layton, 2007; Layton, 2019). A firms' ability to create systemic value is governed through regulatory mechanisms and social expectations. Maintaining industry longevity and social license to operate is supported through appropriate environmental and social sustainability initiatives. To achieve this outcome requires awareness of dominant stakeholders including policymakers, communities, and interested observers such as pressure groups and NGOs.

Conclusion

A service ecosystem comprises assemblages of actors engaged in value co-creation through resource integration. Service ecosystems are nested at different levels, e.g., a functional team, an organization, an industry or market, a society and natural environment. Within, between, and across those levels, through processes of emergence, different value postures do not necessarily deliver benefits that are consistent or aligned. For example, the value created for the benefit of shareholders or customers (at the meso-level) may indeed negatively impact value co-creation processes involving staff (at the micro-level) or the wider natural environment (at the macro-level). Hence, managers should explore and align their value postures across different levels by ensuring organizational culture, practices, relationships, and goals are

consistent from top to bottom. Aligning value postures both vertically (between and across system levels) and horizontally (within systems) with overall goals around purpose, and economic and social sustainability, could create truly responsible, ethical business.

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Faith-based organisation brand equity: improving and sustaining marketing systems for social good

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Despite the acknowledged influence of faith-based organisations (FBOs) and religious culture on marketing systems and marketplace transformation (Gordon, 1994; Klein et al., 2017; Mittelstaedt, 2002), scholarship on the intersections of macromarketing and religion is sparse (Drenten & McManus, 2016). Equally, the strength of religious brands is unequivocal, often shaping marketplace conduct through a powerful and sustained brand equity (Klein et al., 2017; Stolz & Usunier, 2019). Indeed, Klein et al. (2017, p. 108) propose that, “religion-motivated enterprises may use their denominational identity as a source of service differentiation that also can serve as a competitive advantage in the marketplace”. This places FBOs in a prominent position to influence marketing systems and market structures and rules, all of which are the purview of macromarketing scholars (Hunt, 1981).

Scholarship is increasing at the micro and meso levels (organisation–consumer

interactions and service ecosystems) concerning wellbeing, transformative services, consumers experiencing vulnerability, and service inclusion (Boenigk et al., 2021; Fisk et al., 2018; Johns & Davey, 2019; Padela et al., 2020). Equally important are the broader macro-environmental influences — poverty, infrastructure, social norms, cultural practices — within marketing systems that often act as barriers to wellbeing for consumers (Schultz et al., 2012). Governments and development organizations are re-acknowledging the relevance of FBOs as agents of transformation especially in health, education, and disaster relief (Olivier et al., 2015) as well as in the drive to achieve the goals of the United Nations Millennium Declaration, “to combat poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy, environmental degradation, and discrimination against women” (<https://www.who.int>).

Faith is pivotal to the purpose and mission of FBOs in that it guides how they engage with communities (Smith & Sosin, 2001) differentiating them from secular organizations. This research examines how FBOs can “spur innovation and improvements in market machinations” (Klein et al., 2017, p. 105) by shifting social norms as a macromarketing transformation for social good. We focus on how a FBO brand can leverage brand equity diffusing its values and organising principles into all levels of a marketing system — macro, meso and micro — to influence social norms and their associated behaviours, specifically those hindering health improvement. Our research intersects transformative service with macromarketing to better understand how one FBO brand – the Salvation Army (TSA) — countervails marketing systems to improve equalities for social good (Laczniak & Santos, 2011; Saatcioglu & Corus, 2014). We argue that FBO brand equity leads to positive externalities across a range of micro and macro social mechanisms due to path dependence that “proliferates minor influences into macro-social mechanisms over time. . .” and “the interdependence of social actors and the aggregation of the individual attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors” (Padela et al., 2020, p. 360). Thus, we present a case where a brand provides opportunities for social good, in contrast to brand externalities detrimental to marketing systems.

The conceptual underpinnings for this work are brand equity in healthcare organisations and Layton’s Mechanism, Action, Structure (MAS) theory (Layton, 2011, 2015). Together these provide the lens to investigate FBO brand leverage for marketing system transformation. A qualitative case study of the Salvation Army’s Chikankata Health Services (CHS) Zambia was undertaken. CHS comprise a 200-bed Mission Hospital and a primary community health-

care service, together serving a geographically isolated area of over 100,000 people, predominantly cattle and subsistence farmers. Semi-structured interviews were conducted online with the organization's leaders and health professionals. Data analysis involved reflexive thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Brand equity, the value of a brand in regard to customer commitment and retention and profitability (Stahl et al., 2012), is variously defined. While most definitions refer to traditional forms of exchange and profitability, defining brand equity in service industries high in credence factors is problematic (Hosseini & Behboudi, 2017; Naidoo & Abratt, 2018). Chahal and Bala (2012) found that in the healthcare sector, brand loyalty and perceived quality significantly influence brand equity. Brand loyalty and trust are facilitative factors in building network actor capability (both healthcare providers and recipients) to transform health and improve wellbeing for communities.

Marketing systems, "complex social networks of individuals and groups linked through shared participation in the creation and delivery of economic value through exchange" (Layton, 2011, p. 303), are central to macromarketing. The success or failure of the system is determined by the system's ability to fulfill the (anticipated) needs and wants of buyers/customers (the provision of value) via stable relationships. Using MAS theory, complex social networks share participation to generate economic value through exchange. However, marketing systems thinking now extends beyond economic exchange to, for example, human dignity-related processes and mechanisms (Jagadale et al., 2018).

The Salvation Army brand. TSA, established in 1865 to serve the needs of the poor and provide a church for its converts, is one of the largest international charity and service brands working in Base-of-Pyramid communities. The red shield logo is one of the most recognizable symbols in the world and ensures the core of TSA's mission is "communicated at every opportunity" (TSA Brand Charter and Style Guide, p. 4). Throughout its history, TSA has remained committed to the dual themes of evangelism and provision of welfare without discrimination (Army, 2008; Winston, 1999). An organising principle is that structural market factors are responsible for many social inequalities. Today, TSA similarly declares its role in improving marketing systems for social good, noting that "certain societal structures can perpetuate economic injustice and (the Army) is committed to seek constructive changes in those structures wherever they exist" (www.salvationarmyusa.org/). Specifi-

cally, TSA's healthcare system is based on working with communities in partnership, avoiding the "provider" mindset and risk of disengagement. Consequently, care is delivered to all of those in need and the provisioning of healthcare is not discrepant. In aggregate, TSA's long-term commitment to communities, its strongly motivated member, staff and volunteer base, practices built on community participation, and brand values aligned with service inclusion, mean that the healthcare function of TSA has high brand equity through brand knowledge, associated quality outcomes and achievement of health goals. The TSA brand cannot be disassociated from its underpinning, faith-based belief system.

Improving and sustaining marketing systems for social good. Two key health crisis events in Chikankata: HIV/AIDS and COVID 19, illustrate the value of FBO brand equity and marketing systems evolution through: multi-actor and stakeholder learnings and response, community-centric values, and embeddedness within the socio-cultural context, TSA and HIV/AIDS response. The HIV/AIDS epidemic of the mid 1980s dramatically affected the Chikankata region (and from which it is still suffering the effects). A key learning for TSA was that primary healthcare solutions lie within the members of the community transforming the dominant healthcare marketing system to a neighbourhood-stimulated health response system. Leveraging its brand equity, TSA practices evolved to: listening to the community and working with its members to reduce stigma (allowing care to be administered at home and in the community); provisioning the system to enable transfer of care (task shifting) from health professionals to community members by building capacity (within resource scarcity); and, identifying how social norms that exacerbated the spread of disease could be modified in a manner acceptable to existing community belief systems. Improving the marketing system mechanisms to break down barriers and increase actor resilience progressed the system toward community self-care. This Community-based Primary Healthcare system evolved through leveraged brand equity and now underscores the structure for primary level care in the region and TSA service in other countries. TSA and COVID-19 response. In 2020, TSA in Zambia implemented a swift response to the approaching COVID-19 threat, recognising the heightened pandemic risk due to living conditions of the rural communities, many of which were isolated. Poverty, poor food security, lack of access to water for hand washing, sharing of clothing and blankets, isolation and close living quarters for many families and communities would rapidly spread any

contagion. Adherence to brand values are organising principles in a marketing system and adaptation of MAS resulted from the HIV experience. The same processes of community-based primary care now underpin TSA's response to COVID-19. Central to the Community-based Primary Healthcare Action Fields are TSA's grass roots partnership with local traditional leadership hierarchy and processes. Consequently, issues of fear and stigma can be addressed, provisioning needs identified and accommodated (e.g., setting up handwash facilities, "tip taps"), and protective actions and behaviours encouraged. Health education and promotion, distribution of 'mealmeal', encouraging self-help measures (e.g., working with women's groups to make face masks from resources on hand), and encouraging connection during physical distancing (e.g., enhancing online connectivity wherever possible) are Network Level Social Mechanisms for system evolution. TSA's existing brand equity enabled relationships with macro power structures (e.g., Government), traditional Chieftain/ Chieftainess structures, and liaison with other meso-level organisations to maximise reach and streamline health improvement initiatives.

Conclusion. This study was inspired by a transformative worldview that considers research a vehicle for confronting injustice and inequality and for alleviating suffering. We identify how an FBO brand can transform a marketing system for social good. Drawing on two key health crises we argue that faith-based brand equity (engendering trust and loyalty in particular) can transform a marketing system for social good. To conclude, we suggest that the TSA marketing healthcare system in Chikankata evolved organically under a FBO brand (explained in more detail in Davey et al. (2021)) demonstrating "...the potential evolutionary shifts in a marketing system towards collective behavior change and the desired societal outcomes...and inherently iterative responses in relation to the dominant dynamics of a marketing system" (Domegan et al., 2020, p. 381). Although challenging, further work is planned to explore the community's experience with TSA brand in Chikankata.

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Session XV

Track Social Marketing

Social Marketing: The role of Facebook as a social mechanism for transformative behaviour change

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Turning 50, tomorrow's world for social marketing is radically different to the world and problems it was born into (Galiano-Coronil & MierTerán-Franco, 2019; Taubenheim et al., 2008). Social marketing is propelling forward into a future of big change defined by a pandemic, climate change, social inequalities, and digital technologies. Digital technologies are classified by Hoyer et al. (2020) as encompassing the Internet, mobile platforms; include smart phones and applications, as well as social media channels such as Facebook. Like commercial marketing, these technologies when they first emerged 1-2 decades ago were viewed by social marketing as channels for communication and promotion only (Dooley et al., 2014; Galiano-Coronil & MierTerán-Franco, 2019; Guidry et al., 2014), embodying dyadic interactions between the citizen and the government and other upstream actors (Fehrer et al., 2018; Shawky et al., 2020).

Social marketing is witness to the proliferation and normalisation of digital technologies within the past decade (Dooley et al., 2014). These technologies have widespread ripple effects beyond communication and promotion, as evidenced by the pandemic and remote working, online learning and shopping and social platforms. However, much has remained neb-

ulous about the opportunities these technologies hold for social marketers beyond their previously documented use as communication and promotion tools (Dooley et al., 2014) Moorhead et al. 2013; Sashi, 2012).

This paper discusses findings from a mixed methods, longitudinal case study consisting of three distinct stages; (1) literature review; (2) empirical research; and (3) two-step cluster analysis. In this paper, we demonstrate that digital technologies, and particularly Facebook, are social mechanisms (Duffy et al., 2017) which are expanding our understanding of behaviour change in social marketing. This broadening perspective acknowledges the complexity of the problems social marketers are grappling with; emphasising the importance of understanding the linkages, interactions and relationships among elements and members of a system, how they evolve and adapt over time (Domegan et al., 2019) and signifies a shift towards systems-based approaches in social marketing (Wooliscroft, 2021). Furthermore, this paper highlights digital technologies are facilitating research, multi-level segmentation and targeting, complex exchanges, operationalising theories, delivering the product, place, facilitating service delivery, and targeting individual citizens as well as meso and macro audiences. These technologies are digital social mechanisms which support multi-level institutional interventions, coordinated and integrated behavioural change interventions across target audiences from citizens to communities to policy makers and governance.

Specifically, this paper illustrates the role of Facebook as a communication mechanism but also a social mechanism for value to be co-created, for trust, collaboration, and cooperation to take place and where individuals and communities self-organise as they act and react to one another. This moves social marketing away from its traditional treatment of behaviour change as a process or event towards an understanding that the problems in social marketing are far more complex and require more holistic complex thinking and decision making. After all, complex causality is the social marketing of tomorrow.

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Gamification in Macro-Social Marketing Narratives

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Introduction

Using social marketing techniques, macro-social marketing seeks to bring about systematic society-wide changes (Kennedy, 2016). Therefore, macro-social marketing goes beyond focusing on solving problems at individual level and deals with complex wicked problems that require systems-wide interventions to solve (Kennedy & Parsons, 2015). Wicked problems are those social problems that are not clearly defined and it is hard to uncover a solution for them since they are unstructured, multi-causal, not stable over time and sometimes bring unexpected consequences (Kennedy et al., 2017); and include obesity, environmental degradation, drug abuse, alcohol consumption and so forth.

Among the different streams of research in macro-social marketing, designing communications to change formal (e.g. regulation and legislation) and informal institutions for bringing about societal change has recently gained special interest (Kemper & Ballantine, 2019). Informal institutions include normative rules such as values and norms, and cognitive rules such as belief systems. It is believed that informal institutions play a pivotal role in legitimizing new ideas and behavioural regimes (Geels, 2004). One way that macro

marketers can influence informal institutions and effect systematic change, is through using framing and narratives tools to gain support for formal institutional initiatives and encourage behavioural change at the society level (Kemper & Ballantine, 2019). With regards to framing, two issues are specifically relevant to macro-social marketing including, the approach in presentation of the information to public and counter-framing to emphasise on the shortcomings of the current informal institution and the need to introduce new formal institutions (Kemper & Ballantine, 2019). Benford and Snow (2000) introduced three framing activities to facilitate actions and gain support for social movements. 1) Diagnostic which involves expressing the problematic issue and who is responsible for that; 2) Prognostic which has to do with introducing solutions, guideline for applying those solutions, and counterframing the opponents; and 3) Motivational which involves encouraging the members of society to take action through providing appropriate reasons for them and exchange of value (Benford & Snow, 2000).

Although several studies have investigated different framing activities and counterframing strategies, there is still a dearth of research on investigating how digital interventions can contribute to effectiveness of framing and counterframing activities. Digital interventions as a new generation of social marketing tools have proved to be effective in many behaviour change programs in different areas such as physical activity, sexual health, alcohol consumption, environmental behaviours, diet improvement, cancer support, diabetes management and smoking cessation (Kubacki et al., 2015). Digital interventions may come in different forms such as websites, discussion forums, online ads, online programs, video sharing, social media, email, mobile apps, online games and game-like interventions. Among the aforementioned types of digital interventions, gamification is a hot topic and seems to be more promising because of the fact that aside from featuring the core elements of other types of digital interventions, it can provide a dynamic form of communication and a fun and engaging way of accomplishing tasks by tapping into motivational drivers of human behaviour (Robson et al., 2015). Gamification was originally defined as the use of game elements in non-game contexts (Deterding et al., 2011); however, the scope of gamification research has expanded significantly during the past few years and new concepts such as transformative gamification -which is defined as games which focus on creating and maintaining uplifting changes in consumers' performances of health and well-being behaviours (Tanouri et al., 2019) — with

more focus on health and wellbeing outcomes of gamification has emerged.

Several lines of research has investigated and shown the effectiveness of gamification in bringing about positive social marketing outcomes at individual (micro-) and organizational (meso-) level in different areas such as mental well-being (Merry et al., 2012), sustainability (Johnson et al., 2017), physical activity (Koivisto & Hamari, 2019), and alcohol consumption (R. Mulcahy et al., 2015; Rundle-Thiele et al., 2015). However, there is still lack of research on how gamification interventions can support social marketing programmes at macro level. Therefore, this research attempts bridge this gap by investigating how gamification interventions can contribute to framing and counter framing activating in macro-social marketing. More specifically this research investigates how gamification environment can facilitate prognostic (solution introduction and counterframing) and motivational framing activities in public health communications.

According to frame analysis theory, frames are systems of socially constructed meanings and arise and get strong from social interactions between the members of society (Schwirian et al., 2001). It is believed that frames play in important role in people's tendency towards certain behaviours and how people interpret the feedback they receive from their environment (Fisher, 1997). Widely-held frames are often challenged in a society by those members of society who oppose the current socially constructed meaning systems, this process of neutralizing/undermining currently-held frames is referred to as counterframing. The process of framing and counterframing between different groups of society will lead to a situation called 'framing contest' (Benford & Snow, 2000). The aforementioned framing contests are prevalent in macro-social marketing programmes which focus on health related and stigmatize issues. Therefore, investigating how gamification mechanisms can facilitate framing/couterframing activities can be of significant importance for macro-social marketers in understanding the application of such innovative tools in macro-marketing interventions.

Gamification Platforms for Social Interactions and Framing Activities

As previously mentioned, frames are socially constructed through social interactions; the extent to which a gamification intervention can be successful in

facilitating the creation of frames is highly dependent on the extent to which the gamification intervention can create mass social interactions. Ducheneaut et al. (2007) studied player-to-player interactions in Massively Multiplayer Online Games (MMOGs) and investigated whether or not MMOGs can have the same functions as the so called 'third places' which are referred to as different public settings such as bars, coffee shops, parks, general stores, etc. in which sociability can occur. Third places are believed to not only positively influence individuals' wellbeing through providing the sense of connectedness and social support, but also are considered as social hubs for interpersonal communication and exchange meaning (Rosenbaum, 2006; Rosenbaum et al., 2017). Ducheneaut et al. (2007) suggested that MMOGs share a lot of characteristics with third places and can become third places if the game design sufficiently resembles the real-world settings. Therefore, reflecting on Ducheneaut et al. (2007) study, it can be proposed that for games to be considered third places and facilitate mass social interactions they need to go beyond simply providing discussion forums instead, they should contain spaces- similar to those in real world- for the players to aggregate and socialize in an unstructured and free manner. Once gamification environments are perceived as third places, they can become suitable platforms for framing and counterframing activities. The next section investigates how and which gamification mechanisms can facilitate framing and counterframing strategies.

Gamification Mechanisms for Framing/Counterframing activities

Gamification systems can facilitate framing and counterframing activities in a number of ways. Firstly, it can provide macro-social marketers with the opportunity to identify widely-held counterframing argument through the analysis of user interactions. For example in the case of stigmatize issues in mental health, it has been shown that gamification systems which provide the users with the opportunity to interact with other user anonymously can increase individuals' confidence to disclose and share their way of thinking and experiences (Bakker et al., 2016; Parkinson et al., 2019). Moreover, reviewing the most common counterframing strategies such as reframing, de-framing, frame repair, frame debunking, it can be concluded that the process of counterframing is often based on either encouraging individuals to reflect on the currently-held frames or providing them with alternative pos-

sibilities/realities as new frames (Schwirian et al., 2001; Vyncke & Van Gorp, 2020). Likewise, it has been suggested that gamification systems have the potential to influence individuals' deeply held beliefs, assumptions, and frames of reference by creating imaginative life events and encouraging players to reflect on those events and associated belief regimes (Jarvis, 2006).

It is also believed that immersion of individuals into the story of the games can facilitate the process of behaviour change since immersed individuals have less negative attitudes toward counterframing arguments and are steered to change their deeply held beliefs and frames of reference (Lu et al., 2012). Lastly, with regards to motivational framing, there are several lines of research which suggest that gamification mechanics such as points, challenges, feedback, leaderboard, and dynamic difficulty scaling can lead to behavioural intentions through immersing individuals in the gameplay (Arzate Cruz & Uresti, 2017; Chorney, 2012; Sweetser & Wyeth, 2005) and providing value (transformational, educational, utilitarian, and aesthetic) (R. F. Mulcahy et al., 2018; Parkinson et al., 2019; Tanouri et al., 2019; Whittaker et al., 2021). Therefore, it can be postulated that the story, content and environment of the game can lead to individuals accepting the counterframing arguments and once accepted, gamification mechanics can encourage individuals to practice behaviours corresponding to new introduced frames to fully internalize the introduced framing message.

Conclusions and Implications

Based on the above mentioned arguments, the implications of this research in manifold. First, this research is the first to provide directions for gamification to be used in social marketing beyond the individual and organizational level. This paper argues that there is an opportunity to draw upon MMOGs to gain insight about how gamification can be used as a macro-social marketing tool. Second, we suggest that not only gamification can be used as a platform to identify and introduce counterframing arguments, but also it can be used as a tool to increase the probability of accepting new counterframing argument and encourage individuals to act upon them. Gamification services often include service providers who are the owners of gamification service platform and the service users who are the player of the game who are also regarded as public or target market (Huotari & Hamari, 2012). However, in Macro-social marketing scale and MMOGs, there seems to be other

institutions and entities who influence how the process of framing works during a long period of time. Based on the above arguments, there are three mechanisms in gamification (game environment verisimilitude, game story immersiveness, and game mechanics) that can contribute to the process of framing/counter framing. Therefore, in order to explain the contribution of different macro-social marketing institutions in MMGOs, it is essential to investigate which institutions can control/influence the aforementioned mechanisms of gamification.

In a macro-social marketing scale, the policy makers are often considered as the owners of the platform and they have control over the structure and mechanics of the games. With regards to verisimilitude and immersiveness of the games, in conventional gamification services, verisimilitude is associated with the existence of the different institutions in the game to replicate the real world, while immersiveness is associated with the extent to which each of those institutions contribute to the narrative of the games (Qin et al., 2009; Van Laer et al., 2014). Comparing it to the macro-social marketing scale, it can be concluded that the existence of different layers and institutions such as NGOs, organizations, journalists, media, etc. can contribute to the verisimilitude of MMGOs and subsequently lead to encouraging individuals to disclose and identification of the frames. In addition, the extent to which those institutions are active in the game environment and contribute to the narrative of the game determines the immersiveness of the games and eventually acceptance of the framing arguments. Therefore, it can be suggested that for MMGOs to be able to be successful in macro-social marketing, they need to have different layers. 1) the core and platform of the games which is owned by the policy makers; 2) the institutional layer of the games in which organizations, journalists, scientists, managers, etc. can act as independent institutions and freely contribute to the game narrative; and 3) individuals who explore the game world. Figure 1 briefly summarizes the abovementioned arguments.

Lastly, this research provides directions for the application of gamification in macro-social marketing based on synthesis of limited literature on health and well-being related research. Therefore, more comprehensive research based on empirical data and case studies is needed to uncover the design and implementation complexities of using gamification in macro-social marketing research.

Figure 1: Summary of the research arguments



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Rainbow Cultural Competency Training for Canterbury Police Officers

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Social and legal strides have been made propelled by activism that has afforded Rainbow people more freedom to express and live according to their identity. For example, the Human Rights Act in New Zealand (NZ) has made it illegal to discriminate against someone based on gender or sexual orientation (of Culture & Heritage, [2016](#)). Also, New Zealand's Marriage Equality Bill of 2013 now allows non-heterosexual couples to enter into a legal union (Brickell, [2020](#)).

Even so, Rainbow communities endure discriminatory and violent actions against them, which has negatively affected their overall wellbeing (Green & Te Wao, [2014](#)). A small number of studies evaluated and measured the health and wellbeing outcomes for Rainbow communities. These have found disproportionately weaker wellbeing and lifestyle outcomes compared to the general population. The Honour project, for example, measured wellbeing outcomes for takatapui/Maori LGBTQI-plus communities in NZ (Pihama et al., [2020](#)). The study reported that 77% of participants had experienced distress due to homophobia and transphobia (Pihama et al., [2020](#)). Furthermore, 49% experienced or were threatened with violence given their identity (Pihama et al., [2020](#)). Moreover, the Counting Ourselves survey examined outcomes

for non-binary and transgender people (Veale et al., 2019). It found that they experience higher rates of sexual violence compared to the general population. A staggering 67% of these participants experienced some form of discrimination (Veale et al., 2019).

As identified by McKeage, Crosby and Rittenburg (2018) as vulnerable consumers, Rainbow communities experience vulnerability through many different avenues. As consumers, these groups are often ignored or excluded from the marketplace bringing about the 'powerlessness' characteristic of a vulnerable group of consumers to attain their consumption goals (Baker et al., 2005). When considering the macro-social marketing environment surrounding these people, McKeage et al.'s (2018) revised model of vulnerability provides an understanding of the effect that trigger events and have on an individual's experience of vulnerability and whether that vulnerability is resolved, endures or remains stable. Such trigger events include crime and violence. The New Zealand Crime and Victims survey found that gay, lesbian and bisexual adults are more likely to experience crime in comparison to the general population (of Justice, n.d.). It also found that lesbian, bisexual and gay people are less likely to report discriminatory or violent dealings enacted against them. These experiences get even more complex when you begin to involve different minority markers that individuals must juggle simultaneously (McGinley & Horne, 2020). Purportedly, avoiding reporting incidences to Police would extend experiences of vulnerability rather than resolving them.

These studies show the need for well-informed and effective police systems that support Rainbow people and meet their basic need for safety. Consequently, it is critical to have law enforcement that understands the complexity of Rainbow experiences to provide efficacious service offerings. An open and understanding entity should positively influence Rainbow communities' perceptions of the entity and cause them to be more willing to engage (Tuten, 2005). Social marketing interventions at the meso level of the police force may indeed have a ripple effect through the macro-environment for Rainbow community members and their experiences of vulnerability. As a result, developing an intervention that trains officers accordingly should improve officers' ability to assist Rainbow people and enhance the quality of the service they currently provide. Also, it could improve the likelihood that they would report crimes which law enforcement can then address appropriately. Thus reducing the time for which they experience vulnerability. At the macro level, such an intervention may drive further change within soci-

ety as the cultural-moral norms presented diffuse through and infuse into the Police force, their families and communities as part of both a strategic action field and social mechanisms for change (Kennedy, 2016; Layton, 2015). However, the direct infusion and diffusion of the cultural-moral norms of an intervention have not been explicated in the literature. As such, this research focuses on furthering the area of infusion of cultural-moral norms as part of a macro-social marketing intervention. Specifically it does not look at the development of the intervention but instead focuses on its effectiveness.

A few studies have measured the effectiveness of Rainbow competency training in different contexts (e.g. Leyva et al., 2014; Porter & Krinsky, 2014; Rivers & Swank, 2017; Seay et al., 2019). A similar study was done in the context of the United States. It concluded that law enforcement personnel increased their knowledge and skills in tackling rainbow-related issues in the workplace and broader community (Israel et al., 2014). It is crucial to measure training effectiveness in this manner because it indicates the reality of training transfer (e.g. diffusion). Training transfer occurs when material or knowledge learnt in the training environment is reflected in practices outside of that environment (Baldwin & Ford, 1988). It is critical to understand the existence of training transfer and its implications for macro-social marketing. It creates a blueprint for improving the social marketing offering inside the training that enhances its likelihood to make enduring change. It is the exploration of this training transfer that provides a contribution to the current literature.

A social marketing intervention in the form of a training program was developed to educate others about critical concepts, ideas, and identities in Rainbow communities. According to the research objective, this research explores whether the use of such cultural competency training can positively impact understanding, attitudes, and behaviour when working with Rainbow Communities. The training aims to give Police foundational knowledge and skills that would help to foster a stronger relationship between the Rainbow community and the Police. It serves as a means of informing them of: 1) Current needs of Rainbow communities. 2) Ways to engage with the rainbow population more effectively. 3) Methods for improvement in their service offering. 4) Ideas for fostering a better working environment. 5) Language associated with Rainbow communities. 6) Stories of Rainbow people in the area to show the importance of the training sessions; and 7) Resources that can help them better engage with the community. Also, it aims to capture what

new behaviours have emerged as a result of their exposure to the training sessions. The training makes the officers aware of possible negative workplace cultures and improper treatment of individuals on the force. Based on what they share, the researchers offered recommendations of what could be done to improve the training materials and what shifts need to take place by the Police.

Quantitative surveys were distributed before and after (three months post-training) the training session. They identified changes in the police officer's knowledge, attitudes, and skills (Leyva et al., 2014). As the responses are anonymous, there was no direct matching of answers from one person to the next. Still, overarching changes in behaviour based on those who have completed the training was carried out. The aggregated results from the two questionnaires were compared to gauge whether there were any improvements in scores and ideate the workshop's effectiveness (Leyva et al., 2014).

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Meat Consumption and Reduction in China: Institutional and Social Change

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High meat consumption is a wicked problem that some countries are only just beginning to tackle. China is the world's largest consumer of agricultural products and it is set to continue to grow. Yet, environmental and health issues related to animal proteins has set numerous cultural and economic motions into action. A multi-level, socio-ecological analysis explores the status of meat reduction in China. The analysis suggests the Chinese government needs to display complementary and consistent messages in their political, economic and physical structures (changing both informal and formal institutions) to achieve the target of 50% reduced meat consumption by 2030.

Coming and Going in Loops: Grasping More System Complexity for Social Marketing

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The lack of complex system understanding is a major impediment for systemic change in social marketing. The purpose of this study is to show how the implementation of participatory causal mapping to explore networks of feedback loops can empower social marketing in capturing more complexity for wide-scale behavior change.

Introduction

The lack of complex system understanding is a major impediment for systemic change in social marketing as it only learns how to deal with complex social systems (Anibaldi et al., [2020](#); Kapitan, [2019](#)). The purpose of this study is to show how the implementation of participatory causal mapping, including feedback loops, can become a method which empowers social marketing to plan systemic behavior change.

This abstract has the following structure. The literature review identifies impediments for understanding complex systems and explains participatory causal mapping. The methodology section describes the flow of methodological steps to analyze the behavior of a complex system, i.e. the cycling system in a city setting. The findings section visualizes core dynamics of a complex system, together with its areas of change, as well as adds five systems thinking tools applicable in social marketing. The abstract concludes with the explanation of implications of participatory causal mapping for system-wide social marketing.

Literature Review

Social marketing is currently involved in pursuing several important theoretical and methodological goals among which the shift from micro-level behavioral change to wide-scale transformation of a problem seems the most ambitious objective (Rundle-Thiele et al., 2019). To achieve this objective, social marketing needs to learn how to understand complexity of social systems (Carvalho & Mazzon, 2020; Kennedy, 2019).

Understanding system complexity stipulates the analysis of circular causality and feedback (Hovmand, 2014). The latter means that system-forming elements exist in causal relationships, which are 'organized' as networks of interconnected loops, so each system element receives a feedback of causal influence from other elements in a loop.

Understanding system complexity also requires active participation of system-wide stakeholders in grasping this system complexity (Biroscak et al., 2019; McHugh et al., 2018). System-wide stakeholders, (gathered in working groups), with knowledge of a complex problem, can consensually explore circular causal relationships between system elements via specific tools, like drawing causal loop diagrams (Sterman, 2000).

The analysis of the current systemic approaches in social marketing confirms that the use of feedback loops and participation of system-wide stakeholders in system causality mapping is not common (French & Gordon, 2019; McKenzie-Mohr, 2011), which may hinder systemic change in social marketing.

Methodology

The research design consists of four phases. Phase 1 includes systemic stakeholder analysis. It results in establishing a modelling (causal mapping) group. Phase 2 involves system barrier/enabler analysis. Phase 3 leads to the system map origination via group-based system mapping sessions. This phase aims to understand, via a series of loop narratives, the central behavioral dynamics in the system. Finally, Phase 4 verifies the understanding of system's behavioral dynamics when the system map is socialized via key informant interviews and further group-based consultations. It also generates Change Areas, i.e. the areas of intervention to address system deficiencies in the optimal way.

Findings

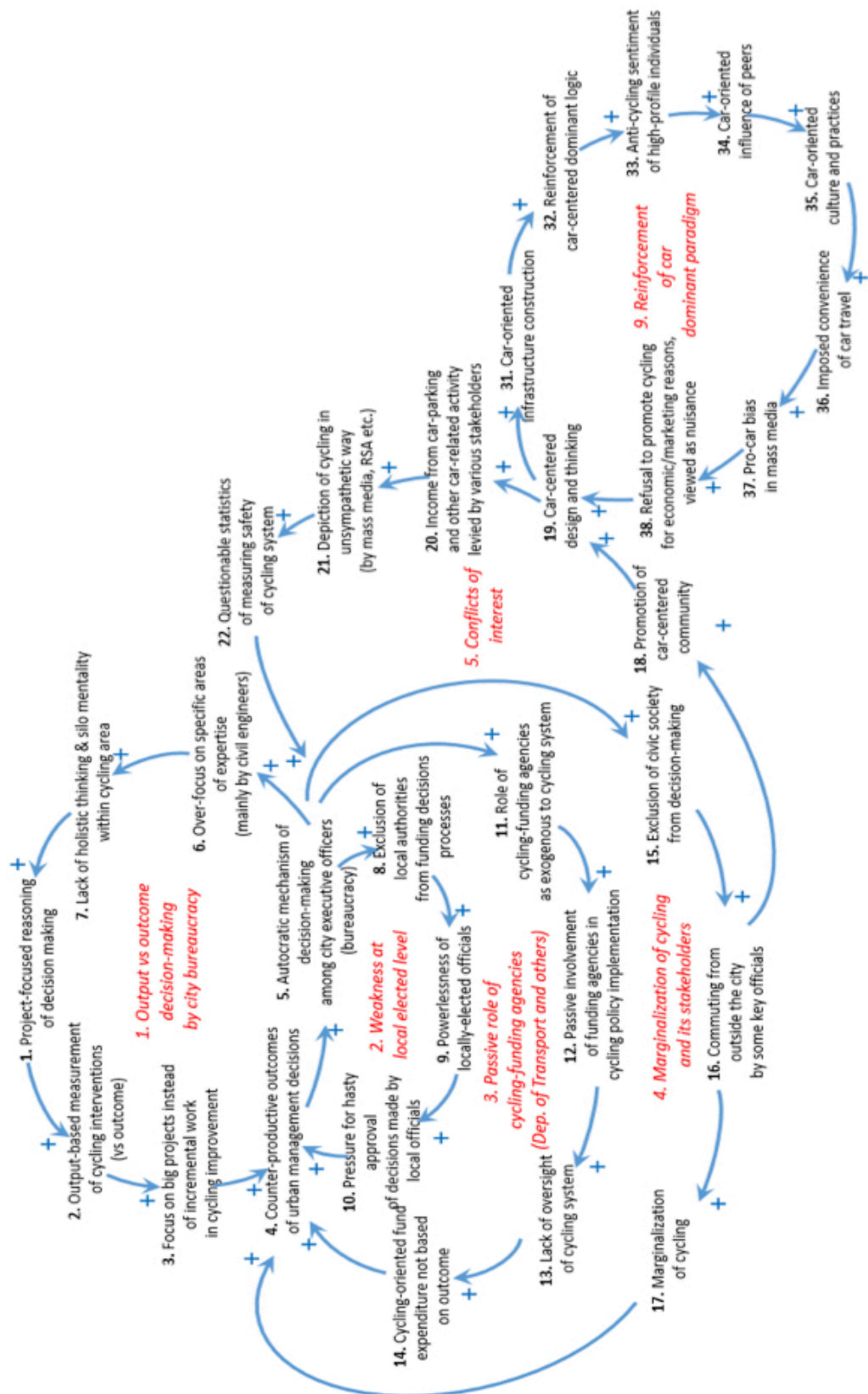
The implementation of participatory qualitative mapping resulted in the origination of the system map (the full map is available upon request). Figure 1 portrays the system's core behavior dynamics. This map acted as a consultation-based model of the system. Each loop features a separate narrative (available upon request). These narratives explain overall behavioral dynamics of the system. The system's core behavioral dynamics is determined by the interaction of the following three feedback loops:

- (a) output-based and autocratic decision-making (Loops 1-3, Figure 1),
- (b) abundance of conflicted interests (Loop 5, Figure 1), and
- (c) reinforcement of car-dominant paradigm in people's minds (Loop 9, Figure 1).

The modeling group identified and socialized the following Six Change Areas: (1) construction of bike-parking facilities; (2) bike maintenance organization; (3) best practice research and replication; (4) Cycling Champions and Cycling Officer position; (5) change of consultation process and its role; and (6) collaboration with mass media.

The authors added five systems thinking-based tools that are specifically applicable in social marketing interventions:

Figure 1: Core dynamics of the system.



- (a) qualitative mapping of complex causal dynamics and participatory techniques for developing mental models as modifiable boundary objects (a general approach);
- (b) problem system boundary identification and systemic stakeholder analysis;
- (c) problem system barrier/enabler identification and organization in feedback loops;
- (d) narration and analysis of system's individual feedback loops, as well as explicating the whole system feedback structure via a narrative (story); and
- (e) insights from the resulting model as change areas for a system behavior correction.

Conclusion

The paper contributes to understanding the potential of participatory causal mapping with system stakeholders and feedback loops for multi-level behavior change. This may have important implications for system-wide social marketing programs. These implications may include:

- (a) addressing multiple system elements and relationships in a system to understand the hidden causal dynamics in a system;
- (b) reframing traditional marketing value exchanges into the complex and extended value exchange fields;
- (c) recognizing of the importance of the system context, culture, environments and other types of related systems; and
- (d) anticipation of multiple system side-effects and occasions of counterintuitive behaviors.

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“Breast is Best” as a Constrained Marketing System

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Introduction

Infant feeding is a contentious issue, particularly in regard to ideologies and debates centred on breast versus formula feeding. Currently, exclusive (complete/without supplementation) breast feeding from birth until six months of age is considered the gold standard for infants, recommended by the World Health Organisation (WHO) (www.who.int — Health topics). These recommendations are strongly endorsed worldwide through health systems policy, regulation of breast-milk substitutes’ promotion (Organization et al., 1981), maternity paediatric organisational processes (e.g., Ten Steps to Successful Breastfeeding guidelines, Organization et al. (2018)), and health professional/stakeholder espoused values governing practice. Campaigns and

slogans to support the breast-feeding message, such as the “Breast is Best” mantra (Wolf, 2007), are well known and, if not internalised by women pre-pregnancy, are disseminated widely through antenatal education classes and educational media. Today, strong moral and social norms directly link to notions of idealised motherhood where failure to breastfeed leads to discourses of transgression (Simonardóttir & Gislason, 2018).

This abstract presents the conceptualisation of work-in-progress that explores the breast feeding-centric macro-environment and its marketing system through the lens of constrained choice. We propose that the infant feeding marketing system as it is currently structured sets up a potentially negative chain of actor exchange and outcomes for women adopters of a formula feeding regime for their infant, either through preference or in “failing” to succeed in their breastfeeding attempts. The prevailing focus on breastfeeding as the norm and superior mode of infant feeding, sanctions and potentially isolates women who do not conform (Wolf, 2007). Outcomes experienced from non-compliance with breastfeeding norms can threaten feelings of self-worth and attainment of the idealised motherhood role (Bresnahan et al., 2020), potentially leading to experienced vulnerability at an important transition point in a woman’s lifecycle (Commuri & Ekici, 2008). Conceptualisation from a macromarketing lens, along with future empirical work to come, will contribute to the understanding of the infant feeding experience for mothers, as well as contribute to theorising on consumer-system constrained choice as a pathway to experienced vulnerability.

In order to do this, we briefly describe the development of a prevailing dominant breastfeeding philosophy that has fashioned norms and values underpinning the current marketing system orientation and exchange governance. We also provide evidence in extant literature (and in the absence of our own empirical data to date), of market system tensions and the consequences of the system’s (in)ability to fulfil the (anticipated) needs and wants of customers (J. Williams et al., 2021). Our conceptualisation demonstrates how the system currently is structured to limit and control provisioning and information regarding bottle feeding, thus constraining choice for formula feeding mothers. Here we use Mittelstaedt, Duke, and Mittelstaedt’s (2009) constrained consumption logic where “participants cannot interact with equitable agency” (J. Williams et al., 2021, p. 2) due to the countervailing forces of the system. We discuss the impact of constrained consumption, outlining potential outcomes for women and how marketing system mechanisms

trigger experienced vulnerability and reduced wellbeing for formula feeding mothers. This provides a theoretical and practical contribution to the area, in that such a path conceptualising a marketing system failure, its contribution to constrained consumption, and that effect on vulnerability, has not been provided in the current literature. Practically, our contribution is in concluding with recommendations for recalibration of the system that is more inclusive for formula feeding mothers, thus serving the needs of all mothers and infants. Before proceeding we wish to convey our agreement, that wherever possible, it is ideal for an infant to be fully breastfed. Our work here also does not focus on situations where the establishment of breastfeeding is severely disrupted by the physical or psychological states of the mother or infant - such as premature birth, postnatal depression, or mental wellbeing.

