Advances in Consumer Research

Volume
XXX

Atlanta, Georgia

Editors
Punam Anand Keller
Dennis W. Rook

Punam Anand Keller and Dennis W. Rook, Editors

Advances in Consumer Research, Volume 30

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"Rasta Blues Saxman" by Colin F. (bottom left artwork graphic on cover)
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Preface

The thirty-third Annual Conference of the Association for Consumer Research (ACR) was held at the Marriott Marquis Hotel in Atlanta, Georgia, from October 16-20, 2002. This volume is comprised of the presentations made at the Conference. Over 700 individuals from 25 countries attended the meetings, which is the largest number in ACR's history.

The Conference program reflected the broad domain, alternative philosophical approaches, and methodological diversity of consumer research. These interests materialized in 41 Special Topic Sessions, 31 Competitive Paper Sessions, 8 Roundtable Sessions, and a Working Paper Poster Session. In addition, the 2002 Conference formally introduced a new medium for the dissemination of consumer research: film. ACR's first Film Festival featured 17 films in two evening sessions. Altogether, the Conference included 84 sessions in which 262 papers were presented over three days.

Acknowledgments

Over 250 ACR Members assisted in various capacities with the 2002 Conference, so there are quite a few people whose contributions we want to acknowledge. First, we want to thank ACR President Steve Hoch for providing the opportunity to work with this extensive group in assembling the Conference Program, scheduling social events, and in executing a myriad of other details. We also want to thank Steve for providing the occasion for the two of us (former classmates) to work together again; this time it was the biggest group project ever!

Our 43-member Program Committee carefully screened submissions for Special Topic Sessions. 186 reviewers evaluated competitive paper submissions. We want to thank both groups for providing thoughtful and invaluable input to the Conference program. We also want to thank Lauren Block and Tina Kiesler for organizing the roundtable discussions. We want to acknowledge the work of Melanie Wallendorf and Pat West in co-chairing ACR's third Doctoral Symposium. Finally, we want to thank Russ Belk and Robert Kozinets for their creative initiative and hard work in organizing ACR's first Film Festival.

On the hospitality front, Basil Englis prepared a comprehensive guide to Atlanta food, entertainment, and site seeing possibilities. Saturday's reception at the World of Coca-Cola Museum was co-sponsored by Emory University's Goizetta School of Business, and we want to thank Dean Tom Robertson and his staff, Sarah Smith and Rebecca Asteghene for their support and effort.

The ACR Conference involves a huge amount of administrative work: session scheduling, budgeting, event planning, and registration. For many months, Kathy Brown lent her experience and perspective to numerous planning and logistical aspects of the Conference, several of which we never imagined! We are also indebted to ACR Executive Director Jim Muncy, who helped us in many ways, assisted us in resolving various mini-crises, and always remained positive in attitude. Doctoral students from the University of Southern California (Gustavo Demello and Vanessa Patrick) and Georgia State University (Talaibek Osmonbekov, Vinita Sangtani, and Anita Whiting) provided excellent assistance in the Conference registration booth.

Past Conference Co-Chairs generously shared their experiences and advice: Susan Broniarczyk, Kim Corfman, Steve Hoch, Rich Lutz, Kent Nakamoto, Mike Solomon, and Melanie Wallendorf. Dennis wants specifically to thank his USC colleagues Valerie Folkes and Debbie MacInnis for their empathy and guidance, and willingness to listen to his "you won't believe what just happened" stories. Punam wants to thank her Dean, Paul Danos, for being so generous with the Tuck School of Business' resources, and also Bethanie Anderson, Heather Gere and Aoi O'brien for their invaluable administrative assistance.

We are grateful for Steve Barnett's help in the assembly and production of this volume. Thanks also to Heather Gere for the cover artwork.

We hope we haven't left anyone out; if we have, we apologize. We also hope that ACR's membership will be as generous and supportive of next year's Conference Co-Chairs, Barbara Kahn and Mary Frances Luce, as they were to us.

Punam Anand Keller, Dartmouth College
Dennis W. Rook, University of Southern California
2002 ACR Conference Co-Chairs/Proceedings Editors

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ASSOCIATION FOR CONSUMER RESEARCH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

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Marriott Marquis Hotel

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Registration for ACR Doctoral Symposium
4:00 – 7:00 p.m.

Doctoral Symposium Reception
6:00 – 7:30 p.m.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 17

ACR Doctoral Symposium Plenary Sessions I & II
8:00 a.m. – Noon

ACR Board of Directors Meeting
Noon – 5:00 p.m.

Breakout Sessions for Doctoral Symposium
1:00 p.m. – 4:30 p.m.

SCP Executive Committee Meeting
4:30 p.m. – 6:00 p.m.

ACR Registration
4:30 p.m. – 7:30 p.m.

ACR WELCOMING RECEPTION
6:00 p.m. – 8:00 p.m.

FILM ABSTRACTS

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FRIDAY, OCTOBER 18

ACR Continental Breakfast
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JCR (Mick) Associate Editors Meeting
7:30 a.m. – 9:00 a.m.

ACR 2003 Program Committee Meeting
7:30 a.m. – 9:00 a.m.

ACR Registration
8:00 a.m. – 5:00 p.m.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 18

SESSION 1
8:30 a.m. – 10:00 a.m.

1.1 Special Session: *Constructing Preferences: The Influence of When and Where*

Chair: Elizabeth Gelfand Miller, University of Pennsylvania
Discussion Leader: Joel Huber, Duke University

Evolution and Development of Preferences: The Role of Biased Search in Acquiring Taste
  Steve Hoeffler, University of North Carolina
  Pat West, Ohio State University

The Brand Positivity Effect: When Evaluation Confers Preference
  Steven S. Posavac, University of Rochester
  David M. Sanbonmatsu, University of Utah
  Frank R. Kardes, University of Cincinnati
  Gavan J. Fitzsimons, Wharton

Shades of Meaning: The Effects of Novel Color Names on Consumer Preferences
  Elizabeth Gelfand Miller, Wharton
  Barbara E. Kahn, Wharton

1.2 Special Session: *Downsides of Thinking: Negative Effects of Thinking on Consumer Decisions*

Chair: Ziv Carmon, INSEAD
Discussion Leader: Dawn Iacobucci, Northwestern University

Option Attachment: When Deliberating Makes Choosing Feel like Losing
  Ziv Carmon, INSEAD
  Klaus Wertenbroch, INSEAD
  Marcel Zeelenberg, Tilburg University

When and Why the Background Contrast Effect Emerges: The Role of Thought and Applicability
  Joseph R. Priester, University of Michigan
  Utpal M. Dholakia, Rice University

Effect Propensity: Generic Effects on Preferences Between Default/Inaction and Non-Default/Action Options
  Itamar Simonson, Stanford University
  Thomas Kramer, Stanford University
  Maia Young, Stanford University

1.3 Competitive Paper Session: *Gender and Lifespan Perspectives*

Chair: Alladi Venkatesh, University of California at Irvine
Discussion Leader: Jim Gentry, University of Nebraska

1.4 Competitive Paper Session 1.4: *For the Sake of Fashion*

Chair: Michael Guiry, SUNY New Paltz
Discussion Leader: José Antonio Rosa, Case Western Reserve University

1.5 Special Session: *The Relationship between Rational and Experiential Processing: Conflict, Complicity, or Independence?*

Chairs: Ashesh Mukherjee, McGill University
       Laurette Dubé, McGill University
Discussion Leader: Joel Cohen, University of Florida

SPECIAL SESSION SUMMARY

Rational and Experiential Modes of Processing and their Interplay: Conceptual and Empirical Overview
    Seymour Epstein, University of Massachusetts

Walking the Tightrope Between Feeling Good and Being Accurate: Mood as a Resource in Processing Pervasive Messages
    Raj Raghunathan, University of Texas at Austin
    Yaacov Trope, New York University

The Use of Humor in Threat-Related Advertising: An Experiential Processing Perspective
    Ashesh Mukherjee, McGill University
    Laurette Dubé, McGill University

1.6 Competitive Paper Session: *Advertising Judgment, Interference, and Misinformation*

Chair: Sridhar Samu, Memorial University of Newfoundland
Discussion Leader: Mickey Belch, San Diego State University

Relative Judgments in a Competitive Ad Context
    Chingching Chang, National Chengchi University

Not Necessarily Better, But Certainly Different: A Limit to the Advertising Misinformation Effect on Memory
    Eunika Janus, University of New South Wales
    Elizabeth Cowley, University of New South Wales

1.7 Competitive Paper Session: *Uncertainty, Surprise, and Retail Memory*

Chair: Hope Jensen Schau, Temple University
Discussion Leader: Julie A. Ruth, Rutgers University

1.8 Roundtable: *Qualitative Data Analysis*

Chairs: Melanie Wallendorf, University of Arizona
                  Eric Arnould, University of Nebraska, Lincoln

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FRIDAY, OCTOBER 18

SESSION 2
10:30 a.m. – Noon

2.1 Special Session: *Psychological Approaches to Future Rewards: Sequences, Valuation, Effort, and Frequency Reward Programs*

Chair: Jane Ebert, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Discussion Leader: Drazen Prelec, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

2.2 Special Session: *Constructing Value: What's So Special about Possession?*

Chair/Discussion Leader: Eric J. Johnson, Columbia University

Where Does Value Come From: If It Feels Right, It's Good
        E. Tory Higgins, Columbia University

Do Incidental Feelings Shape Buying and Selling Price? Examining the Endowment Effect with Disgust and Sadness
        Jennifer Lerner, Carnegie Mellon University
        Deborah Small, Carnegie Mellon University
        George Loewenstein, Carnegie Mellon University

The Endowment Effect Revisited: Preferences as Memories
        Eric J. Johnson, Columbia University
        Gerald Häubl, University of Alberta
        Elke U. Weber, Columbia University

2.3 Competitive Paper Session: *Brand Users, Loyalty, and Names*

Chair/Discussion Leader: Eugene Sivadas, Rutgers University

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        Yeqing Bao, University of Alabama in Huntsville
        Carter A. Mandrik, Koç University

2.4 Special Session: **Globalizing Hope and Despair: Cosmetics Consumptionscapes**

Chair: Eric J. Arnould, University of Nebraska
Discussion Leader: Craig Thompson, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Interpenetration of the Global and the Local in Global Consumptionscapes
        Güliz Ger, Bilkent University

Central European Women's Ideologies of Appearance, Cosmetics Involvement, and Consumption Intentions
        Linda Price, University of Nebraska
        Robin Coulter, University of Connecticut

Lipstick—More than a Fashion Trend
        Madeline Ogilvie, Edith Cowan University
        Maria M. Ryan, Edith Cowan University

2.5 Special Session: *The Influence of Self-Regulatory Goal on Information Processing, Affective Responses and Counterfactual Thinking*

Chair: Angela Y. Lee, Northwestern University
Discussion Leader: Miguel Brendl, INSEAD

The Effect of Regulatory Fit on Persuasiveness of Message Frames: Affective Response as a Mediating Process
        Sunghwan Yi, Penn State University

Stability versus Change: The Effects of Regulatory Focus Compatibility on Behavior Change
        Punam A. Keller, Dartmouth College
        Angela Y. Lee, Northwestern University
        Brian Sternthal, Northwestern University

An Analysis of Counterfactual Thinking and Rationality: The Role of Regulatory Goal Focus in Individual Investor Response
        Susan Jung Grant, University of Colorado, Boulder
        Ying Xie, Northwestern University

2.6 Special Session: *Antecedents and Consequences of Emotional Responses to Advertising*

Chairs: Jennifer Edson Escalas, University of Arizona
                   Barbara B. Stern, Rutgers University
Discussion Leader: Dawn Iacobucci, Northwestern University

Empathy and Sympathy Responses to Advertising Dramas: Individual Differences and Emotional Effects
        Barbara B. Stern, Rutgers University
        Jennifer Edson Escalas, University of Arizona

Fishing for Feelings: Hooking Viewers Helps!
        Julie A. Edell, Duke University
        Marian Chapman Moore, University of Virginia
        Jennifer Edson Escalas, University of Arizona

The Impact of Emotional Advertising Appeals on Consumer Implicit and Explicit Memory: An Accessibility/ Diagnosticity Perspective
        Patti Williams, University of Pennsylvania

2.7 Special Session: *Introducing Gender into the Analysis of Techno-Consumption*

Chair: Susan Dobscha, Bentley College
Discussion Leader: Alladi Venkatesh, University of California, Irvine

Gender and Technology-Based Games
   Anne M. Brumbaugh, Wake Forest University
   Renée Gravois Lee, Quinnipiac University

Boys Talk Facts, Girls Talk Feelings? Questioning Gendered Consumption Discourse in Online Communities of Consumption
   Rob Kozinets, Northwestern University
   Pauline Maclaran, De Montfort University
   Miriam Catterall, The Queen's University of Belfast
   Margaret Hogg, UMIST

Gender Performance in Personal Webspace and Online Communities
   Hope Jensen Schau, Temple University
   Albert M. Muniz Jr., DePaul University

2.8 Competitive Paper Session: *Consumer Needs for Cognition, Sociability, and Trust*

Chair/Discussion Leader: Kay M. Palan, Iowa State University

2.9 Roundtable: C-OAR-SE:A New Procedure for Scale Development

Chair: John R. Rossiter, University of Wollongong

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 18

ACR PRESIDENTIAL LUNCHEON
Noon – 1:45 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS
"Experience is Seductive"
Stephen J. Hoch

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 18

SESSION 3
2:00 p.m. – 3:30 p.m.