Development of “Breast is Best” in contemporary society

Breast feeding rates and practice are a feature of influential forces of the day. Today the reason for promotion of exclusive breast feeding is based on evidence and beliefs about benefits endowed to mother and baby. For the mother, breast feeding hormones influence control of bleeding post-birth and assist the formation of attachment. Breast feeding is also promoted as convenient, financially less costly than the purchase of formula (Hastings et al., 2020), lower environmental impact (Smith, 2019), and with more supportive work environments, compatible with work. As well as the emotional benefits of suckling, for the infant, compelling nutritional and safety benefits are derived. Breastfeeding also eliminates the risk of contamination of formula feeding equipment or milk. Breast feeding is supported by public health campaigns, lactation-friendly work environments, and education of health professionals oriented toward breastfeeding and away from formula. Increasingly, social marketing is being used to explore how women can be persuaded and supported to adopt and maintain breast feeding (e.g. Gallegos et al., 2014; Wolf, 2007). The “breast is best” philosophy continues to be upheld through pre-natal education of parents, tight regulation of marketing of infant formula, hospital and birthing centre pro-breastfeeding policies. In some organisations, women are asked to sign a disclaimer if they choose to give their infant formula, either as a full feed or complement. Such actions

toward consumers in the marketing system drive the co-evolution of differential endowments such as the belief that 'breast is best' and a 'good mother' breast feeds, strengthening the rhetoric within the marketing system (R. A. Layton, 2015; Runciman et al., 2009).

There is a good deal of discussion that formula feeding mothers experience resistance to information dissemination and support in establishing formula feeding as a result of the discourse and actions of health professions. Such behaviours show Social Mechanisms at play, which again enforce breastfeeding behaviour through co-operation between health system members and signalling to mothers (R. A. Layton, 2015). Although breast feeding is presumed to be "natural" some women make a choice to formula feed during their pregnancy, for many reasons (for example returning to work, or mental wellbeing). Of the women who attempt breastfeeding, many will experience difficulty, such as pain and infection, not establishing sufficient quantity, or failure of their infant to attain desired weight. Women who have experienced difficult, long or instrumental/ surgical births also often miss the opportunity to establish early breast feeding. Academic literature, although relatively scant, challenges the widespread notions of breast feeding as the only choice to maximise maternal and infant welfare (Moss-Racusin et al., 2020; Wolf, 2007), along with consumer-mediated social network sites (<https://www.self.com/story/baby-friendly-hospitals>), showing Social Mechanisms of emergence and self-organisation (R. A. Layton, 2015).

Conceptual underpinning

The infant feeding marketing system is formed through "the creation and delivery to customers of assortments of goods, services, experiences and ideas, enhancing the perceived quality of life of the communities in which the marketing systems operate as well as providing economic benefits for each of the system" (R. A. Layton, 2015, p. 305) and as such exists at the core of macromarketing (R. Layton, 2007). "Marketing systems emerge in form and structure from relationships rooted in economic, social, and cultural contexts" (Mittelstaedt et al., 2009, p. 95) and "the historical context or legacies that each community has inherited" (R. A. Layton, 2015, p. 305). Differences across economic, social, and cultural contexts reflect the formal, informal, and philosophical antecedents to marketing systems (Mittelstaedt et al., 2006). These antecedents therefore influence the organising principles

of the system and relationships within.

Within the system, infant feeding ideas and experiences are driven by societal/macro higher level goals (e.g. what it means to be a 'good mother') and agendas that collectively drive the nature of specialisation exchanges within the system and choice assortment. Healthcare actors, as service providers at meso and micro levels within the network of exchanges, actively promote optimal infant feeding (breast feeding) to mothers, as recipient actors in the system. Social Mechanisms used to perpetuate the 'breast is best' rhetoric come about through these co-evolutionary practices by healthcare actors, and their cooperation and signalling (e.g., the consistent messaging through all health actors and social marketing campaigns). The benefits and exchange outcomes promoted and controlled through imposed practices (R. A. Layton, 2015) are optimal nutrition, best outcomes for mother and baby and therefore, quality of life. Formula feeding is also a product existing within the system, however, it is a lesser valued assortment offering and one not made easily available to all participants (R. Layton, 2007), and varying in place and time. As such, the marketing system for infant formula is influenced by the co-evolutionary practices and social mechanisms of health care actors. The belief that breast is best, and the stigma put on infant formula as a product is further reinforced within Social Action Fields (R. A. Layton, 2015) where governments and international bodies (such as WHO) support and drive the Social Mechanisms and Co-evolutionary practices already mentioned (Barennes et al., 2016). But how might these components of system creation and evolution, based on Layton's mechanism-action-structure (MAS) theory (2015) lead to constrained consumer logic and experienced vulnerability?

Following Mittelstaedt et al.'s (2009) constrained consumer logic and Baker, Gentry and Rittenberg's (2005) vulnerability framework, such constrained choice can provide the context for specific and transitory vulnerability, as required exchanges (such as formula feeding advice or support) are unable to be accessed easily, or in a manner that protects self-worth and positive transit to motherhood. Even when considering the potential alternative conceptualisation of vulnerability as role based (Commuri & Ekici, 2008), the pressure associated with the role of mother in society and the identity change associated with this role change can justify the potential of a mother experiencing vulnerability as a consumer. The outcome of a marketing system ought to be a heterogeneous assortment of goods, services, experi-

ences (R. A. Layton, 2011; Mittelstaedt et al., 2009) and thus better consumer choice. However in this instance, we argue that the influence of international and national policy, coupled with the co-operation and emergent social mechanisms of healthcare actors, drives a marketing system to compromised consumer choices. Consequently consumers experience vulnerability limiting their decision making. Information deficits for mothers regarding infant formula (as well as budgetary and normative constraints, Botti and McGill (2006)) restrict their choice set of nourishment for their babies. This links Layton's MAS theory of systems, constrained consumption, and the experience of vulnerability resulting in poorly functioning marketing systems that operate contrary to participant agency for formula feeding mothers.

Concluding comments

The experienced vulnerability of mothers wishing to adopt formula feeding within the infant feeding marketing system is increasingly documented, in academic literature and consumer social networks alike. The lack of access to formula feeding activities free of stigma represents discrepant assortment (Alderson, 1965) and restricted choice that impacts negatively on many women. Consumer movements (e.g., "Fed is Best" <https://fedisbest.org/>) challenge the overarching belief systems and organising principles of this marketing system where to date, there is "no mainstream discourse that directly challenges the supremacy of breastfeeding" (K. Williams et al., 2013, p. 97). More sensitive consideration of the organising principles away from adherence to "breast is best" mantras to more inclusive dialogue may be beneficial, and may not necessarily pose a threat to breastfeeding rates. Likewise, actor health professionals and policy makers contain considerable power to constrain choice, maintain norms, influence decision making and distribute sanctions or penalties, irrespective of the real experiences of women who fail to perform because of circumstance limitations. Recalibrating the system to optimise choice and accommodate the needs of women who wish to either formula feed entirely or use it in combination with breast feeding may well be a better route to attainment of ideal motherhood and optimal nutrition. Marketing system changes "leading to improvements in either or both of effectiveness and efficiency in trade have a much more immediate impact on the well-being of the community" (R. A. Layton, 2009, p. 349). Increased assortment and choice that enable hybrid market exchanges such as shared milk

markets, accessed through (particularly online) social networks are increasingly observed. Although controversial, these provide evidence that many women are motivated to provide breast milk to their infant when they are unable themselves to do so. Therefore, alternative means of participation in breast feeding can also be offered to women as a means by which assortments can be increased, without losing important benefits of breastfeeding. A lack of empirical data, at this stage, is acknowledged as a limitation.

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A Design Re-frame to Address Stigma in Help-seeking of Depressed College-goers: A Case Study using Shadow Social Marketing

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*There is a girl who smiles all the time,
to show the world that she is fine.
A boy who surrounds himself with friends,
wishes that his life would end.
For those that say they never knew — the saddest leave the least of clues.
— Lang Leav*

*I'm hurting but don't tell anyone.
No one needs to know.
Don't show or you've failed.
Always okay, always fine, always on show.
— Excerpt from 'Depression' by Cara Delvigne*

Young people living with depression are frequently in denial of their debilitating condition (Mahmoud et al., 2012; Yusoff et al., 2015). Living in fear of societal judgement as well as of the stigma attached to mental health problems, they avoid seeking help (Bakan, 2016; Phillipson et al., 2009; Rickwood et al., 2005). Those suffering from mental health issues are perceived to

be “dangerous, unpredictable, violent and bizarre”, with “weak morals, poor character, malingering, lack of self-control or bad breeding” (Ross & Goldner, 2009, p. 560). Consequently, they are ostracized, avoided, rejected, feared, and discriminated against (M., 2003). Indeed, such stigma is so deep-rooted that even healthcare professionals are said to harbor it (Knaak et al., 2017). The external stigma that considers people with mental health issues to be dangerous and violent oftentimes forces the sufferers to hide their most difficult condition, until it becomes impossible to do so. Soon, inadvertent “signs” become apparent (Goffman, 1963; Henderson et al., 2013). In this situation, self-harm or even suicidal attempts are sometimes made. Unfortunately, in countries like India where attempted suicide was a criminal offense until 2017 (Bekedam, n.d.), no serious public health policy could be established due to the fear of criminalization of what is purported to be effects of untreated depression. Both historically and culturally, this made it even more difficult to develop interventions to address stigma or encourage self-help. Indeed, the extreme reluctance or fear of the afflicted individuals in seeking help even in an emergency situation is undeniably linked to external stigma (Wyllie & Carlson, 2018).

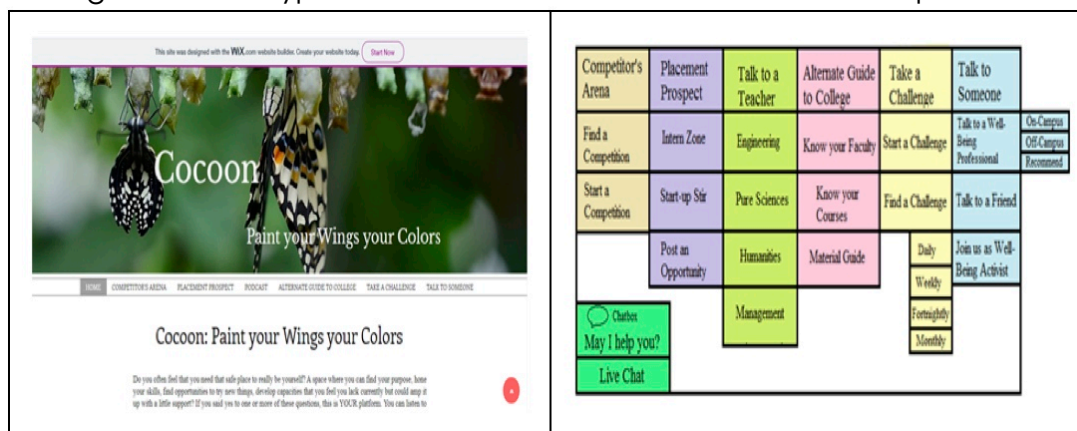
We therefore argue that most social-marketing interventions that attempt to facilitate help-seeking by targeting depressed individuals inadvertently put the carriage before the horse. Interventions should target external stigma that causes the reluctance to seek help. However, most interventions suffer, in practice, from the neo-liberal tendency of putting the responsibility on the individual — the sufferer, vis-à-vis the societal stigma that forces this behavior of shying away from help-seeking (Brennan et al., 2016; Crawshaw, 2012). Macromarketing scholars have pointed out that social marketing needs to shift its focus from responsabilization of individuals with downstream micro-marketing interventions targeting individuals to examining and addressing societal root-causes (Andreasen, 2006; Wymer, 2011, 2015). This could be done through meso-marketing interventions that attempt to influence the relationship between individuals and environment, and thereby move beyond the individual to the societal causes give rise to such behaviour (Brennan et al., 2016). With such meso-level interventions, the overall social environment of stigma around mental health that is largely responsible for individual-level avoidance of help-seeking can be addressed. It then creates a conducive foundation for long-term productive “social good” that social marketing aims to achieve. In this paper we design a meso-level intervention

to reduce the external stigma without using direct educational messages on mental health awareness. It has the effect of positively influencing the macro-environment. This is in line with the call of Kennedy (2016) to alter institutional norms with macro social marketing interventions that usher in a long-term societal change. It serves to reduce the external stigma attached to depression. Consequently, there is reduced stigma in help-seeking for mental health issues.

Our primary argument is that, interventions that are framed as mental health educational messages might not be able to work on implicit attitude that drives stigmatizing beliefs (.Banaji & Greenwald, 1994). Akin to Fajardo et al's (2019) work on marginalized Columbian war-criminals/veterans who were brought back to mainstream with entrepreneurship as a boundary object that helps the out-group (general society) to develop a common ground of interaction with the in-group (war survivors), we developed a macromarketing social intervention in a rural residential Indian university as a case study to examine whether stigma in help-seeking is better addressed in this way compared to more direct interventions that targeted individual level change, without any attempt to address external stigma. In other words, our web-intervention attempts to establish a common ground for all individuals, depressed and not-depressed, to interact in a common area of concern for both groups — their career progress and development. This serves to normalize and encourage help-seeking behavior in individuals as a natural remedy for stress in life (in our study in particular, it is undergraduate students who have to withstand the stresses and strains of their academic life.)

In line with the work of Wilner and Huff (2017), instead of focussing on the tabooed service of consumption (in other words, seeking help from mental health professionals or wellbeing experts), we attempt a design re-frame to normalize the stigma attached to depression in students, who are the users of our web-based intervention platform (named "Cocoon"). This does not directly urge depressed students to seek help. Rather, the services offered by the intervention are carefully designed not to explicitly mention any mental health problems of the users. The strategy to "shadow" the blatant explicitness of an intervention that might trigger stigmatized feelings in affected individuals helps to normalize the necessity of taking care of mental health as a natural outcome of the competitive and stressful environment. Thus, our intervention normalizes the need for help-seeking without either explicitly exposing it to the users or making it manifest to them by implementing the

Figure 1: Prototype of the Cocoon web-based intervention platform



shadow social marketing strategy proposed by Roy & Goswami (2020) that we explain in the next section.

Given that undergraduate students have a common superordinate goal of success in career that can often be stressful, our shadow social marketing (SSM) web-intervention essentially camouflages the real offering of reduction of stigma in help-seeking with an apparent offering of career development and academic advancement, with features that include, for instance, talking to a teacher; participating in competitions; resources for courses; taking a wellbeing challenge; talking to a friend or wellbeing professional, without explicitly mentioning depression or mental health problems in any way (see Figure 1). Prior research has shown that audiences make meanings and draw inferences from indirect claims made through images, text and metaphors, a process that is more persuasive and effective than direct claims (Amar et al., 2020; Dick et al., 1990; Johar, 1995; Miniard et al., 1991; Mothersbaugh et al., 2002). In our case, the indirect claim is that, high mental stress in an academic environment may sometimes require mental health-care practices, and at times, professional help.

We hypothesize that reduction in perceived external stigma would in turn reduce stigma for receiving psychological help. We use the 5-item scale by Komiya et al (2000) to measure stigma in help-seeking. To explicitly evaluate the efficacy of the intervention in handling stigma in help-seeking, we compared our intervention Cocoon, with two other direct interventions (Site 1 and Site 2) that encouraged help-seeking in general. While Site 1 considered wellbeing in general terms through reflective and meditative practices, Site 2 aimed at helping those that might anonymously seek help but were not essentially in denial. Cocoon was not designed to offer any curative treatments

per se. Nevertheless, it does provide contacts and other helpful information, including customer reviews of different wellbeing services available in India, which interested users may approach on their own. Additionally, anonymity is strictly maintained in all peer-interactions, during which help-seeking from mental health professionals may be encouraged and promoted. This leads us to build a design for our intervention to bridge the gap between users with and without experiences of stigmatization by giving anonymity in the seeking of help, but not limiting such help to only psychiatric/psychological assistance. Importantly, the design incorporates diverse offerings (for example, meditation, yoga, gym training, nutrition guidance, career-related discussions, and so on) that are equally beneficial to individuals with and without experiences of stigmatization and mental depression. To obviate the serious issue of stigma attached to mental health problems, the focus is shifted from direct addressing of these issues to things that are more generally acceptable to almost all individuals. Our study examines whether Cocoon's shadow intervention strategy works more effectively than most explicit interventions (for example, Site 1 and Site 2 for comparison) to mitigate the effect of stigma and promote help-seeking at the earlier stages of mental depression. To summarize, the purpose of the Cocoon intervention is to serve primarily as an early-stage intervention for addressing stigma in help-seeking of affected individuals by offering diverse self-enhancing services as well as to encourage them to come out of their sinking spiral by connecting, through anonymous interactions on the platform, to sympathetic people around them as well as to seek help from mental health professionals or wellbeing practitioners.

Our hypothesis therefore asserts that stigmatized individuals suffering from depression will show a greater likelihood to avail of wellbeing-related services offered by an intervention platform that utilizes a shadow marketing strategy rather than by one that does not adopt such a strategy but directly addresses mental health issues. Our results show that the hypothesis is supported with a high significance ($\beta = 0.28, p < 0.001$) for the sample. Details of the study methodology, data, and results of statistical analyses are not included in this extended abstract for consideration of space.

In this study, we utilize positive social engineering as "a long-term strategy of social change, which includes other means of behavior change, and is trying to shape the context in which the behavior is undertaken (a systems approach), it is actually part of a positive social engineering intervention" as posited by Kennedy and Parsons (2012, po. 38). The institutional norm that

we are trying to target is personal responsabilization of the depressed to seek help in a stigmatized environment that deems mental health issues to be a spoiler of identity (Goffman, 1963). Currently there is a complete lack of policies in educational institutions in India to be inclusive towards students suffering from depression and have a plan that is sensitive towards the disabilities they face. Consequently, we are attempting to deinstitutionalize the current norm of stigma and replace it with a new norm of normalization, inclusion and dignity of those that are depressed, to be at par with those that are not. As pointed out by Kennedy (2016, p. 359), “the macro-social marketer must express new economic-task and cultural-moral institutional norms to all actors in the system (e.g., governments, suppliers, retailers, consumers) through symbolic and objective performative and institutional actions, until the actors internalize and perpetuate the new norms themselves”. We posit that that with our meso-level intervention, the institutional norms would change too.

Our study contributes to the call to “embrace new tools and thinking, such as a meso-marketing approach, to synthesise micro- and macro-processes to effect change” (Brennan et al., 2016, p. 231). Our meso-level intervention “between the individual and the environment” (Brennan et al., 2016, p. 226) involves an attempt to study more than one layer of the social change market (House et al., 1995) and goes beyond just attempting to target individuals that are avoiding help-seeking due to societal stigma. We involve other stakeholders like non-depressed students and teachers as well, so as to address the external societal stigma that leads to avoidance of help-seeking by depressed students. In doing so we move away from the micro-macro binary (Brennan et al., 2016) with the use of a meso-intervention to address a complex wicked problem that does not have a direct solution, thereby making a connection between meso and macro level. As explained by Kennedy (2016, p. 361), macro-social marketing involves “use of social marketing techniques to shape the social context of behavior change”. We propose that it might not suffice to have a single meso intervention to address the problem of societal stigma that acts as a barrier to help-seeking behaviour, but it helps to create a community-level environment that incrementally works to modify negative/unhelpful institutional norms that macro-level intervention typically targets. This tenet is also supported by Kemper and Kennedy (Kemper & Kennedy, 2021, p. 36) when they propose that “culmination of multiple social marketing interventions, over the long term, can see a change in institution-

alized norms that perpetuate wicked problems (i.e., mental health stigma)“ and “cultural-moral institutional norms that support the inherent dignity of all humans (no matter their mental health status) could be incorporated into social marketing interventions”. By designing an intervention targeting general audience and not specifically depressed students only, we attempt to change social norms and consequently institutional norms through measures that ensure inclusivity, normalization and resultant dignity to those that are struggling with mental health issues. Drawing from Trenchard-Mabere (2016) and Hovell et al (2002), we posit that meso-intervention is an essential prerequisite for macro-level changes to happen for wicked problems like stigma around help-seeking for mental health issues, as change of social norms at community-level can eventually lead to societal macro-level changes with modification of institutional norms.

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Session XVI

Track Globalization, Neocolonialism and Marketing

The 40 years of racism in advertising: a decolonial perspective on the decisions of the Brazilian National Council of Advertising Self-Regulation

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Racism has been analyzed and criticized by marketing academics for decades, but it still persists in mainstream advertising. Despite the existence of many studies that highlight racial issues found in advertising, just a few studies were found that critically analyze advertising or communication regulation. Based on a decolonial perspective, and adopting Critical Discourse Analysis as its methodological approach, this paper aims to unveil colonial racist elements related to the cases of racism in advertising judged by the Brazilian Council of Advertising Self-Regulation (Conar), from 1980 until 2020. In all categories, the authors found Conar's acceptance or lack of consistency in its positioning regarding racist ads. Conar did not establish a position of rejecting racist ads in any category.

Introduction

Racism has been analyzed and criticized by marketing academics for decades (e.g. Bristor et al., 1995; Potts, 1997), but it still persists in mainstream marketing (Grier et al., 2019; Tadajewski, 2012) and advertising (Davis, 2018). Stereotyping through racism has been systematically used as a tool in mass advertising (Branchik & Davis, 2018; Taylor et al., 2019).

In Macromarketing, there are also studies discussing various forms of discrimination in advertising, such as a discussion about Muslim representations of gendered beauty ideals (French et al., 2020), and a study about how social class in advertising may contribute to misperceptions in the US (Paulson & O'Guinn, 2018). Recently, a study specifically discussed the Black Lives Matter movement in the context of marketing research (Francis, 2020).

With the expansion of dominant advertising sectors throughout the globe, specially from the US (Alter, 1995; Fox, 1997), there was also an internationalization of their advertising stereotyping, including to Brazil (Marcondes, 2001; Tota, 2000). Advertising racism can have many forms, from the historical lack or misrepresentation of non-white peoples in ads (Ramamurthy, 2017) and the depreciation of non-white groups and peoples (Shabbir et al., 2014), to the establishment of white beauty paradigms (Redmond, 2003).

In Brazil, various academic papers discuss advertising racism (do Nascimento Nganga, 2018; Trammel, 2017). For instance, a study discusses the presence of stigmas in social representations of African-descendent individuals in commercials, strengthening the idea of social invisibility of Black Brazilians (Acevedo & Trindade, 2010); another paper analyzes prejudices reproduced by the government in tourism propaganda from the northeast region of Brazil, including racism (Dantas, 2013).

One of the instruments that could be adopted to curb advertising stereotyping is regulation. The most widespread form of advertising and communication regulation is the Advertising Self-Regulation System (ASRS), a system adopted in dozens of countries (Conar, 2021). The ideals of advertising self-regulation were initially defended by the International Chamber of Commerce (ICC), an organization that has historically sought to create a global system in which economic-financial affairs are "protected" from government intervention (International Chamber of Commerce, n.d.) and created in 1937 its Advertising Self-Regulation Code (Danilovich & Manfredi, 2011). ICC's 1937 code has inspired the Brazilian Code of Advertising Self-

Regulation (Código Brasileiro de Autoregamentação Publicitária, or CBAP) (Conar, 1978).

Despite the existence of many studies that highlight racial issues found in advertising, just a few studies were found that critically analyze advertising or communication regulation (e.g. Petty, 2013), particularly recent papers that specifically focus on ASRS (e.g. Perelló-Oliver & Muela-Molina, 2014), or that critically study it (e.g. Feenstra & Esteban, 2019; Rotfeld, 2010). On the other hand, some studies have highlighted efficacy problems in ASRS (e.g. Harris et al., 2015; Théodore et al., 2017), and a decolonial study analyzed colonial elements in ASRS's origins (Rodrigues & Hemais, 2020).

Based on a decolonial perspective, and adopting Critical Discourse Analysis as its methodological approach, this paper aims to unveil colonial racist elements related to the cases of racism in advertising judged by the Brazilian Council of Advertising Self-Regulation (Conar), from 1980 until 2020.

The decolonial perspective and decolonial racism

Historically, Marketing focuses on narratives mostly developed in Western dominant nations, which has resulted in the promotion of dominant theories and perspectives (Firat & Tadajewski, 2009), silencing knowledges (Varman, 2018), needs and voices from non-dominant nations and groups (Mignolo, 2011). In consequence, the area has helped to maintain and produce cultural, social, and racial asymmetries in a global scale (Quijano, 2015).

Questions regarding the possibility of a co-existence among plural knowledges within Marketing (Faria, 2013) have been raised, with the growing interest in critical theories (Tadajewski et al., 2018), even though many of these discussions are still produced within dominant nations, particularly the USA and Europe (Dholakia, 2012). However, there are also critical studies from non-dominant regions, adopting postcolonial and decolonial perspectives, in marketing and management studies (e.g. Barros et al., 2019; Wanderley & Bauer, 2020). The decolonial perspective is thus presented by the authors as a theory that could co-exist with pluralist critical studies in Marketing.

While the term "colonialism" refers to a relationship of formal political, territorial and economic domination (Quijano, 1992), coloniality "refers to long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but that define culture, labor, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations" (Maldonado-Torres,

2007, p. 243). Coloniality thus survived colonialism and continues to be the main way in which the Global North maintains control over the colonized in the Global South (Mignolo, 2011).

Racial paradigms

The colonization of American became the basis for the construction of the identity of Modernity, framing colonial differences around the idea of race, and establishing identities based on the color of the skin (Maldonado-Torres, 2007). Racial classification divided the world into the white Europeans, as superior and dominant, and non-white peoples as inferior and dominated. Throughout the centuries, racial differences included not only skin color but also other physical characteristics (Quijano, 2007). Such racial classification impacted on the notion of “human” itself. According to Maldonado-Torres (2017, p. 122):

“the concept of the human that becomes dominant in the West — and dominant does not mean that it was not contested in some important ways, or that it has completely imposed itself over every other conception — also poses a colonial or color-line that makes it possible to distinguish humans from non-humans and to think of humanity in terms of degrees — that one can be more or less human.”

Racial classification goes beyond the simple idea of color, also classifying peoples, cultures, and knowledges based on origins (Quijano, 1992). Therefore, eurocentrism is not exclusively imposed by groups from Europe or the USA, it can also be imposed by dominant groups within non-dominant nations, as it occurs in Africa, Asia and Latin America (Dussel & Ibarra-Colado, 2006). In such cases, the legitimacy of one’s “humanity”, voice, or knowledge can be associated with their origins (Maldonado-Torres, 2007). The imposition of ethnocentric and “superior” paradigms on the rest of the world becomes “natural” (Lander, 2005).

Additionally, racial classification has both defined and has been redefined by the division of labor, an idea that produces and reproduces coloniality in new forms of dominant capitalism (Mignolo, 2003). Thus, a person’s race (“white”, “Indian”, “black”) defined their hierarchical position within the framework of the social division of labor, helping to maintain and perpetuate racial / colonial differences (Delgado, 2007). This logic also maintains the idea that the hegemony of a Eurocentric racial classification — with higher

races and lower races — is a product of a natural evolution (Quijano, 2007).

Methodology

A qualitative critical and historical research was developed, based on a decolonial perspective, which aimed to unveil colonial racist elements related to the cases of racism in advertising decided by the Brazilian Council of Advertising Self-Regulation (Conar), from 1980 until 2020. While the decolonial perspective was adopted to better analyze forms of racism, to analyze Conar's discourses found in the cases, the authors adopted Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a methodology.

If, on the one hand, the authors are part of a privileged and dominant group in Brazil, we also understand that, by adopting a critical-historical research from a decolonial perspective it is possible to problematize this coexistence with coloniality, since the study is not developed in abstraction, if not on the struggles silenced by the hegemonic racist narrative.

The decolonial perspective accepts plural methodologies, as long as they are critical and/or are adequate to these theories (e.g. Bomfim & Rocha, 2020; Dulci & Malheiros, 2021). CDA, on its part, is a methodology adequate for diverse critical theories, being constantly "rewritten" and adapt alongside social changes and the type of data and theory the researcher is using (Van Dijk, 2001).

The decolonial perspective fits the present research for its intrinsic project of criticizing — and resisting — colonial elements (Quijano, 1992), including racism (Maldonado-Torres, 2017). Prasad (2015) advocates in favor of the adoption of non-positivist methodologies for qualitative research, exposing ambiguities, tensions and interconnections of relevant debates (Routledge, 2015), which is the reason the authors adopted CDA to analyze the discourses found in the four decades of cases involving racism in Conar.

CDA is focused on the analysis of power, dominance, control and discrimination relations, considering that "discourse is an instrument of power, of increasing importance in contemporary societies" (Blommaert et al., 2005, pp. 24-25). Through CDA, the researcher might critically analyze dominant ideologies that appear in discourse and marginalize certain groups (Anthonissen, 2006). CDA has been adopted with different approaches and contexts, across various disciplines (Van Dijk, 2001).

The authors adopted CDA's three dimensions methodology (Blommaert

et al., 2005), as follows: (1) Description: this phase is focused on the data and its categories, and the authors used mainly CONAR's cases with racist elements; (2) Interpretation: the authors interpreted Conar's discourse through the cases, using both general data and the categories established, and presenting some context related to the cases; (3) Explanation: finally, the discourses found in Conar's racism cases were explained through a larger picture presented by racial decolonialism, transcending the limitations of the cases.

All decisions analyzed were available in Conar's official site. The cases were found and selected based on the complaints. Cases with racial discrimination elements were identified by general terms, expressions, and keywords, such as racism, prejudice, slavery, discrimination, among others. If the complainant mentioned some form of racism or discrimination present in the ad, the case would be further analyzed.

Conar's cases were searched thoroughly twice, considering the following conditions, separated by time periods:

- Years 2003-2020: the decisions were available individually, and searched in two sub-groups, in which discrimination-related complaints were presented: those classified as "respectability" and "social responsibility", according to the principles established in Chapter 2 of the Code (Conar, 1978);
- Years 1995-2002: during this period, the cases were separated simply by month. Therefore, during these years, racism and discrimination cases were found based mainly on the keywords;
- Years 1980-1995: Conar only makes available cases the institution considers of historical value in this period. Therefore, the authors could not analyze all cases from this period, but only those selected by Conar. Conar also separated these cases into themes, and the authors analyzed all cases available in the following themes, the only ones that had discrimination-related cases: "decency", "discrimination" and "respectability", according to the principles established in Chapter 2 of the Code (Conar, 1978).

Table 1 presents a few examples of how the cases were organized initially, before being categorized:

After finding cases that were classified by Conar as possessing discriminatory elements between 1980 and 2020, available on Conar's official web-

Table 1: Organization of Cases

Case	Year	Decision	Authorship	The Complaint	Micro-Theme
07/04	2004	Dismissed	Consumer	A consumer in São Paulo considered that a film for a telephone company where three monkeys appear singing music typical of black American singers is an example of racism.	Caricaturing Afrodescendant peoples
253/16	2016	Warning	Consumer	Female consumers considered that a magazine and internet ads of cleaning product reinforce negative stereotypes when using the image of a black woman characterized as a domestic worker.	Afrodescendants' socioeconomic status of inferiority
79/06	2006	Dismissed	Group of Consumers	A car TV commercial showing a man in Congo fleeing from a tribe of cannibals was questioned by a group of consumers. According to the complaints, the ad presents an example of discriminatory and disrespectful behavior	Discriminatory comments against peoples from Africa

Table 2: Categories of Racism

“Racial Paradigm: Categories of Racism”	Examples of Micro-Themes	N. Cases	Period
“Colorline Focus: physical characteristics”	Caricaturing Afrodescendant peoples Negative comments on Afrodescendants’ physical traits	23	1991-2019
“Social-Economic Focus: social-economic, cultural and historical context”	Relating Afrodescendant peoples to poverty Afrodescendants’ socio-economic status of inferiority	31	1984-2019
“Locus of Origin Focus: discrimination based on Non-Western origins”	Ridicule of Japanese-Brazilian groups Discriminatory comments against peoples from Africa	14	1989-2017

site, the cases were categorized based on, first, the micro-themes that were correlated, and, second, on decolonial racism paradigms and CDA’s logic of discourse construction with power hierarchies. The authors highlight that the categories are not completely separate from each other, but complementary and constructed historically and socio-economically. However, the separation of the categories was relevant to better analyze the discourses found in each of them. Table 2 presents how the cases were separate in categories, while Table 3 presents the basic ideas for each category:

The next step was to analyze, adopting CDA and the categories based on decolonial racism, the discourse of the judges of the cases, who represent Conar. CDA methodology allows, among others, that researchers analyze the form and meaning of text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice (Anthonissen, 2007). In our paper, we adopted CDA to analyze the discourse around racism, particularly from a decolonial perspective, found in Conar’s cases from 1980 to 2020.

The authors decided to focus on Conar since Advertising Self-Regulation system is highly disseminated around the world (Conar, 2021), which is adequate to CDA’s focus on institutional environments (Blommaert et al., 2005).

Table 3: Racism Paradigms

Racial Paradigms	Basic Ideas
Colorline	The darker the skin, the worse; the whiter the better Paradigm of beauty according to physical characteristics of white Europeans
Social-Economic	Race related to social roles: the darker, the more marginalized Racial stereotypes related to social, cultural, historical and economic issues
Locus of Origin	Prejudices and stereotypes related to Western and Non-Western origins Stereotypes and marginalization related to origins from non-dominant regions

40 years of Racism in Conar: an Overview

Cases with racial discrimination represent only a fragment of Conar’s total cases. Between 2001 and 2020 (period in which the data involving general numbers was available in Conar’s official site), racism cases represented less than 1% of all cases (Conar, 2021). In the next subsections, general data on Conar’s racism cases will be presented first in general terms and, afterwards, by categories.

General Overview

That are various “types” of complainants: consumers at large, Conar itself, through its directors or representatives, or other institutions, including Conar’s associates and authorities. Also, other companies and advertisers might complain against actions taken by competitors.

The complaints can be made by various forms, such as e-mail, written letter, fax, phone, among others. Conar does not accept anonymous complaints, therefore one must identify themselves. Also, the ad must have been already announced before the complaint has been made, since Conar does not judge any ads previous to their publication. After verifying if the complaint is valid, Conar starts an ethical case against the advertiser and its agency, who have the right to defend themselves.

Considering racism cases, they have been initiated by consumers (including groups of consumers), representatives from Conar and associates, as presented by Table 4:

Table 4: Initiative of Complaints (2001-2020)

Initiative	General Cases (%)	Racism Cases (%)
Consumer	47%	91%
Conar Member	24%	2%
Other Associate	29%	7%

As shown in Table 4, there is a considerable disproportion between initiatives in general cases and racism cases. The overwhelming majority of applicants are consumers, which may indicate lack of interest or preparedness to deal with racism issues by Conar and its associates and other institutions. Conar only had the initiative in racism cases on two occasions in forty years, which suggests the institution does not focus on the protection of non-white consumers.

From the cases initiated by consumers, nine of these were initiated by a group of consumers between 2006 and 2020, from which six were dismissed and three had penalties established. In the two cases that were initiated by Conar, both were dismissed. Considering third parties and associates initiatives, there were eight cases, of which five were dismissed.

According to Conar's Bylaws (Conar, 2003), all complaints sent to Conar are judged by members of the Ethics Council, while the Superior Council is responsible for implementing the decisions, in case of penalty. There are two main types of decision: Conar's judges can either dismiss the complaint, when it is believed CBAP was not violated in any way; or they can establish a penalty. There are three types of penalty, according to CBAP (Conar, 1978): warning; recommendation to alter the ad; and recommendation to interrupt the reproduction of the ad.

The Bylaws (Conar, 2003) also determines the Ethics Council can have up to 118 members, and at least 24 of those are people representatives of society. However, we highlight that the large majority (up to 94 members) of the Ethics Council are directly or indirectly related to the advertising sector, such as representatives of the Brazilian Association of Advertising Agencies or the Brazilian Association of Advertisers. Additionally, the members of the Ethics Council are chosen by The Superior Council, which is formed exclusively by members related to the advertising sector.

Such composition of members reveals a significant influence of the advertising sector on Conar's decisions. This may reinforce the risk of conflicts of interest in the advertising self-regulation system, which has already been

Table 5: Case Decisions (2001-2020)

Case Decisions	Regulation	General Cases (%)	Racism Cases (%)
Dismissed	Cases are dismissed when Conar councilors decide that there is insufficient evidence for punishment or CBAP's premises have not been violated	34%	67%
Penalized	Conar establishes penalties when CBAP is violated, which may be: (i) a warning; (ii) recommendation to change the ad; (iii) recommendation to suspend the ad	66%	33%

highlighted by Brazilian jurists (Benjamin, 1994; Frota, 1992). Table 5, below, compares Conar's general decisions and racism cases decisions, which are almost inversely proportional:

Categories Overview

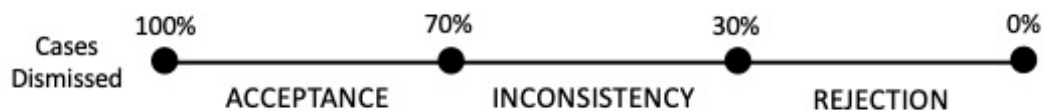
On average, about 8 out of 10 cases were initiated by consumers. The numbers remained relatively similar in each category, and the same applies to decisions. In each category, around 7 out of 10 cases were dismissed, with an average of only 3 out of 10 cases ending in penalties for companies responsible for racist advertisings. Table 6, below, presents the proportions of initiatives and decisions for each category, between 1980 and 2020:

Even considering each category, there is a considerable disproportion between the cases that are dismissed and those that are penalized. Such results, again, indicate that non-white consumers are not the focus of the protection granted by Conar. In each category, the three most common micro-themes represented almost all cases (fifty-eight out of sixty-six cases), and there were three cases that presented two micro-themes. Table 7 shows the main micro-themes per category and the proportions of decisions for each micro-theme, between 1980 and 2020:

Considering both the categories and the micro-themes, there is consid-

Categories	"Colorline cases" (23)	"Social-Economic cases" (31)	"Locus of Origin" (14 cases)"
INICIATIVE:			
Consumer	20 (87%)	27 (88%)	11 (79%)
Conar Member	0 (0%)	1 (3%)	1 (7%)
Other Associate	3 (13%)	3 (9%)	2 (14%)
DECISIONS:			
Dismissed	15 (65%)	22 (71%)	10 (71%)
Penalty	8 (35%)	9 (29%)	4 (29%)

Figure 1: Criteria for discourse



erable constancy of the complainants in relation to their rejection of certain forms of racism. In each category, there were found cases throughout at least three decades, as shown in Table 2. Additionally, when considering micro-themes within categories, the authors noticed the complainants were generally consistent with their rejection of racism, while the decisions did not show the same constancy.

Conar's institutional discourses through its decisions

In order to interpret Conar's discourse from decisions about advertisements with racist elements, the authors developed a scale based on the types of decisions for general cases, categories and micro-themes.

Using this logic, we divided the types of decisions into three: when most decisions (between 70% and 100%) dismissed the complaints, racist advertisements are considered to be accepted by Conar; when 30% to 70% of cases are dismissed, there is an inconsistency in Conar's decisions regarding racist advertisements; finally, if less than 30% of the cases were dismissed, Conar rejects racist advertisements.