3.1 Special Session: *Time Is On My Side: Duration Effects in Consumption Experiences*

Chair: Naomi Mandel, Arizona State University
Discussion Leader: Ziv Carmon, INSEAD

3.2 Special Session: *The Consumer Psychology of Rates*

Chair/Discussion Leader: John Gourville, Harvard Business School

3.3 Competitive Paper Session: *Choice Models*

Chair/Discussion Leader: Yong Soon Kang, SUNY-Binghamton

3.4 Special Session: *Kids, Causes, and Culture: Expansion of Commodities and Consumers In the 1990's*

Chair: Daniel Cook, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Discussion Leader: Linda M. Scott, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Contradictions and Conundrums of the Child Consumer: The Emergent Centrality of an Enigma in the 1990s
Daniel Thomas Cook, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

The Gift that Keeps on Giving: Cause-Related Marketing in the 1990s
Inger L. Stole, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Branding with Blackness: How Bud and Mountain Dew Commodify "Urban Culture"
Douglas B. Holt, Harvard University
David Crockett, University of South Carolina

3.5 Competitive Paper Session: *Regulatory Focus and Framing*

Chair: Charles M. Wood, University of Tulsa
Discussion Leader: Partha Krishnamurthy, University of Houston

Hoping There's Nothing to Fear: A Matter of Framing
Gustavo E. de Mello, University of Southern California
Deborah J. MacInnis, University of Southern California
Valerie Folkes, University of Southern California

3.6 Competitive Paper Session: *Self-Awareness and Regulation*

Chair: James M. Hunt, Temple University
Discussion Leader: Margaret C. Campbell, University of Colorado at Boulder

Self Awareness: Personal and Social Identity as Powerful Predictors of Desire and Intention in Goal Directed Behavior
Richard P. Bagozzi, Rice University
David J. Moore, University of Michigan

3.7 Competitive Paper Session: *Food Functions, Forms, and Systems*

Chair: Frédéric Brunel, Boston University
Discussion Leader: Pierre Chandon, INSEAD

3.8 Roundtable: *Fostering Research on Interpersonal Relationships in Consumer Behavior and Marketing*

Chairs: Rachel Oakley Hsiung, Independent Scholar
                 Suraj Commuri, University of Missouri-Columbia

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FRIDAY, OCTOBER 18

SESSION 4
4:00 p.m. – 5:30 p.m.

4.1 Special Session: *Source Effects on Consumer Spending*

Chair: Joseph C. Nunes, University of Southern California
Discussion Leader: Drazen Prelec, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Pricing in Combined Currencies to Lower Consumers' Perceived Costs
     Joseph C. Nunes, University of Southern California
     Xavier Drèze, University of California, Los Angeles

The Shopping Momentum Effect
     Ravi Dhar, Yale University
     Joel Huber, Duke University
     Uzma Khan, Yale University

The Consequences of Love-hate Relationships with Financial Windfalls
     Jonathan Levav, Duke University
     A. Peter McGraw, Ohio State University

4.2 Special Session: *Perspectives in Time: How Consumers Think About the Future*

Chair: Susan Jung Grant, University of Colorado, Boulder
Discussion Leader: Alice Tybout, Northwestern University

4.3 Competitive Paper Session: *Product-Related Decisions*

Chair: Peter R. Darke, University of British Columbia
Discussion Leader: Robert J. Fisher, University of Western Ontario

4.4 Special Session: *Truth and Consumption*

Chair: Kent Grayson, Northwestern University
Discussion Leader: Thomas Robertson, Emory University

4.5 Competitive Paper Session: *Moods and Emotions*

Chair: Claudia Clark, University of Alaska
Discussion Leader: Prashant Malaviya, INSEAD

How Mood and Ad-Self-Congruency Affect the Relative Influence of Hedonic Ad Appeals and Utilitarian Ad Appeals on Product Evaluations
        Chingching Chang, National Chengchi University

        Robert Madrigal, University of Oregon

        Emma N. Banister, UMIST
        Margaret K. Hogg, UMIST

4.6 Special Session: *Influence Attempts Beyond People's Awareness*

Chairs: C. Miguel Brendl, INSEAD
                Amitava Chattopadhyay, INSEAD
Discussion Leader: Robert S. Wyer, Jr., Hong Kong University of Science and Technology

SPECIAL SESSION SUMMARY
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        Amitava Chattopadhyay, INSEAD

Are Brands Containing Name Letters Preferred?
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        Brett W. Pelham, SUNY, Buffalo
        Mauricio Carvallo, SUNY Buffalo
        Evan T. Pritchard, University of Winnipeg

Subliminal Priming and Choice
        Steven J. Spencer, University of Waterloo
        Erin J. Strahan, University of Waterloo
        Mark P. Zanna, University of Waterloo

Implicit and Explicit Evaluations: A Declaration of Dependence
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        Arthur B. Markman, University of Texas at Austin
        Claude Messner, University of Heidelberg

4.7 Competitive Paper Session: *Brand Positioning and Relationships*

Chair: Barbara A. Lafferty, University of South Florida
Discussion Leader: Geraldine R. Henderson, Howard University

The Role of Positioning in Building Evolutionary Bridges for Revolutionary Products
        Steven Hoeffler, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

        Anders Bengtsson, University of Southern Denmark

4.8 Roundtable: *Self-Control: Issues, Methods, and Directions for Consumer Research*

Chair: Anirban Mukhopadhyay, Columbia University

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 18
JCR Editorial Review Board Meeting
4:30 p.m. – 6:30 p.m.

ACR RECEPTION
6:00 p.m. – 8:00 p.m.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 18

WORKING PAPER SESSION
6:00 p.m.– 7:30 p.m.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 18

ACR FILM FESTIVAL
8:00 p.m. – Midnight
Please refer to Film Abstracts

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 19

Keith Hunt Newcomers' Breakfast
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ACR Continental Breakfast
7:30 a.m. – 8:30 a.m.

JCR (Iacobucci) Associate Editors Meeting
7:30 a.m. – 8:30 a.m.

JCP Editorial Board Meeting
8:00 a.m. – 9:30 a.m.

ACR Registration
8:00 a.m. – 5:00 p.m.

5.1 Special Session: *Personalization and Decision Support Tools: Effects on Search and Consumer Decision Making*

Chair: Kristin Diehl, University of South Carolina
Discussion Leader: Eric J. Johnson, Columbia University

5.2 Special Session: *Where Art and Commerce Collide: A Funnel Approach to Embedding Messages in Non-Traditional Media*

Chair: L.J. Shrum, University of Texas, San Antonio
Discussion Leader: Cristel Russell, San Diego State University

5.3 Special Session: *Sour Deals: How Consumers and Firms Anticipate and Respond to Product Failures and Scandals*

Chairs: Zeynep Gürhan-Canli, University of Michigan
                 Niraj Dawar, University of Western Ontario
Discussion Leader: Jill Klein, INSEAD

SPECIAL SESSION SUMMARY
Sour Deals: How Consumers and Firms Anticipate and Respond to Product Failures and Scandals
    Zeynep Gürhan-Canli, University of Michigan
    Niraj Dawar, University of Western Ontario

Decision Bias from Anticipating Product Failure: Double Jeopardy, Double Protection, or In-Between
    Yun-Oh Whang, University of Central Florida
    C.W. Park, University of Southern California
    Valerie Folkes, University of Southern California

Consumers' Use of Available Information in Attributions About a Product-Harm Crisis: Guilty Until Proven Innocent
    Naraj Dawar, University of Western Ontario
    Zeynep Gürhan-Canli, University of Michigan

Reacting to a Competitor's Scandal: To Deny or Not to Deny?
    Michelle L. Roehm, Wake Forest University
    Alice M. Tybout, Northwestern University

5.4 Special Session: *Visuals Are Information: How Meaning is Transferred to Consumers through Executional Elements in Advertising*

Chair: John W. Pracejus, University of Alberta
Discussion Leader: Linda Scott, University of Illinois

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    John W. Pracejus, University of Alberta
    G. Douglas Olsen, University of Alberta
    Thomas C. O'Guinn, University of Illinois

Typeface Design and Meaning: The Three Faces of Typefaces
    Pamela Henderson, Washington State University
    Joan Giese, Washington State University
    Joseph A. Cote, Washington State University

Do Pictures Sneak In? An Investigation of the Persuasive Force of Advertising Pictures
    Barbara J. Phillips, University of Saskatchewan
    Edward F. McQuarrie, Santa Clara University

5.5 Competitive Paper Session: *Information Transfer, Accessibility, and Processing Mode*

Chair: Sridhar Samu, Memorial University of Newfoundland
Discussion Leader: Ratti Ratneshwar, University of Connecticut

5.6 Special Session: *Fairness Considerations in Business Transactions*

Chairs: Joydeep Srivastava, University of California at Berkeley
                     Ana Valenzuela, San Francisco State University
Discussion Leader: Kent Monroe, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

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Chair/Discussion Leader: Ann E. Schlosser, University of Washington

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      Albert M. Muniz, Jr., DePaul University
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      Amy Bruckman, Georgia Institute of Technology
      Priscilla Dodds, Georgia Perimeter College

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Chair: Jonathan Schroeder, Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm

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SATURDAY, OCTOBER 19

SESSION 6
10:30 a.m. – Noon

6.1 Special Session: *Putting Context Effects in Context: The Role of Information about the Choice Environment*

Chair: Kyeong Sam Min, The Ohio State University
Discussion Leader: Itamar Simonson, Stanford University

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      Catherine Wing-man Yeung, Hong Kong University of Science & Technology
      Dilip Soman, Hong Kong University of Science & Technology

Consumer Response to Product Unavailability
      Kyeong Sam Min, The Ohio State University
      Patricia M. West, The Ohio State University

Reactions to Context Effect in Interpersonal Interactions
      Rebecca W. Hamilton, University of Maryland

6.2 Special Session: *Making Decisions About the Future: Psychological Drivers of Intertemporal Choice*

Chairs: Gal Zauberman, The University of North Carolina
                   Rebecca K. Ratner, The University of North Carolina
Discussion Leader: Richard P. Larrick, Duke University

When Consumers' Good Decisions Have Bad Outcomes: Attenuating the Effect of Regret on Switching Behavior
    Rebecca K. Ratner, The University of North Carolina
    Kenneth C. Herbst, The University of North Carolina

Second Thoughts About Hyperbolic Discounting
    Daniel Read, London School of Economics and Political Science
    Shane Frederick, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

When Time Is Not Like Money: The Role of Perceived Resource Slack in Revealed Time Preferences
    Gal Zauberman, The University of North Carolina
    John Lynch, Duke University

6.3 Special Session: *Consumer Understanding of Prices and Profits*

Chair: John W. Pracejus, University of Alberta
Discussion Leader: Donald R. Lehmann, Columbia University

Consumer Knowledge about Prices and Profits: The Potential for Deception in Cause Related Marketing Campaigns
    G. Douglas Olsen, University of Alberta
    John W. Pracejus, University of Alberta
    Norman R. Brown, University of Alberta

Explorations in Price (Un)Fairness
    Lisa E. Bolton, University of Pennsylvania
    Luk Warlop, KU Leuven
    Joseph W. Alba, University of Florida

The Structure of Consumer Knowledge for Automobile Prices: Estimating and Updating
    Kyle B. Murray, University of Alberta
    Norman R. Brown, University of Alberta

6.4 Special Session: *When Brands Are Stars...Exploring Consumer Response to Product Placements*

Chair/ Discussion Leader: Michelle R. Nelson, University of Wisconsin-Madison

"The Price is Right" or is It? The Meanings of Products Placed in Games Shows
    Stephen J. Gould, Baruch College
    Pola B. Gupta, Wright State University

Product Placement, Plot, and Persuasion: The Moderating Role of Gender
    Cristel Russell, San Diego State University
    Barbara Stern, Rutgers University

The Medium Is the Message: The Role of Context in Product Placements
    Kenneth R. Lord, Mercer University
    Pola B. Gupta, Wright State University

6.5 Special Session: *Making it Real: Antecedents and Consequences of Health Risk Perceptions*

Chairs: Nidhi Agrawal, New York University
                     Geeta Menon, New York University
Discussion Leader: Barbara Kahn, University of Pennsylvania

Should I Think About Me or You? Effects of Ad Focus on Judgments of Health Risk
         Nidhi Agrawal, New York University
         Geeta Menon, New York University
         Jennifer Aaker, Stanford University

Depressed or Just Blue? The Persuasive Effects of a Self-Diagnosis Inventory
         Priya Raghubir, University of California, Berkeley
         Geeta Menon, New York University

The Behavioral Consequences of HIV Testing
         Sankar Sen, Boston University
         C.B. Bhattacharya, Boston University
         Rose Johnson, Strategic Business Research Inc.