Considering the 68 cases analyzed (from 1980 to 2020), 69% were dismissed, indicating that, in general, Conar is inconsistent in its decisions about

Table 7: Micro-themes per category

Categories	Main themes	Micro-	Decisions	
			Dismissed	Penalties
Colorline	Negative comments on Afrodescendants' physical traits		5 (63%)	3 (37%)
	Caricaturing Afrodescendant peoples		5 (71%)	2 (29%)
	White peoples' superiority		3 (50%)	3 (50%)
Social-Economic	Afrodescendants' socioeconomic status of inferiority		9 (69%)	4 (31%)
	Afrodescendant groups' social stereotypes		7 (64%)	4 (36%)
	Relating Afrodescendant peoples to poverty		5 (83%)	1 (17%)
Locus of Origin	Ridicule of Japanese-Brazilian groups		5 (71%)	2 (29%)
	Discriminatory comments against peoples from the North East		2 (67%)	1 (33%)
	Discriminatory comments against peoples from Latin America		2 (67%)	1 (33%)

racist advertisements. However, the authors highlight that all 2020 cases received penalties. Therefore, considering the cases until 2019, before the “Black Lives Matter” movement, more than 70% of the cases were dismissed.

An example of the inconsistency present in Conar’s decisions involves white people’s superiority cases (Cases number 226/11; 304/12; 283/14; 139/15; 214/18). In these cases, Conar dismissed half of them, and penalized the other half. With such decisions, consumers have no guarantees of protection, nor advertisers know what is Conar’s general understanding on such types of ads, creating general regulatory insecurity for those involved, although the ads share a general message of white superiority, as we will see in the examples below.

Among these cases, one that had relevant repercussion was an advertisement by Caixa Econômica Federal (a federal government’s financial institution), in which Machado de Assis, one of the most celebrated authors in the country, who is of Afro-descendant, was represented by a white man with European features (Cases number 226/11). Caixa defended itself alleging that its intention was not to discriminate against Afro-descendants, having been a technical error. Conar applied its mildest penalty, suggesting that Caixa changed the advertisement.

In another advertisement, by the Auto industry (Case number 119/16), there is also the presence of character “whitening”. An Afro-descendant model is replaced by a white model when entering the car, sharing similar characteristics to the previous case, even though the models are not based on real people. However, this time, Conar dismissed the case, accepting the advertiser’s justification that it was only a cut between the scenes with the Afro-descendant model and the white model.

Finally, Conar decided to penalize by suspending an ad and warning the advertiser in a case of white superiority that involved an alcoholic beverage brand (Case number 283/14). In the ad, the word “white” was placed in front of the photo of an Afro-descendant model, with the following message: “Do you still let your origins be an obstacle to your progress? Racism. Until when?”. Conar justified its decision on the grounds that, although the institution did not notice the presence of racism, they considered that the ad could instigate discrimination.

However, it does not seem logical that an ad that supposedly lacks racist elements might be able to incite racism. That is, in addition to the inconsistencies found in decisions in general, there are also contradictions within

some decisions, creating even greater insecurity regarding discrimination in advertisements.

In the next subsections, we will analyze Conar's discourse based on the scale established for each category and its main micro-themes.

Decolonial colorline paradigm & Discourse

In the "colorline paradigm", Conar is also inconsistent in its position, since 65% of the cases were dismissed. However, within the category, there are micro-themes that are not classified as inconsistent. An example is the micro-theme "lack of pluriracial representativeness", a form of racism that is accepted by Conar, since the three cases on the subject were dismissed (Cases number 128/91; 134/04; 265/10). In one of those, Conar dismissed the case stating that "the concepts of politically correct could never constitute a code because they are used as instruments to control freedom of expression. expression, aiming to silence those who have different opinions" (Case number 265/10).

However, not all advertising sector agrees with Conar. The advertising agency Heads conducted a survey in 2018 to better understand the issues involving representativeness in Brazilian advertising. They found that, despite improvements in certain aspects, the sector still bases its ads on discriminatory stereotypes, in addition to the low percentage of participation of Afro-descendant men and women (Alves, 2018).

The other micro-themes were classified as follows, according to the decisions presented in Table 7: "negative comments on Afrodescendants' physical traits" and "White peoples' superiority" were inconsistent, while Conar seems to accept racist elements present in ads with "caricaturing of Afro-descendant peoples".

Even if certain themes receive more attention from the media or social networks, Conar is not necessarily more rigid with them. For example, within the category "negative comments on Afrodescendants' physical traits", there are at least six similar complaints about advertisements that criticize black women's hair, in a period over a decade (Cases number 68/05; 142/12; 012/13; 159/14; 010/16; 119/20). Despite the consistency of the complaints, Conar did not show the same coherence in its decisions; of the cases presented, only one received a penalty (Case number 010/16), while the others were dismissed, and with different justifications.

Additionally, in some cases of greater repercussion, Conar does not take the opportunity to position itself regarding racist initiatives, as occurred in the Cadiveu case (Case number 012/13), whose campaign received numerous criticisms from journalists and consumers on social networks. Cadiveu, at a beauty event, asked white women to wear hair wigs typical of Afro-descendant women and take pictures with signs saying they needed the product to straighten their hair (Alvarenga, 2013).

Conar dismissed the case because it considered that it was not an ad. However, Conar could still have positioned itself about such kind of racism. In cases of relevant repercussion, such as the Cadiveu campaign, Conar's silence on its position regarding this type of racism can be interpreted as acceptance of it, and even as non-support for anti-racist organizations and Afro-descendent groups.

Decolonial social-economic paradigm & Discourse

In the "social-economic paradigm", Conar's position is that of acceptance of this form of advertising racism; 71% of the cases were dismissed. Within the category, the micro-themes were classified as follows, according to the decisions presented in Table 7: "Afrodescendants' socioeconomic status of inferiority" and "Afrodescendant groups' social stereotypes" were inconsistent, while Conar seems to accept racist elements present in ads that "relate Afrodescendant peoples to poverty". Ads with "reference to slavery" (Cases number: 48/11; 74/15; 95/16; 211/18), which were not presented in Table 7, were accepted by Conar, since 75% of the cases were dismissed.

As an example, in one of the slavery cases dismissed (Case number 048/11), the complainant alleged that there was racism in an advertisement for an alcoholic beverage, as it showed an image of slaves working in a cane mill and white men tasting the drink, an image that also appeared on the product's commemorative label. The company claimed it was a historical reference to its foundation, with no intention of discriminating. Conar accepted the defense's arguments, claiming that "the context of the advertising piece is geared towards the historical record, and there is no way to judge it as disrespectful or discriminatory". Other cases dismissed had similar decisions.

Interestingly enough, the only case with slavery reference that received penalty had a decision that contrasts with the previous one, since the institutions argues the exact opposite. In case number 211/18, a consumer sent

a complaint about an ad that uses references to slavery to promote a furniture shop. Conar suspended the ad, arguing that “there is no way to believe that regular support is based on a historical fact that refers to the pain, disrespect and suffering of a group of people for the purpose of promoting a line of furniture”. This decision is quite different from the previous ones. However, it is not clear if Conar changed its position or if it’s an isolated position of the judge who decided this case. Either way, currently, Conar’s position in general is still that of acceptance of ads with reference to slavery.

Another contradiction in Conar’s position is found within “Afrodescendant groups’ social stereotypes” micro-theme. In it, there were found four quite similar cases throughout four decades about the representation of Afro-descendant women portrayed as domestic workers (cook, nanny, cleaning lady). Two of the cases received penalties (Cases number 118/88 and 253/16), while the other half were dismissed (Cases number 94/86 and 96/05).

Such examples present an image that Conar does not have a cohesive and coherent positioning on racist advertising and does not seem to strive to stop cases with contradictory decisions from happening throughout its decades of existence.

Decolonial locus of origin paradigm & Discourse

Conar accepts advertising with racist elements related to the “locus of origin paradigm”; as it happened with “social-economic paradigm”, 71% of the cases were dismissed. Within the category, the micro-themes were classified as follows, according to the decisions presented in Table 7: “Discriminatory comments against peoples from the North East” and “Discriminatory comments against peoples from Latin America” were inconsistent, while Conar seems to accept racist elements present in ads that “ridicule Japanese-Brazilian groups”. There is one case classified as “Discriminatory comments against peoples from Africa” (Case number 79/06), which was dismissed. However, since there is no other case to compare, we did not apply the scale, even though it seems Conar might accept this kind of racism.

The ad in question (Case number 79/06), entitled “Cannibal tribes of Simba”, shows a white man in Congo fleeing from a tribe of cannibals. Conar, agreeing with the company’s defense, decided to dismiss the case since the “ad is animated by a subtle good humor”. “Cannibal tribes of Simba” was also approved by a specialized advertising website, which claimed that “the

message gets even funnier due to the voiceover in African dialect, Tiluba, translated into Portuguese by means of subtitles — it is one of the languages spoken in the Republic of the Congo” (Zambone, 2008).

Regarding the “ridicule of Japanese-Brazilian groups” micro-theme, there were seven cases with similar complaints of ads that ridiculed people with non-Western characteristics (for example, facial characteristics and Asian accent), specifically aimed at the Japanese-Brazilian community, between 1992 and 2016, including one initiated by a representative of Conar. Five of those were dismissed, while two received penalties.

In two cases (Cases number 297/09 and 101/16), Conar dismissed them arguing there is no disrespect for the Japanese-Brazilian community. In two other cases (Cases number 24/05 and 71/05), Conar claims that there is only use of good humor in the campaigns. Finally, in case number 90/92, Conar uses the two explanations previously presented to justify the decision to dismiss the case, arguing that the ad, of a Japanese actor with a strong accent, is humorous and “does nothing to stereotype a negative image of the Japanese people living in Brazil, or of their descendants. Nor is it discriminatory; it is one more of the ads that explores, with humor, the foreign cultural elements that settled in Brazil”.

Racist Advertising and Conar

In 100% of the cases, there was Conar’s acceptance (38%) or lack of consistency in the institution’s positioning (68%) regarding racist elements in advertisements. There are no categories, or micro-themes for each Conar had an established position of rejecting any kind of racism in ads. Even in the isolated cases in which Conar decided to apply a penalty, there is rarely an assertive position on the topic. There is, therefore, a lack of prioritization of racism in Conar.

However, data from the two cases of racism in 2020 (Cases number 095/20; 119/20) may indicate a change in the future. Although there was no relevant change in the number of complaints of racism in advertisements (between 2001 and 2020, the average was approximately 3 cases per year), However, in 2020, Conar applied its harshest penalties: suspension of the advertisement and warning in both cases. In a case about an ad that makes racist reference to Afro-descendant women’s hair (Case number 119/20), similar to several previous cases, Conar’s position was assertive in its rejection of this

type of racism, even mentioning the “Black Lives Matter” movement, claiming that:

Before certain situations, “jokes” and speeches were tolerated and even accepted, but not now, now we live another moment and specifically nowadays, in view of the latest events, especially all the manifestations and movements that the sad episode of George Floyd triggered/reinforced, the debate on racial discrimination is very strong

It is not yet possible to know whether the “Black Lives Matter” movement will in fact have a significant influence on Conar’s decisions in the future. Currently, however, what is observed, considering the cases between the years of 1980 and 2020, is a historical discourse that racism is not a priority for Conar and, therefore, non-white consumers will not receive assertive protection against discrimination.

Finally, it should be noted that many of the decisions to dismiss complaints are focused on the intention of the advertiser to discriminate, instead of the presence or not of racist elements. For example, cases of racism against non-Western peoples mention the advertiser’s intention to make a joke and, because of that, there is no discrimination present (Cases number 90/92; 71/05). Another example was Case number 202/15. The complainants believed that this ad, of a school, reinforces stereotypes of Afro-descendant peoples. Conar decided to dismiss the case, arguing that “although it is recognized the bad taste of the humor used, such an argument is insufficient to characterize the intention of offense and prejudice”.

Despite these decisions, discrimination can be present regardless the intention of the advertiser. What matters is the presence of elements that lead to historical, social and cultural issues related to racial world classification (Quijano, 1992), established by the colonizers to classify non-white peoples as non-human or less human (Maldonado-Torres, 2007).

Final Thoughts

The numbers and content regarding Conar’s decisions on racist advertising (see Tables 6 and 7) particularly when compared with general decisions by the institution (see Table 5), are alarming, considering the context of social-historical racism in the region (Quijano, 1992), with a long history of slavery

and exploitation of non-white peoples, including indigenous, African and Asian peoples and their descendants (Mignolo, 2011).

The fact that the racist ads analyzed reflect, in various situations, types of racism that are particular to Brazil (and, in some cases, Latin America as a whole), was the main reason for the authors to adopt the decolonial perspective of racism to categorize and interpret the data. Cases that referred to slavery in Brazil (Cases number: 48/11; 95/16; 211/18), cases that sexualize Afro-descendant women (Cases number 373/10; 75/12; 22/13), including alluding to “mucamas”, or sexual slavery (Cases number 74/15), or cases that relate Afro-descendant men to aggression — including sexual crimes (Cases number 301/16; 6/17; 92/17; 95/20) will be better understood if read from the perspective of decolonial racism. As Maldonado-Torres explains (2007, p. 255):

The Black man is depicted as an aggressive sexual beast who desires to rape women, particularly White. The Black woman, in turn, is seeing as always already sexually available to the raping gaze of the White and as fundamentally promiscuous. The Black woman is seeing as a highly erotic being whose primary function is fulfilling sexual desire and reproduction.

It is suggested — in many cases, by advertisers themselves — that racism must be combated in the sector, a need made even more urgent by anti-racist movements that started in the USA with the death of George Floyd (Diaz, 2020) and influenced movements in other regions, including in Brazil (Monteiro, 2020). Among others, some advertisers suggest that the advertising sector might combat racism by avoiding stereotypes of non-white groups, empowering black women and valuing non-white paradigms of beauty, greater representation of non-white peoples in ads, or training and hiring more afro-descendant advertising professionals (Leite & Batista, 2019).

However, the authors believe that, when such initiatives are not sufficient, advertising self-regulation should be more active in positioning itself against racist advertisements, something that, according to data retrieved from Conar (2021), has rarely happened in the last four decades.

In addition to the historical, cultural and colonial issues in Latin America (Quijano, 2015), there is also the imperial influence of US advertising in Brazil (Rodrigues & Hemais, 2020). One of the possible consequences of the imposition of the American Way of Advertising is the lack of representation of non-white peoples in ads. This influence has already been raised by professionals in the field, when mentioning, for example, how the advertisements

brought by American companies had as a standard of beauty people with European physical characteristics (Marcondes, 2001).

More recently, as previously seen, research by a national advertising agency showed that, despite the improvement in terms of representativeness in Brazilian advertising, the participation of non-white peoples is still an issue (Alves, 2018). An academic study reached similar conclusions. In it, the author discusses the historical origin of low and participation and the stereotyping of Afro-descendant peoples in advertising. He also measured quantitative aspects related to the presence of Afro-descendants in commercial advertisements between 1985 and 2005 (Martin, 2009).

The authors also highlight that various types of racist advertisements that are criticized by Brazilian scholars did not appear among the complaints, and, therefore, Conar is silent regarding such types of racism. For instance, there are academic studies in Brazil that criticize cultural stereotypes about aboriginal peoples in ads (e.g. Oliveira, 2015). Another absence noted are complaints about ads that sexualize Afro-descendant women (stereotyped as “mulatas”) in the specific context of Brazilian carnival (e.g. Pereira et al., 2015).

Such absence of cases is added to the low number of complaints, when compared to priority industries in Conar, such as alcoholic beverages. In 2020 alone, there were 47 complaints against advertisements in the sector, which represents almost 70% of all racism cases over 40 years. Within consumer groups, children and adolescents seem to have the highest priority in Conar. In 2020, there were 16 cases on the subject, 8 times more than the number of cases of racism (Conar, 2021), despite the fact that 2020 was the year of the “Black Lives Matter” movement (Monteiro, 2020).

Furthermore, as shown in Table 5, it draws attention the low average of decisions with penalties for cases with racist elements. Many of the decisions presented here as examples are not in accordance with Brazilian law itself, whose constitution provides that racism is an unbailable crime, along with torture, terrorism and heinous crimes (da República Federativa do Brasil de 1988., 1988).

There also appears to be a relationship between Conar’s prioritization of certain themes and their regulation. For example, the alcoholic beverage industry has a specific annex to regulate it in CBAP, with more than twenty items (Annex A), while racism does not even have its own regulation. The theme is included in two items that present, in generic ways, Conar principles

regarding discrimination and human dignity. Themes related to children and adolescents also received their own regulations, with a section specifically for this purpose (Section 11: Children and adolescents), while racism is not even mentioned: the theme closest to racism is in the items mentioned above, located in Section 1: Respectability (Conar, 1978).

Considering the discussion above, and the data found in Conar's cases, the authors believe that, additionally to racism not being a priority to Conar, the self-regulation system is inadequate to protect consumers from racism, especially when compared to the considerably higher average of penalties in general cases. Therefore, non-white consumers do not receive due protection from Conar. As such, these consumer groups do not have any kind of protection or guarantees against offenses, stereotypes and silencing that occur through racist advertisements.

This way, based on a decolonial perspective, and adopting Critical Discourse Analysis as its methodological approach, this paper aimed to unveil colonial racist elements related to the cases of racism in advertising judged by the Brazilian Council of Advertising Self-Regulation (Conar), from 1980 until 2020.

Our research allowed us to better understand how Conar, through the Brazilian Advertising Self-Regulation System, builds its discourse on racism, based on its decisions about racist ads. The study presents not only how Conar reacts to different forms of racism, but also how colonial racism is maintained in the contemporary world, reestablished, and reinvented in advertising.

The contributions this paper has brought to light are still limited given the enormousness of discussing racism and other forms of discrimination in advertising, particularly in Brazil and America Latina. Moreover, the authors encourage more studies that discuss the relationship between advertisers and consumers, mainly vulnerable consumers.

Future research could analyze cases that have not been categorized — by CONAR itself — as racial discrimination or containing elements of discrimination. This can be a way to understand, and then problematize, the process of naturalizing racism in Brazil.

Another theme that can be further researched is the historical context of the three moments identified as influencing Conar's naturalization of racism and how it relates to debates about racism in Brazilian civil society.

It is necessary, for example, to understand how three hundred years of

enslavement still influences social, political, economic and cultural practices in Brazilian institutions and organizations. In addition, more discursive analysis of institutions related to the advertising sector is encouraged.

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Does Consumerism Really Mean for Marketers what Philip Kotler believes it does?: a discussion based on the decolonial perspective from Latin Americae

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In 2020, the marketing guru Philip Kotler wrote an opinion piece in the *Journal of Creating Value* in which he reflects on the changes consumerism has gone through in the last 48 years since he wrote his 1972 article published in the *Harvard Business Review*. Kotler was invited by the journal's editor to update his thoughts on the subject and point to readers what are the consumer issues that are currently the main focus of attention by the consumerist movement. For Kotler, consumerism is: "a social movement to support the rights and interests of consumers" (Kotler, 2020, p. 144), and his understanding of what is this phenomenon has remained much the same after decades, since his original take on consumerism described it in a similar fashion as "a social movement seeking to augment the rights and power of buyers in relation to sellers" (Kotler, 1972, p. 49).

In keeping his views similar, even after almost 50 years, Kotler thus maintains the idea that consumerism is a movement of social orientations and

that its sphere of influence is mainly in the support of consumers against the ills that afflict societies or the wrongdoing of companies that do not comply with fundamental marketing principles. However, by delimitating consumerism in such manner, Kotler reinforces a perspective in marketing that has long ignored the many geopolitical issues associated to the consumerist movement, especially those that deal with the way the Global North has used consumerism to leverage its global hegemony (Faria & Hemais, 2018). By adopting a decolonial perspective, however, it is possible to unveil an alternative interpretation of what is consumerism (and what it should really mean for marketers), one which shows how this movement has been closely related to coloniality, the darker side of modernity (Mignolo, 2011).

In discussing consumerism from a decolonial perspective, we hope to show that there is a larger picture to consumerism than mainstream marketing has tried to show, one in which issues related to reproduction of “universalist” knowledge, hierarchization of power and dependency are also important parts of this phenomenon. Based on this context, the paper aims to analyze, following a decolonial perspective, how consumerism has a darker side that the area of marketing ignores as being part of this phenomenon.

To achieve the paper’s objective, we analyzed how consumerism has encouraged (obliged) societies from the non-Eurocentric world to reproduce consumerist knowledge based on Eurocentric values, given its supposed universalist nature. This, in consequence, has helped to maintain the hierarchies of power between both parts, with the objective of perpetuating the dependency of the colonized on the colonizers. Kotler has helped to solidify this control mechanism of Eurocentric consumerism in marketing, given the three dimensions of this process are found in his work (Kotler, 1972, 2020).

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Channelling and Suppressing Subaltern Voices: Tourism Imaginaries and the Colonial Legacies of Spirit Possession in Brazil

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It is hard to imagine tourism without the creative use of seductive, as well as restrictive, imaginaries about peoples and places. These socially shared assemblages are collaboratively produced and consumed by a diverse range of actors around the globe. As a nexus of social practices through which individuals and groups establish places and people as credible objects of tourism, 'tourism imaginaries' present or conceal certain aspects of cultural heritage to the world. In the case of Brazil, we turn to the most famous carnival in the world, which attracts some 1.5 million tourists from Brazil and abroad to Rio de Janeiro (France24, [n.d.](#)) and is used as a common trope to represent Brazilian cultural heritage to the world, most notably at the culmination of the opening ceremony for the Rio 2016 Olympics. Brazil's iconic carnival is a syncretic mix of the country's culture and heritage, combining - as it does - Samba with its aesthetic, dance and musical references to traditions of spirit possession induced by rhythmic dancing to incorporate West African deities (or *orixás*) brought to Brazil by slaves; alongside other home-grown spiritual entities, such as the Amazonian Indian or the black slave, and the Catholic tradition of celebrating the run-up to Lent brought by Portuguese colonialists (Browning, [1995](#)).

Figure 1: Afro-Brazilian orixá (deity) 'Oxum', goddess of rivers and waterfalls. Sao Paulo Carnival, 2017



Despite the ready use of Afro-Brazilian religious traditions in presenting multicultural and celebratory images of the nation (Stam, 1985), Brazil is a country beset by social inequalities and racial disparities where the black population "is subject to an intense inequality of operations" (Henriques, 2001, p. 46). According to the 2016 census, three of the four people living in poverty are non-Whites and only 12.8% of this population have access to tertiary education, while 26.5% of those who consider themselves as Whites made it to university (Vieira, 2016). African heritage is in fact representative in the nation, being the largest black country outside of Africa, where over half Brazil's population is of African descent (Phillips, 2011). Moreover, there exists an intolerance towards Afro-Brazilian faith systems, namely Candomblé and Umbanda, which centre on spirit possession and mediumship. The orixá figures that are celebrated at carnival (Figure 1) are discriminated against (most vehemently) by the country's growing Evangelical and Pentecostal churches (Mariano, 2015). By unpacking the cultural heritage of spirit possession in Afro-Brazilian religions and examining how this has been repackaged and publicised in tourist images we introduce the notion of semiotic ideologies (Keane, 2018) which enforce particular understandings of how form and substance and person and things are related and highlight the modes of signification at play within particular historical and social formations. This emphasises that in different settings, distinctive sociocultural notions circulate around the communicative potential of signs, objects and gestures. As a result, certain voices are privileged while Others are muted.

This research is part of a larger study on spirit possession in Brazil's religious

marketplace, data was collected via participant observation and interviews with mediums as well as other practitioners of spirit-centred faiths. In addition, we plan to conduct a semiotic analysis of how Afro-Brazilian religious imagery and traditions are used and reproduced in the recent nation branding campaigns run by the Brazilian Tourist Board, particularly focused on the festivities of the Rio Carnival as the most popular tourist event in Brazil which has clear roots in Afro-Brazilian religious practices.

In order to understand the intangible cultural heritage examined in this paper we must consider Brazil's colonial history and particularly the oppression of native Amerindians and the estimated four million slaves brought to country over a 300 year period (Brazil was the last country to abolish the slave trade in 1888). Colonialism is characterised by the subjugation and subsequent exploitation of the colonised (Charles, 1995; Pels, 1997). Historically, the social construction of the Other, allowed colonisers to obtain and maintain power for centuries (**bonsuha1994location**; Said, 1978), carefully crafting a dichotomous discourse of us/them, civilised/primitive, socially adept/uncouth, or cooked/raw (Levi-Strauss, 1969) in order to privilege a "psychology of white ideological dominance" (Bonsu, 2009, p. 7). Despite lengthy wars of independence - or possible peaceful handovers of conquered territory, which was the case for Brazil - the presentation of the colonised as subaltern subjects (Spivak, 1988) has been successfully institutionalised over time. Regardless of the passage of time, colonialism remains in the here and now as an "unfinished business of struggle and dominance" (Pels, 1997, p. 164). In his visual analysis of modern advertising, Bonsu (Bonsu, 2009, p. 1) notes how colonial tropes of "savagery" and "exotica" are perpetuated through visual advertising. Narratives and imagery are used as ideological work to keep power relations and stereotypes alive, reinforcing a sense of Otherness and Western superiority (Ivie, 2005). The success of perpetuating colonialist tropes in contemporary times lies in that the ideological work at play remains unnoticed by most (Said, 1978), subtly entrenched in advertising (Bonsu, 2009), tourism campaigns (Bandyopadhyay & Nascimento, 2010; Schroeder & Borgerson, 2008), culture (Pritchard & Morgan, 2001) and media more generally (Barthes, 1972).

Portrayals of the 'third world' by Western media, wrapped as they are by colonial discourses, tend to portray this world as 'primitive, untouched and sensuous' (Bandyopadhyay & Nascimento, 2010, p. 933) (Britton, 1979). In their study of the Incredible India Campaign, Kerrigan et al (2012) noted a

tendency of emerging markets to continue to play into the idealised rendering of their 'exotic' people in tourism campaigns. This ideological work acts as a source of organic imagery (Gunn et al., 1972), so that consumers too help perpetuate notions of Western superiority whilst romanticising characters from a colonial past. Unknowingly, audiences of current narratives through marketing and popular culture become unwitting partners in the propagation of colonial rhetoric, reinforcing negative stereotypes and tropes of racial superiority. The lingering effects of these views are still visible in Brazilian media, where blacks and mulattos continue to be portrayed as holding lower positions in society or service workers for the 'superior' white Brazilians (Bandyopadhyay & Nascimento, 2010; Pravaz, 2012). Nations and continents therefore struggle to shift these colonial tropes, as the narratives help attract foreign visitors, philanthropy, and FDI (Lalvani, 1995). Africa, for instance, continues to be depicted as a playground for adventure, as un-chartered territory that needs to be conquered, highlighting its feminine, attractive and inviting features (Bonsu, 2009). Feminised and romanticised imagery, including half-naked tribal women in Africa (Bonsu, 2009), the scantily dressed Samba dancers of Brazil (Bandyopadhyay & Nascimento, 2010), the Hula girls of Hawaii (Schroeder & Borgerson, 2008), or the traditional Sari clothed women of India (Kerrigan et al., 2012) live on. In Brazil, the female physique has been sexualised through media, even projecting an image of a 'sexual playground' for Western tourists (Bandyopadhyay & Nascimento, 2010; Pravaz, 2012). Although the Other is usually relegated to the margins, we now examine how the marginalised personas of Brazil's colonial past are brought back to life through their spiritual manifestations in human hosts and how this filters down into the 'biggest show on Earth' whereby any political resistance is appropriated and suppressed.

Memory work and voicing the subaltern

The Afro-Brazilian religions we turn to now are a living testament to resistance and survival through centuries of oppression of African (and other) peoples in Brazil. They survived through centuries of repression and stigma operating largely underground and this stigma is inextricably linked to associations with blackness and poverty within a racist and classist society (Johnson, 2014). They are characterised through the use of spirit possession, which we understand as an embodied phenomenon, whereby through a series of expres-

sive cues (music, singing and praying, clothing and accessories, drinking and smoking), spirits are enticed to “leave the non-human realms and enter human bodies. In doing so, the spirit enters social space, transforming mediums both physically and symbolically” (Stoller, 1997, p. 53). Possession, according to Stoller (1997, p. 55), “is seen as a set of texts that constitute a counterhegemonic discourse” and as such must be analysed within its historical context. As Pérez (2011) argues, spirit possession offers a way to re-create the past in communal settings, contributing to the emergence of counter-memories in opposition to the grand narratives of colonial authorities. In this way the past is conjured in order to fix the present. This is not unique to Brazil, in his study of African spirit possession, Stoller (1997, p. xvii) notes that the Hauka are spirits of European personages and that the manifestation of said spirits within the pantheon of West African mediumship “triggers memories of colonial repression and power.” Contemporary West Africans use the embodiment of these European entities, speaking as they do in the pidgin language of their colonisers, as a tool of empowerment, or means of “cultural resistance to French colonialism” (1997, p. 53). Incorporating the Hauka spirit means that the African medium will be (momentarily) bestowed with the force and authority of these colonial figures, laying down the law among their people. What is interesting in Brazil is that it is not the colonisers who are embodied but rather those at the bottom of society, Native Amerindians, Roma, slaves, migrants, groups which loom large in the popular imagination and are viewed as having been instrumental in the formation of the Afro-Atlantic world and are perceived as helping forces to the orixás (Pérez, 2011). As one of our informants argues “it rescues all of those who have been excluded. (From) the decimated indigenous people (to) those who were enslaved (to immigrants) who suffered a huge prejudice.” These entities allow for the re-negotiation and re-narration of Brazil’s lost voices, creating a counter-memory (Stoller, 1997) of a subaltern discourse. As our informant states “the humble, the segregated, the marginalized” are given a voice, the Other is incorporated and honoured.

Following Pels’s (1997) argument for contextualising discourses, it is important to know the backstories of Brazil’s entities, to better understand how their narratives are being rewritten in the present. The old black slave or *preto velho* (Figure 2), for instance, personifies Brazil’s ancestry of over 4 million black Africans that were forced to migrate to country during the slave trade to work on plantations. During spirit possessions, we see their agricul-

Figure 2: Pretos velhos (old black slaves) during an Umbada spirit possession ceremony.



tural ancestry in the clothes they wear and we get a clear sense of their physical effort in their bodily appearance. As we have noted, Brazilians of black ancestry are economically and socially underprivileged but the preto velho spirits are praised for their wisdom, the life experience, their simpler ways; they are venerated and respected elders of our past society. Within Brazil's populous pantheon of spirits, we see how each entity weaves new tales of their colonial past: the Amerindian (caboclo) is sought after for natural remedies from the depths of the forest, admired as they are for their strength and courage; the Gypsy woman (or Pomba Gira) idolised for her sensuality and enticing ways. In the embodiment of these colonial memories, we see how "ancestors who embody the past, make contact with the present, and determine the future" (Stoller, 1997, p. 68).

Pérez (2011) shows how through spirit possession, individuals can reaffirm a past history in a context where there is a paucity of genealogical knowledge. In this sense the spirits are archetypes, mythic, universally recognised figures (the wise crone, the noble savage, etc.) which keep ethnic identity alive. As such, spirit possession provides individuals with a way of knowing one's lineage, one's history and culture and creating a coherent narrative which triumphs over rupture and dislocation to enhance connection with the unnamed and forgotten in their past. Possession is therefore a pedagogical tool, emerging from a dense matrix of relationships and histories which stretch over centuries and continents, delivering access to forms of knowledge impossible to obtain otherwise in a context where individuals had no fixed places, texts or possessions to provide them with their histories. Through

these retellings of colonial history, the spirits showcase an upward social mobility as the once dismissed, ignorant, uneducated peasant *preto velho*, for example, is now venerated for his wisdom (Pineiro, 2003). This knowledge is incorporated into the medium, as one of our interviewees shows “when you incorporate a *caboclo*, you don’t incorporate only the spirit of an indigenous person, you incorporate the values of that culture, of that people, the love of nature, (...) and the love for the *índio*. When you incorporate a *Preto Velho*, you incorporate the love for the black culture, for Africa. (...) So this changes who you are, it gives a meaning for your life.” It also, he continued, allows for the medium to have a new perspective on life “after everything is finished, that stays in your mind: ‘Wow. I guess I can think like that from now on. (...), that gave me another perspective that I hadn’t imagined.’. It’s powerful.” The spirits revisit the site of their collective undoing to provide a gentle critique of current socio-political patterns. As Pérez (2011) notes, this critique is realistic, not revolutionary political resistance as it must be in a hostile world.

Spirit possession therefore works through mimetic production and reproduction (notably through language and material objects) which makes it a stage for the production and reproduction of power. It well known that language was a key vehicle for cultural domination in the colonized world (Fabian, 1986; Pels, 1997). Charles (Charles, 1995, p. 135) argues how colonialist discourse, as a means of perpetuating superiority, “encompasses all utterances” written and spoken and iconographic. As one of the characteristics of post-colonial analysis, language can support (or subvert) a power dynamic (Barry, 1995). While the Other is made anonymous and mute (Spivak, 1988), through mediums, the spirits of the colonised regain their voices, both symbolically and culturally. For instance, the Amerindian spirit – or *caboclo* – who would have been forced to speak Portuguese in colonial days, embraces a distinct guttural voice that differs remarkably from their Brazilian human host:

In his trance as an Amazonian Indian, it is his voice that really announces the arrival of the entity. From a softly spoken man, the medium has now become loud and boisterous, his speech guttural, his movements grandiose. (...). He crouches down to the floor, more grounded than his human self, he cries out triumphantly, honouring the voices of his ancestors. It seems he has freed himself – momentarily at least – from the constraints of an eloquent

(yet inflicted) language, and embraces an entirely different tone. He thumps his chest with his fist, attesting his strength and embodied power. When he meets fellow caboclos (Amerindian spirits) he greets them with low pitched grunts and a criss-crossed arm salute. When he speaks to me during our consultation, his Portuguese is broken, pidgin. (Fieldnotes, Brazil, 2019)

Similarly, other entities use voice (and language) to interpret their personas, making them instantly recognisable: the old black slave's voice is gravelly with age, the Gypsy spirit cackles, the Bahianan woman adopts a North-eastern accent, and so on.

We also note the material agency of objects as they enable the personification of colonial ancestors in their present-day manifestations: the bow and arrow of the Amerindian, the walking cane and pipe of the old black slave, the Flamenco dress of the Gypsy woman. The enactment of the past, therefore, goes beyond the verbal performance. During a dramatic ritual of old black slaves (pretos velhos) spirit possession, we note how the material world helps bring the entity to 'life':

The drumming quickens and her once flowing movements suddenly become less graceful, heavier. She appears to tumble on her steps, losing the rhythm, missing the beat, and now needs to prop herself up uncomfortably, hands on her knees. Within seconds, it appears that she has aged 30 (or maybe 130) years as she swiftly 'becomes' the preta velha. Her human helper is soon by her side, handing her a knotted wooden cane, dressing her with rosaries and a straw hat, and leads her to a nearby stool, where the medium-cum-old slave woman lights up an antique-looking pipe. In this persona, she is now ready to offer her words of wisdom to those that have come here for her guidance. (Fieldnotes, Sao Paulo, Brazil 2019)

These stereotypical dialects, accents and props serve to symbolically represent generalised Brazilian ancestors who may be removed in time but have a contemporary presence constituted through flesh and blood. In this way the subjugated experiences of centuries are reversed, even if only symbolically.

Appropriating and suppressing the subaltern

Despite the richness of heritage to be uncovered in Afro-Brazilian religions, they are still commonly persecuted and presented as backward 'customs' rather than contemporary 'religious practices', and as such continue to struggle to secure their constitutional rights in the country (Sobreira et al., 2016). Indeed, with the rise of the Evangelical and Pentecostal churches (and their increasing political presence), religious intolerance has been on the rise in recent years and the demonization of Afro-Brazilian religions is firmly entangled with racial discrimination (Silva, 2007). Protests extend to other cultural traditions which have over time incorporated aspects of Afro-Brazilian religious life such as carnival celebrations due to the music, costumes and nudity on display. These are portrayed by the churches as immoral due to their roots in Umbanda and Candomblé, whereby samba means to invoke your personal Orixá (god) and the drums used are thought to engender spiritual energy (axé). These African rhythms originate from the Yoruba, Congo and other West African groups and the hip movements of the dance originally came from Congolese and Angolan circle dances during the colonial period. In a country that struggles with social inequalities intertwined with class and racial categories, the samba-enredo (samba marches) performances featured at the carnival are important for people's sense of history, ancestry and collectivity and are regularly infused with religious tropes and experiences. Most of the samba songs exemplify the connection between race, national culture and Africa and feature references to spiritual entities and Orixás, reinforcing common understandings of Afro-Brazilian religions (Oosterbaan, 2017). Costumes often take the form of various spiritual entities such as the pombagira gypsy, or the Orixás themselves. Since at least the 1960s, several samba schools have explicitly used the carnival to comment on racial relations in light of the country's history of slavery and prevalent sociocultural hierarchies, attempting to inscribe African heritage into Brazilian self-representation and transform the mythical image of African people from docility to power (Oosterbaan, 2017). In this sense, carnival operates as a cultural repertoire that preserves Afro-Brazilian religious practices. This is reflected in the fact that when in 2007, the National Historic and Artistic Heritage Institute declared samba-enredo as a Registered Cultural Good and part of Brazil's intangible cultural heritage, religion and samba were considered 'inseparable' (Oosterbaan, 2017).

As these historical narratives become interlaced with global tourism and economic interests and nationalistic policies, however, any subaltern voices are pushed to the side and Othered once more through an emphasis on spectacle and sensuality, reproducing an ideology of difference. The exotic beauty and appeal of carnival disguises the content of the lyrics and the past and present racial politics which highlight the African roots of Brazilian cultural life in the face of historical and contemporary discrimination against black Brazilians. The semiotic ideologies reproduced in the marketing of the tourism imaginaries serve to erase any racial tensions and create global projections and embodied performances of 'Brazilianness' which do not address the darker side of this identity, namely that the nation is built on the oppression of different ethnic groups, particularly Amerindians and Africans. It has been noted that nation branding campaigns, as mediated images of ethno-cultural essence to be globally circulated, marketed and manipulated, are limited as they must 'fix' performances of national customs and characters for global viewers (Kerrigan et al., 2012). Operating as part of a globalised economy, these semiotic ideologies serve to reinforce current social and racial hierarchies. The 'Othered' are used to add diversity to performances that are otherwise excluded from and marginalised by social policies despite samba being considered one of Brazil's most valued cultural expressions and 'the heartbeat' of the carnival. Moreover, it is worth highlighting that the origins of touring lie in European colonialism (the Grand Tour) and the mobilities of the upper classes. The democratisation of tourism in the 20th century has not removed this background and further attention is needed to the intersections of religion, politics, popular culture and national identity in the study of cultural heritage. We highlight the significance of the embodied and non-representational (e.g. dance and music) in allowing for new macro-perspectives on heritage regimes by examining embedded agencies which often serve to voice the interests of the powerless Other.

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Between Local or Global Eating: Narratives in Organic Food Market Power Dynamics

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Agricultural intensification and the globalization of the agri-food markets has resulted in adverse environmental impact and social exclusion (Altieri, 2018; La Trobe & Acott, 2000). Organic farming has been advocated as an alternative to overcome many of these adversities. The 'organic food' category consists of a multifaceted set of food management and production practices aligned with ideals of health and sustainability (Prothero, 2019). However, the organic food market growth is not free of controversies, involving optimistic views about the benefits of organic agriculture as a healthy and sustainable global food market system (Dale, 2020; Fiore et al., 2019; Prothero, 2019; Thøgersen, 2010) and a critical perspective revealing the tendency for conventionalization of the organic food system (De Wit & Verhoog, 2007) due to its cooptation by hegemonic and global agri-food markets actors (Thompson & Coskuner-Balli, 2007).