6.6 Special Session: *Fairness and Emotions: Causes, Consequences and Cures*

Chair: Sooyeon Nikki Lee, New York University
Discussion Leader: Raj Raghunathan, University of Texas

Positive Affect, Fairness and Consumer Judgment
         Aparna A. Labroo, Cornell University
         Alice M. Isen, Cornell University

That's Just Not Fair and It Makes Me Mad: Emotions Generated By Agents' Use of Unfair Persuasion Tactics
         Margaret C. Campbell, University of Colorado at Boulder
         Amna Kirmani, Southern Methodist University

It's Fairer If I Get to Tell You it Isn't: Resolving Negative Emotions from Unfair Price Variations
         Sooyeon Nikki Lee, New York University
         Kim P. Corfman, New York University

6.7 Special Session: *Incorporating Consumer Perspectives in the Architectural Design of Servicescapes*

Chair: Mark Peterson, University of Texas at Arlington
Discussion Leader: John F. Sherry, Jr., Northwestern University

Finding Order in the Universe of Architects
         Dilene Crockett, University of Texas at Arlington

New Retail Design Development
> Krittinee Nuttavuthisit, Northwestern University
> Benét DeBerry-Spence, Northwestern University

What Does Qualitative Research Have to Offer Architectural Design?
> Mark Peterson, University of Texas at Arlington

6.8 Roundtable: *Innovation and Consumer Psychology*

Chair: Steve Hoeffler, University of North Carolina

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SATURDAY, OCTOBER 19

ACR LUNCHEON
&
BUSINESS MEETING
Noon – 1:45 p.m.

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SATURDAY, OCTOBER 19

SESSION 7
2.00 p.m. – 3:30 p.m.

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7.1 Special Session: *Processes Underlying Consumer Valuations and Behavior in Various Auction Mechanisms*

Chairs: Amar Cheema, University of Colorado, Boulder
                          Dipankar Chakravarti, University of Colorado, Boulder
Discussion Leader: Eric Greenleaf, New York University

Bidders' Satisfaction and Valuation for Different Auction Mechanisms: The Impact of Attribution, Regret, and Perceived Risk
> Eric Greenleaf, New York University
> Joydeep Srivastava, University of Maryland

An Experimental Analysis of Ending Rules in Internet Auctions
> Dan Ariely, MIT
> Axel Ockenfels, Max Planck Institute for Research into Economic Systems
> Alvin E. Roth, Harvard University

Motivational and Cognitive Influences on Consumer Value Construction and Bidding in Ascending and Descending Auctions
> Amar Cheema, University of Colorado, Boulder
> Dipankar Chakravarti, University of Colorado, Boulder
> Atanu Sinha, University of Colorado, Boulder

7.2 Special Session: *Whatcha Thinking? Mental Simulation in Consumer Contexts*

Chairs: Mary Frances Luce, University of Pennsylvania
                Jennifer Edson Escalas, University of Arizona
Discussion Leader: James R. Bettman, Duke University

Process vs. Outcome Focused Mental Simulation: Effects on Advertising
        Jennifer Edson Escalas, University of Arizona
        Mary Frances Luce, University of Pennsylvania

Self-Other Discrepancies in Counterfactual Thinking
        Parthasarathy Krishnamurthy, University of Houston
        Anuradha Sivaraman, University of Houston

The Impact of Simulating Satisfaction on Product Returns
        Baba Shiv, University of Iowa
        Joel Huber, Duke University
        Himanshu Mishra, University of Iowa

7.3 Special Session: *Compelling Relationships between Products and Consumers*

Chair: Julie Ruth, Rutgers University–Camden
Discussion Leader: Linda L. Price, University of Nebraska

The Roles of 'Everyday' Transformational Products and Services in Consumers' Lives
        Cele C. Otnes, University of Illinois
        Julie A. Ruth, Rutgers University–Camden

Aspirational Transformations Among Consumers
        Marsha L. Richins, University of Missouri

CADWOs: New Products Consumers Cannot Do Without
        Jeffrey F. Durgee, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute

7.4 Competitive Paper Session: *Global Advertising*

Chair: Michelle R. Nelson, University of Wisconsin-Madison
Discussion Leader: Steven M. Kates, Monash University

7.5 Special Session: *Beyond Valence: Negative Affect and its Effects on Consumer Decision Making*

Chair: Nitika Garg, University of Pittsburgh
Discussion Leader: J. Jeffery Inman, University of Pittsburgh

On the Functional Independence of Feeling and Thinking
        Michel Tuan Pham, Columbia University
        Rajagopal Raghunathan, University of Texas
        Tamar Avnet, Columbia University

Negative Affect and Emotional Trade-off Difficulty: Their Impact on Consumer Choice
        Nitika Garg, University of Pittsburgh
        J. Jeffrey Inman, University of Pittsburgh
        Vikas Mittal, University of Pittsburgh

Emotion and Perceived Risks of Terrorism: A National Field Experiment
        Jennifer S. Lerner, Carnegie Mellon University
        Roxana M. Gonzalez, Carnegie Mellon University
        Deborah A. Small, Carnegie Mellon University
        Baruch Fischhoff, Carnegie Mellon University

7.6 Competitive Paper Session: *Attitude Formation and Change*

Chair: Douglas Hausknecht, University of Akron
Discussion Leader: David W. Schumann, University of Tennessee

The Nature of Evaluative Judgments: Are Strong Attitudes Retrieved or Constructed From Chronically Accessible Information?
        Dhananjay Nayakankuppam, University of Iowa
        Joseph Priester, University of Michigan

7.7 Competitive Paper Session: *Research Method and Source Perspectives*

Chair: Oscar DeShields, Jr., California State University, Northridge
Discussion Leader: Steve Gould, Baruch College/CUNY

Content Analysis Research Themes 1977-2000: Evolution and Change
        Michael S. Mulvey, Rutgers University
        Barbara B. Stern, Rutgers University

A Review of Medical Anthropology and Its Potential Contribution to Health Care Behaviors
        Nivein A. Behairy, University of California, Irvine
        John L. Graham, University of California, Irvine

        Maria Kniazeva, University of California, Irvine

7.8 Roundtable: *Strategic Merchandizing and the Consumer Response*

Chairs: Eric Yorkston, University of Southern California
                            Andrea Morales, University of Southern California

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SATURDAY, OCTOBER 19

SESSION 8
4:00 p.m. – 5:30 p.m.

8.1 Special Session: *Postpurchase, Intertemporal Consumption Behavior*

Chairs: Adwait Khare, University of Pittsburgh
                            J. Jeffrey Inman, University of Pittsburgh
Discussion Leader: Valerie Folkes, University of Southern California

SPECIAL SESSION SUMMARY
        Adwait Khare, University of Pittsburgh
        J. Jeffrey Inman, University of Pittsburgh

Do We Consume Stockpiled Products Faster? A Convenience-Salience Framework of Stockpiling-induced Consumption
        Pierre Chandon, INSEAD
        Brian Wansink, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Habit Regimes in Consumption
        Adwait Khare, University of Pittsburgh
        J. Jeffrey Inman, University of Pittsburgh

Eating Trends in America
        Cindy Beres, The NPD Group, Inc.

8.2 Competitive Paper Session: *Reference Price and Price Signaling*

Chair/Discussion Leader: David M. Hardesty, University of Miami

8.3 Competitive Paper Session: *Virtual Shopping*

Chair: Charles M. Wood, University of Tulsa
Discussion Leader: Lilia Ziamou, Baruch College/CUNY

8.4 Competitive Paper Session: *Cross-Cultural Consumptionscape*

Chair: H. Rika Houston, California State University-Los Angeles
Discussion Leader: Robin Coulter, University of Connecticut

8.5 Special Session: *Factors Affecting Consumption Experiences: Their Effects on Hedonics and Preferences*

Chair: Jacqueline Conard, Duke University
Discussion Leader: Joel Huber, Duke University

Inconsistency Between Choice and Consumption Experience
        Christopher K. Hsee, University of Chicago
        Jiao Zhang, University of Chicago
        Yan Zhang, CEIBS

Effects of Distraction While Consuming a Food Item: Will it Increase or Decrease Subsequent Choice?
        Baba Shiv, University of Iowa
        Stephen M. Nowlis, Arizona State University

'Twixt Cup and Lip: The Hedonic Evolution of the Consumption Experience
        Jacqueline Conard, Duke University

8.6 Special Session: *Mixed Emotional Experiences: Reactions to Affective Reality*

Chairs: Aimee Drolet, University of California, Los Angeles
                    Loraine Lau-Gesk, University of Minnesota
Discussion Leader: Michel Tuan Pham, Columbia University

Reflections of Reality: Versimilitude and Response to Mixed Emotions
        Patti Williams, University of Pennsylvania
        Jennifer Lynn Aaker, Stanford University

When Visual Ambiguity Defies Ad Message Substantiation: Examining the Persuasiveness of Single and Mixed Emotion Messages
        Loraine Lau-Gesk, University of Minnesota
        Joan Meyers-Levy, University of Minnesota

The Difficulty in Remembering Mixed Emotions
        Dale Griffin, Stanford University
        Aimee Drolet, University of California, Los Angeles
        Jennifer Aaker, Stanford University

8.7 Meet the Editors

Chair: David Mick, University of Virginia

                      Ruth Bolton, Editor, *Journal of Marketing*
               Joel Cohen, Editor, *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*
                   Dhruv Grewal, Co-Editor, *Journal of Retailing*
               Dawn Iacobucci, Editor, *Journal of Consumer Research*
            Robert S. Wyer, Editor, *Journal of Consumer Psychology*

8.8 Competitive Paper Session: *Information, Memory, and Time Pressure*

Chair: Brian Lofman, Rollins College
Discussion Leader: Yiorgos Bakamitsos, Dartmouth College

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 19
6:30 p.m. – 8:00 p.m.

RECEPTION AT THE
WORLD OF COCA-COLA MUSEUM
Martin Luther King, Jr. Drive

Co-sponsored with

GOIZUETA
BUSINESS SCHOOL

EMORY

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 20

JCR Policy Board Meeting
7:30 a.m. – 12:30 p.m.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 20

SESSION 9
8:30 a.m. – 10:00 a.m.

9.1 Special Session: *The Role of Reference Points in Evaluating Price Information*

Chairs: Alexander Chernev, Northwestern University
                 S. Christian Wheeler, Stanford University
Discussion Leader: Dipankar Chakravarti, University of Colorado

9.2 Competitive Paper Session: *Family and Social Influences*

Chair: Diane M. Phillips, St. Joseph's University
Discussion Leader: Rebecca Hamilton, University of Maryland

9.3 Special Session: *The Effects of Partnering with Good Causes on Corporate and Organization Image*

Chairs: Yeosun Yoon, University of Michigan
                 Zeynep Gürhan-Canli, University of Michigan
Discussion Leader: Alan Andreasen, Georgetown University

Negative Consequences of Doing Good: The Effects of Perceived Motives Underlying Corporate Social Responsibility
    Yeosun Yoon, University of Michigan
    Zeynep Gürhan-Canli, University of Michigan

The Effect of Corporate Partnership on Consumer Reactions to Non-Profits
    C.B. Bhattacharya, Boston University
    Sankar Sen, Boston University

9.4 Competitive Paper Session: *Socio-Political Analyses*

Chair/Discussion Leader: Margaret K. Hogg, UMIST

9.5 Competitive Paper Session: *Source Effects*

Chair: Sanjay Putrevu, Bryant College
Discussion Leader: Sharmistha Law, University of Toronto

The Effect of Celebrities' Personal Lives on the Brands They Endorse
    Scott D. Swain, Boston University
    B. Andrew Cudmore, Florida Institute of Technology
    Karen L. Becker-Olsen, New York University

9.6 Competitive Paper Session: *Consumer Self-Concept, Relationships, and Communication*

Chair: Elisabeth Tissier-Desbordes, ESCP-EAP
Discussion Leader: Hope Jensen Schau, Temple University

9.7 Special Session: ***Creativity and Innovation: From Studying the Tribe to the "Aha's" to Evaluating the Ideas***

Chair: Laurel Anderson, Arizona State University
Discussion Leader: John Sherry, Northwestern University

9.8 Competitive Paper Session: *Magic and Time Travel*

Chair: Ellen Garbarino, Case Western Reserve University
Discussion Leader: Rohit Deshpande, Harvard University

10.1 Special Session: *Self-Control and Personal Financial Management*

Chairs: Sue O'Curry, DePaul University
                       Michal Strahilevitz, University of Arizona
Discussion Leader: Thomas O'Guinn, University of Illinois

Cultural Values Framing the Use of Revolving Credit
         Nina Diamond, DePaul University
         Sue O'Curry, DePaul University

Debt Aversion as Self-Control: Consumer Self-Management of Liquidity Constraints
         Klaus Wertenbroch, INSEAD
         Dilip Soman, Hong Kong University of Science & Technology
         Joe Nunes, University of Southern California

Addiction or Rational Investing? The Personality Profile and Emotional Lives of Frequent & Infrequent Traders
         Michal Strahilevitz, University of Arizona

10.2 Special Session: *Weight and Height and Shape and Size: When Do Peripheral Cues Drive Evaluation and Consumption?*

Chair: Brian Wansink, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
Discussion Leader: James Painter, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Weighing Your Options: The Effect of Product Weight on Preference
         Scott D. Swain, University of South Carolina

Can Bottles Speak Volumes? The Effect of Package Shape on How Much to Buy
         Sha Yang, University of California
         Priya Raghubir, University of California at Berkeley

The Influence of Peripheral Cues on Consumption Volume
         Brian Wansink, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
         Koert van Ittersum, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

10.3 Special Session: *Doing <u>Good</u> Research: The Ethics and Regulation of Consumer Research*

Chair: Carolyn Costley, Waikato Management School
Discussion Leader: Paul N. Bloom, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

10.4 Competitive Paper Session: *Product Design, Shopping, and Exchange*

Chair: Laurie A. Meamber, George Mason University
Discussion Leader: Andrew D. Gershoff, Columbia University

10.5 Competitive Paper Session: *Branding Issues in Cause-Related Marketing*

Chair/Discussion Leader: Lisa Szykman, College of William & Mary

10.6 Special Session: *Psycholinguistic Perspectives on Consumer Learning*

Chair: Richard Yalch, University of Washington
Discussion Leader: Deborah Roedder John, University of Minnesota

The Mental Representation of Brand Names: Are Brand Names Processed Differently Than Other Types of Words?
    Possidonia Gontijo, University of California, Los Angeles
    Shi Zhang, University of California, Los Angeles
    Janice Rayman, University of California, Los Angeles
    Eran Zaidel, University of California, Los Angeles

How Do Consumers Transfer Existing Knowledge? A Comparison of Analogy and Categorization Effects
    Jennifer Gregan-Paxton, University of Delaware
    Page Moreau, University of Colorado-Boulder

Polysemy Effects in Advertising: Cognitive Perspectives on Lexical Ambiguity and Consumer Perception
    Claudiu Dimofte, University of Washington-Seattle
    Richard Yalch, University of Washington-Seattle

10.7 Competitive Paper Session: *Service Experiences*

Chairs: Tiffany Barnett White, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
  Richard L. Oliver, Vanderbilt University
Discussion Leader: Richard L. Oliver, Vanderbilt University

"Remember Me?" : Exploring the Contact Hypothesis in a Consumer Context
    Geraldine R. Henderson, Howard University
    Amy L. Ostrom, Arizona State University
    Tiffany Barnett White, University of Illinois
    Kimberly Dillon Grantham, Clark-Atlanta University
    John G. Lynch, Jr., Duke University

10.8 Roundtable: *Consumer Identity*

Chair: Oscar DeShields, California State University, Northridge

Experience Is Seductive

Stephen J. Hoch, University of Pennsylvania[1]

Personal experience is overrated. We often find it more compelling than we should. In many personal consumption situations, we believe that we have learned more from product experience than actually is so, trusting ourselves more than partisan marketing sources. Product experience often can proceed like a seduction. The engaging and vivid aspects of experience catch our attention. We become intrigued and the intentional character of experience increases memorability. The non-partisan nature of experience can lead us to let our guard down a bit as we confuse familiarity with expertise. We become more open to self-influence than would be the case with the didactic sources that are responsible for marketing the product. The ambiguous, pseudo-diagnostic aspects of experience afford us plenty of leeway in interpreting the product experience in whichever complicitous way serves personal interests. It is here that we begin a partnership with product experience in our own seduction, possibly assisted by marketing communications from a self-serving source. Finally, the endogenous nature of experience allows us to adapt our tastes so as to accommodate to what has been chosen. Are we likely to be happy with the seduction or will we feel a bit betrayed? The history of well-known seductions suggests a little bit of both.

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[1]Because my ACR Presidential Address is based on a paper called "Product Experience Is Seductive," published in the *Journal of Consumer Research*, 2002, 29 (2), 448-454, a short summary is provided here. The interested reader can find the complete story in the journal.

ACR Film Festival

"Regaining Dignity Through Possessions: Materialism in the Nazi Camps"

Jill G. Klein, INSEAD

Abstract

This film depicts the crucial connection between one's sense of self and possessions (e.g., Belk 1988). This connection is presented through memoirs and interviews with concentration camp survivors. The phases of dispossession, camp arrival and initiation, and the use of trade to regain possessions are presented. The exchange of food for possessions that enhance appearance represents an attempt to regain dignity in the face of extremely dehumanising conditions. Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs and our current definitions of materialism are called into question.

"Artists Perspectives at The 2002 Utah Arts Festival"

Laurie A. Meamber, George Mason University and Gülnar Tumbat, University of Utah

Extended Abstract

This film explores the artistic production-consumption process from the perspective of the artists at The 2002 Utah Arts Festival. Interviews with three visual artists exhibiting their work at the festival provided insight into the world of arts festivals, including: 1) the submission and selection/invitation process, 2) artistic inspiration and the creation of a piece of art, and 3) the artist's relationship to the consumer and the consumer's relationship to the artwork. The 2002 Utah Arts Festival exemplifies the classic features of a typical arts festival, including conspicuous consumption of art, music, performers and food, and the exhibition of surplus and abundance with over 120 artists work showcased at the event. Artists' participation in the show is competitive, with the majority of the artists having entered into a juried selection process. In addition, the Utah Arts Festival has created the "invited artist" category to allow artists whose work is non-conventional or that does not fit traditional notions of art to display their work at the show without having to enter the juried competition. In this sense, the Utah Arts Festival comes closer to operating like a museum, rather than a commercial art gallery, by exposing festival goers to work that challenges received notions of art.

The artists interviewed for this project, while falling under the classification of "visual artists," work with different mediums and each has a distinct personal motivation and inspiration for the creation of their work. The abstract painter finds inspiration internally and in concert with the palate of colors she chooses to work with, while in contrast, the raku metal artist's art reflects the landscape of her lived environment and her urge to capture the quality of the natural world in the face of ever encroaching development around her property. Interestingly, both of these artists speak of the creation of the artwork as an organic, evolutionary process and both ascribe human qualities or agency to the paintings–the abstract painter holding "conversations" with her work, and the artwork of the raku metal artist "composing" itself.

Each of the artists recognizes that the meaning of a particular artwork is dynamic and negotiated between the artist, cultural intermediaries (such festival organizers), and the consumer (Duhaime, Joy and Ross 1995; McCracken 1990; Meamber 1997) and in relation to various symbolic, cultural reference systems (Belk 1986; Schroeder 2002). The abstract painter deliberately refuses to describe the meaning of a piece, choosing instead to describe her creative process and to allow the viewer to react to the artwork on whichever level (e.g., emotional, intellectual, aesthetic) works for the individual. The kinetic sculptor knows that not every consumer is going to respond to his work in the same way and decries the "production" orientation of many artists. Each of the three artists is struggling with the tension between creating work with commercial appeal and achieving their artistic vision.

In recent years there has been a recognition of the essential role that art plays in the constitution of consumer culture. This short video adds to the work of consumer research scholars such as Russell W. Belk, Morris B. Holbrook, Elizabeth C. Hirschman, Annamma Joy, Jonathan E. Schroeder, Stephen Brown, Grant McCracken, Gary L. Bamossy, Guliz Ger, Terry H. Witkowski, and Lisa Uusitalo, among many others who have examined art and the consumption of art from various theoretical and methodological perspectives. This film and other work on the artistic production-consumption process can help us understand the ways in which artistic experiences and artworks are created, diffused and consumed, including the role of place (such as arts festivals), the creative process, and the consumers' relationship to the artist and the artwork.

References

Belk, Russell W. (1986), "Symbolic Consumption of Art," in *Artists and Cultural Consumers*, Douglas V. Shaw, William S. Hendon, and R. Richard Weits, eds., Akron: Association for Cultural Economics, 168-178.

Duhaime, Carole, Anamma Joy and Christopher Ross (1995), "Learning to 'See': A Folk Phenomenology of the Consumption of Contemporary Canadian Art," in *Contemporary Marketing and Consumer Behavio: An Anthropological Sourcebook*, John F. Sherry, Jr., ed., Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

McCracken, Grant (1990), "Matching Material Cultures: Person-Object Relations Inside and Outside the Ethnographic Museum," in *Advances in Nonprofit Marketing*, 3, 27-49.

Meamber, Laurie A. (1997), "The Constitution of the Arts as Cultural Production: The Role of the Consumer, Artist and Cultural Intermediary as Producer/Consumer of Meaning," Doctoral Dissertation, University of California, Irvine, Graduate School of Management.

Schroeder, Jonathan E. (2002), *Visual Consumption*, London and New York: Routledge.

"Beyond Consumption: A Study of Retail Activists"

Mara B. Adelman, Seattle University and Aaron Ahuvia, University of Michigan

Extended Abstract

The study of interpersonal relationships and social support gives primacy to close, intimate relationships such as family and friends. As a result, there is minimal focus on more public, fleeting, context-bound relationships that have the potential to offer unique forms of social support, foster a sense of community, and serve to address social issues (see Adelman, Ahuvia, and Goodwin, 1993).

A major form of informal support is found in retail/service encounters–from hairdressers to financial advisors. These interactions are pervasive forms of social life that can intersect commercial and therapeutic outcomes, often going far beyond the consumption of goods and services.

Beyond Consumption: Retail at the Edge is a 20 minute ethnographic video that pays homage to retailers whose mission goes beyond selling. This ethnographic video blends marketing, consumption and social support, through the examination of two retail establishments in a local Seattle neighborhood. "Venus" is a consignment shop for large women, run by Julia Kaplan, a fat acceptance activist. She specializes in sensual clothing for plus-size women, including sexy leatherware. "Toys in Babeland" is a sex-toy store that caters primarily to women and is a combination of information services, library, and retail. This store has become known as an exemplar of healthy, feminist, sex-positive sexuality. In both stores, retailers address topics with customers that are taboo, stigmatized, silenced and marginalized.

This video revolves around three major themes:

1) "Sites of empowerment" unveils the semiotics of the store's location, layout, and interior design that serves to reduce stigma and foster community. The underlying meanings of location and the symbolic sentiments of visual images found within these stores is critical to destigmatization of sexual taboos and sizism. For example, Toy's owners refused to create the traditional dark, secretive storefronts that characterize most sex stores. The windows and front door are always open, the place is well lit, and the interior is painted a bright mustard yellow. As Deena, a store employee adamantly stated, "We try and fight that shame." Affirming messages about size acceptance are evident at Venus in small gestures and large spaces. At the counter is a bowl filled with chocolates, which the owner acknowledges would not be a "big deal" at a boutique but becomes a statement about entitlement, at what Kaplan calls the "fat girls' store." Chocolates, the ultimate candy symbol, is associated with decadence and fatness. At Venus, chocolates becomes a compelling example of symbolic reversal (Cohen, 1985), a process used by disenfranchised groups to redefine the negative connotations of symbols by inverting them so as to promote positive feelings and self-image. At Venus, chocolates no longer symbolize the forbidden fruit, but rather [PSL1] the fruits of plenty.

2) "Retail activists" focuses on the conversational enactment and commitment by retailers to provide social support. Retail activists are retail or service employees [PSL2] whose mission is to challenge cultural assumptions related to their products, services, or customers; who through their customer contact provide social support beyond the consumption of goods; and who offer "community service" via their businesses that radicalizes public awareness about important issues. The following features [PSL3] characterize retail activists. First, they possess an articulated mission that goes "beyond consumption" and customer satisfaction to reflect a commitment to social justice; this mission is evidenced in the product lines, employee training, and the location of the establishment. Second, they demonstrate an awareness of political and social concerns, including the taboos, stigmas, and stereotypes that predominate for their customers (e.g. widows, persons of size, gays, etc.) and a willingness to challenge the status quo through education, information, language use, and radical presentation of products, services and the setting. Third, they show customer sensitivity by trying to meet the broad needs of their clients, at the same time sustaining a commitment to a social justice mission, even at the cost of sales. This sensitivity is expressed in the way employees interact with customers. Fourth, they engage in community outreach by providing programs, lay referral systems, and creating a positive presence within the local community. For example, Kaplan notes, "My store is not about selling clothes, it's about helping women feel better about themselves."

3) "Shoppertunities in action" reveal poignant testimonies of customer distress and consolation embedded in these retail encounters. These narratives demonstrate a wide range of social support; including referrals to needed services, concern for clients coping with personal loss, and bolstering of self-esteem. In some cases, these gestures border on quasi-therapeutic assistance and offer help that otherwise would not be accessible to customers. As one of the "sexperts", a trained employee at Toy's observed, there is information they have that is not covered in medical school.

This video with accompanying curriculum package is designed to be used in teaching about social support and customer services within various disciplines; including marketing, sociology, urban studies, women's studies, social work, psychology and communication. This video is accompanied by a study guide that includes discussion questions, class assignments, bibliography, and readings.

References

Adelman, M., Ahuvia, A, & Goodwin, C. (1994). Beyond Smiling: Social support and the service provider. In R. Rust & R. Oliver (Eds.). *Service Quality: New Directions in Theory and Practice*, pp. 139-171, Newbury Park, CA; Sage.