Reading this controversial debate under the macromarketing and decolonial theoretical lens allows us to recognize in organic agri-food market system a fertile field for further understanding of the state of globalization of emerging sustainable food regimes into hegemonic market systems and the possibilities of building emancipatory and local-oriented food regimes. In this essay, we explore the organic agri-food market to reflect on how global powers and emancipation attempts are crystallized into competitive market narratives.

Since the 1990s, the constitution of a food category called 'organic' exploits narratives that aim to delimit the differences between conventional

and organic foods in terms of (1) particularities regarding production – e.g. techniques and principles that allow adopting organic production to the detriment of conventional (with agrochemicals and pesticides) production (Jouzi et al., 2017; Willer & Kemper, 2018); (2) nutritional and environmental gains provided by organic agriculture compared to conventional production (Dale, 2020; Fiore et al., 2019); (3) market characteristics capable of constituting a consumer culture and specific consumption behaviors for this type of food (Feil et al., 2020; Hughner et al., 2007; Prothero, 2019). The receptivity of these narratives by consumers consolidates organic as a profitable market system (Thøgersen, 2010; Willer & Kemper, 2018). Consequently, power dynamic moves from the conflict between conventional (hegemonic) and organic (alternative) food regime to deal with the incorporation – or not - of ‘organic food’ category into the global and market-mediated food regime controlled by a limited number of global corporations (Dale, 2020; Howard, 2016; McMichael, 2016).

We adapt the notion of global colonial power (Mignolo, 2007, 2020) to explore these internal conflicts in the organic agri-food market system. Once the food is a vital condition for human life, the agri-food market is no longer just a combination between offers and demand interests, but an arena in which narratives circulates following the actor’s capacity to impose their interests and shaping what, how, and when people around the world can eat (McMichael, 2016; Van der Ploeg et al., 2019).

In this essay, we highlight two main competitive narratives about ‘organic food’: (a) global organic agri-food industry and (b) agroecology as a local and emancipatory system. The first narrative is produced by agri-food companies, neoliberal governments, and global associations advocating that a corporative-environmental food regime can be part of the capitalism restructuration in direction of sustainability goals. Global organizations – like the International Federation of Organic Agriculture Movements (IFOAM) – and certification companies promulgate a general (and able to be adopted globally) definition of organic food. Their focus resides in fostering organic agri-food as a system that promotes the health of soils, ecosystems, and people, without the use of synthetic fertilizers, pesticides, and other inputs with adverse effects and involving ecological processes, biodiversity, and cycles adapted to local conditions. Besides, in this narrative, the organic food needs to be recognized through certification of conformity emitted by a company or public office (Willer & Kemper, 2018). The success of this nar-

rative is partly since it has adapted to the industrial model of food production, allowing production without synthetic inputs and pesticides on a scale of production and distribution close to that of conventional agriculture (Van der Ploeg et al., 2019), generating financial gains for the producers (Uematsu & Mishra, 2012) and guarantees and willingness for the consumer to pay a premium price (Pawlewicz, 2020). In terms of consumption, the global narrative explores the environmental-capitalism trend of transferring to consumers the responsibility for making fairer and more sustainable food choices. It associates organic food with the 'buy the change' rhetoric (Huddart Kennedy et al., 2019) without discussing how it promotes individualism and sustains the hegemony of global agri-food chains.

The second narrative is not focused on transformations in production techniques and certifications for 'selling the environmental change', but in the shaping, emancipatory agri-food system faces the dominance of global agri-food chains. To that, small producers, local associations, and academics create a new label named 'agroecology'. Agroecology emerges as a theoretical and political field that aims to radically transform agri-food systems by advocating the preservation of ecosystems, greater autonomy of producers faces control of inputs, equipment, and retail chains by large companies, as well as stimulate the use of resources from the rural property (Altieri, 2018; Le Coq et al., 2018). The agroecological narrative goes beyond the organic food production mode to institute a transformative movement aiming to (re)connect local experiences and knowledge in the construction of an agri-food system: (a) more sustainable and (b) possesses a more democratic governance system (Bruil et al., 2019; Rivera-Ferre, 2018). Thus, agroecology is an agri-food system but also a social movement struggling with the production-oriented trend that predominates in global organic agri-food industry. The agroecological narrative aims to reconfigure the food markets combining local and regional sourcing of food products with a short distribution chain able to create a direct connection between farmers and consumers, such as farmers' markets, food box delivery schemes, and community-supported agriculture. It also aims to situate the small rural producer as the protagonist, especially in peripheral and postcolonial (Nicholls, 2017).

These two competitive narratives identified in the organic agri-food market highlight the transformation of this 'alternative' and 'more sustainable' market system into a political arena in which global and local narratives are into dispute. Additionally, like past food regimes (Friedmann, 2005), organic

agri-food is not free of the diasporic-colonial regime that operates around the globe. The global narrative reproduces the historical structure of capitalism in a process that executes the objectives of colonialism with greater efficiency and rationalism. In other words, it effectively continues colonial power in (re)producing global narratives in a new market system that, even recognized as healthier and more sustainable, sustain the hegemonic economic power control of agri-food regimes. In counterpoint, agroecology avoids the economic rationalism arguing for a democratic and sovereign 'local' agri-food system (Grey & Patel, 2015; Hinrichs, 2003), especially in peripheral regions of Latin America . As an emancipatory food system, agroecological narratives also can be associated with decolonial efforts, once it reveals and contests the land control in peripheral nations by the neocolonial global power of agri-food global companies (e.g., General Mills Inc., Unilever) (Grey & Newman, 2018). Thus, agroecology offers a counter-hegemonic narrative confronting not only specific food regimes but also with the colonial power that controls these regimes, conflicting with colonial logics of power and knowledge (Mignolo, 2007, 2020) but also colonial logics of eating.

Our reflection also contributes to theorizing about how global capitalist organizations are constantly adopting new narratives to keep controlling emerging market systems. In identifying the multiples neocolonial capitalist global narrative, we can identify how naturalizing instruments of management and organizational logics produced in the center and globally distributed incorporate capitalist logics into the emerging organic market system. Finally, so important as understanding the organic agri-food system as more sustainable is to understand how it is subscribed in the global dynamics of power. Thus, the constitution of more sustainable agri-food systems is not a simplistic process of consumption conscientization and offers realignment in favor of more sustainable production practices. It is surrounded by multiple narratives, each comprised of different actors in a global power dispute that takes over the organic market as an arena to mobilize, spread, and organize their interests in the (de)colonial power dispute. We finally claim for empirical analysis, especially in post-colonial contexts, to identify how the multiples narratives about organic food have been consolidated.

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Making the Coloniality Visible in the Brazilian Football Marketing Management

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Following a decolonial perspective (Dussel, 2002; Lander, 2005; Mignolo, 2008; Quijano, 2005), the ongoing globalization of markets in Latin America is associated with a process that constitutes the modern Eurocentric colonial capitalism as a new pattern of power in peripheral countries (Faria & Hemais, 2017; Mignolo, 2008; Quijano, 2005). This new pattern of power was built by means of control of multiple instances, like the economy, authority, material resources, and subjectivity. As important as recognizing the instances of colonial power is to identify how and who is reproducing the European colonialism in social orders and forms of knowledge. Thus, in this study, we explore how marketing management practices reproduce the multiple instances of colonial power control. To explore these initial claims, we adopt a decolonial approach to describe how the Eurocentric perspective orient marketing practices in the particular context of a Brazilian football club's marketing management practices. For that, we conduct an ethnographic study with a large Brazilian football club – Grêmio – for 3 years. Our data set involves: (1) observation of several matches and marketing actions, (2) formal and informal interviews with various marketing managers, directors, and fans, and (3) collection of financial data, media, and documents.

To guide our data analyses, we explored the concept of Eurocentric colonial capitalism as rationality: (a) a type of knowledge or culture that is con-

stituted as a dualism, with conquered and conqueror in the inferior and superior positions, respectively; and (b) a type of evolutionism that places the colonized in the past of colonizers (Mignolo, 2008; Quijano, 2005). With the Eurocentric colonial capitalism emerge the Eurocentrism, a new way of legitimizing old ideas and practices of superiority/inferiority relationships, not necessarily as a result of a superior-subaltern dominance relation, but through the assimilation of inferiority by the colonized (Mignolo, 2008). The power structure is reproduced on a historical process of production of space/time capable of encoding in the colonized the idea of the natural condition of inferiority to others (Quijano, 2005). A dualistic power relation is constituted between the primitive colonized and the civilized colonizer (Mignolo, 2008) and sustained by means of control reproduced by the colonized.

Our findings reveal a set of practices that exemplify how this means of control are reproduced by Brazilian marketing managers of cultural products (football). The first practice involves the configuration of material resources to offer to local fans the same pattern of material consumption experienced by European fans. Instead of designing and building material artifacts in line with local needs and problems, managers do that based on the image and desires of the European fan. It can be observed in the creation of a modern, multipurpose arena inaugurated in 2012 according to standards that were set by the International Federation of Association Football (FIFA) and implemented in the arenas of major European football clubs, in substitution of the older Grêmio station. The images of German arenas that reached Brazil through the Cup's broadcasts consolidated the idea that Grêmio should change its 60-year-old Estádio Olímpico for another more modern, following European-style and according to a standard considered as world-class as it followed FIFA's recommendations. In discourses, images, and through various exchanges between managers at Grêmio and Arena, two models were fundamental for the materialization of Grêmio's new arena: Manchester City's Etihad Stadium, in England, and Allianz Arena, in Germany. Given the importance of Manchester City as a model for Grêmio's managers, they made technical visits to the English club and kept in touch with its managers 'for inspiration' for the construction of the new arena. We also highlight the Guia da Partida (Matchday Programmes) as a material resource for Eurocentric reproduction in marketing practices. It was introduced as a game promotion tool after some managers went to Europe in search of qualifications and experiences that would give them 'differentials' in marketing actions.

In their travels, they sought “what happens differently in marketing” (quote extracted from an interview with a Grêmio manager). They realized that the Matchday Program, a common practice in European countries, could be an interesting innovation, as it was something “I had never seen in Brazil” (quote extracted from an interview with a Grêmio manager).

The second practice involves the projection of ‘ideal consumer’, controlling the transformations of fans from subjects to consumers. We can see there is an idealized image that provides not only imaginal content for the design of products and services, but an idealized fan that associates ‘cheering’ with ‘consuming’ products and services associated with the club. It is noteworthy that this idealized fan that marketing managers wish to see hegemonically in the club’s sacred spaces is a rational consumer subject aware of their responsibility to support the club through consumption. Additionally, marketing campaigns and experiential stimulus in the stadium target project in middle-class white men the idealized fan. In doing that, managers create an intertwining zone of presence and absence of all the components of the nation of fans (Damo, 2005) for subjective control. Those fans who do not fit with the idealized consumer archetype are seen as supposedly ‘ill-behaved’, ‘unruly’ and ‘savage’ and need to be banned from the club - not only as marketing targets but also from its institutions, traditions, conventions, and agreements. For their effects, subjectivity controls suppress the fans with their complexity and variation, remaining part of the “distant and amorphous”, to paraphrase Said (1978, p. 22) in his fine essay about Orientalism.

Thirdly, we observe a set of heterogeneous mechanisms for attracting capital to maintain the control of economic instances. For that, marketing is a powerful tool in converting Grêmio symbols and affection into profitable products for consumption, allowing the conversion of affective capital into economic capital. Again, European clubs were adopted as a model for converting the fans’ passion into economic gains for the club, as illustrated by the Arena case. It was created under the guidance of the European consultancy companies ISL and Amsterdam Arena Advisory to increase revenues with stores, restaurants, parking lots among other consumable devices. Additionally, it is interesting to see how the business logic of maximizing return on capital started to reconfigure the club management practice. Practices of austerity, fiscal control, and administrative organization efficiency were adopted as a mantra by the local managers. Concepts of ‘professional management’ and ‘club-company’ prevalent in European football clubs be-

come the watchword not only among the staff but also in the press.

Finally, we identify the authoritarian imposition of colonization mechanisms. Many conflicts occurred between the Arena's staff and fans, particularly those fans who identified with *Geral do Grêmio's* (organized crowd) culture. The controversies involved the prohibition of many fans' actions that were used in the older Grêmio station (Estádio Olímpico). Standing to watch the match, taking one's shirt off, smoking cigarettes, and putting one's feet on the back of the front seat began to be openly restrained by the 'Orientadores', the equivalent of stewards in stadiums abroad. Fan associations published several manifestoes and pleaded to city officials to reverse the rules in the new stadium which, for fans, was a ban on cheering.

There have been many cases of fans who were removed from the stadium for not following the rules. Even one of the authors was insistently reprimanded on one occasion for calmly resting his foot on the back of the front seat. The Orientador made a point of showing him the "rules of the house" from a booklet that he hangs from his neck, in combination with verbal threats such as the possibility of being removed from the stadium, in addition to future bans. According to two Orientadores interviewed (a 21-year-old male and a 20-year-old female), those rules are part of a management package based on the management model of Allianz Arena in Munich, Germany. In the training they received (two one-day sessions before the inauguration), the managers at the Arena told them that one of their employees had spent a long time studying the German arena's management and had brought from there the 'best practices' on managing multipurpose arenas, including the standard of behavior expected of fans.

In sum, the images and practices brought from Europe by Grêmio's marketing manager contribute to a process of colonial reproduction by means of control of the economy, authority, material resources, and subjectivity instances. In considering the "European model" as a type of ideal knowledge and superior evolutionism (Mignolo, 2008; Quijano, 2005), marketing management practices reproduce old ideas about the natural condition of inferiority not only at the consumption level but in the multiple instances that constitute the colonial power. Based on managers' practices and metaphysics, the West settles locally as 'modern, progressive, free, rational, civilized, correctly affluent and possessing values of a universal character' (Slater, 1997) in Grêmio and, consequently this Grêmio that is imagined and desired by managers as 'more European' disseminates. From marketing managers' agency

and the materiality, they help put in circulation means of control through which colonization by the Western way of life circulates, from the 'modern global' to the 'underdeveloped local'.

However, more than crystallizing four instances - economic, subjective, material resources, and authority - in which the colonial power is (re)produced in football marketing management, our theorization advances in describing how these instances obtain the social cohesion necessary to be reproduced. Managers cannot reproduce marketing practices without adherence within the social context in which the tactics and strategies take form (Zwick & Cayla, 2011). However, even that involuntary, marketing practices insert new symbols and objects in the local social circles, feed a rhythm of desires, naturalize images that did not initially belong to our system of affections. Marketing practices are not an external powerful force, like violence or radicalization, but they contribute to maintaining the European colonialism in the social order and forms of knowledge, as well as preserving the cohesion against potential deviants. Our adherence - or maintenance - to colonial thought is built through these images from Europe that circulate among us in multiple instances of power, incorporated through marketing offers supposedly sensitive to our subjectivities and desires as consumers.

Following Safatle (2015), what moves societies - even in capitalism - is not rationality and conscience, but the way the circuits of emotions and affections are constituted (Safatle, 2015). The affection, the feeling that is at the center of the relationship between a football club and its supporters, can work also as the dispersive prism between the opportunity to be like a European club and the danger of succumbing to the riot of violence in the stadium, the economic insolvency, the poor team performance. Marketing management reproduces a 'grammar' that naturalizes a fantasy between the desire to be European and the instances of colonial control not only in rational decisions, but in subjecting individuals to a circuit of fear and hope that is not a mere management instrumental device, but rather a mechanism with an important force for reproducing the coloniality of power.

These findings contribute to the current efforts in understanding marketing management from a Latin American, critical, and decolonial perspective (Faria & Hemais, 2017; Reale & Dalmoro, 2020; Varman & Saha, 2009). Additionally, in exploring how marketing management practices reproduce the multiple instances of colonial power control, we also present the circuits of affections as a feature that reinforce Eurocentric colonial capitalism as a

pattern of power in peripheral countries. In line with epistemological notions from the South and Decolonial through (Mignolo, 2008; Santos & Meneses, 2010), subverting the instances of colonial control cannot necessarily ignore the instances of control, but reframing the circuits of affection that constitute it. Otherwise, we will continue to be trapped in the same circuits of affection as always, trapped in the mimicked European image that serves as false hope. Marketing management can be an instrument of colonial control or freedom depending on the circuit of affection that it is reproducing. While reproducing the same images of fear in being Latin and the hope imagined in the European image, marketing will keep being a colonial power instrument. Our conclusions work as a claim for marketing management practices of cultural products like football not subordinated to a Eurocentric image of consumers, an idealized conception of fans that do not fit with the Latin American reality that, otherwise, just reinforce colonial patterns of power.

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Decolonizing Marketing Systems

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This paper is part of a broader research effort that aims to bring a critical and less market-centered approach to macromarketing studies. This proposal may seem strange at first, since moving the market from the center of marketing studies seems nonsense, but Macromarketing is a fertile field for alternative approaches. Any researcher could find in the pages of the *Journal of Macromarketing* many alternative studies. Little, Lee, and Nair (2019) criticize the idea of permanent growth and resume the idea of demarketing presented by Kotler and Levy (1971). Williams, Davey, and Johnstone (2021) show that some of the basic premises of marketing systems theory are deficient and can generate systemic failures with very negative consequences for the environment and people, requiring the intervention of stakeholders or policymakers. Benton Jr (2020) posits that the neoclassical/neoliberal idea that the market is the fundamental starting point for all marketing research is misleading. According to him, marketing researchers could benefit from a more in-depth understanding of exchange that could reveal that internal price structures of the firm, politics, and international relations, for instance, could better explain exchanges considered to be market exchanges defined by negotiations between buyers and sellers (Benton Jr, 2020).

Macromarketing is a discipline concerned with the study of marketing systems, the impact and consequence of marketing systems on society, and the impact and consequence of society on marketing systems (Hunt, 1981) and this opens a door for different ontologies and theoretical frameworks to coexist. Macromarketing can be a site for transformative marketing. Following this idea, we propose to re-exam the main concept of macromarketing

discipline, market systems, using a decolonial approach.

The decolonial movement is based on Latin America and sees the region not only as a geographical place but as an epistemological space, that is, a space in which knowledge is produced and shared (Escobar, 2003). Quijano (1992) introduced the concept of coloniality as an invisible element of the modernity compound. The maintenance of the logic of domination ceases to occur in the clear parameters of the colonial era and becomes more subtle. The concept of coloniality aims precisely to show forms of surreptitious oppression that are presented in three forms: coloniality of the power, coloniality of knowledge, and coloniality of being (Maldonado-Torres, 2007; Quijano, 1992, 2015). According to Mignolo (2007), the decolonial epistemic turn involves foregrounding other epistemologies, principles of knowledge and understanding related to another economy, politics, and ethics; and depose Eurocentric universality by proposing “pluriversality” and epistemic disobedience.

According to Layton (2007, p. 230), a marketing system is defined as a network of individuals, groups, and/or entities linked directly or indirectly through sequential and shared participation in economic exchange that creates, assembles, transforms, and makes available assortments of products, both tangible and intangible, provided in response to customer demand. As the marketing system is formed, it grows and changes, it becomes part of the environment and starts to influence the decisions of individuals, groups, and entities, in addition to influencing other adjacent marketing systems. This process shapes the coevolution of social behaviors, beliefs, and practices that initiate innovative changes in marketing systems (R. A. Layton, 2015).

The concept of marketing systems proposed by Layton (2007) is used to analyze many different arrangements, from the Makola marketplace in Ghana and the Salaula secondhand clothing market in Zambia, to the Aalsmeer flower auction market in Holland and the Japanese 7-Eleven convenience stores. According to Layton (2009), as the consumer is unable to produce everything he or she needs to satisfy his or her needs, the market system is the social solution to this problem and the best way to achieve growth and well-being. This elegant proposition is very powerful but has some limitations as it is based on the neoclassical/neoliberal assumptions that market failures can be solved by regulation agencies and that well-being is related mostly to material possessions and wealth.

The first step to decolonize the concept of marketing system is to rethink

and reimagine it based on the praxis of insurgency (Walsh & Mignolo, 2018). It means that we can question market-centered societies and the principle of accumulation of material possessions as well-being. The concept of Buen Vivir (in English: good living) could be useful to decolonize the concept of marketing system. Buen Vivir is based on the notion of relational worldview in a pluriverse (Dussel & Ibarra-Colado, 2006; Escobar, 2011), multiverse (Mamani, 2010), or eco-philosophy (Estermann, 2013) and is based on the fundamental concepts of relationality, complementarity, correspondence, reciprocity, and cyclicity (Acosta, 2016). Its perspective of the human being as part of nature illuminates questions in the political, economic, social, spiritual fields (Estermann, 2013) and advocates a balance and harmony between all the beings on Mother Earth (Pachamama). Alternative and resistant to the hegemonic model of development, Buen Vivir is characterized as an ontology capable of illuminating theoretical constructions to think and configure new harmonic spaces of coexistence, balancing asymmetric forces between market, state, and society, redesigning different relationships between agents in the marketing systems, “rethink the logic of production, circulation, distribution, and consumption of goods and services” (Acosta, 2016, p. 17), and configure an alternative ontology for the concept of marketing system.

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Session XVII

Macromarketing in Different Contexts

Building women's and girl's human rights is part of a macromarketing agenda

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More than 58 teenage girls killed by three car bomb blasts outside their school gates in Afghanistan's capital, Kabul (<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/08/world/school-afghanistan.html>). Bombing education centres is not new in Afghanistan, with schools a favourite target. Girls' education in Afghanistan is easy to disrupt – this latest bombing is thought to have especially targeted the school in the afternoon session which is when girls were attending. Ethnic tensions in Afghanistan coupled with the power struggle between the Taliban and the national Afghan government had been somewhat managed by the presence of foreign troops in the country (especially American troops). But since US President Biden recently announced the withdrawal of troops by September 11th 2021 (<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/apr/14/afghan-women-fear-the-return-of-the-taliban>) many writers have expressed their fears about what will happen to women and girls' rights if the Taliban takes power again.

Women and girls are part of human communities, and in Afghanistan the difficulties of being female in the community are amplified by archaic customs dictating the role that women may take in society. The human community in fractured nations such as Afghanistan still needs provisioning, part of the core macromarketing role (Layton 2016), so fostering equitable exchange networks involving men and women could be a fair human rights goal for marketers.

Should macromarketers consider fostering human rights (especially women's and girls rights) as part of marketing's response to provisioning in such frac-

tured communities? What would a human rights orientation look like in a market such as Afghanistan? How would macromarketers go about ensuring women's and girls rights were respected in market transactions? What role could macromarketers play in breaking down some of the worst customs existing in Afghanistan that are used against women? How could macromarketing avoid the tag of 'western imperialism' when helping a society such as Afghanistan provision itself?

This paper offers some thoughts as a partial response to Layton's (2016) paper exploring macromarketing's response to challenges faced by human communities across the world.

Discouraging overconsumption — What does fashion have to do with it?

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Introduction

Fashion makes a sizeable contribution to climate change. McKinsey research shows that the sector was responsible for some 2.1 billion metric tons of greenhouse-gas (GHG) emissions in 2018, about 4 percent of the global total. To set that in context, the fashion industry emits about the same quantity of GHGs per year as the entire economies of France, Germany, and the United Kingdom combined. (McKinsey, [2020](#))

As concerns about climate change and sustainability become more urgent, sustainable behaviours at the micro (individual consumer) level are becoming more widespread from carrying reusable shopping bags to buying second-hand fashion (Ayanoglu et al., [2019](#); Lewis & Chen, [2016](#); Lim, [2017](#)). These behaviours are driven by a multitude of factors from convenience and price to macro- and meso-level factors of government regulation and firm initiatives. In sustainable consumption and the wider social marketing

context, micro-level behaviour change is the primary aim (Anker & Kappel, 2011; Brenkert, 2002; Peattie & Peattie, 2009). Yet the long-term goal is for those behaviours to lead to positive externalities across a range of micro- and macro-level social mechanisms due to path dependence (R. A. Layton, 2011). To achieve enduring long-term behaviour, change and for that behaviour to be a catalyst for related and similar behaviours, researchers argue that behaviours must be sustained and supported by congruent attitudes (Andreasen, 2003; McKenzie-Mohr, 2000).

When sustainable behaviours are motivated by something other than a sustainable attitude, the consumer has incongruity between their sustainable behaviour and attitude, or a behaviour-attitude gap. Using a macro marketing system lens, we suggest behaviour alone is insufficient to impact the social mechanisms of Layton's MAS system to embed enduring change within macro-social mechanisms (R. A. Layton, 2011, 2015). This research seeks to understand the phenomenon of the behaviour-attitude gap recognising "the interdependence of social actors and the aggregation of the individual attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors" (Padela et al., 2021, p. 360) in the reciprocating relationships with meso- and macro-level forces. The findings give marketers and policymakers an opportunity to encourage sustainable attitudes that are congruent with existing sustainable behaviours, achieving long-term sustainable consumption behaviours that are more likely to endure through changing social trends.

Marketing system

The promotion of consumption has been criticised for contributing to consumerism adversely impacting sustainability efforts and adding to market system failure and negative externalities (Kemper et al., 2019; Kennedy, 2016; Padela et al., 2021). However, using a marketing system framework, marketers can understand how values, beliefs and patterns of behaviour are shaped by exchange in these systems fulfilling anticipated needs and wants of customers and where marketing system mechanisms enable and perpetuate practices (R. Layton, 2019). The marketing system is a social arena for value exchange where changing assortments of goods, services, experiences and ideas are on offer and where these networks and delivery systems are influenced by internal organising principles, social norms and laws (R. Layton, 2019). The complex social mechanisms of Layton and Duffy's (2018)

marketing system operate within value-laden settings at micro- meso- and macro levels determining how the marketing system functions and evolves. For example, debates around sustainability challenge values at multiple levels of the system, creating action within the other interdependent system elements; delivery systems may change, values of consumers may change, suppliers may respond to activist pressures, all of which shape future marketing system actions and the assortments offered (R. Layton & Duffy, 2018).

Study overview

This research explores some of these social mechanisms, namely sustainable consumer behaviour and the assortment of products and services in luxury fashion. We provide insights into consumers' experiences, attitudes, self-efficacy, and knowledge, when they participate in a sustainable behaviour namely buying and selling second-hand designer clothing. Grounded in pragmatism, this research followed a mixed method approach. A qualitative study comprised of 31 consumer interviews explored attitudes and behaviours toward buying and selling of designer clothing, everyday sustainable behaviours, and participants' sustainability knowledge. In addition, in-depth interviews with three business owners helped reveal the meso-level (supplier and retailer) experiences and implications of the second-hand designer fashion marketing system.

The study identified three key factors impacting consumer participation in the second-hand designer fashion market: social context, personal determinants, and sustainable attitude. Social context emerged at the centre of explaining the behaviour-attitude gap compensating for attitude or behaviour incongruences and creating the boundary within which other consumption decisions and behaviour occur. Consumer participants frequently noted the prosocial benefits of the behaviour they were performing; they were confident their sustainable behaviour would benefit others.

Business owners acknowledge the behaviour-attitude gap that occurs and through their business ethos — facilitating sustainable consumption, sustainability morality and sustainability knowledge — they encourage development of both a consumer's sustainable behaviour and a sustainable attitude. Although business owners and consumers are discussed and analysed separately, it is the holistic interaction between them that allows for greater understanding of the behaviour-attitude gap that is occurring in the market-

place for second-hand designer fashion exchange. Business owners have an instrumental and normative role, and they also have an effect on consumer knowledge and self-efficacy. Furthermore, they provide a service and platform for consumers to buy and sell second-hand designer clothing. At the core of this is value co-creation (Bettencourt et al., 2014) including all actors within this service exchange which has sustainability at the core of their business ethos. Business owners change how designer fashion is consumed and enhance what it offers consumers, which is value beyond the first owner of each item. Business owners shape their service offering and servicescape with sustainability and community at the centre.

What does this mean for macromarketing?

The importance of the social context and the crucial role that business owners play in sustainable consumption exchange, reinforce the importance of the marketing system and the role social marketers play in sustainable consumption (Duffy et al., 2017). This research shows knowledge, alongside self-efficacy, is a significant influence on consumers' sustainable attitudes and behaviours. The elements social context, self-efficacy and sustainability knowledge, and the impact they have on correcting incongruencies between consumer attitudes and behaviours, reinforce how marketing scholars are well-positioned to address the challenges of encouraging sustainable behaviour and attitudes.

Although consumers' self-efficacy with regard to environmental sustainability is weak, consumers do experience self-efficacy in relation to the prosocial benefits of their behaviour. If consumers can view their behaviour as sustainable whilst still experiencing the same self-efficacy this might encourage a stronger positive attitude toward sustainable behaviours. A stronger positive attitude toward sustainable behaviours can encourage more sustainable behaviours in other areas of their life (Andreasen, 2003).

Policy initiatives that targeted designer fashion (and other luxury goods) resellers would facilitate the supply chain for business owners and end-consumers. For example, a joint government-business funded social marketing campaign could encourage disposal rituals and routines around reselling rather than hoarding or returning designer fashion to landfill. Alternatively, a combined government-business initiative, which marries macro-level and meso-level influence, for a certification policy regarding resold fashion would encourage

consumers to engage in resold fashion exchanges. Such policy implications are natural corollaries of the research's extended conceptualisation and cyclical influence of social determinants on sustainable behaviour.

Concluding comments

Despite designer fashion typically fulfilling hedonic and value expressive needs of consumers (Martin-Consuegra et al., 2019), the meso-level players in the fashion industry value chain are simultaneously fulfilling those needs and prosocial and sustainability needs. Business is responding to overconsumption and unsustainable fashion behaviour becoming a catalyst for change within the marketing system. In addition, consumers are demanding accountability (in terms of environmental standards) choosing and buying clothes differently without forfeiting a designer-boutique fashion experience and service. Thus, at the micro and meso levels our research demonstrates system evolution whereby adjusting system mechanisms are increasingly sustainable and meeting changing consumer expectations and needs. This shift shows consumers responding positively to sustainable initiatives and sustainability appeals in marketing efforts, supporting the call for all participants in the fashion value chain "to play (a part) in driving decarbonization and bringing about real and lasting change for the better" (McKinsey, 2020). Future research avenues include examining meso-level initiatives such as closed-loop business models, repair-refurbishment models (alongside resale), and improved material mixes.

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Minerals and their Materiality: A Netnographic Account of Consumer Meaning Making Based on Social Interactions during Instagram Based Commerce

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Introduction

According to Hunt Macromarketing can be defined as, “the study of (a) marketing systems, (b) the impact and consequences of marketing systems on society, and (c) the impact and consequences of society on marketing systems (p. 7)” (as cited in (Layton, 2007, p. 227)). Further, “a marketing system is a 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, both tangible and intangible, provided in response to customer demand” (Layton 2007, 230). Hence marketing systems are a part of the larger social system and are affected by factors such as culture, economy, and material environment (Dixon, 1984). With the popularisation of Web 2.0, there has been an increased focus on the study of ‘online communities’ (R. V. Kozinets et al., 2008). Now with the emergence of social media, and especially social

commerce (Zhou et al., 2013) it becomes important to study the forms of interactions on these platforms. By looking at the crystal and mineral sales and purchase process on Instagram, the current paper seeks to study the virtual marketing system made up of different communities through the accumulation of 'social capital' (Bourdieu, 1986) on the platform and the types of meanings attached to the same objects by the different social groups.

Crystals and minerals have been in demand since the Middle Ages (Shashkevich, n.d.). In fact from 2017 onwards, with several celebrities endorsing healing crystals in particular, the craze for crystals has risen so much that it has now become a multi-billion dollar industry (Kapoor, n.d.). Additionally, the current uncertainty surrounding the COVID-19 pandemic has only increased anxiety leading many consumers to indulge in healing crystals with the hope of feeling relaxed. It has been estimated that the demand for crystals might even possibly surpass the demands in the diamond market (Elliott, 2020) as consumers move towards retail therapy ("the act of buying special things for yourself in order to feel better when you are unhappy" (Dictionary, n.d. definition 1)). Apart from their metaphysical properties, crystals are also seen to be collected for their aesthetics (Pash, n.d.), geological properties, and so on.

Crystals are sold using different channels of distribution – ranging from large exhibitions such as the Tucson Gem and Mineral showcase in the US, to online sales on websites like Ebay and Etsy, and social commerce platforms like on Instagram and Facebook which facilitate photo and video sharing. However in recent times, Instagram has become a popular platform among crystal sellers (Labrador, n.d.).

Literature Review

The current study is focused on crystal collecting as a form of consumption (Belk, 1995; Bianchi, 1997) and how different types of meanings are attached to the same commodity. Currently, there has been a study on the influence of trust and perceived risk on the purchase behaviour of organizational buyers in the USA gemstone industry through e-commerce (e- marketplaces and sellers' websites) (D'Alessandro et al., 2012). There is also a book written on the movements of minerals, right from the Mexico mines through the markets to the U.S. and Mexico museums and through this transaction how values are co-created by human actors and the minerals (Ferry, 2013). This process is

then used to describe the broader relationship between US and Mexico for over 150 years (Ferry, 2013). Since, no research has been found on the crystal market on Instagram, it will be interesting to see how different factors like trust on social commerce sites (Chen, Wang, et al., 2016), sellers, and the social networking community (Lu, Zhao, and Wang 2010), social interactions leading to community formation (Hung et al., 2018), etc. play out during the social commerce process. This is important because the nature of products like crystals is different from branded clothes (Aprilia & Setiadi, 2017), lipsticks (Zomorodian & Lu, 2019), etc. which are more widely used by many people and have a lot of reviews easily available. Crystal purchases also involve a range of monetary investments from low to high cost. Moreover, it will be interesting to look at the motivations such as accumulation, completion of a set, etc., which lead to obsessive-compulsive behaviour (Shuker, 2004). In terms of the social media used for sales, the role of Facebook live-streaming has been analysed (Wongkitrungrueng & Assarut, 2020). However, usage of other features of social media such as the story (photos and videos shared disappear after 24 hours unless saved as highlights (Instagram, n.d.)), feed (all posts shared from accounts and hashtags followed will be displayed (Instagram, n.d.)), etc. has not been studied. Moreover, Facebook has the facility of both private and public 'buy and sell groups' (Facebook, n.d.) within which sales can happen.

This aspect helps in the formation of a community over time, with constant interactions. This facility is not present in Instagram. Overall, there seems to be a gap in the literature regarding the different types of social groups formed based on the different types of meanings to the same commodity through social capital during the crystals and minerals commerce on Instagram. In order to address this gap, this study aims to make sense of the interactions and connections formed between the buyers and sellers of crystals and understand how the cultural system leads to diverse value attachments to the same collectible – the minerals and crystals.

Theoretical Framework

Marketing Systems

Marketing systems is a concept which lies at the core of macromarketing (Layton, 2007). It is broadly defined as "a 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, both tangible and intangible, provided in response to customer demand” (Layton, 2007, p. 230). At present, this concept is perceived “as a much broader and richer concept than the neoliberal notion of ‘the market system’ which denotes a locus of economic exchanges ” (Jagadale et al., 2018, p. 95). Marketing systems are thus dynamic and are complex systems which include other subsystems with numerous stakeholders (Domegan et al., 2020). According to past literature the focus on meaning dimension of marketing systems have been sparse (Kadirov & Varey, 2011). Hence it becomes important to focus on this aspect.

Social Capital, Sociability, and Consocial Identities and Interactions

According to Bourdieu, the field has rules and regulations and the ‘feel for the game’ is what gives the game an orientation (Bourdieu, 1990). Hence this means that the field is the site which provides the context of inquiry for the research. In this research the Instagram has been fixed as the field for research as mentioned earlier. The virtual space sets regulations to a certain extent in terms of its algorithm and interface. As Bourdieu mentions, in order for the seemingly discontinuous instances between agents to be linked, the introduction of the theory of capital is necessary (Bourdieu, 1986). According to him, “Capital is accumulated labor (in its materialized form or its “incorporated,” embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 241). He proposes three main types of capital – economic capital which can be translated into money; cultural capital which can exist in the form of the “embodied state”, i.e., in the mind and body, in the “objectified state”, i.e., in terms of cultural goods, and the “institutionalized state”, i.e., qualifications which set apart a person (Bourdieu, 1986); and finally, the social capital which is “. . . made up of social obligations (“connections”)” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 243).

The social capital as a concept is important in the current study since the social commerce on Instagram primarily depends on the accumulation of social capital. “Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential re-

sources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition— or in other words, to membership in a group — which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively owned capital, a “credential” which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word” (Bourdieu, 1986, pp. 248-249). The social capital is present in the form of relationships established in symbolic and/or material exchanges (Bourdieu, 1986). Moreover, these relations sustain through the exchanges since all members of the group benefit from them (Bourdieu, 1986). These relationships are not fixed and are continuously formed based on the institutional norms (Bourdieu, 1986).

“The reproduction of social capital presupposes an unceasing effort of sociability, a continuous series of exchanges in which recognition is endlessly affirmed and reaffirmed” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 250). Here the concept of sociability as introduced by Georg Simmel can be looked at. “Sociability is, then, the play-form of association and is related to the content- determined concreteness of association as art is related to reality” (Simmel, 1949, p. 255). It is a form of connection in which exchange, speech, and contact remains central (Simmel, 1949). Although for Simmel the pure form of sociability does not have any ulterior motives, every form of human associations have an element of sociability in them (Simmel, 1949).

According to the macromarketing scholar Bob Lusch (2017), humans have involved in “exchange with strangers” (322) for the past 40,000 years when economic exchanges are examined (Shen et al., 2020). In the digital world, exchange majorly takes place between what Milgram (1977) terms “familiar strangers” (Shen et al., 2020, p. 3). “. . . familiar strangers feel like more than strangers but less than friends” (Shen et al., 2020, p. 3).

Since the field at hand is virtual it is also important to look at one form of a connection formed termed as ‘consociation’ (R. Kozinets, n.d.). Consociation can be thought of “. . .as a commonplace, largely instrumental, and often incidental form of association, one that we often take for granted because it has become so natural” (R. Kozinets, n.d., p. 11). ‘Consociality’ is based on a common link among people and consocial ties are not as rigid as a community (R. Kozinets, n.d.).

Materiality and Meaning Making

"Minerals have an abrupt materiality, a "thingness," that makes them particularly apt for a study of the production of value in and through objects" (Ferry, 2013, p. 10). According to Jean Baudrillard in *The System of Objects* (1996), an object which is "possessed is always an object abstracted from its function and thus brought into relationship with the subject" (Baudrillard, 1996, p. 86). And it is the organisation of such possessions which is referred to as the practice of collecting (Baudrillard, 1996). Since, objects which are collected are abstractions and minerals have a "thingness" in them, it makes it very convenient for different notions of meanings to be attached to them. Moreover in *The Social Life of Things* (1986), Arjun Appadurai writes how "... human actors encode things with significance;" and then the things which circulate during the exchange process bring into light the human relations and the social context (Appadurai, 1986). Thus objects in circulation are often associated certain meanings which mediate social relations. Considering market systems as cultural institutions, products are clad with meanings (Tharp & Scott, 1990). Across the different stages and contexts that objects go through different meanings are attached to them. And this process of ascribing meanings becomes a macro process as diverse actors become involved in it from the suppliers attaching different values to differentiate their products, to individual consumers assuming meanings based on their past experiences (Tharp & Scott, 1990). As these individuals come together to form larger groups, the shared experience of meaning making again differs and often 'feeds back' to individual meaning making (Tharp & Scott, 1990). Thus meaning making, a process which seems to be an individualistic activity is thus turned social.

From a symbolic interactionist perspective, the aim of this study is to analyse how social interactions online gives rise to diverse meanings to crystals and minerals and how Instagram acts as a space for consociation. According to Herbert Blumer, symbolic interactionism relies on three main premises – 1. "... human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them"; 2. "... the meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows"; 3. "... these meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretative process used by the person in dealing with the thing he encounters" (Blumer, 1986, p. 2). Thus, this perspective does not look at meaning as something intrinsic either in the thing or the mental makeup of the person (Blumer, 1986). This is why this study seeks to identify the kinds of meanings associated with

the minerals and crystals based on the consocial interactions on Instagram.