Cohen, A. P. (1985). *The symbolic construction of community*. London: Routledge.

Order Information

Beyond Consumption: Retail at the Edge (Video) Directed by Mahela Shaw & Mara B. Adelman, Copyright, 2000; 20 minutes, VHS format for submission. Original shooting format: Digital. To order a VHS video and curriculum package contact: Mara Adelman, Seattle

University, Dept. of Communication, 900 Broadway, Seattle, WA 98122. Cost: $50.00 (includes tax & shipping. Make checks payable to Mara Adelman). Phone: 206-296-5344; email: "mara@seattleu.edu

"The Cult of Macintosh"
Russell Belk and Gülnur Tumbat, University of Utah

Abstract

In the beginning (of the Information Age) was the void. And the void was digital. But lo, there came upon the land, the shadow of Steven Jobs (and Stephen Wozniak). And Steven (Stephen) said, "Let there be Apple." And there was Apple. And Steven (Stephen) beheld Apple. And it was good. And Apple begat Macintosh. And it was good. And soon upon the land there began to appear, The Cult of Macintosh. For they had tasted of Apple. And it was good.

"Money to Burn: Consumption by the Dead in China"
Xin Zhao and Russell Belk, University of Utah

Abstract

For thousands of years the Chinese have burnt paper replicas of houses, conveyances, money, and clothing for the dead. With the rise of consumer culture in China, these goods have escalated to include cell phones, computers, PDAs, televisions, refrigerators, stereos, and automobiles. This video is based on observations at funerals and joss paper shops and interviews with consumers, joss paper shop owners, and joss paper goods makers in Shanghai, Beijing, Hong Kong, and Singapore. We find that despite Chinese government attempts to eliminate paper goods burning, the practice is growing, especially in southern coastal cities which also enjoy the highest degree of consumer culture.

"Recapturing Humanity: Embeddedness in Market Communities"
Rohit Varman, Indian Institute of Technology, Kanpur, Russell Belk and Janeen Arnold Costa, University of Utah

Abstract

This video ethnography based on a Calcutta community shows that market behavior has expressive, moral and emotional underpinnings. The video helps deconstruct the current axiomatic treatment of transaction-centric markets and reconstruct the market as a socially embedded institution. We use the concept of "community" to consider the societal encapsulation of markets and the role of social norms. The lack of an active discourse on markets in consumer research has resulted in prior concentration on microdimensions of markets as disembedded systems. By taking a more macro perspective, this work offers an understanding of the influence of sociocultural norms in market behavior.

"An Honorable Calling: The 15th Alabama Re-enacting Company in the Pacific Northwest"
Sandra Mottner, Western Washington University and Wendy Bryce Wilhelm, Western Washington University

Abstract

Increasing numbers of (mostly) white males are participating in Civil War re-enactments (CWR) across the U.S. (up to 50,000 by some accounts), yet little consumer research exists on the kinds of individuals who participate in CWR and what motivates them to devote a significant amount of leisure time and money to recreating the past. Our filmed research project follows one Confederate regiment as it engages in re-enactment activities. Videotaped personal interviews supplement and inform our footage of battles, drills, camp life, sutleries, and the ubiquitous presence of period artifacts. Our findings show that these self-defined "living historians" identify adult fantasy play, nostalgia for the past, a need for male camaraderie, and a desire to (re)educate others about the true causes of the war, and identification with the rebel cause as important motives for participation.

"Culture Jamming"
Jill Sharpe, Right to Jam Productions and Rick Pollay, UBC

Abstract

Hijacking Commercial Culture delivers a fascinating rap on the 20th Century movement called Culture Jamming. Pranksters and subversive artists are causing a bit of brand damage to corporate mindshare. Jammers, cultural commentators, a billboard advertiser and a constitutional lawyer take us on a wild roller coaster ride through the back streets of our mental environment. Stopping over in San Francisco, New York's Times Square, and Toronto, we catch the jamming in action with Batman-inspired Jack Napier of the Billboard Liberation Front, Disney arch-enemy Reverend Billy from the Church of Stop Shopping and Media Tigress Carly Stasko. Culturejam asks: Is Culture Jamming civil disobedience? Senseless vandalism? The only form of self-defense left?

"God's Holy Fire"

Robert V. Kozinets and John F. Sherry, Jr.

Abstract

Using the words and images of Burning Man 2002, this film explores consumer behavior at a self-transformative event. Centering primarily on interview material with the events' founder, Larry Harvey, this film presents an un-narrated juxtaposition of images, from desert pilgrimage quests to drum circle dancing, Christian parodying to dance partying, fire-walking to shamanic transformations, bodypainting to sacrifical burning. The film intends to raise more questions than it answers. Is Burning Man an evil event, as some claim? Do consumers need religion and a sense of the sacred anymore?

"Why Drink or Drive? Consumer Video Diary Excerpts"

Patricia Sunderland, Rita Denny, George Hunt, Practica Group, LLC

Abstract

Corporate qualitative research in the US has moved beyond the focus group room and embraced ethnographic methods and anthropology as the discipline *du jour* (Frank, 1999). Ethnography in the consumer marketplace puts researchers in consumers' homes, businesses and other sites of everyday living and is often motivated by the belief that significant behavior, even 'truer' or less biased behavior can be observed outside of the focus group room. This video shows how we have been extending current ethnographic practices by applying a new method – consumer video documentaries (videos created by respondents about and around particular life activities).

The 32-minute composite video produced for this conference draws from videos we have edited for two research projects. This current production is divided into three main segments. The first two were created by urban, beer-appreciating, young men. 'Roland' was selected to open the video as his diary explicitly provides an introduction to the method and the sense of what it can mean to put the camera in the consumer's hands. Roland gives us a tour and camera inventory of his bedroom, bathroom, kitchen, an evening with friends at a bar, and then at his workplace where he sums up his thoughts on beer drinking. Scott puts the camera in the hand of a friend and then leads us through a weekend evening. He shows and talks about the many different brands of beer he and friends drink as they make their way from one friend's home to restaurant to bar to party and back to another friend's home. Scott, a beer connoisseur, believes in a time and place for everything, including the brand which he analogizes to a scene in his video where when he moons the camera.

A glimpse into the lives of pick-up truck owners comprises the third section of the tape. This footage was shot by a number of different owners and their family members and poignantly shows the ways in which owners live with and through their trucks. One sees the ways in which the trucks are part of activity-centered lives and identities.

We have edited the excerpts in a way which we believe implicitly explores the merits – and the minefields – of the video diary technique for qualitative consumer research in today's cultural milieu. There are benefits of producing data that stretch the traditional boundaries of consumer research in terms of space and time as well as the boundaries of consumer control (see Ruby, 1991). Yet, there are ways in which life-as-it-happens does and does not find its way onto film. In a society where visual images proliferate and 'reality shows' are standard fare, lived experience is visually conventionalized. The diarists draw on these conventions as they compose their stories.

Yet the 'problem' of respondent performance in documentaries must be considered in the context of performance in both qualitative research and social life more generally (Goffman,1959;1974). In the contemporary environment street corners, living rooms and others' bedrooms enter our homes via Webcams and club-goers can eye one another via cameras and video monitors (Collins, 2002). Qualitative research as a practice must consider the wider frames within which consumers both live and express themselves and innovate accordingly.

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"Olympic Souvenir Consumption"

Gülnur Tumbat, University of Utah

Extended Abstract

2002 Winter Olympics in Salt Lake City attracted thousands of people to official venue areas and other sites in the downtown area. Visitors, both local and foreign, spent hours in lines waiting to get different types of souvenirs regardless of the hour and the cold weather. This video attempts to understand people's souvenir consumption and the meanings they attach to those objects through the interviews with visitors at the 2002 Winter Olympics. It further explores the scope and variety of souvenirs people got as mementos, gifts, or status indicators. How an Olympic experience is commodified on a mass scale through the huge variety of souvenirs ranged from pictorial images in the form of postcards, photographs, t-shirts, hats: just anything with an olympic amblem on it or any type of local souvenirs, is also presented.

Souvenirs have been associated with objects acquired during visits to different places and other personal experiences not involving travel, or memories of lost ones (Belk 1991). They are regarded as constant reminders of relationships between people and places. The aim is usually to proclaim the places visited and the experiences at those places. As an actual object, a souvenir "makes tangible what is otherwise only an intangible state" (Gordon 1986). The exhibition "Athletes in Antiquity" involving souvenirs of ancient sport games (e.g., vases, statues, signatures) presented at the Utah Museum of Fine Arts during the Olympics played an important role in demonstrating the history of souvenir consumption. It also gave millions access to an era which in many other ways remains inaccessible.

Olympic events can be seen as extraordinary events since they are regarded as more than just sporting events and are seen as the celebration of human aspirations. According to Gordon (1986), recipients of souvenir gifts also receive a piece of that heightened reality. During the Winter Olympics, people got souvenirs as personal mementos and gifts in order to prove and show that they were part of that extraordinary time and space and also to share their experiences with their friends and families. The motives for souvenir consumption are having a sense of the past experiences, places visited, events participated, and gaining a status and communicating that status to others at home since there is a prestige originating from demonstrating personal attachment to that time and place. At the Olympics however, people did not necessarily wait to go home to use/wear/show the things they acquired. All Olympic event areas were like podiums for those people who got Olympic jackets, pins, and hats among many other items. In addition, although the objects acquired were important, for some people it was the shopping or waiting experience in the lines which was more important and maybe more memorable than the souvenirs themselves.

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Shorts:

"Down on the Corner, Peace on the Street"

Scott Smith, Jeff Murray, Molly Rapert, & Helene Cherrier, University of Arkansas
Steven Chen, University of California-Irvine, Jason Cole, University of Missouri-Kansas City,
Dan Fisher, University of Southern Mississippi

Abstract

This film examines the tension between markets and individuals or a community that is often described by consumer researchers. Markets are often viewed as repressing to consumers, with a rebellion against or break from the market held as liberating. In contrast to other research examining emancipatory potentials, we focus on the use of politics as a tool of differentiation in opposing mainstream society. This political opposition is utilized as a release from "power." The Just Peace Organization, a politically active consumer community and the focal point of this videography, does not adhere to an antimarket position, but actually embraces the market and its members as they seek to reach emancipation. Similarly to the anticonsumerism and counterculture view held by some individuals and communities, the Just Peace Organization has found a way to free itself amongst the busy downtown atmosphere of Salt Lake City, Utah. This self expressive, subversive group feels the same appeal as other alternative social communities, but their political resistance to dominance happens down on the corner.

"A Passion for Performance"

Angela Hausman, The University of Texas and Jan Slater, Ohio University

Abstract

Live performances comprise an important part of our lives, but few studies have been undertaken to understand this consumption experience. This short film is a preliminary exploration into this arena, looking at the inter-connectivity between the performer and audience, and presents several interesting themes for further research. The first theme is the passion created between performer and audience that enhances the experience for both. The second theme is the effectiveness of this form of communication in resonating with audience members and changing the dominant culture. It is these unique aspects of live performance that ensure the continuance of these art forms against cheaper and more readily available electronic reproductions.

"The Elizabeth Smart Case: Enactment of a Suburban Nightmare"

Markus Giesler, Northwestern University and Mali Pohlmann, Witten/Herdecke University

Abstract

In this video ethnography (a free copy can be ordered on the authors' web pages at http://www.markus-giesler.com or http://www.mali-pohlmann.com), we propose to see the abduction of Elizabeth Smart as a media paradox unfolding for the local community to discursively negotiate its distinct social reality. Two different cultural articulations are investigated: (1) discourse on the principles of fencing and shielding, as a way to negotiate the asymmetry between internal and external, protection and openness, and (2) discourse on social status as a way to present both for the local community and its environment the community's hierarchy as irreplaceable and

expendable at the same time. The case of Elizabeth Smart hints at a cultural operation that performs violence in a local community that seems to do without violence for most of the time. We conclude that the abduction of Elizabeth Smart through the media epitomizes the most outrageous violation of our sense of personal security. There is a very real, unseen enemy. We need the help and protection of a higher power. We need each other. But, ironically, the enemy is us.

"The Many Meanings of Food"
Deirdre Guion, Marie Hafey and Hillary Leonard, University of Utah

Abstract
On the basis of interviews with students and faculty of various ethnic and cultural backgrounds at an international lunch, this video offers a brief exploration into how food is situated in the daily lives of consumers and the role that food plays in constructing identity. The emergent themes from the interviews suggest that food takes on a multitude of roles: serving as a vehicle to create and maintain cultural capital, create social identity and function as a marker of ethnic and regional identity.

"Health Watch: The State of Food, Fitness, and Well Being in the United States"
Laura R. Oswald and Andrew Wright, Marketing Semiotics, Inc

Abstract
The video, Health Watch: the State of Food, Fitness, and Well Being in the United States, is a compilation of music, consumer interviews, clips from TV shows and films, and stills of ads, books, and other artifacts of popular culture. Shot in mini-DV and SuperVHS, this video formed part of a larger study that was to become the platform for public service advertising for promoting a healthy lifestyle. By reviewing not only works of experts but also the social discourses from popular American culture, discourses made evident in the language and imagery of advertising, entertainment, and retailing, we drew attention to ways public media send conflicting messages to consumers about appropriate lifestyle choices. In the United States almost one in three individuals is obese, and an increasing number of both adults and children suffer from obesity-related diseases such as diabetes. However, advertising and sales promotions emphasize the value of buying in bulk, eating supersize meals, and getting "bigger" and "more" of everything. Attention was paid to the rhetorical force of sounds and images in order to drive home to the viewer findings developed fully in the written report from the study.

"Temple Square Exploratory"
Laura Oswald, Marketing Semiotics Inc. and Karolina Brodin, University of Stockholm

Abstract
In June, 2001, we conducted a brief exploratory study of Temple Square in Salt Lake City, focusing on ways the sacred is constituted and perpetuated as consumption experience through marketing strategy. The video was produced with a Sony mini-DV cam and edited in iMovie. "The Temple Square Exploratory" is an example of *video-graphia*, using the camera to "speak" directly to the viewer in sound, text, and image with the immediacy of spoken discourse. Unlike film, which requires the time-consuming stages of film processing and mixing, video enables the most inexperienced videographer to record, interpret, and represent an event in a very short time. Though overall objectives were planned in advance of entering the site, respondents were recruited on the spot and interview questions emerged from interactions with respondents. In spite of obvious technical flaws in the piece, the enthusiasm and cooperation of participants, the beautiful music of the Mormon Tabernacle Choir and Orchestra, and the high quality of the Sony image contribute to the interest of this "first" hand-made video.

"Notes on Video Ethnography and Postmodern Consumer Research"
Laura Oswald, Marketing Semiotics Inc.

Extended Abstract
In this paper, I locate video ethnography among postmodern strategies in consumer research, examine the theoretical implications of the visual for scientific research, and ground theory in analysis of the practice of video production. I frame my discussion within a conception of video discourse as a form of "writing," or *videographia*, which enables the video ethnographer to "pen" a consumer study using the video medium as a radical vehicle for knowledge-production. *Videographia* opens scientific discourse to a dialogue between the inside and outside of meaning production by introducing the troubling instability of the visual into the analysis and understanding of consumer behavior.

Post-modern consumer research places in question the authority of empirical research as the benchmark for scientific validity, by unveiling the instability of rational categories of meaning and the unity and rationality of the consuming subject. The reliability of approaches such as TSE [traditional scientific empirical testing] is contingent upon a phenomenological interpretation of reality as coherent and immutable, and of the consumer as entirely rational and single-minded. Such approaches fall short of accounting for the role of factors such as race and gender in the construction and deconstruction of consumer identity. The very notion of a consumer culture, based as it is on the commodification of signs and meanings on the global brandscape, is grounded in an irreconcilable tension between the (phenomenal) real and the *simulacra* that we consume (Baudrillard, 1993).

The post-modern adventure in consumer research is a manifestation of deeper ideological shifts in philosophy as to the very nature of reality, perception, and meaning (Firat and Venkatesh, 1992). The critique of metaphysics marshaled by the French philosopher Jacques Derrida challenges the validity of dialectical interpretations of reality by placing in question the ontological foundations of dialectics. Beginning with the critique of Husserl in *Speech and Phenomena*, Derrida systematically challenges the notion of an original, *a priori* closure between being and meaning that forms the cornerstone of metaphysics, an assumption that can be summarized in Descartes' famous claim, "I think, therefore I am." Derrida points to the difficulty of this claim in the framework of a theory of representation, offering instead an interpretation of semiosis which takes into consideration the radical externalization of speech in textual writing or *graphia*. In other words, I speak, therefore I am taken up in an endless movement between being-for-myself and being-for-others through external representation–words, images, performance, etc. (Oswald, 1994, 249) As soon as the play of signifier and signified is staged through time and space in a kind of performance, the hypothetical unity of being and meaning is suspended indefinitely. In other words, what you see as the phenomenal 'real' is always and already mediated by a delay through time and space between meaning and its external representation. Derrida states:

> "In inserting a sort of spacing into interiority, it [performance] no longer allows the inside to close upon itself or be identified with itself…this impossibility of closure, this dehiscence of the Mallarméan book as an 'internal' theater, constitutes not a reduction but a *practice* of spacing." Derrida, 1981, p.234.

Derrida refers to this mediation and the suspension of logic that it entails as a movement of *differance*, a neologism which accounts both for the role of difference in the construction of meaning [signifier/signified, etc.] and the permanent deferral of a dialectical closure between signs and meaning.

Such trends in philosophy have important implications for empirical research. By deconstructing the metaphysical assumptions of phenomenology, Derrida undermines the very possibility of a definitive interpretation of reality and forecloses the dialectical synthesis between researcher's observations and the behavior of the subjects in his/her research. As I demonstrate elsewhere [Oswald, 1999], contradictions and ambiguities within consumer identity and meaning-production can be theorized by means of an understanding of the consuming "subject" [the self] as originally divided between a being for itself and a being for others. Studying the formation of ethnic identity among middle-class Haitian immigrants, I showed how ethnic consumers culture swap, using goods to move between one cultural identity and another as they negotiate relations between home and host culture. The opposing movement of these two moments of self-presentation undermines any attempt at interpreting a final cause or motivation for behavior, holding, as it does, the subject in a movement between the multiple frames of reference that constitute their world. The study of consumer ethnicity and identity formation highlights the dynamic and mutable nature of self, social identity and cultural identification in global consumer culture.

Derrida uses the term *écriture* or textual *writing* to describe the external trace for this troubling (non)origin of meaning and being in living language. Writing throws into question the epistemological self-certainty of positivism, while opening up research to the ambiguities and contradictions inherent in human behavior. *Writing* is also the signifying activity in ethnography that lends itself to analysis and theoretical elaboration. By bringing into play a movement between the internal closure of word and thought in the mind and the external, visual representation of meaning in its various forms [words on page, film, performance, etc.], the moment of *writing* deconstructs the metaphysical unity of thought and meaning in speech and destabilizes the epistemological certainty of scientific discourse altogether.

Video ethnography stands as an example of what Jacques Derrida would call the intrusion of visual "writing" into the closed system of empirical research. In order to clarify the distinction between writing in the sense of putting ink to paper and *textual writing*, I propose the term *videographia* to describe the play of meaning production in video discourse. *Videographia* must not be understood simply in terms of its technical dimension–a form of writing in sound and image through an electronic medium. *Videographia* is inscribed with a reference to the deconstruction of the logic and closure of ethnographic discourse by bringing multiple voices and points of view to bear on the interpretation of a consumption site.

The notion of non-verbal *writing* originates with the New Wave Cinema in France in the 1950's, when filmmakers such as Goddard, Truffaut, and Rivette challenged the prevailing esthetic and technology of commercial cinema. Film critic Alexandre Astruc described the New Wave cinema in terms of a kind of film writing that would allow film authors to "pen" their vision directly in words and images without reliance on production companies and return on investment at the box office. They also sought freedom from traditional theatrical and literary traditions of expression, traditions that emphasized the manufacture of an illusion, the illusion of narrative reality as an unbroken movement of a plot to its conclusion. Making low-budget films and using amateur performers, the New Wave authored films the way poets author poetry and prose, and opened up the film medium to a range of new important experiences.

Astruc coined the term *camera stylo* to describe the expressive function of cinema freed from its ties to theater and prose fiction, a type of writing having the fluidity and semantic complexity of written speech. [Graham, 1968, pp. 17-23].

> "I would like to call this new age of cinema the age of camera-stylo. By it I mean that the cinema will gradually break free from the tyranny of what is visually, from the image for its own sake, from the immediate and concrete demands of the narrative, to become a means of writing just as flexible and subtle as written language." [Graham, p. 18]

Though Astruc did not address the radical philosophical assumptions of camera-stylo for theories of representation–writing as he did during the reign of phenomenology in France–his critique of the ontological origins of cinema in the photographic image anticipates Derrida's critique of the phenomenological tradition in philosophy. By defining cinema with reference to the movement within and between frames, and between image and sound, Astruc, like Derrida, undermines the metaphysical unity of signifier and signified–in this case image and meaning–with reference to the play of meaning in textual writing. Astruc thus replaces the coherence of the single image as origin of cinema with the slips and slides of representation and absence traced by the movement of film images through time and space. In cinema, the illusion of movement itself is created by the rapid movement of a strip of still images through a projector. It is perceived

by the spectator as continuous movement by means of the ability of the mind to retain past images and project them upon the present and presence of meaning, as the film moves irrevocably towards a horizon in the future. Such memory traces in film time and space strain the relation between the signifier and signified of any specific segment of film.

The introduction of video technology puts another twist on debates about the origins of film discourse in the photographic image, and its ontological destiny to embrace the esthetics of narrative realism (Bazin, 1970, pp. 9-16). Video reproduces vision without the intermediary of photography. By recording the visual electronically, video captures the world in movement, rather than manufacturing an illusion of movement from still pictures. Thus video, as technology and medium of discourse, is inscribed with the movement of *differance*, that is, the potential for semiosis and suspension of a final meaning.

Unfettered by the traditional claims of art and literature, video has the potential to realize the radical aspirations of the New Wave and even earlier filmmakers, such as Dziga Vertov, an early soviet filmmaker who made agitational and educational films in the 1910's and 20's. Perhaps more than any other predecessor, Vertov captures the essence of video in his notion of the camera/eye, the roving reporter capturing life as it happens. Even more distinctive than his esthetics of first-person documentary film was Vertov's participation in *agit-prop* production teams that traveled the soviet countryside spreading communist ideology as well as teaching and organizing peasants. Vertov and his crew would shoot, develop the film, and edit into a short documentary in a lab located on the train, then screen it for the community they were visiting. The film was not viewed as an end in itself, as an esthetic object, but as a tool for creating dialogue, organizing, and instructing the masses. In his documentary *The Man with a Movie Camera*, Vertov roamed the urban landscape recording life as it happened, then edited imagery together according to a style of conflictual montage that embraced the contradictions of urban life during the revolutionary period. More than any other New Wave filmmaker, Jean-Luc Godard, took up the cause of Vertov and employs video to instruct and create dialogue with working class people.

The refinement of video technology and computerized editing software facilitated the evolution of the video as a form of personal speech or *videographia*. As many of the videos at the conference illustrate, the use of the hand-held mini-dv cam, with astounding clarity of sound and image, and the iMovie and Final Cut Pro editing programs, enable amateur videographers like myself to bring a new kind of knowledge and insight to the research process. Furthermore, video radically reduces the lag time between shooting, editing, and final product, creating an immediacy which cries for a radical rethinking of the video spectacle as a social tool rather than simply an art form.

There is nothing new about the idea that video, by virtue of its technical facility and immediacy, is an important means of capturing details in the fieldwork that may escape attention during the researcher's visit. However, video has an even more important role in the analysis and presentation of findings. By capturing multiple points of view on a setting, by creatively juxtaposing sound and image, by letting respondents speak for themselves, the researcher can inscribe an interpretation onto a consumption event, while exposing the inherent contradictions and ambiguities in the event and the researcher's participation in that event.

Take for example, the *Temple Square Exploratory* video, produced with Karolina Brodin in conjunction with the Video Ethnography Workshop at the University of Utah in June 2001. The videographers spent one afternoon and evening conducting exploratory research at Temple Square in Salt Lake City, focussing on ways the sacred is constituted and perpetuated as consumption experience through marketing strategy.

The video was produced with a Sony mini-DV cam and edited in iMovie. We spent three days editing the final version. "The Temple Square Exploratory" is an example of *videographia*, using the camera to "speak" directly to the viewer in sound, text, and image with the immediacy of spoken discourse. Unlike film, which requires the time-consuming stages of film processing and mixing, video enables the most inexperienced videographer to record, interpret, and represent an event in a very short time. Though overall objectives were planned in advance of entering the site, respondents were recruited on the spot and interview questions emerged from interactions with respondents. In spite of obvious technical flaws in the piece, the enthusiasm and cooperation of participants, the beautiful music of the Mormon Tabernacle Choir and Orchestra, and the high quality of the Sony image contribute to the interest of this "first" hand-made video.

The video was conceived, filmed, and edited in a matter of days. While the final product that was screened displays the rough edges of the fast turn-around, inadequate sound equipment, and lack of editing experience, the video nonetheless brings to life the consumer story of Temple Square, site of the headquarters of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. The video medium, by engaging in the play between voice-over, music, consumer responses, and visual performance, makes evident the multi-dimensional nature of ethnographic research, including the contradictions inherent in marketing the sacred as consumption experience.

Temple Square is the site of the world headquarters of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, founded by Joseph Smith in 1829. The walls surrounding the site mark a divide between the sacred spaces within and the commercial spaces outside. Within the square sacred spaces such as the Temple, are off-limits to non-church members, while profane spaces including a Visitor's Center and Tabernacle welcome the non-initiated. Indeed, the profane spaces are used to promote the church message and recruit new members.

The Sacred as consumption experience in this case satisfies a consumer need for relationship, commitment, and community. The promotional apparatus including church elders and sisters, as well as TV spots and short films, drive home the importance of relationship–beginning with the family and extending to the church community and even the dead.