Methodology

Since this is an exploratory study, 'netnography' — a qualitative research method is being used. This was developed by professor Robert Kozinets in 1995 (R. V. Kozinets, 2006, 2007). Netnography relies at its core on participant observations and hence this method is being used in the current study. Along with this, interviews are being conducted to understand the situation in depth.

Research is being conducted according to the different steps enlisted in for proper conduct of a netnography. As the first step, the field site was decided as Instagram. The research questions have been decided upon. Now background research has been done using the method of lurking — "a form of reconnaissance" (R. V. Kozinets et al., 2014, p. 266) in order to understand the 'consocial interactions' (R. Kozinets, n.d.). This basically means to be a silent observer of the interactions that happen between crystal sellers and buyers during the sales process. For this, a new Instagram account was created and 636 crystal sellers' and buyers' accounts were 'followed'. There are also 177 followers of the account currently. After this, different types of sales including the live sales, feed sales, and story sales were observed. An analysis of the accounts that were being 'followed' was made in order to understand more about how the crystal community functions.

The second step after background research was cultural entrée or the entry into the field. To aid in this process, different kinds of engagements were administered on the account. Introductory posts about the researcher and her experiences were shared. Further, an Instagram live with a seller (Sarah (name changed)) who is quite well known among the crystal and mineral community was conducted. The live was recorded and uploaded as an IGTV video on the Instagram account. This helped gain more contacts as the seller gave a few contacts that she knew. She also helped out by sharing a few resources related to minerals which were collated and posted on the account as well. Since the seller was slightly popular among the mineral enthusiasts, it helped me gain some credibility within the crystal community. Followed by this, three types of data – archival, elicited, and field notes are being collected (R. V. Kozinets et al., 2014).

Archival data include visuals, comments, hashtags etc. which have been

posted already. As mentioned before, the comments on various posts during feed sales, the interactions that take place during the live sales, etc. are being observed and analysed.

Elicited data is being collected through in-depth interviews with those crystal buyers and sellers who willingly give consent and through interactions during live sales and feed sales. So far interviews with 5 sellers and 1 consumer accounting to approximately 8.5 hours have been conducted. These interviews are being taken to comprehend and clarify observations made during the different types of sales. They also help understand how the crystal business works and the narratives used by the various communities. Participants are being selected using snowball sampling technique, starting with the initial contacts from the principal investigator. In addition, a few sellers who are quite popular in the crystal community were reached out to and the process of conducting more personal interviews is ongoing. Before administering these interviews, detailed discussion guides were prepared for interviewing the sellers. These were modified and tailored according to whether the sellers belonged to the geological or metaphysical communities.

Finally, field notes are also being recorded right from the time of lurking. These include observations and thoughts during live, story, and feed sales and after personal interviews as well. So far approximately 40 hours of field-work observations over a period of almost 6 months from 10th July 2020 to 31st December 2020 have been completed. Next thematic analysis is being done using the method of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) to produce the findings. An emic-etic approach is being used, going back and forth between data collection and relevant literature (Whitaker, 2017). Followed by this, 'constant comparison' method is being used along with 'axial coding' to arrive at concepts. Finally by looking at the interrelationship among the concepts, core categories will be arrived at (Goulding, 2005).

As far as the ethical concerns are considered, one important factor is whether any information published by a user online can be considered as public data and used for research. Another point of concern is that fact that whether the 'real pseudonym' of an individual who has publicly published any information can be used in research. Lastly, copyrights issue when using images, texts, etc. posted by someone else in the research paper (R. V. Kozinets et al., 2014). Some recommendations include using pseudonyms for archival data (R. V. Kozinets et al., 2014), revealing researcher's identity online, and acquiring informed consent of individuals when their comments,

etc. will be directly quoted (R. Kozinets, 2002). The ethical concerns are being taken care of by carrying out the research according to the different steps enlisted for proper conduct of a netnography (R. Kozinets, 2002).

Preliminary Findings

Building Connections and Communities

Instagram as a platform for sales and purchase not just facilitates the economic activity but also leads to the formation of different types of communities and networks. This is due to its very nature of being used as social commerce platform unlike e-commerce platforms. Sarah a mineral dealer said during her interview: "I, I think that sense of community with Instagram has been something really positive. So like the the interaction level with my followers like you know, we will have conversations in chat on Instagram, whereas like Etsy, it's just a transaction. You know, it's like just. They've already put in their credit card their address. Is there an? I mean, that's really nice as a supplement for the business, 'cause it's kind of low maintenance, but the community about you know appreciating a rock or like kind of like having a live where it's fun to interact with people 'cause they're kind of. You know, talking to you about things. It's it's a lot. I think that's a really big value. And Instagram is just kind of the group of people that come together there." It is through the accumulation of social capital (Bourdieu, 1986) that the sellers especially sustain their business.

Prajin a crystal seller expressed during his interview: "And I mean other people have supported me are other shops. You know, other shops we will do like collaboration, sometimes. And that's mutually beneficial, because then they I get to know their audience and their audience gets to know me and my audience gets to know, you know" During the interactions among the sellers and the buyers during live sales, story sales, and feed sales a 'conso-ciality' (R. Kozinets, n.d.) is observed . The crystal and mineral collectives act as a site for sociability. Peter, another mineral dealer mentioned in his interview: "I mean, sure, part of it is selling them stuff. But part of it is just developing a friendship and a little bit of relationship and getting getting to know them." Thus the crystal market on Instagram is socially 'embedded' (Polanyi 2001). According to Karl Polanyi, "The term 'embeddedness' expresses the idea that the economy is not autonomous, as it must be in economic theory,

but subordinated to politics, religion, and social relations” (Polanyi 2001, xxiii-xxiv). We can note in the above examples how networking has helped build social ties. This makes the individual experience of selling and purchasing of crystals and minerals more of a collective activity. Through the formation of diverse collectives there emerges a virtual marketing system for crystal sales.

Meaning Making of Crystals Based on Personal Beliefs

There are a wide number of communities on Instagram such as those who believe in the metaphysics of crystals, the geological properties of crystals, the aesthetics, those who view crystals as culture, and so on, the same material is perceived differently by different people.

For example, Madison a mineral dealer said: “Umm I think is a combination of both. Because quite often I mean I’ll be attracted to really ugly stuff. It I’m just attracted to it and I’m like Oh my God, I get lost in there just by looking at it but it’s really ugly. But it’s so cool, energetically, oh, this is really neat and it. And if you think about how it formed and all the components, and things like that, so it’s it’s both.” And with respect to her partner she said: “My husband is of American Indian descent so and he’s always followed that shamanistic type path. So it’s part of his culture.” Moreover, Peter mentioned: “. . . the high end of the market, the very high end, and this is where a small number of very wealthy people have entered the hobby and they’re really viewing minerals as art. They’re viewing minerals as nature’s art and it’s all about aesthetics.”

This often leads to conflicts between the communities and among the community members to since the beliefs and meanings are subjective. This conflict in the meanings created by social groups of different standpoints is what is termed as ‘traffic in things’ (Jackson, 1999). For example, the relation between the geological and metaphysical community is conflicting. On one hand, the geological community considers itself to be superior to the metaphysical community since the latter is considered as being illogical.

Madison said: “We have a difference between the mineral community and the metaphysical community. Often the mineral site sites, particularly the higher end places and places where we can get really nice mineral specimens. They sort of look down their noses at people that believe in the metaphysical. OK, it’s an old science — metaphysical thing. You know science will never get over the fact that you know will happen. Science didn’t

believe gorillas existed until a scientist saw it. Even though the people were telling them it existed forever, you see what I'm saying? So there's so many things I believe about the energy of crystals that will be proven eventually, but at this particular point in time we can't. As well as the mind. Then those capabilities for different types of perceptions and you know, and whether that is seeing into other dimensions, or whether that you know there's all these components of the metaphysical that are. You know there's foundations in science, it just hasn't been proven though. So back to the whole need in the market. There is this like I said, you have these mineral collectors and they all look down their noses. There's all these sites where for identification and things like that that the the site owners basically say. You know, I'm sorry if you mention metaphysical, we're going to ban you." On the other hand, there are also communities who try to look at crystals as whole and focus on both the spiritual aspects as well as the chemical components. Moreover, since crystals are geological forces there is agreement from both communities that they are a component of the Earth and hence should be treated with utmost care. According to Peter: "So for me, for a mineral to be really interesting. It's not just about the aesthetics, I mean the aesthetic and the beauty is part of it, but I have to be able to understand the Science, the history, the human part, the geology, you know all of that together, taken together, is what makes it interesting." The examples once again clearly show how this virtual marketing system of crystals is very cultural and social and hence macro. Although individuals make various meanings out of the same objects, they come together as communities and consocial ties based on the similarities within the diversity.

Crystal Purchase as Investment for the Future

Crystals are often seen as investments for the long term. Sometimes this notion is used as a justification for the continuous purchase of the crystals. For instance, Peter said: "But say that if you're spending say, if you are spending a 100 or 200,000 US dollars, on a mineral specimen, guess what? Part of that is it is an investment. It is a financial instrument. It's like buying a house or a car or a boat or whatever." When there is too much of accumulation of the crystals, they are used by buyers often to start a new crystal business of their own.

Peter himself is one such person in the transition stage and he said: "And in

the past I've always really sold stuff. I've never really 'kept' that for that long for myself. So now I'm starting again as a mineral dealer on my own and I'm selling my collection. . . " – Peter Although crystals are often seen as invaluable possessions, monetarily they are seen as good investments. This finding seems to hint at how crystals and minerals can be viewed as economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). For example, James a crystal buyer and who recently started working at a wholesale crystal shop said: "Oh it's totally an investment. You know you'll purchase like at my wholesale shop. You purchased it really cheap and be able to like if you wanted to turn around and double the price, you know. And then Larimar, for example, it keeps getting more and more expensive because it keeps getting rare and rare. So if you got nice piece of Larimar in like 10 years, it's gonna be triple the value right? And so if you wanted to sell it here, but you know, like this is for me and like a personal affection, I'm not gonna sell it."

Trust Formation to Overcome Risks of Online Transaction

Online purchase is often considered as risky since the physicality of the purchase process is absent, and hence trust becomes an important factor. Trust is built based on the interactions among the community members, the payment mode, and the seller's authentic personality (Chen, Wang, et al., 2016; Hung et al., 2018; Lu et al., 2010). James said: "Through the community that they have built around them. You know? Like if I'm buying from someone who doesn't have like a lot of people in the room or something I bought from them because I've either had this this face to face conversation with them, or we've had a long chat in Instagram like Messenger or I met them in another crystal live sale room and we've talked or something, and I've talked to that person who was selling crystals. These are just all examples of how I've purchased crystals before with lives" Sarah during her interview said: "But, you know, if anybody is concerned, I always tell them about this PayPal guarantee and I've had a couple of people that are a little nervous for their first time buying from me buying online, but we've been it's been fine."

Animism and Anthropomorphisation of Crystals

Crystals are often seen to be having a life of their own especially by the members of the metaphysical community. As James shared: "You know, like whenever I come into that communion with a crystal, so I ask it then if it wants to come with me, you know if it wants me to be, it's its trustee, you know if it will, 'cause each of these I feel like have their own life, you know, like. They just disappear on me sometimes, like I've had crystals completely vanish and then reappear in just the most strange ways. And then I've had other crystals disappear and I still haven't seen them again. And like not lost like these like have a lot but like to them you are very valuable and they cost a lot. So it's it's just. It's the whole thing, like really acknowledging the crystal as almost. Almost another living object, just that it's it's something more you know. I love observing that." The risk of purchasing online is seen to be reduced since the crystals communicate whether they want to be purchased or not. As James again said: "Well, like for me because I don't like I can see so you know, for me there's not. There's of course there's a difference whenever you touch it and it is in your room and s stuff. There is a difference. But again like I just said like when you see it, if you know you know because it's still about what I was talking about earlier that communion you're having with the crystal that conversation. If the crystal wants to come with you, it's letting you know as soon like before like it's already saying, 'hey, take me', before you even enter the Instagram live sale." The crystals are even compared to humans and thought to be given respect since they have historically been on Earth longer than humans. James during his interview mentioned: "Yeah, there there are little things you know, like it's not the right size. Or maybe it's a slightly different color, but again, it's just. It's not even about that because the crystals its own individual. You know it's like it's like as if you were judging another person. And it's like I don't like you because of your color. No? I mean, I don't like you because you're small. No, you're just a crystal, you just not exactly, I thought you were, but now you're this."

Moreover, Prajin said: "Well, I don't. I don't know if it. I think it makes a difference if the people who are not metaphysical are treating crystals in a way that is disrespectful. So if you don't believe that they have metaphysical qualities that's fine with me. But I. I'm totally OK with that. Because I realize it's a big stretch for many people, but that's not. It's a very niche sort of thing. So, that that's fine, but if you treat them with if you're not respecting them and just kind of seeing them as a source of income and you just not

really honoring what. You know, even honoring just the basic level of what they are of something that has been formed by the Earth through chaos and order in this dynamic way. And to not respect that and to not hold it in a high regard the way you would you know something else in your home.” This aspect demonstrates how the crystals are encoded with a meaning such that they are seen to be having a social life and the ability to mediate social relations (Appadurai, 1986; Blumer, 1986).

Discussions

The current study contributes to macromarketing literature by analysing the nature and role of Instagram as a marketplace. It describes how Instagram acts as a virtual marketing system within which there are formations of diverse networks which co-create diverse meanings out of the same objects. The paper acts as an example of how the symbolic interactionist perspective functions. It is evident how the accumulation of social capital (Bourdieu, 1986) has led to consociality (R. Kozinets, n.d.). Instagram does not have the facility for the formation of large groups where public discussions can happen. Rather with respect to the crystal buyers and sellers too, frequent interactions happen during the live sales, direct messages, and comments on posts through which consocial relations (R. Kozinets, n.d.) are formed. Moreover, the social capital (Bourdieu, 1986) is one of the key elements which leads to the formation of trust between the buyers and the sellers (Chen, Wang, et al., 2016; Hung et al., 2018; Lu et al., 2010). The process of crystal and mineral sales is more than just a commercial process. There are elements of sociability (Simmel, 1949) because for trust to be formed the seller’s authentic personality is required to be showcased. This also draws back to the fact of how the crystal and mineral market showcases ‘embeddedness’ (Polanyi 2001).

In addition, through the process of selling and buying the movement of the crystals definitely mediate the social (Appadurai, 1986). For instance, because the same object is looked at differently by different collectives, there is conflict among them. However, taken as a whole, there seems to be life in the crystal itself because of its long history, the chemical composition, the aesthetics, the spiritual essence in it, and so on.

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STIRPAT For Macromarketing Education

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The environment is in crisis – and quick action is necessary to avoid permanent catastrophic environmental damage. As such, it is important for students to be exposed to relevant macromarketing views of sustainability. Yet, macromarketing by nature is complex – dealing with important and wicked problems (Wooliscroft, 2016). Bringing macromarketing into the classroom to help students see the big picture of marketing is no easy task. Kilbourne and Thyroff (2020) recently introduced the concept of STIRPAT (derived from IPAT) to the business literature, which helps quantify marketing’s impacts on the environment through the measure of population, affluence, and technology. STIRPAT is unique in that it allows for “populations, workers, consumers, markets, producers and scientists to see their role in the impact of the carbon footprint” (p. 360). This research assesses the impact of using STIRPAT in the classroom as an educational tool.

Specifically, through an exploratory study (n=25) it was determined that the STIRPAT conceptualization helped to illuminate the various sources of environmental externalities throughout the marketing system. Further, students were drawn to the quantitative explanatory power of STIRPAT and that students would prefer working through a hands-on activity to learn about

STIRPAT. A between-subjects classroom experiment (n=115) with two conditions (STIRPAT learning activity versus other learning activity) measured actual knowledge, perceived knowledge, value impact, environmental concern, and environmental behavior. Findings revealed actual knowledge ultimately contributes to environmental concern and environmental behavior – albeit indirectly through perceived knowledge and value impact. As such, educators should continue to implement activities that help increase student’s actual knowledge, as it will ultimately impact their environmental concern and behavior.

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Has the Mens Razor completed a Sustainable Cycle?

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This abstract considers the possibility of the Sustainable Cycling of a product category — using the case study of the mens razor. Mens razors have gone from;

1. the cut throat, or straight razor
2. the safety razor
3. the cartridge multi-blade safety razor (2, 3, 4, 5 blades) with or without batteries and or moisturising strips
4. disposable razors (various numbers of blades)
5. electric razors (rotary or foil).

While technology has deskilled male razoring, it has clearly increased the environmental cost of shaving (see Table 1).

This a counter revolution quietly underway, that may lead to a new norm in this product category — and with potential insights for other products and their sustainability.

Table 1: Razor technology, Skill and Sustainability

Type	Skill	Sustainability
Cut throat	High	High
Safety Razor	Medium	High
Cartridge razors	Low/Medium	Very Low
Cartridge Razors with vibration	Low	Very very Low
Disposable razors	Low/Medium'	Very Low
Electric Razors	Very Low	Low

The History of Male Shaving

Male shaving was originally undertaken with an open blade, typically by a skilled barber. The open blade evolved to the cut throat razor, an extremely sharp blade administered by a barber or by the man being shaved.

The essence of the modern safety razor was invented by King Gillette in the late 19th Century (Baldwin, 1951; Jewkes et al., 1969). It represented a break through in reducing the skill needed to shave. The idea of the protected blade with an angle guide has been at the heart of safety razors, and their non-electric relatives, ever since. Gillette the brand, part of Proctor and Gamble, to this day is a dominant player in mens shaving.

With the safety razor men could shave at home. Maintaining the sharp edge on a razor blade ceased to be part of the skill set required for shaving, as blades are used, then disposed of (ideally through recycling). Safety razors use razor blades that are made of one material only, which is easy to recycle. The handle should last a lifetime. Given the number, and popularity of vintage safety razor handles, it would appear that they will last more than one life time.

Gillette, the brand, was also influential in the development and popularising of cartridge razors. Cartridge razors use plastic, rubber and metal bonded together, frequently with moisturising strips. Cartridges are near impossible to separate for recycling. Cartridge razors and disposable razors dominate the mens shaving market in most countries.

Cartridge razors have handles that click together, in a proprietary manner, with the cartridges. Typically the handle is low priced or free. The handle won't work with other brands of cartridges and the customer is faced with buying a new handle if they want to change systems.

Gillette stopped manufacturing a safety razor in preference for cartridge razors and disposable razors, with higher lifetime cost and predictable re-purchase cycles (Meyer, 1997). Considerable effort went into insuring that handles and cartridges were not interchangeable to increase switching costs (Sternitzke, 2017), while giving the appearance of technological advancement (Cooper et al., 1973).

Some handles have a vibrating function to 'ease the blade through the hair'. This adds the environmental cost of batteries to the razor. The companies that make cartridge razors also make spray foam/gel shaving cream, a product shipped in a tin that also combines multiple materials making recy-

cling problematic.

Electric razors require exceedingly low skill, but in spite of their cost, are not items for life. Components must be replaced regularly and the typical life of an electric razor is not long, typically less than a decade. Electric razors often appear to be the default for shaving. The low skill required to use an electric razor means that they are an easy option. But, electric razors all require replacement cutters and/or foils, generally yearly.

Shaving, both male and female, is a multi-billion dollar industry, with considerable environmental costs. The profit associated with shaving has attracted competition (Alberti & DeFanti, 2019). It also represents time and energy spent, frequently, daily with the potential to cause skin problems (Cowley & Vanoosthuyze, 2012, 2016).

New Sustainable Shaving

A number of companies have never stopped producing safety razors. Mercur, a German company, is one of the best known. Other major manufacturers include; Parker, Feather, Muhle, Edwin Jagger. A host of boutique small brands offer aesthetically pleasing/collectable razors made of special metals or with particular finishes and often with heads from the major manufacturers. The head, that holds the razor blade, is one of the most precise items in a normal household.

Shaving brushes, soaps and after shaving creams are similar with some companies having manufactured throughout the changes in shaving fashion, and now finding a growing demand and growing competition.

There remains a buoyant market for the cut throat razor, with two major options; 1) the traditional blade that is sharpened, and 2) the straight blade razor with disposable insert (all metal razor blade).

The ‘new’ safety razor

Platforms like Kickstarter have enabled companies to communicate their point of difference with relatively low costs before going to full production (Smith, 2019). The new safety razor has been sold on a number of key points:

- a better shave — one blade reduces irritation when shaving compared to multiple blade razors

- a cheaper shave — razor blades are very cheap compared to cartridges (cents vs dollars). Razor cartridges are one of the most stolen items in NZ supermarkets.
- a shave with less impact on the environment.

Companies like Oneblade, Rockwell Razors and others have raised millions of dollars providing old technology to new customers.

Motivations for shifting to the 'new' safety razor might include:

- Cost. Razor blades cost less than 10cents each, with a higher upfront cost for the handle. See Figure 2
- Shave quality. Single blade razors reduce irritation and ingrown hairs.
- Nostalgia. A skill from an earlier time.
- Masculinity. A 'real' man runs a sharp blade across his face to shave (Withey, 2013). The tension between beard and shaving as signs of masculinity has played out through a number of fashion cycles.
- Sustainability. Recycling blades and not replacing handles leads to a lower environmental lifetime cost of shaving.

Gillette fighting back

Gillette recently 'innovated' with sustainable cardboard packaging (<https://www.gillette.com/en-us/science/sustainable-cardboard-packaging/>). The product within remains hard to recycle with high environmental costs.

Indicative of the importance of the shift to sustainable safety razors was Gillette releasing a safety razor in 2020 (apparently with a German manufactured head). Gillette, inventors of the safety razor, could no longer ignore the competition from sustainable safety razor companies. After an initial 'limited' release was repeatedly sold out the new Gillette has become a standard item in their offering.

Discussion

Shaving is a routine that has significant impacts on income, time, comfort, the environment and, potentially, shavers' sense of self. It is frequently ignored as

Figure 1: Male shaving sustainability versus skill

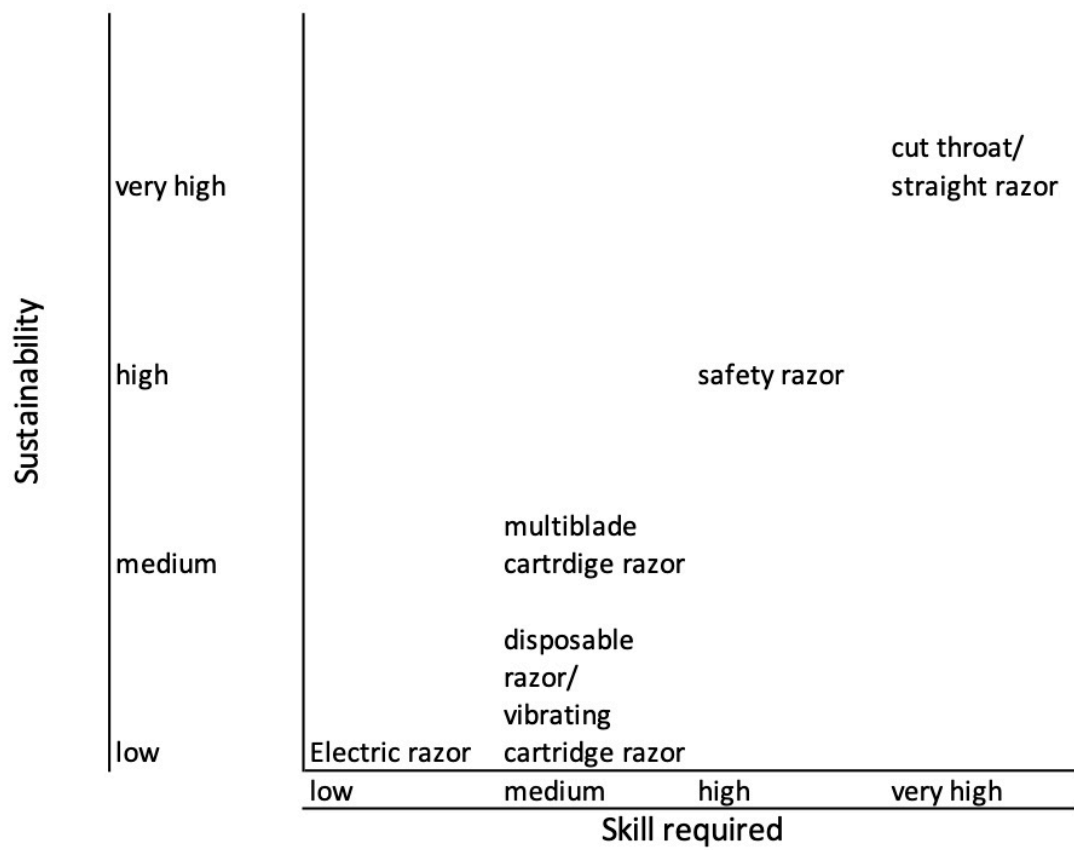
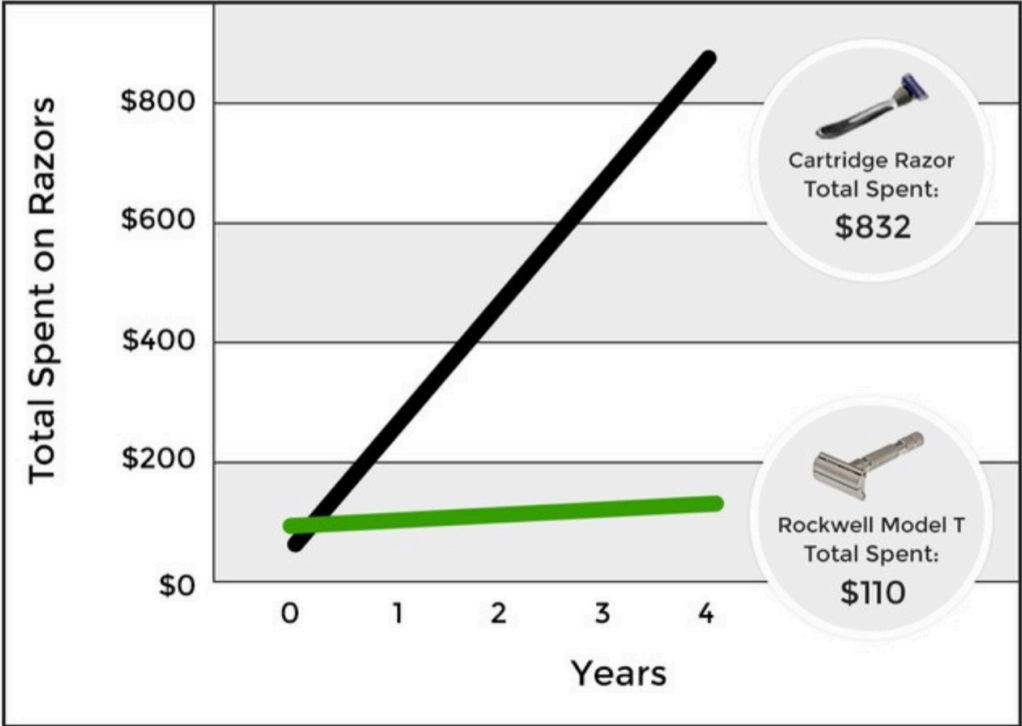


Figure 2: Promotional material for Rockwell Razors regarding lifetime cost

Rockwell
RAZORS®

CARTRIDGES vs
THE ROCKWELL T2



a mundane, irrelevant, part of male life, but the collected costs demand attention. The current movement in the shaving market also provides hope that a sustainable product cycle will continue, and that it might provide a framework for other product categories.

Why would we care about a sustainable cycle of a product category? What can we learn that might be applied to more impactful product categories, such as mobility? Will we see mobility cycling from walking, bicycling, public transport to car driving, particularly sole occupant car driving, back to walking, bicycling and public transport. If we are to achieve our climate goals we will have to.

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COVID-19 Governance Regime in India and Consumer Identity Work

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Introduction

With the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, our sense of security, order, and predictability in the world was significantly and suddenly disrupted. Whilst we are still too close to the COVID-19 outbreak to understand what future it bears; it is crucial to articulate how COVID-19 governance may have impacted an individual's identity. Identity, the way to define who we are in relation to the surrounding world, is formed and evolves as we negotiate with an array of cultural discourses, social roles, and subject positions (Cohen, 2013). Identity also comprises past selves, future selves, perceived selves, and desired selves, each informing us of who we are in relation to others (Peetz & Wilson, 2008).

Scholars demonstrate that governance regimes shape identities (Giesler & Veresiu, 2014; Moonesirust & Brown, 2019; Shamir, 2008). With demanding lifestyles, superimposed responsibilities, and institutional rhythms, identity often becomes one of acceptance, conformity, or just getting along (Cherrier & Murray, 2007). Yet, in times of crisis or large social problems, governance regimes can shift responsibility from political institutions to individual agents

(Giesler & Veresiu, 2014). Through a process of responsabilization, consumers are co-opted into a solution to social problems and adopt behaviours and conducts that are desirable by those in power through freedom of choice rather than obedience (Giesler & Veresiu, 2014; Shamir, 2008). Scholars have also shown that consumers may be “complicit in their own subjection, engaging in identity work to formulate, maintain, adapt and repair selves in ways consonant with and supportive of the regime of power in which they are embedded” (Moonesirust & Brown, 2019, p. 2). Consumers may thus accept but also reject or reformulate their subject positions (Moonesirust & Brown, 2019).

Given that macro marketing explores complex systems of interactions between marketing and society (Dixon, 1984; Meade & Nason, 1991), it will be interesting to explore the context of Covid-19 pandemic from a macro marketing perspective to foster a greater understanding of the types of identities that were encouraged, shaped, but also reformulated or resisted due covid-19 governance regimes. Previous macro marketing literature has discussed the role of identity in various contexts like impact of bio power and discipline on employee identity (Moonseirust et.al 2019), motivation behind entrepreneurs in underground markets challenging existing systems (Klein, 2017), volunteer motivation in the social welfare sector (Laverie & McDonald, 2007), stigmatized consumption, among others (Geiger-Oneto & Simkins, 2018). While identity has been explored in varied contexts in the macro marketing literature, the governance regimes in shaping identities during a major crisis like the COVID-19 pandemic has been less explored.

In this paper we investigate the role of governance regimes in shaping consumer identity work. We use the context of India as the country was particularly affected by the COVID-19 pandemic in terms of death tolls (Pal & Yadav, 2020). Our analysis reveals five dominant identities that have emerged since COVID-19 virus first struck India in March 2020: Rational, Defiant, Nationalistic, Stigmatized & Altruistic. Each of these identities demonstrate consumers engaging in identity work to “formulate, maintain, adapt and repair selves” (Moonesirust & Brown, 2019, p. 2) when confronted to governance regimes deployed in times of a crisis.

Literature Review

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

In identity theory, the core of an identity lies in relating oneself to a role and thereafter adopting the associated thoughts, expectations and behavior patterns (Burke & Tully, 1977; Thoits, 1983). These sets of expectations and meanings can be termed as standards that guide the conduct of a given identity (Burke & Reitzes, 1981). An important component of identity is the nature of relationship between persons and resources that sustain those persons and their interactions (Freese & Burke, 1994). Overall, these studies emphasize that identities reflect the individual's assigned roles and meanings imparted by a structured society (McCall & Simmons, 1978; Stryker, 1968; Turner et al., 1987).

However, drawing on Foucault's governmentality, research shows that individual's identities are increasingly shaped by governance regimes. Governance regimes do not just mobilize political institutions but govern through "an assemblage of networks, authorities, groups, individuals, and institutions" and use "persuasion, rhetoric, and intrigue" (Rose et al., 2006, p. 9) to moralize individual agents. Individuals can however be complicit in their own subjugation under certain situations; they create identities to protect their idea of self while aligning themselves with the establishments in authority (Foucault, 1977; Grey, 1994). Our study complements and extends this existing understanding of identity work by analysing the emergence of identities in response to a governance regime deployed during a crisis like the pandemic. The distinct identities that emerged in response to COVID-19 governance deployed in the Indian society demonstrate that consumers respond to governance regimes in different ways. Many conflicting governance discourses that emerged during the crisis, were absorbed by the people as per their pre-existing experiences, convictions and beliefs. Ultimately, identities that became discernible during the crisis were a synthesis of a variety of factors, both internal and external to an individual. The complex interactions within an individual amongst personal fears, beliefs and experiences, societal groups, attitude towards the establishment, trust in medical advice and need for sustenance resulted in a variety of identities. Fear of contracting the disease due to irrational behaviour of certain social groups, frustration due to prolonged lockdowns, starkness of the economic divide that was very visible in miseries suffered by a significant number of people, fear of over dominance by the government and the evident need for greater national self-reliance in science, health and economic matters, were major factors that fostered different types of identities. Willing compliance, defiance, altruism,

stigmatization of others and enhanced sense of nationalism were some of the behavioural traits that came to the fore.

Methodology

The Context: COVID-19 governance in India

COVID-19 governance has shattered our sense of security in the world. Scholars have emphasized the unpredictability of the COVID-19 pandemic and governments being unsure of the nature and consequences of the crisis. In India and many other countries, the governance regime resorted to draconian lockdowns that disrupted modern supply chains including those for sustenance goods (Veetil & Anand, [n.d.](#)). Indian households were suddenly forced into confinement and denied choices, children were compelled to adapt to homeschooling that lacked personal interactions and outdoor activities, industries and businesses were shut down and labor markets disrupted, transportation of all types were denied and families remained separated, everyone was forced to forego recreational and leisure activities etc. Everyone was compelled to accept consumption of stringent safety practices that included wearing of safety gear like masks, shields, PPE, etc. Cultural and religious congregations that often foster a sense of collective power over circumstances and wellbeing were banned (Krishnan, [2021](#)). Social media was almost the only place where an individual could derive a sense of collective comfort and empowerment (Trifonova, [2020](#)).

Data Collection and Analysis

Data were collected during the first covid 19 wave in India from March 2020 to February 2021. Drawing on Thompson, Locander, and Pollio ([1989](#)), we conducted phenomenological interviews. Due to the spread of Covid-19, and lockdown imposed in India it was not possible to do face-to face interviews. Hence in-depth telephonic interviews were conducted for the study. While conducting interviews we followed open probing (Creswell, [1994](#)). Interviews lasted between 30 and 75 min. The interviewers began by informing the respondents of the purpose of the study and sought consent to participate and to record. Notes were taken during the interviews and were rewritten immediately as field notes after the completion of the interview. For an-

alyzing the data, we applied coding techniques and the process of coding was manual. After that, themes and subthemes were established by categorizing the codes for their similarities. Thematic analysis was chosen because it was flexible to address the entire text as a potential unit of analysis and its ability to extract codes and themes (Braun et al., 2019). The grounded framework analysis is still in progress. The purposive sampling method (Bryman, 2008) was used to select the study participants. We managed to interview forty-two people from India who belonged to diverse geographical locations and socio-economic backgrounds. The process of interviewing began in March 2020 and went on till February 2021. The study is still in progress and has thus far completed a preliminary analysis of the data collected

Preliminary Findings

There were certain dominant identities that were discernible during the analysis. These identities were the complex end result of the tensions faced, positive or the negative experiences and the crisis narrative chosen by the individual. While there were a few individuals whose identity was a combination of two or more of the under-mentioned identities, there were also individuals who displayed only one dominant identity.

Rational Identity

Previous studies have specified the connection between moral responsibility and personal identity, and have also offered an account of personal identity which can adequately ground and justify the practice of holding persons responsible for their behavior (Glannon, 1998). During the pandemic, authorities mandated certain practices that were required to be followed by citizens in order to ensure individual and collective safety of the society against the virus. A section of the society acted morally responsible by following all regulations diligently to ensure their own as well as society's safety, they made sure there are no negative consequences of their actions. People who displayed this type of identity coped with the crisis in a rational manner by adhering to all lockdown and consumption restrictions willingly. This category self-denied certain consumption practices and willingly consumed materials like masks, gloves, shields etc required for protection from the virus. This category was generally well provided for, better connected digitally and more informed

about the nature of the pandemic and developments around the world. They followed all safety precautions scrupulously both during the lockdown and after the lockdowns when restrictions began to ease. As illustrated by Mrs. Sharma, a secondary school teacher, 'We are satisfied by the confinement measures, they are very good. I believe in maintaining the distance, wearing masks and everything. After I come home every day, I wash my legs and everything outside the pipe, get inside and have a bath. And will not use the cloth and just put it for the wash'

Defiant Identity

It has previously been established that human societies are at a risk of collapsing without people being held responsible for their actions (Slors, 2000). During our analysis it was discovered that a certain section of the society defied the safety norms that were established to counter the spread of the virus, jeopardizing both their own and society's safety. The people with defiant identity were generally the skeptics and those who already had an unfavorable opinion of the establishment. They soaked in all the contra-narratives about the crisis and doubted everything that the government did. Availability of plenty of contradictory narratives from both mainstream and social media sources about the virus, from seemingly authentic sources or experts, weakened their covid narrative and made them question the legitimacy of the situation. Under defiant normalization the person tended to either trivialize or negate the entire covid narrative. Individuals with Defiant identity denied the severity of the situation and some of them openly defied the safety norms and consumption related to these safety norms. This category also refused to accept restrictions on their usual consumption patterns as illustrated by Mrs Geeta 'My friends, none of them are so worried about the virus, their daughters and sons are going out to cafes'. One of the reasons why this happened was because people began to experience pandemic fatigue resulting from being confined to restricted spaces with Covid-19 stressors such as no socialization, no consumption of recreational activities, etc. They were frustrated with the restrictions on their consumption and wanted to break free as mentioned by Sarah, an undergraduate student 'For how many days can you be locked down, how many days can you sit at home, I just feel they should open colleges by now, we need to get out and resume our lives.. I feel people going out right now to restaurants etc should not be

judged either, there is a limit to which you can stop yourself

Nationalistic Identity

Past research has shown that national identity is defined not only from within, namely from the features that fellow-nationals share in common but also from without, that is, through distinguishing and differentiating the nation from other nations or ethnic groups (Rusciano, 2003). In alignment with previous literature, our study also highlighted that national identity becomes meaningful only through the contrast with others Rusciano (2003) as many individuals developed a very strong sense of national pride after having had an opportunity at home to observe rapid Indian medical advancements at par with leading countries of the world. National Identity was very closely related to the increased medical equipment manufacturing, augmentation of medical infrastructure and vaccine development. As Dr Raj illustrates 'What India has done in this past year is worth 10 years of work' Emotional involvement of the population with the development and production of the indigenous vaccines like covishield and covaxin was seen to be very high (Viswanath, 2021). In India, the issues of vaccine development and intervention, merged the idea of national identity and one's self-identity which acted as one of the strongest motivators for people to consume vaccines. Many people willingly accepted the consumption of vaccines because of the element of national pride. They derived a value of pride out of that vaccine consumption which made them feel good as a citizen. As Dr Raj and Mr Trivedi illustrated "What India has done in this past year is worth 10 years of work", "What the country has achieved in this limited time is absolutely commendable, this is an extremely proud moment for us. . . " — Mr Trivedi

Stigmatized Identity

Stigmatization in the past has been defined as the devaluation of an individual's identity who satisfies certain criteria and their exclusion from various kinds of social interactions (Kurzban & Leary, 2001). Previous research has established that a person's experience of stigmatization has important ramifications for the manner in which she engages with life in general and consumption in particular (Ruivo & Belk, 2013). Initially because of the fear of the unknown there was considerable stigmatization against people who

had contracted covid or who were considered to be possible carriers. People with the virus were perceived to be guilty of some transgression and worthy of being isolated as highlighted by an NGO worker working throughout the lockdown for the migrant labourers who denied the right to live in his own house 'My neighbors told me to vacate the house, they said they could not risk me living there as I went out everyday to work'. There was also increased hostility and stigmatization towards strangers and groups as shared by Mrs Rita, an Indian origin professor at a foreign university who had come to visit India to meet her ailing parents. Her neighbours had built a wall in front of her door so that she couldn't step out and engage in any kind of activity, 'They locked me up because they thought I was a covid threat, I simply didn't know what to do. . . .I was so scared, I had no food in my house. . . after many requests they created small hole through the wall and my cousin gave me food from that hole'. She mentioned that even after working so long abroad she had kept her Indian citizenship and she kept visiting India several times during the year to visit her parents. She said that she always planned to come back to India after retirement but after this experience she thought that this is not her country and they don't want her here. She said that she had grown up in a patriotic household but after this experience she realized that the country does not need her back.