The church relies on one-to-one proselytizing for support and propagation of the flock. As a tourist attraction, Temple Square plays an important role in bringing prospects to the church. We talked to two young women called "sisters" of the church, who have volunteered to leave home and work as missionaries to spread the word at places like the Visitor Center. They told us about the benefits they derived from belonging to the Church, and explained reasons why they chose to volunteer as "missionaries," for 18 months, at their own expense.

Baptism in the Mormon Church guarantees, among other things, that the individual will be reunited with his or her ancestors in the next world. Marriage, moreover, does not end with a spouse's death, since the couple will meet again in the hereafter. These benefits do not come cheap, since tithing a percentage of one's annual income is a condition of membership.

Outside the Visitor Center we conducted ad hoc interviews among tourists waiting to hear the rehearsal of the Mormon Tabernacle choir. The stories of these tourists paint a more negative picture of the church. These women express feelings of rejection and outrage about the strict exclusivity of the Mormons. One woman tells a story about a friend whose wife was ostracized by the Church community when she divorced her first husband, an alcoholic. The other woman tells the story of a date she had with a Mormon who ended the lunch when she stated she was not interested in having children.

Tourists are nonetheless drawn here by the renowned Mormon Tabernacle choir, whose Sunday morning broadcasts have drawn thousands of visitors since 1927. The choir rehearsal, a profane space open free to the public, exhibits many of the elements identified noticed throughout Temple Square aimed at attracting, engaging, and converting non-members into the inner sanctum of the faith community. The music captures audience and researchers alike in its thrall. The long musical passage at the end of the video was included in order to draw the video spectator into something like the emotional trance of the audience at Temple Square. The spell is broken as we leave the temple and are greeted again by missionaries, eager to commit our names and addresses to their list of recruits. In other words, the Temple Square video embraces the contradictions within the sacred as consumption site by moving the spectator between cultural critique and pleasure.

The Temple Square site itself stages a kind of performance involving not only the staff or performers but the visitors as well. The visitor is exposed at every turn to marketing messages about the social and emotional benefits of with membership in the Mormon, such as family, community, and spiritual connection, as well as entry into sacred spaces such as the cathedral, which are off-limits to the uninitiated. TV ads and mini-documentaries extolling the virtues of family values shown continuously in various rooms. Pretty young hostesses or "sisters" guide visitors and answer questions about their mission. On Thursdays and Sundays the visit is capped by performances of the Mormon Tabernacle Choir. By the seamless flow of visitors through the narrative space of the site, Temple Square is reminiscent of amusement parks such as the Disney Epcot Center, which literally stages the visitor in an imaginary/symbolic performance.

The other short, *Health Watch: the State of Diet and Fitness in the United States*, demonstrates how video can be edited to create a rhetorical force that a research report lacks, by virtue of the compelling montage of sounds, images, and real-life interviews. This video was produced in the context of a trend study aimed at convincing upper management of a large company of the need to address public health issues as part of their marketing strategy. Leaders within the company foresaw class action suits by disgruntled consumers emboldened by the success of recent litigation against tobacco companies. In addition to a detailed written report, the project called for a kind of video presentation that would grab attention and move management to action.

The *Health Watch* video was produced in Super VHS and edited in Final Cut Pro. It consists of a compilation of consumer interviews, cultural icons and advertising messages, the opinions of experts and clips from popular movies, all of which direct attention to the baffling contradictions in the media messages reaching consumers as they make day to day choices about diet and fitness. Andrew Wright provided technical support and in some cases developed sounds and imagery for the themes outlined in a prepared scenario. The objective was to interpret the plethora of mixed messages surrounding health in American culture and identify unsatisfied needs and wants at the base of attitudes toward diet and exercise. Focussing on the expression of health and fitness discourses in the popular media, we identified logical and rhetorical associations, patterns and codes that form a kind of popular consciousness relative to the meaning of health in the United States. The success of this production was measured less on the basis of esthetic merit or originality, than on the effect it produced within the organization, where a budget was created to develop public interest programs and examine the company's role in promoting a healthy lifestyle among its customers.

Americans are admonished to eat less, clean their plates, cut fat, buy Super Size cheeseburgers, take diet pills, nibble on snack cakes, work out, eat well, drive big cars and walk to work. The confusion occurs at all levels of life, from the kitchen table to the mega-stores promising much more for much less. Current social discourses about health move away from this balance of good food and moderate exercise in many different directions, losing the sense of balance the further they go from the center. Discourses on health tend to center either on exercise *or* food. Though the need to eat right is suggested by most exercise programs, and though minimal activity is recommended to accompany diet programs such as Weight Watchers, many people do one at the expense of the other. They may use a workout to compensate for a fast food binge, or spend all their time counting calories rather than introducing more exercise into their lifestyle. The rapid montage of sounds, images, voice-over, and movement was employed to engage the spectator directly into the findings of the research about the confusing state of health and fitness culture in the United States.

Post-modern consumer research not only opens the field to new methodologies and technologies for collecting and analyzing data about consumers, such as film and video, but also demands a rethinking of the epistemological foundations of empirical research grounded in an unexamined belief in the logic and unity of meaning and representation, and of perception and objective reality. [Hirshman and Holbrook, 1992, 2): "An implicit theme running through [these] post positivistic or postmodern approaches to research deals with problems of epistemology that arise from questioning the connection of knowledge to empiricist moorings in a real world."] Traditional scientific inquiry, in other words, is implicitly grounded in the belief that "what you see is what you've got." Video radically disturbs such assumptions by relocating scholarly research and thought from the realm of metaphysics to the realm of the performance of knowledge in time and space. Video performance holds the spectating subject in a movement between thought and pleasure, perception and a radical critique of the I/eye of scientific discourse.

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Constructing Preferences: The Influence of When and Where

Elizabeth Gelfand Miller, University of Pennsylvania

The objective of this session was to explore how tastes and preferences develop over time. In particular, the papers in this session examined the effect of when and how items are experienced or presented on the development of preferences. The first paper focused largely on the role of initial experiences in the development of tastes, but also considered the role of explicit knowledge and expertise on the development and expression of preferences. The second paper also examined the influence of expertise and order of presentation, but focused more on how items evaluated in isolation might experience a brand positivity bias. The third paper, while also considering the influence of single evaluations vs. more simultaneous evaluations on preference, focused more on how a specific characteristic of display–the naming of colors or flavors–affects preferences and choice.

The first paper (Hoeffler and West) examined how experience impacts changes in taste over time. In particular, the paper explored how initial experiences and explicit knowledge influence preferences and taste formation. Hoeffler and West demonstrated that tastes change with experience and that initial choices in a product category are biased by people's initial exposure. In addition, they show that such choices can lead to further biased sampling within the product category, impacting people's "real" preferences.

The second paper (Posavac et al.) examined the influence of singular evaluation (the evaluation or appraisal of singular products or brands as opposed to the consideration of multiple alternatives at one time) on brand evaluations and behavioral intentions. Posavac et al. showed that singular evaluation is often characterized by a brand positivity effect–the tendency for favorably regarded products or brands to be evaluated more positively than warranted when judged in isolation–and that this bias can influence choice intentions. In addition, their findings suggest that selective processing contributes to the brand positivity effect, while the consideration of additional alternatives and increased expertise in the product category reduce this effect.

The third paper (Miller and Kahn) also explored the role of presentation in influencing preferences by focusing on how the naming of colors and flavors influences preferences for items and consumers' likelihood of purchasing them. Miller and Kahn's findings demonstrate that ambiguously-named items (e.g., Florida red or Frost) are often more likely to be purchased than typically named items (e.g., dark red, grape) and that such differences arise due to consumers' increased likelihood of making positive attributions about the ambiguously-named products. Miller and Kahn develop theory for this process using Grice's "conversational norms" ideas.

"Evolution and Development of Preferences: The Role of Biased Search in Acquiring Taste"
Steve Hoeffler, University of North Carolina
Pat West, Ohio State University

In this paper we investigate the impact of experience on changes in taste over time. We explore the role of the initial experience in taste development. We will demonstrate that initial experiences play a key role in the development of tastes and that initial experiences can anchor taste in two distinct ways. First of all, the components of the actual experience itself impact taste formation. In addition, we will show that the explicit knowledge about the initial experience has a separate influence on tastes. Lastly, we will show that initial experiential anchors may lead consumers astray from their optimal preferences.

The goal of this project is to investigate the impact of the specific starting point on the development of tastes. As it is an early account of these types of leanings, we will raise more questions than we answer. For example, we don't believe that the type of experience and the explicit knowledge about the experience are the only factors that impact taste. In fact, there are most likely many actors that influence the type and intensity of taste change over time; such as developmental changes, aging, discrimination, learning, adaptation, consumption vocabulary (West, Brown, and Hoch 1996), commitment, and social changes.

Effects of Exposure on Liking (Acquired Taste for Chili Peppers)

Rozin and Schiller (1980) examine the development of taste for chili peppers. Their goal was to examine the development of affect in the context of acquiring taste for chili peppers and specifically the irritation associated with chili peppers dubbed the "chili burn." Rozin and Schiller studied how tastes were acquired for chili peppers in a rural village in the highlands of Mexico versus North American subjects. In general, they found that in the Mexico sample, there was a gradual increase in preferences for chili peppers over a period of two to eight years beginning at around the age of three to five.

Chili's were not offered to infants. In fact, in some chili eating cultures, chili is placed on the mother's breast to facilitate weaning (Jelliffe 1962; cited from Rozin and Schiller 1980). Starting at around the age of three, mothers would expose their children to chili peppers. In particular; "In the case of *salsa*, a small amount was put on a tortilla for children in the 3- 5- (but occasionally 2-) year range. If the child rejected it, the mother would prepare another tortilla, with less or no *salsa* (Rozin and Schiller 1980, italics in original)." In general, at about the age of 5, children exposed themselves to chili peppers that were available (in the form of salsa). While explicit rewards for eating chili's were not offered, the more subtle rewards associated with copying behavior of older siblings and parents were in effect.

Rozin and Schiller (1980) examine (and mostly discounted) a host of reasons for the acquired taste of chili peppers (e.g., receptor desensitization, associative learning, opponent process, and benign masochism). Finally, they mention both mere exposure and social factors as the most likely mechanisms leading to an acquired taste for chili peppers. Note that the social factor was not in the form of social pressure and was not thought to be the most important factor. Instead, they claim that exposure to gradually increasing amounts seemed to be the major factor leading to the change in taste.

Role of Initial Experience in Acquiring Taste

One account of how preferences are developed in a novel environment is found in the recent award winning work of Heilman, Bowman, and Wright (2000). The authors look at the evolution of preferences for parents who are new to the diaper market. In this work, initial choices in an environment are thought to be driven by two competing objectives; the desire to obtain information about the product category space, and the desire to avoid risky alternatives. The authors posit the existence of different stages of buying where information is collected and then consolidated into a stable preference for the product that provides the most utility for each consumer.

Hoeffler and Ariely (1999) examined the process of preference consolidation in a novel environment (aversive sounds). They examined the role of experience, effort, and the choice process in preference stabilization. A key factor that led to preference stabilization in the Hoeffler and Ariely studies was exposure to tradeoffs in the environment. In these studies, the authors focused on showing that preferences stabilize after experience in the environment. Thus, they did not examine the impact of acquiring taste. It is interesting that in many of the food environments where people are thought to acquire taste over time, the presence of tradeoffs and the dimensions on which tradeoffs are made are not so obvious. For instance, in the wine category, are White Zinfandel drinkers really giving up the more complex tastes associated with Chardonnay if their preferences had not evolved to a stage where they can appreciate these complex tastes?

One phenomenon that implies a strong influence of an initial experience is called the anchoring and adjustment bias (Tversky and Kahneman 1974). Standard anchoring studies usually focus on judgment (Tversky and Kahneman 1974) and have been shown to hold over a variety of stimulus materials and contexts (for a recent review see Epley and Gilovich 2001). Ariely, Loewenstein, and Prelec (2002) have extended the basic research on anchoring, by showing how the initial starting point of experience has a large role on valuation of alternatives. Ariely, Loewenstein, and Prelec showed how arbitrary initial anchors in novel environments (e.g., aversive sounds) have a large impact on how subjects value these experiences. They dubbed the first choice in an environment, the foundational choice, because this choice serve as the foundation from which following choices were measured. Ariely, Loewenstein, and Prelec point to the role of awareness by noting that people are sensitive to decision making variable of which they are aware, and insensitive to ones that they are not directly aware of (because the don't experience variation among unseen variables).

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"The Brand Positivity Effect: When Evaluation Confers Preference"

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David M. Sanbonmatsu, University of Utah
Frank R. Kardes, University of Cincinnati
Gavan J. Fitzsimons, Wharton

Taken together, six experiments provide compelling evidence that when consumers form brand preferences by evaluating brands in isolation, substantially different judgmental outcomes are achieved than if the brands had been evaluated in a comparative setting. Singular judgments of favorable consumer products are often characterized by a brand positivity bias—evaluations of focal brands belonging to several different categories were consistently more positive than warranted. Moreover, this judgmental tendency had implications for choice intentions in which the stated probability of purchase of the focal brand was higher than was the probability of choice of the average member of the category. Several experiments contribute some understanding of why the brand positivity effect occurs. In one experiment, when the judgmental context facilitated consideration of alternatives to a focal option, the likelihood of the brand positivity effect decreased. In a second study, as the consideration of alternatives to a focal brand increased, ratings and purchase likelihood of the focal brand decreased. These experiments, then, suggest that selective processing contributes to the brand positivity effect.