Altruistic Identity

When a significant number of people who were not part of the formal economy and depended on daily wages for their livelihoods, were displaced and poured onto the streets and began to walk towards their distant homes, it was a reminder to many about the stark disparities within the society. Many individuals took it upon themselves to help the disadvantaged in whatever way they could. They identified themselves as individuals who were responsible for the well-being of the underprivileged. Past research done in the area of motivation behind altruism suggests that involvement, emotions, and identity importance etc play a prominent role in determining a volunteers' dedication (Laverie & McDonald, 2007). Ngo volunteer's like Sunny, despite all the difficulties found happiness in helping the ones in need, he did not mind risking his own life to lift the underprivileged as illustrated by him 'If we don't help who will? somebody needs to take the responsibility, it feels good when people you help thank you'. . This altruism led consumption provided

an alternative to normal market led consumption. The privileged sections of the society started distributing their surplus to make sure the consumption of underprivileged sections does not suffer. In agreement with existing literature, our study discovered that altruistic factors, particularly the need to be doing something worthwhile, seem to be strong and sustainable drivers of helping behaviors (Hill, [2002](#)).

Discussion

The unanticipated and sudden surge of the COVID-19 pandemic overwhelmed the instruments of governance, medical infrastructure, markets and social structures. The result was a complex set of interactions between individuals and a radically altered macro-environment that gave rise to certain discernible types of identities. Reactions to the environment were thereafter, defined by the identities that individuals assumed for themselves. While identity is a micro concept, it is essential to explore its role from a macromarketing perspective especially during a catastrophe like the pandemic to understand the basis of behaviour that guides differing attitudes towards consumption, consumption regulations and consumption patterns.

It was observed that the pandemic's prolonged presence and uncertain nature has negatively impacted an individual's control over the situation and freedom to exercise choices in certain matters as that could harm the individual's physical well-being. Pavia and Mason ([2004](#)) have previously highlighted that consumers going through life threatening uncertain situations such as breast cancer address a part of their worry and tension through their consumer behavior. They make changes in their purchases, forgo certain purchases and try to alter their level of savings. This uncertainty impacts their overall choices on how to spend time, and their social affiliations. In our paper we try to investigate a situation where there is uncertainty about whether a person might get afflicted with the virus which had no known mode of treatment at the time it was discovered. Our study highlights how the pandemic resulted in a situation of mass uncertainty that resulted in emergence of varied identities with differing attitudes towards consumption, consumption regulations and consumption patterns.

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Multilevel Interventions for Online Pornography in The Marketplace

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This paper explores the issue of online pornography and the complex interplay between different stakeholders. The study looks beyond single actors and factors to the interrelations between them and allows for the examination of online pornography in market system terms, rather than linear variables. The paper also charts a course forward using a market systems approach to propose solutions to effect change. Using Bronfenbrenner's ecological model, the paper draws on secondary data namely media reports, policy documents and stakeholder reports to understand the complex interplay between stakeholders. Thematic analysis is used to identify ideas and patterns central to the different stakeholders and levels in the marketing system. The article provides policy makers and macro marketers with an improved understanding of the complexity of interactions between stakeholders and provides insights into the dynamic circumstances surrounding online pornography and highlights leverage points where joint actions can be facilitated with actors across and between micro, meso, exo and macro levels.

Online pornography is a pervasive consumer behaviour (Belk et al., 2020; Peter, n.d.) that can vary from passive consumption of online pornographic content to more active interactive exchange of sexual content in cybersex chat rooms (Griffiths, 2012). Within the marketing literature, studies on addictive behaviour and wicked consumption studies have focused on products such as alcohol, sugar, and tobacco (Koch & Orazi, 2017). In relation to service consumption, there are a limited number of addiction studies which have focused on gambling behaviour (e.g. Westberg et al., 2017). Despite

widespread online pornography consumption with over 120 million people routinely visiting Pornhub as part of their daily routine as at March 2020 (Pornhub, [n.d.](#)), there is scant research on online pornography consumption in the marketing literature. Gould (1992) reviews the public policy dilemma of pornography but this article was written before the prolific growth of online pornography hence the need for more up to date research on the subject of pornography, with a specific focus on online pornography.

Online pornography can be grouped under two broad categories namely normal and deviant online pornography consumption. Normal pornography consumption is legal for over eighteen-year olds in certain countries, but the laws vary from one region to another. Online pornography consumption is higher in regions where this is legal. Deviant pornography consumption is subject to criminal sanctions and includes activities such as displaying, downloading or distributing illegal material such as paedophilic images and movies, and sexual menace online (Griffiths, [2012](#); Walker & Sleath, [2017](#)). This article seeks to contribute to issues related to online pornography in marketing by answering the research question, what are the current barriers and drivers of online pornography use in the marketplace.

The research question is important because of the potential negative impact of online pornography consumption. Of all internet consumption behaviour, pornographic consumption behaviour has the greatest potential to become addictive leading to porn overuse (Meerkerk et al., [2006](#)). Poor mental and emotional health problems are the most significant effects of pornography overuse. The effects range from depression, anxiety, negative body image that can result in eating disorders, sexual violence and hypersexual disorders (Griffiths, [2012](#); Lewczuk et al., [2017](#)). These negative effects can significantly interfere with daily life and jeopardize individual and societal well-being. Pornography consumption can cause significant changes to the brain similar to brain changes seen in drug addictions (George et al., [2019](#)). Pornography consumption is also associated with more sexual partners, lowered condom use, paid-sex behaviour, extramarital sex, and substance use, all of which are risky from a public health viewpoint (Braithwaite et al., [2015](#); Esplin et al., [2020](#)). Some positive effects of pornography use have also been documented though there is a lack of consensus on the positive nature of some of the effects, such as greater sexual self-esteem which could be associated with more sexual partners (Esplin et al., [2020](#)).

The online pornography marketplace is a complex social system where

different actors and institutions actively shape the market (see Giesler & Fischer, 2017). This article will analyse the actors and institutions that shape and are shaped by the pornographic marketplace. Multiple stakeholders are involved in wicked consumption problems and the stakeholders in focus in this study include: pornography producers and marketers; electronic payment providers; not for profit organizations, media and government bodies/policymakers. The study aims to explore current perspectives and interventions in the marketplace for managing online pornography with implications for future marketing research on online pornography. The findings could also be useful for informing public policy and making proposals for further interventions. The next section covers the study context followed by a select literature review on online pornography from public policy and behavioural studies. The theoretical framework covers Bronfenbrenner's ecological model is presented next. The Method and findings precede the discussion, recommendations and research limitations.

Study context

There has been an exponential growth in internet pornography production and consumption (Fightthenewdrug 2020). There were 42 billion visits to Pornhub in 2019 (Silver, n.d.) increasing to 49 billion views in 2020 (Economist, n.d.) representing a 16.7 % year on year increase. By March 2020, there were more than 120 million people visiting Pornhub daily with over 3.5 billion monthly visits to the site. The explosive growth in pornography consumption has been fuelled by anonymity and the borderless nature of cyberspace (Alexander, 2001; Griffiths, 2012) (Fightthenewdrug 2020). The infinite array of sexually explicit material on the internet makes it easy to access large volumes of sexually explicit content, regardless of age, background or culture has also contributed to the increase in pornography popularity (Fightthenewdrug 2020; (Alexander, 2001). The growth in online pornography consumption is of concern because exposure to pornography on a young developing brain at an early age often leads to lifelong addiction to pornography (Fightthenewdrug 2020).

There has been tremendous growth in child pornography to the extent that "the sheer volume of cases of downloading child pornography has overwhelmed the police to the point that prosecutions are no longer routinely brought" (Peter, n.d.). NSPCC ChildLine in the United Kingdom carried out a

survey in 2015 among children and the findings suggest that one tenth of 12 to 13-year-olds are addicted to pornography (BBC, 2015). Further, one of the most popular porn sites, Pornhub has been under fire for hosting illegal and inappropriate pornographic content, featuring sexual assault against women and children (Nicholas, 2020). Given the widespread consumption of online pornography and the potential negative impact of pornography consumption on individual consumers and children, this study aims to explore current marketplace interventions and potential areas of further intervention for online pornography.

Literature Review

Pornography is a highly controversial subject with many arguments for and against pornography use. The arguments for a legal pornography industry include the fact that lawless action is lacking in the use of pornography (Green, 1987). The arguments against legal pornography include sympathy for pornography movie stars who are considered victims. Pornography could also drive people to commit sexual abuse crimes (Gould, 1992). This literature review explores the factors driving online pornography growth. Social, cultural and legal factors are discussed first. This is followed by technological and marketing factors.

Social, Cultural and Legal Factors in Pornography Consumption

In recent years, sexuality conversations have evolved from being a private and taboo topic to a subject for general day to day discussion. The reduced inhibitions about sex and sexuality along with the marketing of sex in consumer culture may have supported pornography growth (Gould, 1992; Griffiths, 2012). There is also the issue of pornography demarcation with normal versus deviant online pornography consumption. Normal pornography consumption is legal for over eighteen-year olds in certain countries, but the laws vary from one region to another. Online pornography consumption is higher in regions where this is legal. Deviant pornography consumption is subject to criminal sanctions and includes activities such as displaying, downloading or distributing illegal material such as paedophilic images and movies, and sexual menace online (Griffiths, 2012; Walker & Sleath, 2017). Psychosocial risk factors such as stress coping and interpersonal problems can also lead

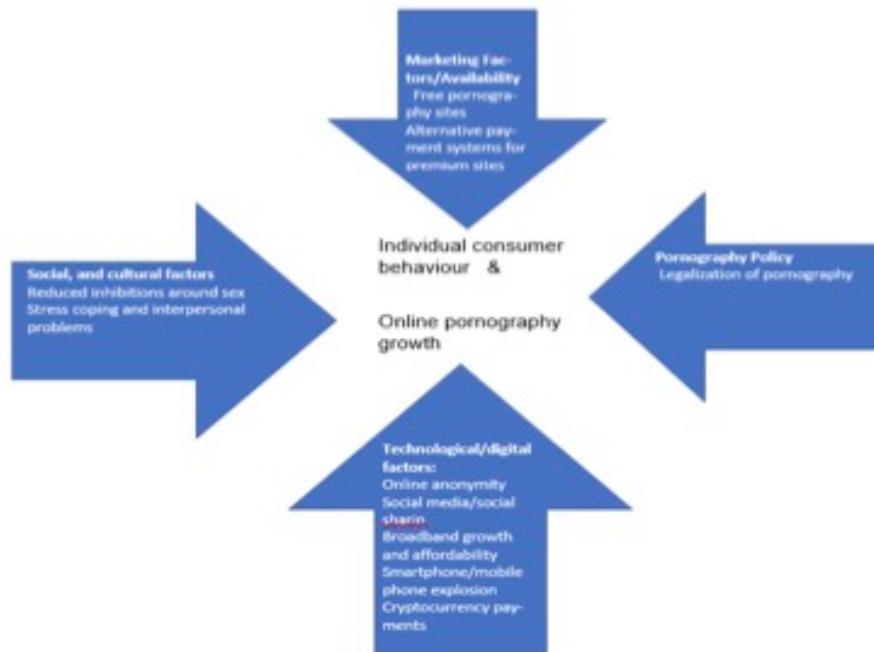
to increased online pornography use (Griffiths, 2012) Putnam 2000). Social, cultural and legal factors have contributed to the normalization of online pornography leading to increased use.

Technological and Marketing Factors and Pornography Consumption

Online anonymity can reduce the inhibition thresholds for engaging in activities that may be deemed inappropriate (Griffiths, 2012). Broadband growth and affordability have also made it easier to access online pornography. Explosion of smartphone usage and digital media such as social media have further contributed to the widespread consumption of online pornography for the following reasons: Smartphone use and social media make it possible to easily share explicit sexual content (Walker & Sleath, 2017). At least 2.19% of traffic on Pornhub is from social media sites (Similarweb, n.d.). Smartphones are convenient and ubiquitous and can be accessed anywhere. Smartphones can serve as an escape space from daily stressors helping the users to escape to virtual environments (see Griffiths, 2012).

Marketing factors such as free pornography sites that rely on advertising revenue from web traffic. Alternative payment methods for online pornographic sites such as cryptocurrencies and anonymous online payments also support the growth of online pornography (Leo, 2014). Technological and marketing factors have played a significant role in online pornography use through increased access, increased affordability and anonymity all of which drive online pornography growth. The factors discussed in this review may make online pornography more salient in the minds of individuals, leading to increased use. Given the diversity of factors that may contribute to online pornography growth, it would be useful to frame online pornography in terms of a complex dynamic system with four primary domains of pornography consumption namely: 1) Pornography availability 2) pornography policy 3) technological 3) social and cultural factors as summarised in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Primary domains of online pornography



Theoretical Framework: Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Model

Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological model emphasizes that individuals are embedded in a series of environmental systems which are interrelated. The original application of the model is for the developing person but in this article the model is applied to a market situation namely the growth of online pornography. The model seems appropriate for this context as a complex dynamic system of environmental actors and factors have led to the explosive growth of online pornography. Bronfenbrenner's ecological model would therefore be useful for examining the complex interplay between stakeholders and environmental factors, and their influence on managing pornography proliferation.

The stakeholders of interest include pornography producers and marketers; electronic payment providers; not for profit organizations, media and government bodies/policymakers. The environmental factors would include social, cultural, legal technological and marketing/industry factors. The model looks beyond single actors and factors to the interrelations between them and allows for the examination of online pornography in market system terms, rather than in terms of linear variables. Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological

models is also relevant for examining problem behaviour and has been applied in addiction studies (e.g. ManSoo and Stiffman, 2010).

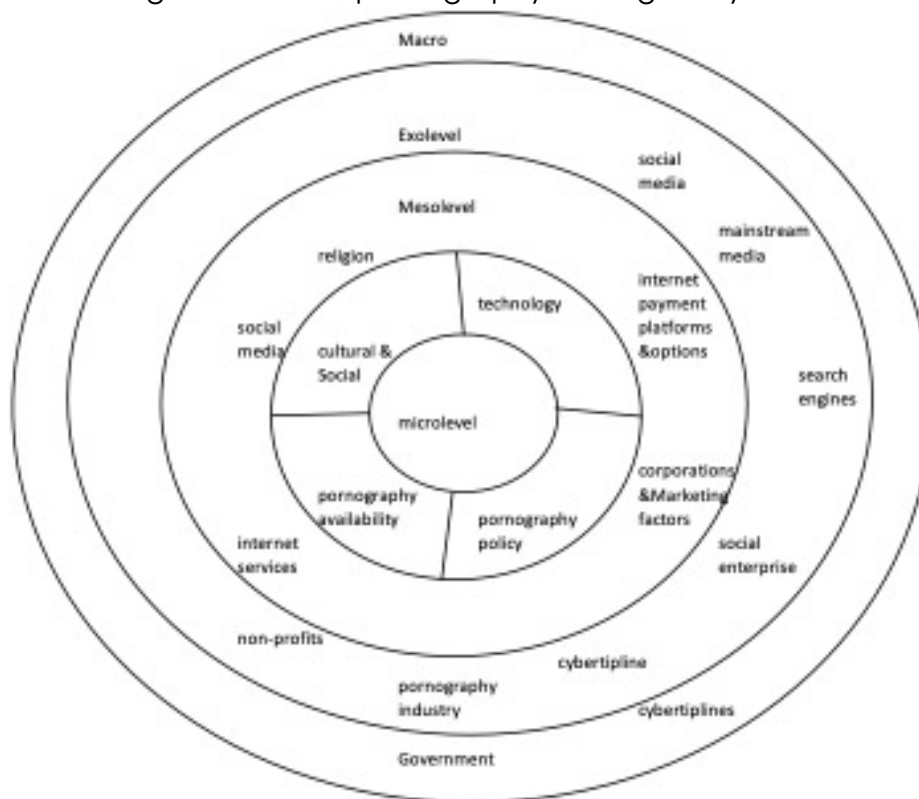
Method

Digital secondary data were selected based on purposive sampling (Creswell & Poth, 2016). The focus was on data that answered the research question "what are the current barriers and drivers of online pornography use in the marketplace"? The data collection was based on pre-set criteria (Miles & Huberman, 1994) including digital reports on pornography usage such as those from Pornhub and Statista and digital media news from reputable global media companies such as "The Economist"; "Forbes" "NYTimes" and "The BBC" covering pornography use. Other news sites such as "NBC News" came up during the search and were since the content was relevant to the research, they were also included in the data. The sampling criteria was based on the following considerations: 1) The reports from Pornhub and Statista provide a credible source of data on the scale of online pornographic use. 2) The digital media reports cover current news on pornography and also reflect and influence public views towards social issues hence the use of this data (Humphreys, 2010).

A word search using the search term "Pornography" was done on each of the following sites: "The Economist"; "Forbes"; "NYTimes"; "BBC" and "Statista." A search was also carried out on google for "Pornhub reports". The analysis followed a two-stage procedure, data systemization and data interpretation. The first step in the systemization involved analysing the news headlines/captions. According to Van Dijk (2006, p. 373) "headlines are typically used to express topics and to signal the most important information of a text and may thus be used to assign (extra) weight to events that in themselves would not be so important". A thematic approach, searching for the emergence of themes in the headlines that might be relevant to the research questions was utilized. The initial coding laid a platform for subsequent reinterpretations of the data and was instrumental in identifying key relevant concepts for theory building (Gioia et al., 2013).

The following themes were identified: "child pornography"; "regulation"; "social media"; "technological factors"; "Pornhub"; "illegal content"; "sex trafficking"; "pornography addiction"; "revenge porn"; "unverified content"; "pornography effects." The themes were linked to the literature on pornog-

Figure 2: Online pornography ecological system



raphy which reveals a complex dynamic system consisting of multiple factors responsible for online pornography growth. The iterative process between literature and data also involved a review of Bronfenbrenner’s (1979) ecological model which has been applied in studies on addiction. The computer data analysis program NVivo, was a valuable tool in exploring the breadth, depth and detail of the themes found in the study in order to develop theoretical links between themes during data analysis.

Findings

The findings provide an enhanced understanding of the complexity of interactions between stakeholders and outcomes and integrating the necessity for coordination within and across micro, meso, exo and macro levels of the system as well as across sectors, institutions and stakeholders. Figure 2 summarises the different stakeholders at the different levels of the system.

The findings emphasize the need for multi-level, multi-directional and co-

ordinated efforts which require understanding of the actions of multiple inter-related stakeholders within an interdependent, interconnected, complex system. Understanding the interactions between stakeholders and the exchange and causal exchange dynamics is required to identify strategic leverage points. Each of the levels in figure 2 is discussed in detail in the next section beginning with the microlevel, followed by the meso-level, then the exo level before concluding with the macro level.

The Micro-Level and Online Pornography

Social and cultural factors, technology, pornography policy and pornography availability are at the microlevel in figure 2. These factors were also dominant in the literature review as the four primary domains of pornography consumption as summarised in figure 1 in the literature review. Some important social factors include the normalization and availability of online pornography as illustrated in the following excerpt:

“We know from the young people who contact ChildLine that viewing porn is a part of everyday life, and our poll shows that one in five 12 to 13-year-olds thinks that watching porn is normal behaviour. . . Young people are turning to the internet to learn about sex and relationships.” she said (Pornography addiction worry for tenth of 12 to 13-year olds,(Howse, 2015))

The excerpt suggests that minors watch pornography for sex education. This may be attributable to different factors including lack of age appropriate sex education in safe environments (Pound et al., 2017). Unsolicited pornography is also a concern as ease of access and sharing on social media brings pornography to people’s online personal screens even when they are not seeking this as shown by the following excerpt:

“Surveys have shown that more than half of young people have seen online pornography by the age of 14, and that many see it without even seeking it out as links are shared on social networks.” NSPCC chief Peter Wanless said the easy availability to children of online pornography was of “deepening concern”.

... “Any action that makes it more difficult for young people to find this material is to be welcomed (Porn sites must have age checks, say Conservatives” , BBC News 04/04/2015).

According to the above excerpt, pornography policy can play an important role in reducing unsolicited access to pornography by limiting availabil-

ity. For children and adolescents, a multi-layered approach is proposed as shown in this excerpt:

“There is no single “silver bullet” solution to protecting children and adolescents from potentially harmful content and interactions in their digital lives.” said a spokeswoman. “The best solution lies in a multi-layered approach in which the parent assumes the central role.” (Porn site age-check law demanded by media regulator, BBC News 28/03/2014)

Even though the multi-layered approach proposed is aimed at children in the above excerpt, it would also be applicable to adults as the harmful effects of online pornography are not limited to children and adolescents. Pornography consumption can cause significant changes to the brain similar to brain changes seen in drug addictions (George et al., 2019) among other effects highlighted in the literature review. The growth in smartphone usage which is a technological and social factor has also impacted access and consumption of online pornography:

Mobile devices accounted for 83.7% (up 7% YOY) of all of Pornhub’s traffic in 2019 worldwide. 76.6% of that was from a smartphone, taking another chunk of traffic from tablets (down 17% YOY). Desktop and laptop computers only made up 16.3% (down 18% YOY) of worldwide traffic... YouPorn, also saw great gains in mobile as reflected on its Year In Review report (Pornhub, n.d.).

The role of mobile devices in increasing online pornography use is implied in the excerpt. The latest available data on Statista from 2005 to 2010 also indicates that, mobile porn searches for porn are higher than web searches (Katharina, 2019). The change in source of traffic is significant for online pornography growth as smartphones are ubiquitous making it easier to access pornography sites. The majority of Pornhub’s daily visitors get off on-the-go using their smartphones than all other platforms combined (Pornhub, 2016). Game consoles have also seen an increasing share of traffic to Pornhub.

Finally, it should be noted that users were accessing Pornhub and watching porn on their game consoles as well. Sony PlayStation led the pack with 51.5% of game console traffic. PS Vita, still being used for porn at least, saw a 23% YOY rise in traffic, bringing its total contribution to 9.1%. Microsoft Xbox traffic accounted for 34.7%, up 5.3% YOY (Pornhub, n.d.).

Smartphones have become part and parcel of everyday life, further supporting the explosion of online pornography. Increased mobile traffic to pornog-

ography sites is a concern that could be addressed by optimizing such sites for desktop and laptop computers and limiting mobile access through slower speeds and improper displays on smartphone. Screen accountability software such as covenant eyes (www.covenanteyes.com) could also be a useful technological tool for managing online pornography growth. Screen accountability software draws on the premise that external monitoring, by a close associate for instance by the spouse can contribute to a reduction of the probability to use pornography and/or engage in other types of online sexual behaviour (Rodda et al., [2018](#)).

The Meso-Level and Online Pornography

Corporations are at the meso-level in the ecological model in figure2. Online payment providers are an important group that can play a role in managing online pornography proliferation, particularly where the concerns are on the content of pornography, such as illegal pornographic content. The excerpt below shows how online payment providers blocked payments to Pornhub: Credit card giants Visa, Mastercard and Discover have blocked all payments to Pornhub, after the adult site was accused of being “infested” with child abuse and rape-related videos. (Sex workers say “defunding Pornhub” puts their livelihoods at risk, (Fabbri Thoma, [2021](#)))

The above excerpt suggests that corporations such as electronic payment providers can help fight illegal pornography. PayPal another online payment provider had already stopped payments to Pornhub over one year before Visa and Mastercard, in November 2019. Anonymous payments and use of cryptocurrencies however compromise the efficacy of the efforts of large corporations such as PayPal, Visa and Mastercard. Some porn sites also give all their videos away for free and sell advertising, so they don't need credit card processing (Leo, [2014](#)). Another way in which corporations could contribute to managing online pornography growth is through porn filters by internet providers. Major internet service providers use software filters that automatically block adult material unless households specifically ask for them to be turned off.

The Exo-Level and Online Pornography

Search engines and social media sites have also played a role in supporting the proliferation of online pornography as the visits to such sites generate ad revenue for platforms.

Depictions of child abuse also appear on mainstream sites like Twitter, Reddit and Facebook. And Google supports the business models of companies that thrive on child molestation. Google returns 920 million videos on a search for “young porn.” (The children of Pornhub: Why does Canada allow this company to profit off videos of exploitation and assault, The New York times 04/12/2020) The role of different corporations that provide online interfaces is also important in fighting or curbing online pornography proliferation. The pornography industry including pornography producers are at the exo-level in the proposed ecological model in figure 2. Pornographic sites such as Pornhub have almost three billion ad impressions a day that bring in millions of dollars. One ranking lists Pornhub as the 10th-most-visited website in the world (Nicholas, 2020). The industry profits from the content on their websites but is not responsible for hosting illegal content according to the excerpt below:

Sexual assaults on a 14-year-old California girl were posted on Pornhub and were reported to the authorities not by the company but by a classmate who saw the videos. In each case, offenders were arrested for the assaults, but Pornhub escaped responsibility for sharing the videos and profiting from them (Nicholas, 2020).

Following the complaint in the above excerpt, Pornhub made several changes as noted in the next excerpt: Pornhub made drastic changes. It banned downloads and deleted all videos, except those uploaded by verified users. Adult performers and producers had been campaigning for these features for years. The ability for any user to freely download and upload content had made it possible for pirated, stolen and illegal videos to proliferate, while also making sales of original content more difficult (Sex workers say “defunding Pornhub” puts their livelihoods at risk, (Fabbri Thoma, 2021)).

The above excerpt demonstrates that the pornography industry also has a role to play, particularly where illegal pornography is concerned. Some of the measures taken to curb illegal online pornography are however not well received by all the stakeholders. The article heading suggests that sex workers are not happy with the stricter controls affecting or implemented by

Pornhub. Content distributors are part of the pornography industry and in the model, they are at the exo-level. Illegal content distributors use social media to proliferate online pornography:

Distributors of child sexual abuse images are trading links to material in plain sight on platforms including YouTube, Facebook, Twitter and Instagram using coded language to evade the company's detection tools, according to child safety experts and law enforcement. At the same time, reports of child sexual exploitation activity to cybertip hotlines are up by an average of 30 percent globally, according to InHope, a network of 47 national cybertip lines (Child sexual abuse images and online exploitation surge during pandemic NBC News, 23/04/2020).

Facebook and twitter hire content moderators to combat illegal online pornographic content. The above excerpt suggests that illegal pornography content distributors have found ways of circumnavigating the content moderation. Not for profit organizations such as Internet watch as well as national help lines such as the Cybertiplines mentioned in the excerpt can be useful for reporting illegal internet content can support the fight against illegal internet activity since the social media platforms may not be able to fully police the content, especially where coded language is used.

The media is also the Exo-level in figure 2. The media can play an important role in the shaping of corporate action and public policy as illustrated by the following excerpt:

And call me a prude, but I don't see why search engines, banks or credit card companies should bolster a company that monetizes sexual assaults on children or unconscious women. If PayPal can suspend cooperation with Pornhub, so can American Express, Mastercard and Visa... pioneering reporting in 2019 by my Times colleagues has prodded Congress to begin debating competing strategies to address child exploitation (Nicholas, 2020).

The credit card companies responded to the above critique and they suspended payment services to Pornhub soon after as noted earlier. Media role of advocacy and influencing public and corporate policy emphasized in the above excerpt. The move by the credit card companies to stop payment to Pornhub may also have had an impact on consumer behaviour with Pornhub site traffic dropping by about 21% between December 2020 and January 2021 (Similarweb, n.d.). Not for profit organizations are also at the exo- level and they have been instrumental in mobilising communities and attracting media attention to the issue of online pornography:

Concerns about Pornhub are bubbling up... An organization called Traffickinghub, led by an activist named Laila Mickelwait, documents abuses and calls for the site to be shut down (Nicholas, 2020).

The petition mentioned in the excerpt is the Traffickinghub campaign, founded by Laila Mickelwait and powered by the anti-trafficking organization Exodus Cry. Exodus cry is a non-religious, non-partisan organization that seeks to hold the largest porn website in the world accountable for enabling and profiting off of the mass sex-trafficking and exploitation of women and minors (Traffickinghub.com). There are several other not for profit organizations working with pornography addicts. They include "The naked truth" and "Fight the new drug". There are also campaigns to fight pornography such as "The ChildLine Fight Against Porn Zombies (FAPZ) campaign" by the NSPCC. The excerpt also illustrates a multisectoral approach to online pornography with different stakeholders playing a role.

The Macro-Level and Online Pornography

Pornography regulation is complicated by the demarcation of legal and illegal pornography. The production and distribution of child pornography is illegal in many countries, but the distribution of adult pornography is generally legal in several countries (Akdeniz, 2008). Both forms of pornography can have harmful effects, but many policies are more focused on the content of pornography, rather than the effects of online pornography, particularly in regard to adult consumers. Different regulatory approaches for managing online pornography are discussed in the data. The first approach here is concerned with content and consent. Twenty members of Canada's Parliament have called on their government to crack down on Pornhub, which is effectively based in Montreal . . . "My solution would be to leave porn to professional production companies." because they require proof of age and consent. . . Pornhub has already destroyed the business model for pay sites." said Stoya, an adult film actress and writer. She, too, thinks all platforms — from YouTube to Pornhub — should require proof of consent to upload videos of private individuals (Nicholas, 2020).

Many governments support individual freedom of choice and therefore do not curtail the online pornography industry. There are however several regulatory concerns over online pornography including immunity of liability for executives in companies such as Pornhub. Online platforms also need to

e accountable for the content they post. Governments action against online pornography can influence online pornography use:

India moved down 12 positions from its previous third place position in 2018 partly due to the Indian government blocking access to some porn sites (Pornhub, [n.d.](#)).

The 2019 report from Pornhub indicates that India moved to 15th place in the list of top 20 countries by traffic after government intervention confirming that regulation plays an important role in managing online pornography. Other measures include slowing down internet speeds for sites with pornographic content:

Russia's media watchdog has said it is slowing down the speed of Twitter, accusing the US social media company of failing to remove 3,000 posts relating to suicide, drugs and pornography. The move was intended to protect Russian citizens, Roskomnadzor said (Russia slows down Twitter over "banned content" (News, [10/03/2021](#))).

Age checks is another important regulatory control, and these can be implemented using electronic identity verification: He said in some countries, such as Finland, there are EIDs — electronic IDs — in place. . . He told BBC Breakfast an effective age control mechanism might be the use of credit cards (Porn sites must have age checks, say Conservatives (BBC, [2015](#))) The proposal in the above excerpt is for online pornography sites to carry out age verification checks before explicit photographs and videos can be viewed. This is however difficult where alternative payment modes such as bitcoin and other anonymous online payment systems are in use (Leo, [2014](#)). The question of regulation across borders is however critical for online pornography. The EU through the GDPR has seen a measure of success in internet policy that spans across borders, as long as the data held relates to EU citizens. A similar policy initiative regarding online pornography could help manage the issues of overseas businesses that proliferate pornography and that seem out of control as they fall outside the jurisdiction of the countries where their content is downloaded. Another way in which regulation works is through financial charges:

In recent years, several U.S. states have seen legislation introduced to combat a perceived prevalence of online porn. Most recently in Hawaii and Arizona state lawmakers have brought forward bills that would charge users a one-time US\$20 fee before unblocking all internet porn. The proceeds would go towards helping the victims of sex trafficking (Katharina, [2019](#)).

Financial costs could also be used to deter online pornography as free content increases usage. For example, Pornhub gave free access to premium sites in Italy in March 2020 following the Covid 19 lockdown and traffic from Italy to Pornhub increased by 57% on March 12 suggesting that free pornography content leads to increased use (Statista, [n.d.](#)).

Discussion

Pornography consumption is a significant problem with implications for societal wellbeing. The findings suggest the need for addressing social change via multiple interacting sub-systems. The findings emphasize the need to look beyond individual pornography use to see the human collectives, actions, and choices in ever wider time and space (Duffy et al., [2016](#); Layton, [2015](#)). Interventions must consider the complex interactions between pornography users, technological advancements, marketers, policymakers, media and not for profit organizations that combine to drive or curb online pornography use. Therefore, to address the issue of growing online pornography use, rather than designing interventions directed at individuals, there is need to pursue avenues that span multiple levels of influence. Problems such as obesity (Parkinson et al., [2017](#)) have been tackled at different levels, including the funding of community level programs (Hawkes et al., [2015](#); Swinburn et al., [2013](#)), macro-level programs (Lawrence et al., [2015](#)) and social engineering (Kennedy & Parsons, [2012](#)). These initiatives aim to increase individuals' knowledge and skills, thereby empowering them to improve their lives (Parkinson et al., [2017](#)). A similar approach could be applied to online pornography use.

Complex social and marketing problems such as online pornography may require a systems approach that will identify the effects of one part of the system on other parts. Such systems can promote the development of multi-level interventions which can lead to a greater impact and eventual positive change (Domegan et al., [2016](#)). A systems approach can promote transition from interventions to sustainable dynamic change at both individual and societal level (Parkinson et al., [2017](#)).

Recommendations

This paper draws much needed attention to the importance of multi-level collaboration in identifying mutually acceptable leverage points to assist in overcoming the online pornography problem. Multi-modal, trans sectoral initiatives are required to address online pornography consumption along with an understanding of the complex interactions between variables within the system. Engagement with a range of stakeholders across sectors is necessary to create traction around the online pornography problem. Regulations play an important role in protecting consumers from the harmful effects of pornography use (Gould, 1992). Potential areas of regulation include issues such as restrictions on free pornography sites; regulations regarding advertising revenue on ad sites to reduce profitability for such sites; warning labels similar to the privacy notices on websites. Just as other addictive substances – alcohol and tobacco have warnings on the packing, there should be a notice warning users of the dangers of online porn use. Other potential interventions outside regulation could include the use of positive technology to fight the vice. For example, publicizing and subsidizing screen accountability software such as “covenant eyes.” Device and app producers could also play a role.

The increase in smart phone usage corresponds to an increase in online pornography use through mobile apps. The developers could limit pornographic app development for smartphones and other mobile devices so that use is limited to desktop. The Search engine and social media providers can also support the management of online pornography in the following areas: 1) being responsible for the content on their sites and content that is shared; 2) limiting free pornographic sites by reducing their visibility; 3) limiting advertising on porn sites since online growth is also fuelled by advertising revenues. These proposed interventions aim at preventing the intrusion of pornography into the lives of individuals who do not want it and protecting children, while simultaneously maintaining the rights of persons who do in an informed way.

Research Limitations

The paper draws on secondary data offering a foundation for future primary research with the different stakeholders. Future studies could also conduct primary research with online pornography consumers for more insights into

the practice.

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Session XVIII
Track Well-being

A qualitative study on consumer's quest for wellbeing: A case of transition from offline to online education in India during COVID19 pandemic

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Introduction

Subjective wellbeing (SWB) is the experience of an individual's affective reactions and cognitive judgements (Peterson & Spencer, 1991). Although SWB tends to be stable over time (Diener et al., 2003) and is strongly related to personality traits (Piers et al., 2008), its emotional component can be im-

pacted by various situations affecting human life. For example, the onset of the recent COVID-19 pandemic lowered people's emotional wellbeing by 74% (Yang and Jingjing, 2020).

The pandemic has irreversibly altered the modes of delivery of many essential human services all over the world. One sector that has been severely affected is education. In India, the lives and continuing education of students in most of the educational institutions have been greatly disrupted by the widespread devastation caused by the pandemic. The sudden, unprepared, and at times panic-stricken transition of educational service delivery from the traditional, face-to-face to the new, online mode has unsettled numerous students all over the country. It has grossly reduced their capacity for and enjoyment of learning as well as altered their way of consuming educational services (Islam et al., 2020).

To study this problem, we adopted a practice followed by earlier researchers by considering students' joy of learning (JL) as one characteristic measure of their SWB (Renshaw et al., 2015), which is identified with their positive emotions and cognitive processes used in learning (Diener et al., 2003; Veenhoven, 2005). We attempted to understand how the JL of the students, as consumers of educational services offered by various higher educational institutions in India, was governed by the inclusivity of institutions, teachers, family members, and peers in the new online mode.

Prior researchers have examined SWB in multiple general contexts of human activities (Guardiola et al., 2015; Helliwell et al., 2014; Van Hal, 2015). However, the global crisis unleashed by COVID-19 is unprecedented in recent times in its virulence and strength of impact on the physical self of the human individual. While this has prohibited all physical association and closeness with teachers and peers both inside and outside the classroom, it is important to see how students' JL, so dependent on these traditionally familiar modes of interactions, is affected when educational delivery services have suddenly started to be offered in the relatively unfamiliar online mode.

Consumer wellbeing has been studied extensively through the lens of macro-marketing (Leong et al. 2016; Pancer and Handelman, 2012; Sirgy 2001; (Sirgy et al., 2019; Sirgy & Lee, 2006) in a number of aspects including, for instance, welfare of soldiers (Marshall & Meiselman, 2006), shopping satisfaction (Ekici et al., 2018; Lee et al., 2014; Sirgy et al., 2019), sustainable consumption (Dolan, 2002), among others. However, consumer experience at the interface of marketing and society during the time of a severe crisis is relatively less

understood from the perspective of macromarketing and SWB of consumers. During the recent pandemic, such a situation arose when most educational institutions in India, with their body of teachers and students, had to forcibly adapt themselves to the new form of online delivery of educational services. Government orders forced strict confinement, and students were completely cut off from the possibility of offline interactions, for fear of contracting the deadly virus. Such a situation essentially meant a painful and uncomfortable switch in the education delivery system from in-person to online mode. As a result, the quality of educational service delivery suffered greatly. In the backdrop of this catastrophic event, our study has attempted to identify a number of facilitators and barriers that contributed to students' JL in the new online mode. It was necessary, in this regard, to closely examine and interpret the roles of educational institutions and society that contributed to the JL of students.

Theoretical Background

During the pandemic, there was a shift from offline to online, and institutions were transforming. As universities are seen as complex institutions that are undergoing significant changes in their structures, policies, and processes in order to keep up with the changes occurring as a result of the Covid 19 crisis. Institutional theory was useful in our research since it emphasizes the importance of human agencies in institutional change (Greenwood, 2008b). Furthermore, emotions play an important part in comprehending institutional work, and emotions such as empathy can improve students' subjective well-being (DeRosa & Dolby, 2014) As a result, it was critical to investigate institutional empathy. Previous literature highlighted that most of the mental lifetime disorder occurs to undergraduate students (Pedrelli et al., 2014). Given the magnitude of change that pandemic has brought about in education delivery, it becomes imperative to measure the mental impact on students. We attempt to measure this impact by using the literature of SWB and JL. Hence, we examine the extant literature on institutional theoretical perspective with special emphasis on institutional empathy and culture which are relevant to examine the SWB and JL among students.

Institutional Culture

Institutional culture has taken on special relevance in higher education studies, Tierney (1988) suggests that institutional culture—how the institution makes meaning and socializes its constituents—can be examined through the institution’s environment/climate, mission, leadership, socialization, information, and strategies. Tierney (2000) further highlights those unsuccessful academic outcomes, impacted by a students’ incompatibility with institutional culture, are not the fault of the student, but instead the responsibility of the institution that failed to create a culture that is sensitive to the varied needs of a diverse student population (Tierney, 2000). Institutional culture did impact students’ experiences at the educational institutions (DeRosa & Dolby, 2014). Institutional theory can help to better understand how cultures within institutions interact with cultures outside of them, how institutional cultures are updated and translated over time, and what roles actors play in the operation of institutional culture (Zilber, 2016). We will now understand the literature of institutional theory.

Institutional Theory

Institutional theory emphasizes on the role of human agencies in institutional change (Boxenbaum et al., 2008). In a difficult and complicated institutional environment, institutional analysis often becomes imperative (Thorton et al., 2012). Institutions are required to make serious changes in their structures, policies, and procedures to keep pace with changes in their fast-paced environment (Uslu, 2017), especially like the current COVID19 crisis. While existing literature highlights those institutions could galvanize change through internal forces (Kondakci & Van den Broeck, 2009), in the exceptional situation that universities are currently facing, there is an urgent requirement of quickly adjusting the nature of academic work, the demands of stakeholders like students and faculty, changes in policy-making processes, existing organizational structures, distribution of power, as well as political relations. Only by creating flexible organizational structures can university management cope with these complex changing factors (Chan 2012; Clark 1998, 2001). A supportive connection with the administrator is likely to be especially crucial in the context of institutional change since this individual is in a vital position to give both essential instrumental help and emotional support - in the form of empathy and understanding - to the institution’s employees (Schweiger et

al., 1987). Below, we will examine institutional empathy, which is one of the aspects of institutional theory.

Institutional Empathy

Empathy is the ability to share, understand and respond carefully to the experiences of others (Decety, 2012). Empathy from teachers in higher educational settings essentially means the ability to express concern and understand a student's perspective (Tettegah and Anderson, 2007). Students have higher academic motivation if they have a positive perception of the empathy of their teachers (Branwhite 1988, Hoffman, 2000). Empathy is especially effective in improving student outcomes in multicultural classroom contexts (Dolby, 2012), and is an important aspect of the professional preparation of teachers (Tettegah and Anderson, 2007). It is also deemed to be a crucial constituent of professional disposition of effective teachers in urban environments (Gordon, 1999). Empathy from teachers can lead to increased learning outcomes and resultant increase in JL (Abdullah & Primus, 2020). On a more abstract level, DeRosa and Dolby (2014) highlighted that emotional support and empathy provided from institutions can affect the wellbeing of students. Since empathy from institutions can improve students' subjective well-being, we will thoroughly study the research on subjective well-being and JL in the following section.

Subjective Wellbeing and Joy of Learning

Consumer wellbeing has been experienced as outcomes like enhanced physical health, financial wellbeing or decreased disparity with the privileged, thereby distinguishing itself from traditional customer satisfaction and loyalty service measures (Rosenbaum, 2015). Consumer Well-Being (CWB), a sub-domain of satisfaction with life as a whole, has attracted substantial attention in the macromarketing literature (Sirgy & Lee, 2006; Sirgy et al., 2007). It is a multi-faceted construct with both objective and subjective parameters that encompasses domains of healthy and effective human functioning (Kansky & Diener, 2017). In the context of educational services, student SWB is used to identify students' self-assessments of private and public wellbeing behaviors such as academic efficacy, school connectedness, educational purpose, and joy of learning (Renshaw & Chenier, 2018). Previous literature operationalized JL is one of the measures of SWB (Renshaw et al., 2015). JL is

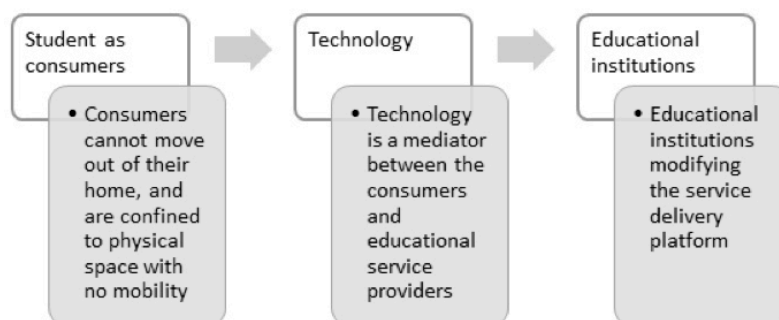
usually experienced as positive emotions and cognitions in academic tasks (Renshaw et al., 2015). Student academic satisfaction, prosocial behavior, and psychological adaptation problems were significantly predicted by JL (Arslan & Coşkun, 2020).

Methodology

We conducted phenomenological interviews of students following the tradition of Thompson et al. (1989). During the period of lockdown, it was not possible for us to conduct face-to-face interviews of the subjects. Instead, we employed in-depth interviews on the telephone. We followed open-ended probing as they are useful to seek new ideas, underlying themes, patterns (Crewell, 1994), and development of constructs and hypotheses. The data were analyzed by applying coding techniques. The coding process was manual and subsequently, themes and subthemes were established by categorizing the codes for their similarities. For its flexibility to address the entire text as a potential unit of analysis and its ability to extract codes and themes, thematic analysis was chosen (V. et al., 2018). It helped us to summarize key characteristics of the large data set into thematic codes (Nowell et al., 2017) and to analyze the data to form prevailing themes (V. et al., 2018). The purposive sampling method (Bryman, 2008) was used to select the study participants. We interviewed twelve students from various public and private universities across India. In order to capture the joy of learning in the interviews, we used different probes, such as "Do you enjoy learning in the online mode", "Are you satisfied with the way your professors are taking your lessons and evaluations", "Do you feel enthusiastic about attending online classes". The interviews were taken between June to July 2020, when strict measures of lockdown were imposed in India which confined the people entirely to their homes¹. Interviews lasted between 30 and 75 min. The interviewers began by informing the respondents of the purpose of the study and sought consent to participate and to record. Notes were taken during the interviews and were rewritten immediately as field notes after the completion of the interview.

¹On 24 March 2020, the Government of India, under Prime Minister Narendra Modi, ordered a national lockdown of 21 days, restricting the movement of the entire population of India as a protective measure against the COVID-19 pandemic in India. This was later extended till 31 May 2020. The lockdown was such that no citizen could leave their residence except for essential and/or emergency services. Many state governments issued 'curfew passes' to limit the movement of goods and people during this period.

Figure 1: General Framework of Interaction during Online Learning



Findings

The COVID-19 pandemic has impacted the global education environment (Mehra, 2020), and students as consumers are unable to leave their homes. It was established that when the student consumers are confined by government orders to stay within the confines of a physical space in an attempt to reduce the spread of Covid-19, technology played an important role as a mediator between them and educational institutions. As a result of which, an unintended shift from traditional learning to a system based solely on digital teaching and learning has occurred. Our research found that a student's internal environment which is the spatial confinement to a physical space induced by lockdown, online infrastructure or technology, and interaction with the outside world that is educational institutions, friends, and family are all critical factors in achieving JL. The student consumer's internal world encompasses their personal life as well as their immediate physical environment. The role of technology includes the personal resources of the students where access to computers, and the internet are the main elements. Furthermore, contact with the outside world requires assistance from peers, colleagues, and relatives, which is especially important during these extraordinary times (Figure 1).

We also identified that there are certain facilitators and barriers in the form of social support, pedagogy of care, university's culture and infrastructure, and personal resources which help to achieve this joy of learning among students (Figure 2). Four broad themes have emerged from this iterative process which systematically explains the barriers and facilitators to attain joy of learning among students. Joy of learning is defined as experiencing positive emotions while learning (Renshaw et al., 2015). It measures joy and positive attitude towards academic tasks and positive emotions experienced while

engaging in tasks related to everyday learning (Ehrhardt-Madapathi et al., 2018). During our interviews, we noticed that due to things such as engaging online assignments some students experienced favorable emotions towards academic tasks while taking online classes. “We were supposed to go through journal papers and articles and a little bit about that, and how they’re using the different principles of marketing. That was a great way of learning” Riya. When compared to regular classrooms, some students found it more interesting to learn in the online mode as they got access to more materials and resources which added to their overall learning experience, “I think I got the opportunity to learn something new because of online. Although you can get bookish knowledge with the help of professors but life experiences or other sources you can get via online only, therefore this was the difference between online and traditional methods. . . . hence for me personally I have learned a lot through online, and I feel happy” Muskaan. Many students appreciated the engagement initiatives undertaken by universities, they found educational webinars to be extremely helpful “When there is webinar. . . then it will be a feeling of Xpresso for me like Xpresso when you drink it instantly hits you but gradually you feel good” Muskaan.

The power of personal resources

The personal resources – which refers to the resources of students where there are lack the internet connectivity, and laptops to attend their online classes. During the interviews a digital divide was clearly seen, between those that had strong internet connectivity and those that didn’t (Tien, 2008), due to underprivileged background or residence in disadvantaged geo-political territories “One of my friends is from Kashmir the government of Kashmir only gives them access to 2G (second generation) networks, not even 3G (third generation), and we are using 4G (fourth generation) networks here in Delhi. We can’t even call them properly, so how can we expect them to use the internet. . . . There are lots of connectivity issues. 4G (fourth generation) isn’t there everywhere in the country” Sara. On the contrary, there were some students, who have no issues with the internet and have good wireless networking at their houses “I feel that the Internet has never been a problem in my case, because I have, installed Wi-Fi at my house. Or even if the original Wi-Fi goes off, then we have another Wi-Fi at my home,. So, like, if something goes wrong with one of my Wi-Fi, I could always go to the other one. So, I

personally did not face any connectivity issues" (Riya). Students who have technological support and access at home are better able to effectively use and benefit from the e-learning system.

During the interviews, there were certain students who did not have laptops and they could even afford it which affected their JL like " I didn't have a mobile, laptop, enough internet., I couldn't tell my father also.what can he do? I will only give him stress with this issue. My current phone doesn't support online classes, it's a normal phone, it only has WhatsApp". I couldn't take any online classes because I didn't have a phone' As a result I couldn't submit any assignments" Karan. On the other hand, some students have laptops and have smartphones and were to attend online classes without any disturbances "So that's why I do not really have a problem with online classes, because I have a laptop and I have a smartphone and I have a good internet connection" Mansi.

University's culture and infrastructure the key to seamless change

It was discovered that a university's culture which are deeply rooted habits of organizational behavior, as well as members' common principles, perceptions, opinions, or philosophies about their organization or its function (Peterson & Spencer, 1991), played a very important role in contributing to the JL. During the consumption of online education services as the culture of the university had the power to determine the way students receive and deal with a transition of this scale. It was hence concluded that a non-supportive institutional culture makes it harder for students to deal with a transition of such nature. Students from flexible institutions where they quickly adjust themselves to the nature of academic work (Uslu, 2017) where students felt heard, the higher authorities were able to understand their problems and tried to make the transition smoother for them "It was initially difficult but then we talked to our director and he understood us and he made changes in our online structure. And everything got good slowly" Ritu.

On the contrary, students were left out when institutions were not flexible, leaving them in a helpless situation "Exam criteria was decided entirely by the university Even if the students and the professors write to the university, for some or the other reason they do not listen which makes us feel helpless, angry and disappointed.We have tried every means like twitter, Instagram.We even went to the high court to protest against these online exams" Mansi.

Universities often took harsh decisions like conducting online exams without consulting them, or sending mails all day that were mentally stressful to students “This change was something that was very, very confusing because our college is extremely uptight about its rules, it is not used to change, I think the administration got a hit when corona happened because they didn’t know what to do, in the beginning they were just giving us deadlines on top of deadlines, they kept sending us emails every 5 days about physical session reopening when all of us knew it’s not going to happen but in this process it triggered so much of mental exhaustion and stress” Pia.

Infrastructural issues faced by the exploitation of the online learning system included a wide range of technology-enabled behaviors, for instance, cheating with electronic devices during online examinations, engaging in e-collaboration (that is instant messaging, chats, and forums), and deceiving (logging in with the username and password of another student) (Levy & Ramim, 2007). It was found that robust technology infrastructure was an essential prerequisite for effective transition to online services. Universities with online infrastructural readiness made the shift easily while those that lacked these facilities had lower student learning outcomes, “Management took quite a hasty decision about suddenly going into the mode of online examination, they suddenly put out notice that there will be an online examination. That is funny because for an institute whose website crashes whenever it is supposed to upload monthly attendance. imagine the situation when many students are trying to access it at once, it really amuses me that they had the faith and the sheer optimism that they will be able to go through with the process of conducting exams online”. Aishani.

Pedagogy of care a step towards joy of learning

The quality of relationships between teacher and student is highly likely to lead to better outcomes in terms of social functioning of students (Ladd et al., 1999), behavioral problems (Graziano et al., 2007), participation in learning activities (Skinner et al., 1990), and academic achievement (Van Hal, 2015). Students found pillars of strength in teachers during these unprecedented times. Some faculty went beyond teaching responsibilities and helped them navigate through this uncertainty for both academic and personal challenges “. . . they used to motivate us that children please don’t do this. . . and if we have any problem, we either call or they solve the answer

and send us to all of them. . . if we have some network issues, they cooperate a lot” Kamal. Additionally, many educators routinely perform ordinary, everyday, relational, little things to nurture and promote the resilience of their students in educational institutions (Johnson, 2008). During the interviews, there were some technical glitches which was beyond teachers control and they used to cooperate with their students and understand them “During my final viva in freshman year I had no network so I have to called the teacher and they cooperate even, when they get some network issues while teaching, , they use to cooperate a lot” Kamal.

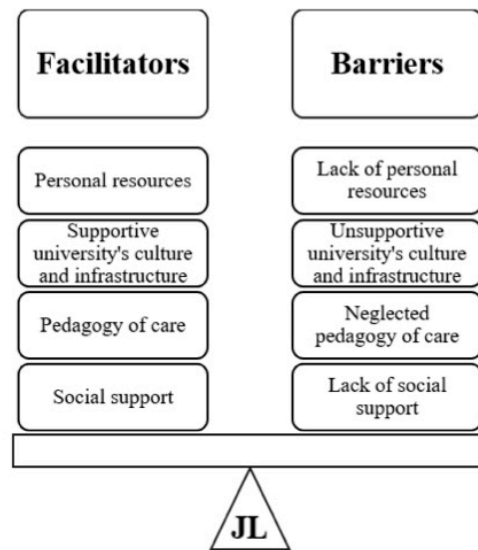
On the other hand, there were certain teachers who did not guide their students and did not help during the transition period and as they were the primary point of contact for students it hindered the transition process. They did not get proper lecture notes while attending online classes and their learning outcome also decreased “We were not sent proper notes, we were not guided properly, we were not given proper lectures, and teachers did not take proper test . They used to tell us a day prior about the tests. Our teachers did not guide us on what to prepare, how to prepare, how to study. When we asked them to guide us; they did not respond to us .” Sara. Support from teachers increased the JL among students. On the contrary, it acted as a barrier and decreased the wellbeing of students.

The role of social support

Social support usually comes from two main areas, family and friends, and work colleagues or supervisors (Peterson & Spencer, 2007), and had a comforting cushion to deal with this transition. Friends helped them cope better with this transition by creating a stable and supportive environment for them “If I have any doubt, I have a group of five friends, I turn to them for the doubts and I am blessed to have friends who share their notes if I am panicking. I always have friends to talk to” Pia. While friends are significant, there are occasions when students are unable to form groups with their peers during class events and face difficulties “I wasn’t left with the choice but to join the other group for my class activity with 4 members Where the members were not my close friends. . . A lot of problems occurred when you are working in a group.” Ritu. Friend’s support is needed during this transition.

It is extremely important to take advantage of adequate family support, to understand adequacy, availability, and satisfaction with its perception,

Figure 2: Facilitators and barriers towards Joy of Learning (JL)



and they provide the capacity needed for adolescents for wellbeing in adulthood (Tian et al., 2013). Students found pillars of strength in their families during these stressful times “My parents are very supportive that every time I’m feeling like, I feel that I’m not in the best place mentally, I think my parents support me a lot. . . . So, I feel like having supportive parents that way also helps a lot. Because whenever I have these phases, my parents like having my back.” Ria. Social support came out to be an important factor within which the aspect of family emotional support had a defining role to play (Peterson & Spencer, 2007). On the contrary, some students did not get any support from their families which decreases their learning outcome “don’t have any family support with them right now, you know it’s been almost 3 months we have been under lockdown it gets very difficult; we feel very lonely. . . . So definitely that’s going to affect the performance” Mansi.

Discussion

To answer the two overarching research questions, our qualitative data shows promising results. To answer the first research question, we find that online infrastructure, both at the institutional and individual level, played an important role. Universities with weak online infrastructure were not sufficiently equipped to provide educational services to their students through the online system which resulted in dissatisfaction and disappointment amongst stu-

dents as highlighted by Sara “everyone is not getting any proper guidance from online lectures because what you study in classroom is far, far better than what you study online. . . what I experienced was worst, like studying from WhatsApp groups made no sense.” In contrast, educational institutions having robust online infrastructure made it easier for students to adapt to the e-learning system. According to the Household Social Consumption on Education Report, less than 15 percent of rural Indian households have Internet as opposed to 42 percent of urban Indian households (Sudevan, 2020). Personal resources with students have been an impending issue, the adverse effects of which amplified during this transition. During the transition from the traditional face-to-face mode to the new digital platforms, there are problems involving internet access failures, and uncongenial household conditions for study. This severely impedes the educational progress of students and their adaptability to the new e-learning systems.

Furthermore, our qualitative data also highlighted that social support played a key role in this new mode of learning. Students found psychological support, inspiration, and motivation to deal with the difficulties (Ahmed et al., 2017) of the transition from some of their teachers in ways that went beyond routine teaching of online classes. Respondents also emphasized the importance of the help they received from their friends, family and acquaintances during this difficult transitional period hence indicating that social support helped increase the students’ joy of learning, as Pia explained “To make even college like, I have this one friend in my class who likes, you know, my partner index during exam. . . . also, that she was constantly there. And, you know, she was just very okay I would have not done and even had not done.”

Moreover, the culture of the institutions plays a significant role, universities that were flexible were able to adapt and move quickly to the new realities imposed by COVID-19. Students from flexible institutions felt that university administration was able to understand their problems (Chan, 2012) better thereby making the transition smoother. Our study captures the effects of a number of critical factors on the subjective wellbeing of consumers of educational services provided by institutions of higher education. This study makes a strong case for macromarketing studies by providing valuable insights into the dynamic effects of internal and external environments within the given system.

Although the results of the present study look encouraging, and the work makes definite contributions, in this regard, to the consumer SWB, there are

nevertheless some gaps in the theoretical framework that require deeper investigation in the future. First, our data sample consisted only of undergraduate students. Second, the size of our sample for the interviews were somewhat limited due to time constraints because we have to take interviews when the lockdown was imposed . We believe that these gaps can provide opportunities for further exploration in the future in the field of student wellbeing and educational service delivery.

Also, this study is still under progress and in line with thematic analysis and existing literature, the study has established a framework by proposing structural equation modelling and to test this model we have developed several hypotheses, which we aim to test this in future using a survey-based data collection.

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Session XIX

Track Externalities

The Dark Side of Marketing: An Empirical Examination of Marketing's Role in the Opioid Epidemic:

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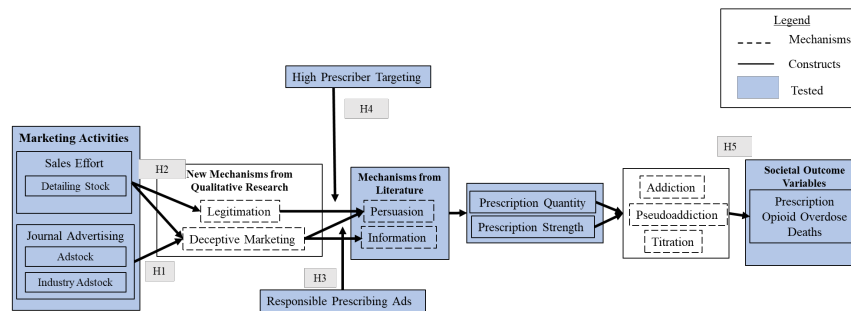
Sundar Bharadwaj *The University of Georgia*

In 2017, the odds of dying from opioid overdose surpassed those of death from a motor vehicle crash for the first time (Council, 2017) and from 1999-2019 almost half a million people died from an overdose involving opioids (NIH, 2021). Several media sources have claimed that the Opioid Epidemic was at least partially caused by the marketing efforts of pharmaceutical companies (Quinones, 2015), and many of these pharmaceutical companies have faced and are continuing to face many lawsuits for their role in promoting prescription opioids (Fisher, 2018; Rabin, 2019). Despite these accusations, there has been little systematic research to examine the role of marketing in the Opioid Epidemic.

Figure 1 provides a brief overview of significant events in the Opioid Epidemic and the rate of overdose deaths due to opioids in that year.

The literature on the effects of pharmaceutical marketing is extensive but has failed to examine the potential for harmful prescribing practices and negative societal outcomes. The Opioid Epidemic and the status of opioids as a schedule II-controlled substance offer an opportune situation to examine these important aspects. We examine the effect of marketing activities on prescriptions and subsequently overdose deaths through evaluation of a focal firm who produced and promoted opioids. We answer the call by Ekici et al. (2021) to examine a less-frequently studied societal development issue,

Figure 1: Abbreviated Timeline of the Opioid Epidemic and Overdose Death Rates



The analysis is conducted using a panel dataset of all counties in the United States from 2006-2014. For economic interpretation of the panel data, we adopted a panel fixed effects model. We calculate the adstock values of the marketing activities to account for the carryover effect from prior periods. Adstock reflects the concept that advertising builds up a stock of consumer good will which then decays over time (see : Bayer et al. 2020; Danaher, Bonfrer, and Dhar 2008; Dinner, Van Heerde, and Neslin 2014). Like Advertising, detailing benefits accumulate over time and to calculate the cumulative detailing, or *detailing stock* we follow the geometric decay method of Gönül et al. (2001) and Shapiro (2018). Our analysis assumes that the advertising expenditures and detailing expenditures are endogenous so we use *Producer Price Index (PPI)* to instrument for advertising expenditures, and the *Number of Employees* to instrument for detailing expenditures which are used by Narayanan et al., (2004).

We find that medical journal advertising and detailing led to an increase in the quantity and strength of prescriptions prescribed by physicians. At the county level, the results correspond to an average of 277 more pills per month per county per 1% increase in

ethics.

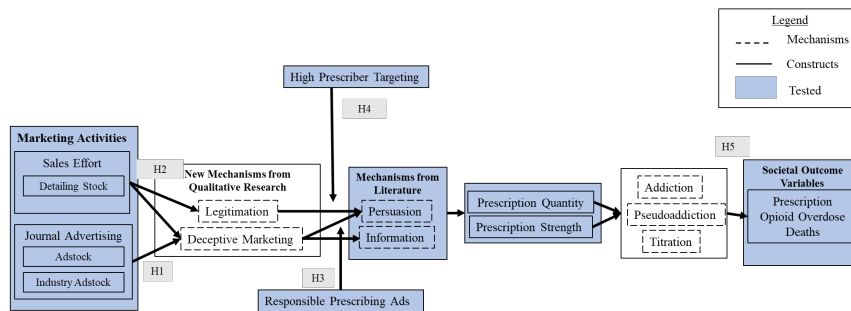
Our focal firm has been an influential company in the Opioid Epidemic and engaged in aggressive marketing strategy for their opioid product. Many pharmaceutical companies took their cues from the focal firm to expand opioid marketing. Their marketing strategy offers an insight into the marketing tactics utilized by opioid companies during the period of interest. We follow the traditions of theory from case study research prior to the empirical investigation and build the theoretical constructs from a case study of a prominent pharmaceutical firm that produced opioids (Eisenhardt, 1989) and applications in marketing strategy (e.g. Molner et al., 2019). The sources of qualitative data included promotional websites and printed material, documents from lawsuits filed against the company, online forums for pharmaceutical sales representatives, and interview transcripts from patients affected by the opioid epidemic.

We propose that detailing, through the theoretical mechanisms of legitimation and deceptive marketing positively affected the number of prescriptions and the average strength of prescriptions written for opioids by ameliorating the risk perceived by physicians and persuading them to prescribe the drug. We also theorize that this increase in prescribing leads to prescription opioid overdoses through addiction which leads to the pursuit of increased dosages eventually resulting in overdose death.

Furthermore, we theorize two moderators of the fully mediated relationship between marketing activities and opioid overdose deaths: responsibility ads and high prescriber targeting. First, the model proposes that the positive effect of advertising on prescriptions can be attenuated by ads that remind physicians to prescribe responsibly because these advertisements mitigate the mechanism of deceptive marketing. Second, implementing the physician targeting strategies recommended by consultancy firms increased the positive effect of detailing on increased prescriptions by augmenting the effect of legitimation. A conceptual model is shown in Figure 2.

The analysis is conducted using a panel dataset of all counties in the United States from 2006-2014. For economic interpretation of the panel data, we adopted a panel fixed effects model. We calculate the adstock values of the marketing activities to account for the carryover effect from prior periods. Adstock reflects the concept that advertising builds up a stock of consumer good will which then decays over time (see : (Bayer et al., 2020; Danaher et al., 2008; Dinner et al., 2014). Like Advertising, detailing benefits accumulate

Figure 2: Conceptual Model



The analysis is conducted using a panel dataset of all counties in the United States from 2006-2014. For economic interpretation of the panel data, we adopted a panel fixed effects model. We calculate the adstock values of the marketing activities to account for the carryover effect from prior periods. Adstock reflects the concept that advertising builds up a stock of consumer good will which then decays over time (see : Bayer et al. 2020; Danaher, Bonfrer, and Dhar 2008; Dinner, Van Heerde, and Neslin 2014). Like Advertising, detailing benefits accumulate over time and to calculate the cumulative detailing, or *detailing stock* we follow the geometric decay method of Gönül et al. (2001) and Shapiro (2018). Our analysis assumes that the advertising expenditures and detailing expenditures are endogenous so we use *Producer Price Index (PPI)* to instrument for advertising expenditures, and the *Number of Employees* to instrument for detailing expenditures which are used by Narayanan et al., (2004).

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over time and to calculate the cumulative detailing, or detailing stock we follow the geometric decay method of Gönül et al. (2001) and Shapiro (2018). Our analysis assumes that the advertising expenditures and detailing expenditures are endogenous so we use Producer Price Index (PPI) to instrument for advertising expenditures, and the Number of Employees to instrument for detailing expenditures which are used by Narayanan et al. (2004).

We find that medical journal advertising and detailing led to an increase in the quantity and strength of prescriptions prescribed by physicians. At the county level, the results correspond to an average of 277 more pills per month per county per 1% increase in advertising spending. At the national county level, as the detailing increased by 1%, the prescription quantity increased approximately 39 pills per month per county.

Regarding the moderators of the relationship between detailing and prescriptions, a significant effect was found between responsible advertising reminders and prescription quantity and strength. This result suggests that reminders to doctors to prescribe responsibly attenuates the persuasion they received from detailing and journal advertisements. The moderator of High Prescriber Targeting increased the positive effect of detailing on opioid prescriptions. This suggests that focusing on only high prescribers increased total opioids sold by pharmaceutical representatives because they did not waste time detailing physicians who were not likely to prescribe large quantities of opioids.

The motivation for undertaking this research was to link marketing activities to prescriptions and subsequently to opioid overdose deaths. The results for the test of the relationship between prescriptions and overdose deaths was significant. A practical interpretation of the effect suggests that a 10% increase in prescription quantity would result in 40 additional deaths per year nationwide.

The Opioid Epidemic is not limited to the United States. As restrictions increased on opioid prescriptions in the US, companies expanded internationally. For example, Purdue Pharma globalized their company under the name Mundipharma to China, Brazil, Colombia, Russia, and many more countries using many of the same marketing strategies used in the United States (Ryan, Girion, and Glover 2016). Without research to determine what went wrong and without intentional action to reverse the effects of deceptive marketing on opioid prescriptions and abuse, the public health crisis in the United States is poised to be repeated internationally.

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Aggregate Marketing Systems in a Subsistence Context: The Case of Brazilian Rafflers

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This study aimed to analyze the marketing system externalities represented by Rifa — a contemporary peddler activity that encompasses several regions of Brazil and highlights aspects of informality in its operation. In this sense, we conducted an ethnographic inspired research on two different peddler trips, in different regions of Brazil. These trips provided non-participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and recording of images. The marketing system spreads to visited cities where the activity generates income through Rifa's customers/resellers. Besides, there is a stimulus to consumption by remote communities, durable social and commercial relations, as well as fruitful cultural interaction. However, it also causes obstacles for local businesses, precarious working conditions, conflicting business relationships, and financial risks. Examining the externalities related to Rifa allows a glimpse of Brazilian countryside marketing systems, contributing to the understanding of how peddling resists today. It also provides resources to device-specific policies for these marketing systems.

Session XX

Track Forcibly Displaced Communities & Marketing Systems

The Role of Aid-Agencies in Stimulating the Food Retail Market in the Time of Social Conflicts: The Case of Syrian Refugees in Lebanon

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The influx of Syrian refugees has had a major impact on the Lebanese economy including on its food retail market. In this study, we empirically investigate the impact of the influx of refugees on the food retailers' strategies in Lebanon. We statistically compare the retailing mix (Gauri et al., 2008) of the supermarkets in two regions of Lebanon. The results show that the supermarkets in the regions with refugee concentration have adapted their retailing strategies in response to the refugee influx. The role of international aid-agencies in stimulating the food retail sector via market-based solutions is shown to be significant with benefits for the refugees as well as the local communities. The findings of this study would have implications for the retail managers in adapting to the social conflicts as well for the policy makers and international aid-agencies in coming up with policy packages incorporating business and marketing lenses.

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Integration of Skilled Immigrants (SIs) in Finland: Examining the “Business Lead” Program through the Lenses of Acculturation

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Integration of Skilled Immigrants (SIs) in Finland: Examining the “Business Lead” Program through the Lenses of Acculturation

The recent influx of migrants to the EU has prompted a number of different policies and programs to facilitate immigrant integration into their new home countries. This article investigates the integration of skilled immigrants (SIs) into the labor market in Finland focusing on the role of a pre-employment support program. Conceptually, we draw upon acculturation and habitus by integrating the two concepts into a wider macro perspective. Our findings indicate that the program positively influences participants’ acculturation strategies by providing networking possibilities and information. The findings also show that the length of stay in Finland positively correlates with coping

strategies. However, we identify two macro obstacles hindering the full integration of SIs: language barriers and discriminatory attitudes. Moreover, SIs' pluralistic cultural identity carries theoretical implications for acculturation. Our study contributes to the marketing literature by showing how micro efforts are mitigated by both macro and meso realities.

The Marketing Systems of Refugee Settlements

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Understanding the lives of refugees is viewed as an important avenue of research for macromarketing (C. Shultz et al., 2020). This focus is sorely needed, as globally, humanity is experiencing the highest recorded levels of migration (UNHCR, 2019), where people are forced to cross national borders due to, for example, disasters and persecution. Over 70 million people are forcibly displaced, where 25 million of those are refugees and 3.5 million are asylum-seekers (UNHCR, 2019). Some of these refugees will end up in refugee settlements, also known as camps or hosting areas, in other countries. Indeed, many refugees live in camp situations (UNHCR, 2018). These refugee camps, usually as part of temporary settlements, are often part of the refugee's pathway to permanent settlement (C. Shultz et al., 2020).

Despite emerging work, not much is known about the economic lives of refugees in these settlements. While postwar recovery is complex, requiring a long-term perspective and holistic solutions spanning social, cultural, political, and economic components (Barakat, 2005), these aspects are under-researched, with, specifically, a "lack of good data available on the economic lives of displaced populations" (Betts et al., 2014). Understanding the lives of refugees is crucial. Displaced peoples face challenges in their socio-economic status (Wang & Tian, 2014), where many refugees will remain in exile in the long-term (Omata, 2016) and only 3 percent will return to their origin country (UNHCR, 2019). Given this long timelines, the economic realities of refugees can span many years and will shape marketing systems both within settlements but also at other points of the refugee's pathway.

Marketing systems are considered to be crucial to tackling development issues (Klein, 1985; C. J. Shultz, 2007). They exist within a social matrix and are

networks linked by exchanges that create value through provisioning products, services, experiences, and ideas (Layton, 2011). Marketing systems, especially in relation to development, require attention to a variety of dimensions, including economic aspects (e.g. Firat et al., 1988; C. J. Shultz et al., 2017; Taylor & Omura, 1994), thus underscoring its importance.

Despite what we do not know about the economic lives of refugees, recent work has provided some compelling emerging insights. While some view refugees as solely relying on humanitarian assistance (Betts et al., 2014), the camps, also known as refugee settlements, can be sites of robust economic activities (Omato 2016). For example, refugees are known to run businesses within settlements (Omato 2016), including food stalls, grocery stores, and mobile phone stores (Matt 2018).

A case in point is the Kakuma camp in Kenya, established in 1992, where refugees from South Sudan and Somalia have started 2000 businesses to service the over 160 thousand refugees who live there (IFC 2018). These businesses are small-scale, with 70 percent lacking employees, and connect in with other trading centers and even span nationally borders, connecting to others, including refugees, located in other areas (IFC 2018). As such, refugees contribute to their local, regional, and national economies " (Betts et al., 2014), and are seemingly integrated into wider marketing networks towards supporting economic integration.

These more established camps are not the only ones showing widespread economic activities. For example, according to reporter Alesevich (2018), refugees in Greece's largest refugee camp, Skaramagas, have started a variety of shops including food stalls, grocery stores, and mobile telephone stores. These shops serve the over 3000 refugees living in the camp, as well as associated NGO workers. Overall, this emerging work indicates that refugees forge and engage in vibrant economic systems in these settlements.

Furthering our understanding of these activities within these unique systems will not only inform approaches to development aid, but also presents an opportunity to understand how to create sustainable economic opportunities for those displaced (Betts et al., 2014). Refugees "can be dynamic economic assets, not only where they are settled – even if only temporarily – but also potentially in their home countries and regions from which they have been displaced" (C. Shultz et al., 2020, p. 11). Indeed, the real and potential market value of these groups is notable. For example, in the Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya, the estimated total annual household consump-

tion is estimated to be over €45 million, and consumers have indicated their willingness to pay for improved services (IFC 2018). However, the legality of these shops across settlements can vary, highlighting the need to better understand these activities, including the interplay with their specific contexts and with other involved stakeholders.

Regarding wider stakeholders, development experts are grappling with how best to support refugees in their economic lives, including while they are in the settlements. Anecdotally, some point towards the need for private sector involvement. However, any market-based interventions must be based on “a comprehensive understanding of existing markets and the private business sectors within which refugees are making a living” (Betts et al., 2014, p. 40). As such, business and marketing scholars can contribute to this detailed understanding of economic lives within refugee settlements.

Macromarketing is especially poised to make a contribution toward our further knowledge in this domain, given its rich attention to contexts and to the wider marketing systems. Indeed, understanding marketing systems within refugee camps is essential to provide the first steps towards a research trajectory into these previously unexplored sites of marketing systems, ones characterized by scarcity of many resources and subject to an array of disturbances.

Towards this end, this present work conducts and presents a literature review, drawing upon academic work from a myriad of disciplines, as well as practitioner-based literature, to do so. It highlights the specific gaps of knowledge regarding the economic situation in these camps, including posing stimulating research questions and forging an ambitious research trajectory, while contributing to the building of a more full picture of marketing systems aspects within refugee settlements. Importantly, this present work highlights the gaps in knowledge of macromarketing in the context of the ‘temporary settlement’ component of a refugee’s pathways, as identified by Shultz et al. (2020), ideally prompting empirical research in the future in this important, yet understudied, domain.

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Evolving Micro-Meso-Macro Dynamics: Toward refugees' inclusion and marketplace well-being in Lebanon and beyond

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Lebanon remains the country with the highest number of refugees per capita (UNHCR, [2021](#)). Approximately 1.1 million Syrian refugees have been registered in the Lebanese territory, adding to the 500,000 Palestinian refugees who were already registered with the United Nations Relief and Work Agency in Lebanon (UNRWA 2019). This massive influx has disrupted a delicate social cohesion in a country with a complex social, cultural, and ecological context, where political and economic competition have fostered intercultural tensions and resource degradation. Competition for jobs between Lebanese citizens and Syrian refugees exacerbates intergroup discord (Ceyhun, [2017](#); Lenner & Schmelter, [2016](#); Masri & Srour, [n.d.](#)).

Hostility towards refugees moreover hinders the programmatic integration

of this new population into Lebanon's economy. The inclusion of refugee's in Lebanon's labor-force often raises concerns by businesspersons, who fear boycotts and other retributions by Lebanese consumers. Both the inclusion and exclusion of Syrian refugees has profound implications for the entirety of Lebanon's marketing system, the well-being of millions of people, and the ongoing development dynamics of the country and broader region.

Some argue a micro tack, even if economically "rational," may lead to marketing decisions that will exclude refugees from the Lebanese workforce for short-term gain, but at longer-term costs; others argue the opposite. While still others argue the longer-term costs to Lebanese sovereignty necessitate the exclusion of Syrian refugees from the Lebanese workforce. The policy choices are difficult, hotly debated and have profound implications for people and states. Clearly, the analysis and subsequent policies and practices would benefit from thoughtful consideration of both empirical studies and a systemic analysis of the wider socioeconomic matrix, that is, a macromarketing approach.

Lebanon clearly is a dynamic and distressed macromarketing context, greatly challenged now by the number of refugees it offers safe haven; challenges likely will grow, given the prediction for increasing refugee flows (Boenigk et al., 2021). Systemic study of these humanitarian situations will enable us to understand their complexity beyond dyadic commercial exchange (e.g. R. Layton, 2019; C. Shultz et al., 2020). Building upon the authors' earlier work, the research featured in this extended abstract offers further insights into the complexity and possible solutions that could result from more or better integration of refugees into Lebanese marketing systems. Fundamental to our approach is an institutional shift "from hostile to hospitable refugee services systems" (cf. Boenigk et al., 2021, p. 1). This shift has implications for decision-making by NGOs, businesses and governments – i.e., key catalytic institutions (e.g. C. J. Shultz et al., 2017) – that are indispensable to affect prosocial inclusion of the Syrian refugees in Lebanon, to the greatest possible benefit of all stakeholders.

From behavioral insights to Macromarketing

A generalized social dissatisfaction and rejection towards the refugee community has been reported among the Lebanese population, who expressed that refugees have a negative impact on the economy of the country (90%)

and social cohesion (98%) (Bank, 2017).

The authors previously analyzed how social rejection towards refugee employees in services may be affecting Lebanese consumer decision-making (De-Quero Navarro et al., 2019). We considered how this dynamic may be occurring in the services sector, which stands-out with a 70% contribution to the national GDP of Lebanon (Bank, 2019). Thus, a model is emerging to study and explain Lebanese consumer animosity and perceived cultural distance towards Syrian employees in services, and ultimately the sustainable well-being for both groups.

Toward development of that model, data were collected and analyzed. The results generally revealed that animosity plays a prominent role in Lebanese service-expectations from Syrian refugee-employees; not so much however that it adversely affects market-choice and purchase decisions if/where Syrians are employed. Moreover, perceived cultural distance between Lebanese and Syrians appeared to be a significant contributor to negative sentiments and perceptions of service quality. Consequently, a short-term micro perspective of this situation could lead business owners to avoid hiring refugees in order to prevent distrust among their customers – i.e., from a firm-centric perspective, to lose business – and possibly risk the financial viability of the business. On the other hand, failing to hire refugees likely will result in a massive, alienated, economically disenfranchised community, which could result in significantly higher costs than some disdainful shoppers/consumers.

The isolated micro-analysis of the trade imperative – the Seller-Buyer or Business to Consumer exchange – may be oblivious to trade flows or other forms of exchange that are simultaneously happening or could be happening between/among individuals, groups and organizations in the social matrix (e.g. R. Layton, 2019). We know marketing systems are places where social mechanisms occur in concert with and related to market transactions; social mechanisms such as cooperation, commitment, trust, and communication play cohesive roles in social and market domains (e.g. Domegan et al., 2016). In this sense, we are reminded of the fundamental tenet that macromarketing studies should shed light on the management of the externalities from the marketing decisions (Fisk, 1981), for effective macro social change (see also Domegan et al., 2016). In Figure 1 we are reminded that failure to prioritize the well-being of less powerful and more vulnerable stakeholders, is likely to result in costly, disastrous, and even deadly results for many stakeholders, on a massive scale, for decades (C. J. Shultz, 2007, 2015).

Figure 1: Constructive Engagement in a Global Marketing System C. J. Shultz (2007, p. 296)(2015, p. 204).

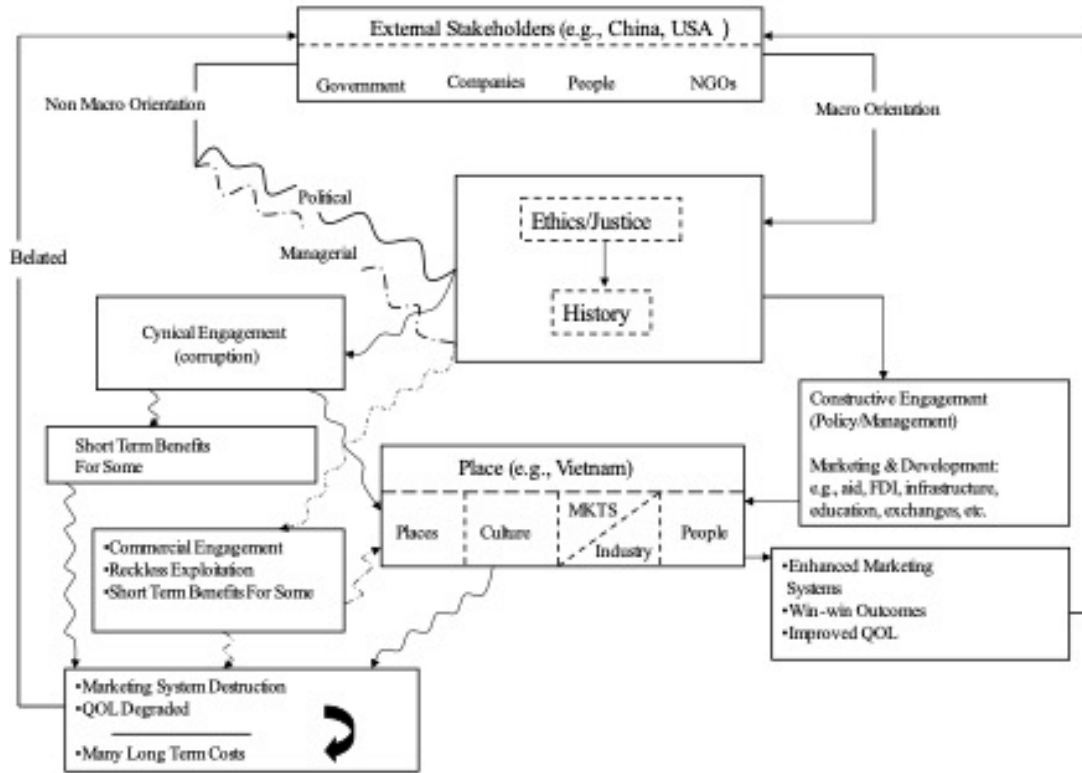
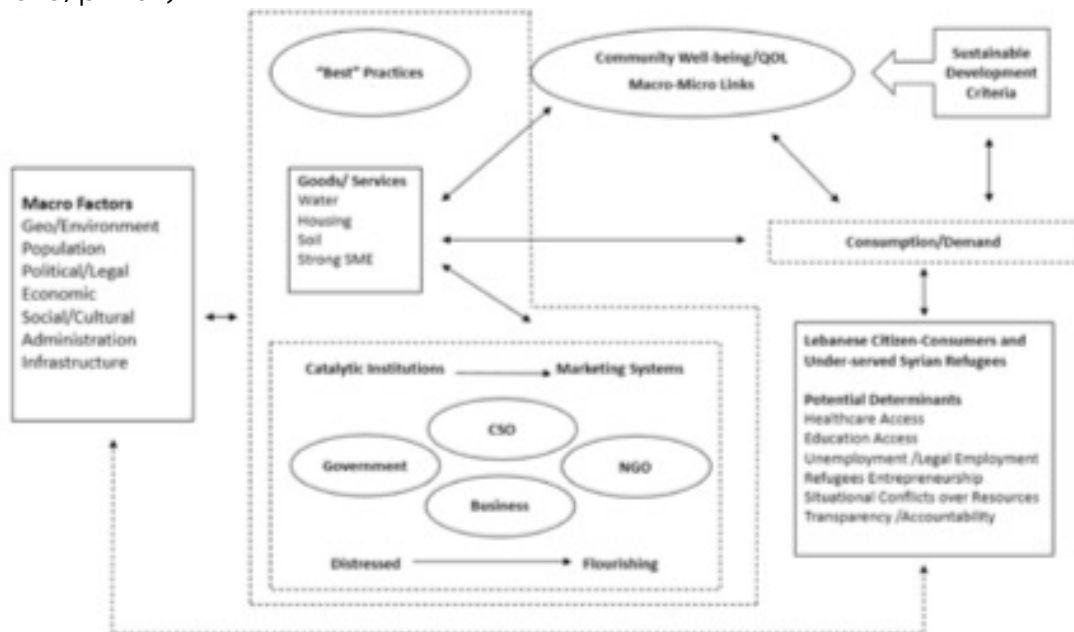


Figure 2: Constructive Engagement in Lebanon (DeQuero-Navarro et al., 2020, p. 239)



The focal place of study in Figure 2 is Lebanon, where the vulnerable populations (both Lebanese and Syrians), and the external stakeholders (all countries of the Middle East, the EU, US, and Russia) are intertwined in situations of intractable nature that have brought to Lebanon proxy wars, the long-term suffering, the huge costs to blood and treasure, the abject failure of zero-sum thinking, and the inevitable necessity for Constructive Engagement to ensure win-win (or at least acceptable) outcomes for as many stakeholders as possible (DeQuero-Navarro et al., 2020).

Macromarketing and Transformative Services Research

Hence, from a Macromarketing perspective, the study of services goes beyond managerial propositions for businesses, since services play a larger role in society as the scenarios and encounters where the fundamental basis of commercial exchanges are put into practice, conforming collectively services systems (R. A. Layton, 2011). At the same time, these services systems evince how the refugee host-society is managing its values in their commercial exchanges with other cultures (Cheung & McColl-Kennedy, 2019). In refugee hosting societies, transitioning from hostile to hospitable refugee service-systems requires the cooperation of many, perhaps all, stakeholders of the host country's services sector towards fostering refugee well-being (Boenigk et al., 2021). That includes NGOs' assistance, coordinated activity from governments, and the services industry in Lebanon to promote multi-stakeholder partnerships to achieve "inclusion, cohesion, and wellbeing" (UNHCR, 2018, p. 3). Thus, marketers, as major social actors can contribute to reduce multicultural tensions, improving well-being for consumers and employees of different cultures that interact during service encounters, to ultimately achieve marketplace well-being (Demangeot et al., 2019). In that direction, Transformative Services Research (TSR) points out at the role that service researchers can play to improve the services systems for refugees (Nasr & Fisk, 2019), by analyzing both the nature of encounters of local consumers and refugees, as well as their societal inclusion and economic contribution to the service industry in host countries (Farmaki & Christou, 2019). Thus, systemic analyses at micro, meso, and macro levels have been proposed as a prevailing need for service researchers interested in contributing to build adequate services systems for refugee hosting (Boenigk et al., 2021; Finsterwalder, 2017).

At the intersection of Macromarketing, Transformative Services Research (TSR), and the multicultural marketplace well-being framework for actions (Demangeot et al., 2019), this abstract offers some proposals for the improvement of the inclusion of Syrian refugees in the Lebanese service sector that take into account social mechanisms of cooperation, commitment, trust, and communication to manage the spillover effects from marketing decisions towards macro social change.

Communications campaigns in relation to the Syrian refugee influx

The Lebanese cabinet has not committed to improve the social cohesion and to legislate against the social exclusion of the refugee population. Our evolving model suggests that the dissemination of official negative communications from the government on refugees' realities has not helped to close the gap for the perceived cultural distance that is affecting the animosity levels of Lebanese towards Syrian refugees. Since 2017, Lebanese authorities have called for refugees to return to Syria and have pressured UNHCR to organize returns. Moreover, municipalities in Lebanon have forcibly evicted thousands of refugees in mass expulsions without a legal basis or due process (Watch, n.d.).

In Lebanon, social marketing campaigns that aim to counteract the negative impact of perceived cultural distance and animosity towards Syrian refugees is an imperative need. According to the results of the model, these social marketing campaigns should focus on improving the public image of refugees as employees who are reliable, professional, and service-oriented. Moreover, stereotypes about Syrians can be explicitly addressed in communication campaigns in Lebanon as a strategy to fight the prevalent animosity. These campaigns should address widespread beliefs that Lebanese have declared regarding insecurity issues and detriment to social cohesion, after the reception of Syrian refugees.

Helping Lebanon's SMEs to flourish with contributions from refugee employees

The animosity influence on the Lebanese consumer behavior can translate into a destabilization of the flourished SME community in Lebanon through the dynamics of social rejection. Namely, this phenomenon can affect the development and survival of inclusive businesses in Lebanon that hired Syrian refugees, especially in a country with a services sector that contributes to approximately 70% of national GDP (Bank, 2019), where the competitive landscape is prominent and complex (MET, 2014). Even though, contextual forces are fostering active tensions between the two communities, working towards active engagement of these two groups will protect the Lebanese SME in the end (Demangeot et al., 2019).

Businesses and chambers of commerce can collectively work to implement across the country intercultural training for their staff, both Lebanese and Syrian employees, to enhance their ability to accommodate to other culture's requirements for service quality. Our evolving model suggests that Lebanese consumers' service quality expectations are low in the event of a service delivered by Syrians. Specific training on service quality focusing on dimensions of service that have been demonstrated to be important for Lebanese can help to ease the service experience and counteract the effect of latent animosity. On the other hand, it would be appropriate also to provide training for Lebanese local service employees and business owners to give them the tools to identify refugees' particular needs as consumers and employees, to manage conflict in service encounters, and overall to foster multiculturally-competent environments. Improving navigability of the marketplace for refugees is proposed to act as a bridge between cultures that inevitably interact in a given marketing system (Demangeot et al., 2019).

Commitment from institutions: Lebanese government, NGOs, and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs)

Regarding inclusive employment policies, the Lebanese government has remained generally passive, while other times has focused on measures such as curfews and work limitations (Mourad & Piron, 2016). This erratic policy fails to protect adequately one third of the population in Lebanon, a vulnerable

community with specific problems; a sizable proportion of this same population comprises the Lebanese workforce, legally or otherwise.

Opportunity, visibility, and security are foci for public policies towards multicultural marketplace wellbeing (Demangeot et al., 2019; DeQuero-Navarro et al., 2020). For example: designing inclusive employment tax incentive policies for the services sector, in a way that opportunities for employment for Syrian refugees are regulated and promoted; rewarding good practices such as refugee welcome signaling in stores and multicultural marketing initiatives, can contribute to positive visibility of Syrian refugees. These measures also contribute by (1) increasing a sense of security among refugees who feel targeted and sometimes are discriminated against; (2) reducing the sense of insecurity harbored by Lebanese regarding the presence of Syrian refugees and their ties to an ongoing conflict.

Additionally, NGOs and CSOs play crucial roles as inclusive agents. NGOs have built cooperative networks throughout the territory and act as facilitators of inclusion in host societies. They both know well the local social realities and the necessary cooperation mechanisms that are needed to implement social changes towards the inclusion of the refugee populations. Promoting synergies between businesses and NGOs to implement the training interventions for Lebanese and Syrian refugees can facilitate the inclusion of the refugee population in the Lebanese workforce (C. Shultz et al., 2020; Zebian et al., 2018). They are indeed key catalysts, as they can provide services to meet basic needs of Syrian refugees; can be conduits to Lebanese employers; can help to train new Syrian business-owners that venture into the Lebanese market, to know the preferences of Lebanese consumers.

CSOs and Lebanese citizenship at large can also act as primary drivers in bottom-up processes towards inclusive public policies that protect, nurture, train, employ, serve, and prepare refugees to survive with dignity, locally, and to thrive in the countries to which they return or resettle (C. Shultz et al., 2020). The effective multicultural engagement (Demangeot et al., 2019) and constructive engagement (C. J. Shultz, 2007, 2015) needed for the inclusion of Syrian refugees requires acceptance, tolerance, commitment, and proactivity from the members of the welcoming population – specially in the case of already suffering populations such as the Lebanese, who are facing economic and political crises at a national level.

Contributions and future research

By providing insights based on a comprehensive framework pertinent to refugee-situations in non-camp environments, we aim to contribute to the decision-making of the catalytic institutions and their stakeholders in Lebanon, towards goals proposed by the Global Compact of Refugees by UNHCR (Brandt & Henderson, 2017). Moreover, this study has aimed to approach results of an empirical model from a Macromarketing perspective, to offer a micro, meso, and macro implications of business and institutional decisions regarding the inclusion of refugees in hosting societies.

Furthermore, these conclusions call for a stream of research that focuses on the evolving understanding of current and future changes in dynamic Lebanese marketing systems and indeed in all marketing systems with vested interests to resolve or mitigate the global refugee crisis. Recently, the impact of Covid and the destructive consequences of the port explosion in 2020 highlight the need for systemic analyses to accommodate Syrian refugees' realities and needs in an increasingly challenged Lebanese society. Beyond Lebanon, this micro-meso-macro approach can shed light into the analysis of the refugee inclusion in other hosting countries of forcibly displaced populations, towards the implication and coordination of the stakeholders involved in a more efficient services system that are also serve the well-being of refugee communities.

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Ethnonationalism in the Marketplace: An Ethnographic Study on Tibetan Refugee-Run Business in India

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Literature has examined the marginality of the migrants in the marketplace (e.g. Chu et al., 2018). Research indicates the refugee condition resulting from persecution, conflict, and violence. The prolonged period of displacement often has a ravaging impact on the lives of the communities and the losses of human potential. Although Tibetan refugees first settled in India in 1959 (Falcone & Wangchuk, 2008), the refugees and their offspring rarely become Indian citizens. Many live under residency permit regulation which is required to be renewed every five years. They often face social and political uncertainty. Thus, there is a need to further examine Tibetan refugees' unique position in India. We aim to investigate Tibetan refugee-run businesses. In other words, this research examines how the marketing system resets boundaries and provides space for the consolidation of the ethnonational identity of the refugees.

We borrow the consumer acculturation and boundary work as the theoretical foundation. Prior acculturation literature has highlighted the intricate process of cultural adaption to unfamiliar economic, biological (e.g., health), physical (e.g., urbanization), social (e.g., discrimination), and cultural (clothing, religion, language) conditions that often create psychological stress (Berry & Sam, 1997). As Regany et al. (2012) posit, migrants confront multiple cultural references as they navigate the market structure. As a result, migrants might creatively reset the boundaries, which are theoretically defined as a distinction that established categories of objects, people, and activities (Askegaard & Bengtsson, 2005).

The boundary work enriches the understanding of nationalism (Pachucki et al., 2007). Our ethnographic study of the Tibetan refugee market takes recourse to the socio-political theories of ethnonationalism. We employ the ethnonationalist boundary maintenance theories (e.g. Armstrong, 1982; Smith, 2008) to analyze the Tibetan refugee market in Dharmashala. Armstrong states that a host of 'collective belief systems' or 'mythomoteurs' assert a sense of national belongingness. These 'mythomoteurs' that create a sense of national consciousness within an 'ethnie' might include divinely derived origin, the sanctity of an ancient language, or collective wistfulness over a Golden past (Armstrong, 1982).

An ethnographic study is being conducted in the Tibetan refugee-run market in India. We collect the data in Dharamshala, which is the capital of the exiled Tibetan government. Interviews are conducted in Hindi, English, and Tibetan (depending on the comfort level of the participants). Each interview lasts about one to two hours long. All interviews will be translated into English. Extensive field notes will be taken.

Additionally, secondary data (e.g., YouTube videos, Tibetan refugee blogs viz. "Free Tibet" (including its online shopping options), "savetibet.org," etc.) will be collected for triangulation. Data collection is in progress and will be completed in the fall of 2021.

Our preliminary findings suggest that the market system (e.g., production, allocation, assortment, and consumption) serves as a conduit to consolidate the ethnonational identity of the Tibetan refugees. For example, producing and selling traditional Tibetan rugs with symbols such as dragons, phoenixes, and other Buddhist mystical/karmic expressions signifies an expression of "mythomoteur" that codifies ethnonational identity. Further, we found that the "togetherness" of the Tibetan-owned business creates a polit-

ical frontier. As Appadurai anticipated, “altogether new condition of neighborliness” (Appadurai, 1996, p. 2) has been created within the Kangra Valley.

Theoretically speaking, market performances give refugees agency to subvert the neo-colonial designs of repression and displacement. The market culture of the Tibetan refugees in Dharamshala is a consolidation of Tibetan nationalism. From an anthropological perspective, any attempt to valorize a culture (here the Tibetan) as authentic/purist may seem to be an essentialist discourse. To this end, this study contributes to Macromarketing theory by illustrating how the Tibetan refugee marketing system establishes ethnonationalism in an era of neo-colonialism. In addition, the current study has the potential to contribute to the recent discussions among the macromarketing scholars in the areas of global refugee crises (Shultz et al., 2020) and the impact of refugee entrepreneurship on community well-being (Baktir & Watson, 2021).

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Session XXI
Track Gender

Framing gender representations in advertising: An analysis of decisions by the Swedish Advertising Ombudsman

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Research has problematised the way in which advertisements represent gender. Less attention has been paid to the practices and institutions of advertising, and how they shape gender representations. This paper explores industry self-regulation of gender representations in advertising. The paper draws on the decision documents of the Swedish Advertising Ombudsman (RO). Inspired by approaches from constructivist market studies and sociological attention to framing we analyse how RO's decisions account for contrasting positions on how to interpret adverts, the rules of RO and how to apply them in consideration of what constitutes acceptable ads. We identify a rich taxonomy of arguments problematising and defending gender representations. In particular, we discuss efforts of connecting RO's formal rules and considerations to the interpretation and praxis necessary to arrive at a decision. The paper contributes to research into self-regulation of advertising, as well as how advertising institutions and practices shape advertising representations.

Sexualising and socialising women's inequality: an institutional logics analysis of the user-generated pornography market

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Context & Method: At the beginning of 2021, executives from the pornography conglomerate MindGeek testified to the Canadian House of Commons on reports of sexual violence against women and children on their 'flagship video sharing platform', Pornhub. While Pornhub may have the largest public profile, as one of three pornography platforms in the top ten most visited websites on the internet, it is far from an exceptional case – both in its expansive reach in society and its levels of violence against women (Bridges, 2019; Klaassen & Peter, 2015). What Pornhub and similar pornography platforms also represent is the success of a newer business model that profits from the production and distribution of user-generated content.

In this paper, we present findings from our empirical analysis of five user-generated pornography websites: both a market and manifestation of women's sexualised inequality largely neglected in the discipline. To unpick some

of the otherwise invisible, constraining dynamics of markets (Kravets et al., 2020), we apply an institutional logics approach, and through feminist critical discourse analysis (Lazar, 2005), we analyse the visual and textual archival data from the websites' 'uploading' pages, social media accounts, blogs, press releases, CSR activities, promotional videos, and published interviews with market actors.

Findings & discussion: Findings from our study reveal a strategic integration of a gendered, social logic of care, stemming from the institution of the family. More specifically, the user-generated websites analysed are using logics of self-care and societal care to obfuscate the market's dominant capitalist logic of self-commodification. While other scholars note that sometimes marketers will integrate social logics 'to disguise' the dominant logics of the market (Scaraboto, 2015, p. 172), our work is significant in demonstrating the way markets can use gendered social logics to conceal and counter market logics, coerce market practices of violence and harm, and further women's commercialised and sexualised inequality.

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Exploring the Drivers of Activism in a Vulnerable Group: How the Same Attributes that Marginalize Women may Empower Resilience

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In health care there is a spectrum of patients with those at one end of the spectrum more privileged, with access and voice. At the other end are people who are more vulnerable, confused about what they need, how to get it, and when raising concerns and questions often rendered voiceless (Frohlich et al., 2001). Prior research considers health (Pavia & Mason, 2014), gender (McKeage et al., 2018), and chronological age (Ford et al., 2016; Spotswood & Nairn, 2016) as individual characteristics that can contribute to consumer vulnerability. Our work examines experiences and navigation of consumer vulnerability through the intersection of gender, age, and health by interviewing women under the age of 45 who have breast cancer.

While the people at the more vulnerable end of the spectrum of health care patients experience frustration, reduced choice and less power in various health care interactions and thus meet the definition for vulnerability (Baker et al., 2005; Baker & Mason, 2012), they are not entirely powerless and may be resourceful in building and maintaining networks that address this problem (Baker et al., 2007; Sharma et al., 2017). Among the forces in-

creasing vulnerability, and most relevant for our presentation here, are two well-documented difficulties that many women and minorities experience. First, when bringing complaints of pain, malaise and fatigue to the medical community many women report their complaints are dismissed or they are made to feel their complaints are invalid (Pertl et al., 2014). Second, many people, especially women, are socialized to prioritize the health and wellbeing of their family and loved ones ahead of their own (Parkinson, Gallegos and Russell-Bennett, 2016). On the other hand, it is possible that the same attributes that may place someone at the more vulnerable end of the power dynamic in a health care setting (e.g., being deeply embedded in a familial network that exerts its own demands) are the same attributes that may help the person build a problem-solving network that reduces vulnerability (e.g., a social acceptance of interconnectedness or permission to show weakness/ask for help).

An additional intersectionality that is often overlooked in the literature, but that is relevant in a health care setting, is the physical experience of pain, fatigue and cognitive slowing. Although not unique to our younger, female cancer patients, by including this aspect of vulnerability in our study we may be able to detail some generalizable patterns. The market is ill equipped to address sustained cognitive impairment (Pavia & Mason, 2014), but situational cognitive impairment due to recent surgery, infection (like COVID) or chemotherapy in someone otherwise thought of as cognitively normal also increases vulnerability in health care and social settings. The bottom line is that when someone is already at a disadvantage due to healthcare challenges, the problem is only exacerbated by physical and cognitive challenges.

The Baker, Gentry and Rittenberg (2005) vulnerability model was extended by McKeage, Crosby and Rittenberg (2018) in a setting where gender identity interacts with the market to increase vulnerability. One of the contributions of the 2018 extension is to highlight consumer responses to situations of vulnerability and to demonstrate how such consumers proactively work to enhance their own well-being. Of particular interest to us are the active consumer responses women develop when feeling lost and unheard as they live through cancer diagnosis and treatment. Following the model of McKeage, Crosby and Rittenberg (2018) we focus on how our respondents adapt the individual, family and community conditions they face and to address their needs and the underlying factors that influence how their efforts for resiliency

are directed.

Methods

A phenomenological approach was used to investigate the experiences and navigation of vulnerability among young women with breast cancer. A total of 18 depth interviews were conducted with young women who currently have or had been diagnosed with breast cancer within the last five years; a second round of interviews was conducted six months later with seven of the initial set of women, and third round of interviews was conducted with the second round group one year after the second set of interviews.

The women represent the age group from 23-41 years of age and include multiple informants living with a breast cancer diagnosis in stages 2, 3 and 4. All women were currently or recently undergoing treatment including a variation of chemotherapy, radiation, and surgical procedures. The interviews ranged in length from one to three hours and textual data was analyzed using an iterative part-to-whole method of the constant comparison (Spiggle, 1994). In this strategy, researchers develop an understanding of the emic themes and concepts expressed first in each interview and next across interviews (Thompson et al., 1989). To achieve this goal, each interview was read independently by the researchers to identify possible themes. In an ongoing, recursive manner, the researchers consulted the literature (Spiggle, 1994; Thompson et al., 1994) to contextualize the informant's narratives in the context of gender identity and the body.

An Example of the Findings

At the intersectionality of age, gender, and health, young women with breast cancer uniquely navigate through experiences of vulnerability. Cancer patients who, at the individual level, are challenged by changes to their identities, face additional impediments from external conditions beyond their control (Baker et al., 2005). For example, several women described how the health care system pressured them into making decisions about their future with no concrete information as a basis. Jessica recalled, "They said (to me), 'yeah you can do chemo, or you'll die.' Yeah, that was it." Other patients argued information and options or possibilities were not provided. For instance,

Lupita was talking with other patients about chemotherapy treatment when she found out about options that her healthcare provider had not shared with her. “(Two other patients) were put on a less harsh chemo than I was for our age, since we’re younger. (...) Then I found out that I wasn’t told to harvest my eggs.”

Aside from a tendency to omit information of interest to young breast cancer patients, patients were frequently provided with written material about cancer that was not pertinent to their case, particularly because of their age. As Jennifer recounts, “They give (us a) binder and little pamphlets about chemotherapy (and) nutrition (for) physical health. (But) it feels like it is geared toward ‘If you’re 70 and you got diagnosed with lung cancer ... here’s your binder. ... It is not helpful to a young, self-aware woman.” Additionally, participants’ emotional needs were often ignored. Jessica, for example, argued “I finally yelled at my oncologist nurse. I was like, ‘Listen, please stop. If you can’t talk to me, or if you can’t not be rude, then don’t call me. I’ll find another oncologist,’ which will probably be the same but, it’s just frustrating because it’s the lack of emotion that they give you.”

Many respondents described being burdened with the effect of treatment on their relationships with their families and children. Brooke said “(...) but now I have this little person to take care of as well. You want to be selfish and take care of yourself, but at the same time they’re the most important thing.” And, “Even if I am here for a number of years, she’s going to have to deal with that and watch me go through everything, and she’s going to have to watch me die. I just don’t think it’s fair. I do feel guilty because I want her to have a full life and I don’t want her to have to deal with any of this bull****.”

These quotes suggest that the attributes associated with the female gender—such as being emotional, being enmeshed with family and even being deemed as the weaker sex when it comes to understanding the medical complexities of their illness tend to systematically neglect the needs of young women with cancer. We argue, however, that the attributes that cause the marginalization that leaves young women with breast cancer in a state of frustration and vulnerability, may be the same attributes that allow them to become successful in solving some of their problems. That is, their emotional and communicative qualities, and their ability to build social networks, allow these women to become resilient and form emotional connections with other women facing breast cancer. They become particularly effective in

creating a community of support, whether in an online context or by simply reaching out to other breast cancer patients. We contend, too, that support groups helped them accept the difficulties of dealing with cancer and empower themselves to continue their research and support for each other.

While our respondents faced the unique challenge of dealing with cancer at a young age, they also demonstrated active approaches to navigating the issue, supporting the argument that vulnerable consumers can be highly proactive in managing their predicament ((Adkins & Jae, 2010; Baker et al., 2005). We show how many patients responded to their vulnerability with resilience through the formation of cancer support communities, frequently driven by their emotional needs. This is consistent with prior research, which states that “vulnerability can be lessened or ameliorated with the right combination of resources and support” (Pavia & Mason, 2014). For instance, Christina felt a support group helped her accept the changes she was going through. “Just the constant having to ask, and coming to terms, and having a group of people who were all in the same boat helped me accept that this is a part of who I am now.” Similarly, Kat said “That has been the best thing of all... knowing that there’s a place like that to go. There is a Cancer 101 where you go and sit with people that are recently diagnosed, like you.”

Findings from this work suggest that support groups increase women’s sense of empowerment and information sharing. As Jennifer tells, “the internet, and then Breast Cancer Resource Center put me in touch with one girl who had done cold caps like I’m doing, for hair. That was helpful... talking with her.” Formal support groups are supplemented with virtual groups who find each other online. As Amy described, “I just joined a small Facebook group of other women with breast cancer because really it’s only those people who understand.” Support from others with advanced breast cancer can have two different effects, providing hope and providing social support (Hasson-Ohayon et al., 2014). In Jennifer’s words, “Another good resource was BreastCancer.org. There are forums and ... if you sift through, you can find people that give you good tips and tricks, like ‘Hey, here’s what I did with dry mouth.’” Similarly, Selma said, “(They give) you a binder with the basics, ... but I did get a lot more information through forums, and Facebook has those two groups that I’m in, and I’ll be like, ‘Hey. This happened. What do you guys do?’.”

An Overview of the Discussion

With support and empathy for each other that was shared among young women with breast cancer, the women we interviewed were able to cope with the changes in their bodies and their lives. Such empowerment allowed for a greater degree of resiliency for young women with breast cancer and the provision of hope. From the perspective of the McKeage, Crosby and Rittenburg (2018) model forming social networks and participating in formal or informal support groups are activities that span the space between Consumer Responses and Macro Responses to vulnerability. This expanded model of vulnerability also suggests that the attempts to build resiliency have impact at the individual, family, community and macro level. For the most part, our respondents identified how their attempts to build resiliency in their situation impacted the themselves (the individual in this model); they also provide some evidence of impact on their family although there was concerted effort to have their illness not change family life any more than necessary. However, the impact of the resiliency efforts our respondents described on community and macro forces demonstrates the greatest contrast. Many women report building new communities of “sisters” who share/shared their experiences, but less connection to many people previously in their community, especially those who disappeared during their illness. Because the resiliency largely centered around building community among those living with breast cancer, this becomes reflexive – community building is both the source and the outcome of resiliency. In contrast, while some young women have the time, energy and dedication to advocate for macro changes to improve the lives of others in this situation, the life stage of many of our respondents suggested that the needs of their careers, family, education, social lives and personal goals often left little opportunity for them to enact macro changes.

The final part of our discussion centers around a comparison of the types of resiliency we show in our work with other types of resiliency that has appeared in the literature. For example, in the 1980s ACT UP was central in focusing attention in the United States on the HIV crisis afflicting (at that time) largely gay men. Because many people who were concerned about the HIV crisis were well educated, with financial resources, the activism they instigated has a comparatively rapid impact on macro forces to address the vulnerability. This can be contrasted with the trajectory of the opioid crisis in the US in which many of the afflicted and their families have lost their finan-

cial and social resources over a long spiral into addiction. Comparatively, it has taken much longer to build the same national awareness around the crisis nature of opiate addiction compared to the trajectory of HIV infection. A bird's eye view of these two challenges suggests that i) access to finances, ii) having a community that is willing to fight the stigma of the vulnerability, iii) the personal urgency of the threat (i.e., could I get AIDS versus could I become an addict), and iv) having the time, energy and ability to come together are differentiating attributes in the speed with which macro forces were mobilized/modified.

Applying these four dimensions to our setting, none of our respondents lived in poverty so they did have some financial resources, but being young and the outset of their careers, were not well enough established to make big waves on macro forces. In contrast, our interviewees were strongly active in the second attribute outlined in the prior paragraph. Our respondents who did not have a community of breast cancer sisters formed one; those who entered an existing community dedicated time and energy to it. With regard to the third attribute, the sense of urgency, breast cancer has been an ongoing background threat for many and does not have the population-based high level anxiety that HIV provoked when it first emerged. While it moves to the front of mind for those facing it, aside from annual pink ribbon campaigns, it does not feel like one of life's greatest threat to many people most of the time. The fourth attribute, having the time and energy to work on macro changes is an area where being a young woman works to impede action in our respondents. The women want to help others in this situation – often in a one on one setting online or in support groups. But they also want to get back to their lives, their partners, their work and schooling. In short, this is a time of life when working on macro changes is noble, but it is not always an attractive choice.

With this project, we contribute to the literature of consumer vulnerability by demonstrating how it is the same characteristics that marginalize women that allow them to become resilient although their resiliency also becomes focused by these same attributes.

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Contesting Ideologies Structuring Gender Transgression in the Swedish Marketplace

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Introduction

This paper interrogates how contesting state and marketplace ideologies in Sweden negotiates the construction of gender transgression in the marketplace. There is always an incessant ideological battle among the different sides of a society – among the traditionalist and the more progressive, among those who embraces change and those who attempt to conserve corrupting the natural order. Between two such large ideological positions, consumers in Sweden are caught in the crossfires of different messages and strives to figure out their interpretive strategies. Given its status as a welfare State, Sweden is driven, to a large extent, by state– instigated double emancipation ideology. On the other hand, both traditional gender ideology and a more progressive gender transgressive ideology – that promotes gender inclusivity, neutrality and fluidity – also pervades consumption in the Swedish marketplace.

Review of Previous Literature

Moisander et al. (2009) and Thompson, Arnould and Giesler (2013, p. 151) expressed how the use of 'individual' as primary unit-of-analysis and overuse of phenomenological accounts in Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) (Arnould & Thompson, 2005) are "reproducing the hyperindividualising, overly agentic, and ahistoric, sociologically impoverished theoretical" accounts, and needs more "investigations into the sociocultural shaping of consumption and the ideological production of consumer subject positions". This sentiment to understand the culturally contextualised consumer subject was echoed in Askegaard and Linnet (Askegaard & Linnet, 2011), Karababa and Ger (2011) and Giesler and Veresiu (2014), who called for works that integrate micro-social phenomenological consumers accounts with macro socio-historical framework, that structure the market and consumption system for better understanding of consumers and their environments. This research answers such calls to understand both the micro-social lived consumers' experiences as well as to interrogate macro-social historical and institutional forces mediating gender ideologies. There is an abundance of work in consumer research pertaining to ideologies. Scholars in CCT have investigated the role of political (Crockett & Wallendorf, 2004; Varman & Belk, 2009) and religious (Izberk-Bilgin, 2012; Sandikci & Ger, 2010) ideologies in structuring consumption, in particular, how ideologies negotiate with institutional forces such as myths (Luedicke et al., 2010; Thompson, 2004), ethnicity (Üstüner & Holt, 2007; Veresiu & Giesler, 2018), and gender (Branchik & Chowdhury, 2013; Campana et al., 2020; Hirschman, 1993; Minowa et al., 2019), particularly in the context of macromarketing (French et al., 2020; Kravets et al., 2020; Nill & Shultz, 2010; Ourahmoune et al., 2014). Previous CCT scholarships have also investigated how multiple ideological forces engage in conflicts in the marketplace (Askegaard et al., 2005; Molander, 2021; Peñaloza, 1994). Molander (2021) underscored the importance of taking into account the interplay between both state and marketplace ideologies, both of which structure consumption in Sweden. Molander, Östberg and Kleppe (2019) posited that the State is usually in the backdrop, as policymakers, and its influence as an 'ideology-producing' function in shaping the consumer culture and reproducing gender imbalances is undertheorised. To ameliorate such imbalances, this study explores various ideological forces in the marketplace that structure gender.

Theoretical Apparatuses

In this study, I lean upon the notion of structure and superstructure from the theory of 'cultural hegemony' by Italian Marxist philosopher Antonio Gramsci (2007) and borrow the conception of 'interpellation' and 'Ideology State Apparatuses' (ISAs) from the French Marxist philosopher Louis Althusser (1971). According to Gramsci (2007, p. 208), "the State is the instrument for conforming civil society to the economic structure". Borrowing elements of Gramsci's historical bloc, this research demonstrates the dialectical relationship between the following: (1) economic structure, (2) ideological superstructures: a) State/political, b) civil society/sociocultural. Althusser (1971) postulated that ISAs are sites of struggle between the hegemony, who has considerably more power and rules the state, and the marginalised, and this class struggle is manifested in ideological forms of the ISA. Using Althusser (1971), this paper also showcases how the Swedish state uses the ISAs to promote and diffuse a gender equal ideology to interpellate gender.

The Swedish Context

Sweden is a perfect ground for this study, as she can be considered as "the most gender equal country on earth" (Ulver, 2019, p. 65), "infused with ideologies of egalitarianism", ranked high in Gender equality index and has low gender gap (Klasson & Ulver, 2015, pp. 1655, 1659). She is ripe with instances of how a distinct state ideology of egalitarianism has induced consumer culture evolving at the confluence of the state, consumers' lived experiences, and firms' marketing pursuits (Molander et al., 2019). Recent history of state feminism of Sweden dates back to the 1970s, when the country's ideology started to become more gender egalitarian, thanks to feminist movements ushered in by media, pop-culture and politics (Molander et al., 2019). The Swedish state believes that society would reap benefits from unbinding gender norms (Molander et al., 2019). As a country, Sweden is in the forefront of gender-neutral revolution.

Methodology and Analytical Apparatuses

To understand both the micro-social lived consumers' experiences as well as to interrogate macro-social historical and institutional forces mediating gender transgression in the marketplace, two methods were employed in this study. First, face-to-face interviews, among young urban middle-class Swedish consumers and marketing professionals, has been conducted to garner rich empirical materials. Second, media analysis has been performed to better understand the dominant cultural meanings and tensions in Swedish state ideologies, by interrogating books, websites, news, television programmes, business and consumer insight reports, government and statistical reports, political debates and speeches, marketing campaigns and advertisements. Empirical materials are being analysed and interpreted in a hermeneutically grounded way (Thompson, 1997) to extricate insights from both interviews and media, hence there is an incessant oscillation during analysis.

Preliminary Findings

Preliminary findings indicate that gender transgression in the marketplace is structured at three spheres. At the state superstructural sphere, gender related national political agenda stems from the Swedish welfare state's distinct state ideology of gender equality, mediated through the following ISAs: religious, educational, family, legal, political, trade-union, communications and cultural ISAs (Althusser, 1971). Government Offices of Sweden (2019) cogently outlined three welfare reforms that promote gender egalitarianism in Sweden: (1) in 1971, commencement of separate income taxation for wife and husband, (2) in 1974, development of affordable public child care and (3) in 1974, Sweden became the first state to introduce gender-neutral paid parental leave policy. Through 'Gender Mainstreaming in Government Agencies', the Swedish government has authorised the Swedish Gender Equality agency to assist all government agencies to make gender a part of every policymaking decisions (Institute, 2019). Furthermore, policies to transgress gender is a popular topic of discussion in political speeches. For instance, in Sveriges Riksdag (2018) (Swedish Parliament), a proposal was in motion to investigate the introduction of a legal third gender in Sweden. At the sociocultural superstructural sphere, gender transgression is shaped by societal discourses, local and global media and cultural intermediaries

(Bourdieu, 1984) or specialists (Holt, 2002), such as celebrities and high profile transgender people, who are upending prescribed gender roles and norms (McNabb, 2017). Advertising diffuse meanings and images of consumption ideologies (Appadurai, 1996; Thompson & Haytko, 1997) of globally dominant countries, such as large numbers of gender-transgressive advertisements from the

United States, of brands like Mattel, H&M, Selfridges, Diesel, Covergirl, Maybelline and many other fashion brands. Global cultural norms and transgressive ideologies are also propagated by movies and TV shows. Brands/marketers/ companies, advertising professionals/ agencies, market-researchers, media and regulatory bodies are institutional actors at the economic/ production structure that mediate gender ideologies through production of gender-neutral offerings and marketing campaigns. In Sweden, marketing communication has strived to reduce men's insecurities portraying them as more gender-neutral (Molander et al., 2019). For instance, with their 'Break the Clothing Power Structure' campaign, Åhléns inspired consumers to dress without conforming to traditional stereotypes.

Anticipated Theoretical Contribution

Gramsci (***gramsci1971selections**) highlighted the significance of ideological superstructures producing and reproducing economic spheres of production. In a similar vein, Althusser (1971, p. 154) argued that "All ideological State apparatuses...contribute to the same result: the reproduction of the relations of production". While during Gramsci's and Althusser's time of postulation, production was at the fore-front of marketplace narratives, until postmodernism elevated consumption from a 'value-destructive' endeavour to a 'value-producing' activity, in equal footing with production (Firat & Venkatesh, 1995). Hence, this study would extend Gramscian and Althusserian theorisations and explicate how structures and superstructures as well as ISAs reproduce consumption. Moreover, this study advances understanding of interplay between state and marketplace ideologies that can shape gender structures in a society, and hence, address social justice and equity issues. Furthermore, this study answers calls for more research interrogating ideological and institutional actors mediating consumption, in association with consumers' lived experiences. Additionally, Gopaldas and Fischer (2012) highlighted the notion of intersectionality, calling for more research

that intersects with gender. This research responds to such a call of studying the intersection of state and gender ideologies.

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