In addition to demonstrating this basic effect, our research also delineated important moderators of the brand positivity effect. As noted above, one experiment demonstrated that the brand positivity effect is unlikely to occur in judgmental contexts that facilitate the consideration of alternatives to a focal brand. This is the case because information about multiple alternatives may be gathered, thus reducing the likelihood of informational disparities arising between the focal and non-focal alternatives, and preventing the overly rosy perception of focal objects typically engendered by selective confirmatory hypothesis testing. Another experiment showed that being familiar with a focal brand increased the likelihood that judgments of it will be overly positive. Here, an individual trying to make a fair assessment of a familiar brand may be betrayed by the richness of information he or she has regarding it. Specifically, singular focus on a well-known brand may readily result in a large disparity between information considered regarding the focal versus non-focal brands. Moreover, evidence for the worth of a familiar brand will be readily obtained, and selective hypothesis testing may result in the focal brand appearing particularly attractive.

Although our results suggest that the brand positivity effect is ubiquitous, with both student and mature consumer samples demonstrating positivity effects in several product categories, our final experiment suggests that experts are much less likely to be influenced by context in this manner than non experts. One reason why experts may be less susceptible to the brand positivity effect is that they may have preexisting rankings or preferences that serve as the basis for judgment. Even if preferences are not previously delineated prior to a decision, there are several additional reasons to expect that experts will be likely to be immune to the brand positivity effect. First, experts may be likely to have a clearly defined set of criteria or standards with which to evaluate choice options. Accordingly, the context in which judgments are rendered is less likely to exert influence on the judgment because experts may bring criteria with them into the context, and be unlikely to use contextual cues to develop criteria. Second, experts are likely to possess substantial knowledge, including specific evaluations, of various options within the choice category. Consequently, disparities in information acquisition are less likely to arise in expert versus novice judgment. In a related vein, knowledge of alternatives and attribute information may reduce the likelihood of selective hypothesis testing.

"Shades of Meaning: The Effects of Novel Color Names on Consumer Preferences"

Elizabeth Gelfand Miller, Wharton
Barbara E. Kahn, Wharton

A trip to a cosmetics counter these days reveals a remarkable thing: there is no red. There may be Panic Button or Enigmatic or Seductress, but there is no red (Schultz, 2001). In fact, such unusual, and often ambiguous, names are appearing in all sorts of product

categories and with astounding success. What accounts for the phenomenal success of these naming strategies? Building on Grice's (1975) theory of "conversational implicature," we propose that consumers react favorably to the unusual names because they are essentially assuming that the marketing messages convey some useful information. Specifically, since consumers cannot interpret the literal meaning of the ambiguous label, they focus on what they assume is the pragmatic or underlying meaning or reason for the communication effort. Since consumers believe that packaging or advertising would only provide positive information, they make positive attributions about the brand based on the ambiguous descriptions. The results of three experiments provide empirical support for our proposal and rule out some alternative explanations for the success of ambiguous naming strategies.

According to Grice's (1975) theory of conversational implicature, conversations are guided by a set of tacit assumptions. These assumptions enable people to mean more than they say (i.e., convey nonliteral meanings) and to make sense of sentences that might literally be seen as non sequiturs. Specifically, Grice argues that listeners interpret speakers' utterances based on the assumption that the speaker is being cooperative, unless they have reason to believe otherwise. Grice's formulation of this cooperative principle embodies four conversational maxims–those of quantity (make your contribution as informative as required, no more, no less), quality (make your contribution one that is true), relation (make your contribution relevant to the exchange), and manner (be perspicuous or easy to understand). These maxims suggest that one key assumption people make during conversations is that all information contributed by participants is relevant to the goal of the ongoing conversation.

Similarly, we hypothesize that consumers may assume that all information offered to them by the marketer, including the name of the product's color or flavor, is meant to be relevant or informative to their purchase process and that they will consequently try to make sense of this information. Thus they will try to assign meaning to the ambiguous color or flavor names. If the color or flavor name is uninformative in the *literal* or semantic sense (as is often the case with atypical names), consumers will search for a *pragmatic* meaning or reason for the communication (Harris and Monaco 1978; Gruenfeld and Wyer 1992). In this context, focusing on a pragmatic meaning would result in positive attributions about the brand. That is, consumers may see these names, realize they are uninformative about the color/flavor, and then wonder why the manufacturer has provided this information. Their conclusion would then be that the manufacturer named the item in this manner to communicate some other information, perhaps something about the brand's quality or stylishness. Such attributions are then likely to lead to an increased preference for these (ambiguously-named) items and a consequently, higher likelihood of purchase.

We test this theory in three studies. In the first study, we show that consumers do have preferences for the ambiguously named items and we provide evidence that the process behind this effect is cognitive in nature. In study 2, we provide further evidence for our specific process. In study 3, we rule out an alternative explanation for the results. Taken together, the findings support the notion that ambiguous names do affect preferences and that such names operate through a cognitive pathway, by which consumers make additional attributions about the ambiguously-named products, leading to increased preference and likelihood of purchase.

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Effects of Thinking on Consumer Decisions
Ziv Carmon, INSEAD

Three papers were presented in this session, followed by a discussion lead by Dawn Iacobucci. Their abstracts appear below.

"Option Attachment: When Deliberating Makes Choosing Feel like Losing"
Ziv Carmon, INSEAD
Klaus Wertenbroch, INSEAD
Marcel Zeelenberg, Tilburg University

Common sense suggests that consumers make more satisfying decisions as they consider their options more closely. Yet we argue that such close consideration can have undesirable consequences because it may induce attachment to the options—a sense of prefactual ownership of the choice options. When consumers then select one option, they effectively lose this prefactual possession of the other, non-chosen option(s). This yields a feeling of discomfort (choosing feels like losing) and an increase in the attractiveness of the forgone option, compared to its appeal before the choice. A series of nine experiments provides evidence of this phenomenon and support for our explanation.

"When and Why the Background Contrast Effect Emerges: The Role of Thought and Applicability"
Joseph R. Priester, University of Michigan
Utpal M. Dholakia, Rice University

The Background Contrast Effect provides a guide as to how past decisions influence subsequent ones. Specifically, it demonstrates that the trade-off value between two attributes in a given choice influences subsequent such choices. In this research, we seek to understand when and why this effect emerges. In four studies, we provide evidence that the Background Contrast Effect is most likely to emerge when decisions are *thoughtfully made* by individuals and when those prior trade-off values are *perceived as applicable* to current choices. Implications and future research opportunities are discussed.

"Effect Propensity: Generic Effects on Preferences Between Default/Inaction and Non-Default/Action Options"
Itamar Simonson, Stanford University
Thomas Kramer, Stanford University
Maia Young, Stanford University

People often choose between "action" and "inaction" options, such as between a sure gain and a gamble or between a low cost/low return option and high cost/high return option. Previous research has investigated the impact of a variety of task and context effects (e.g., involvement, providing reasons for choice, anticipating regret) on such choices. To explain the observed effects, researchers presented theories that accounted for the particular results.

In this research, we propose that a "control" ("no-manipulation") task often acts effectively as a condition that favors "inaction" options. In other words, the "control" captures much of the share potential of inaction-type options. As a result, most other manipulations, selected randomly, are more likely to favor "action" alternatives. Thus, instead of focusing on each manipulation separately, we suggest that there is a common underlying factor that contributes to a wide variety of observed effects.

We examine this proposition in the context of two primary choice problems,: (a) a set consisting of a low price, lower return brand and a higher price, higher return option, and (b) a sure gain/loss vs. a gamble involving a certain probability of winning/losing an amount and a probability of winning/losing nothing. Our predictions were supported in a series of studies using a variety of seemingly unrelated manipulations, such as anticipating regret, rating of individual options, articulating reasons for choice, involvement, being evaluated, and incidental exposure to choices of others. We also examined the mechanisms underlying these results and alternative explanations.

Gender Differences In Responses to Emotional Advertising: The Effect of the Presence of Others

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Laurette Dubé, McGill University

ABSTRACT

The research examines how the real or imagined presence of others in the viewing environment differentially affect males' and females' responses to emotional advertising. Based on gender theory, the research predicts and finds that females' responses to ads that contain high-agency (e.g., happiness, excitement) or low-agency (e.g., sentimentality, warmth) emotions are not influenced by social context effects. In contrast, the presence of another person in the viewing environment affects male responses only when the emotional appeal is incongruent with gender stereotypes. Under private viewing conditions, when gender stereotypes are less salient, males' self-reported pleasure and A_{ad} are not significantly different from females' responses. Implications for advertising research and media planning are discussed.

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Examining Children's Cognitive Abilities in an Advertising Context: Differences in Breadth and Depth Across Age Groups

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

There is fairly widespread agreement that by the age of eight children are able to distinguish between advertising on television and more general programming (see Brucks, Armstrong and Goldberg 1988). What remains unclear is the specific nature of the cognitive abilities that are needed in order for children to make the discrimination between ads and programs. In clarifying what is meant by the ability to discriminate researchers mean that children understand that ads have a selling intent (as opposed to an entertainment or informative intent). Apart from seminal research by Robertson and Rossiter (1974), in which they propose five general cognitive factors as precursors to understanding advertising's persuasive intent, there is a lack of research that specifically examines cognitive structures in children that are related to understanding commercial persuasion. In addition, although there is little debate that children of different ages vary in terms of their cognitive development, these differences have not been carefully scrutinized in the context of advertising, specifically in terms of their effect on children's ability to understand the intent of advertising.

Previous studies indicate that children as young as eight have the ability to recognize television advertising (e.g., Brucks, Armstrong and Goldberg 1988). However, existing research has not examined specific knowledge structures and beliefs with regard to children's understanding of advertising, which directly affects their ability to understand advertising's persuasive intent and, thus, defend against it (Robertson and Rossiter 1974). In order to address these under-researched areas this study examines in detail the specific nature of children's cognitive abilities that allow them to make the discrimination between ads and programming. We focus on children with varying degrees of cognitive ability in order to examine the developmental nature of cognitive factors related to advertising that ultimately affect children's ability to defend themselves against advertising's persuasive intent. We utilize and extend the five advertising-related cognitive factors posited by Robertson and Rossiter that are believed to develop sequentially as children age (as their general cognitive abilities develop). The present study, based on focus group data collected from both younger (5-7 year-olds) and older (1 1-12 year-olds) children, examines in detail different cognitive factors used by children to interpret advertising messages. We examine each of these factors across the children using age as a correlate for stage of cognitive development.

Differences were found between the age groups in terms of how well developed specific cognitive abilities are, suggesting that the ability to defend against advertising's persuasive intent develops sequentially. We present our findings and propose areas for future research in response to the need to better understand specific issues surrounding the effects of advertising on children.

The Impact of Aging on Consumer Responses: *What Do We Know?*

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to critically review what is known about the influence of age on consumer responses, and to point out the major contributions and gaps. In order to organize the literature, we propose a framework with two components: age-related changes (e.g., psychological, social and biological changes) and consumer responses (e.g., cognition, affect and behavior). Finally, a new research focus is offered to help overcome some of the challenges that exist in the literature. This research focus is characterized by the development of integrative theories that take into account several age-related changes.

Americans are older today than ever before, and the average age is increasing. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the proportion of people aged 65 years and over should increase from 13% in 2000 to 15% in 2015, up to 21% in 2050. Given the important consequences that this phenomenon is having and will continue to have on society, researchers from different fields have been paying an increasing amount of attention to the effects of aging on almost all the components of life, such as health, cognitive skills, physiological capabilities, social activities and interactions, emotions, personality, housing, and nutrition. Marketers are also very interested in this phenomenon. They would like to know how aging affects consumer behavior of the elderly, and in turn how these behavioral changes will influence ways of doing business. One of the most critical questions is to determine whether or not specific strategies need to be developed for aging people.

Basically, there are two major empirical streams of research that have looked at aging and consumer behavior: information-processing changes, and consumer behavior changes (related to cognition, affect and behavior). The first stream is concerned with the identification of differences between the elderly and younger people in marketing information processing (e.g., Law, Hawkins and Craik 1998; Yoon 1997; Cole and Balasubramian 1993; and Cole and Geath 1990). Researchers of this stream test theories related to learning and problem solving in marketing contexts.

In the second and more researched stream, researchers compare the responses of different groups for specific aspects of consumer behavior, such as the sources of information used by different groups (e.g. Davis and French 1989; and Stephens 1981) store selection (e.g. Lumpkin, Greenberg and Goldstucker 1985; and Lumpkin and Greenberg 1982), attitudes towards advertising (Davis and French 1989), attitudes towards new technologies (Zeithaml and Gilly 1987), products and services purchase (Uncles and Ehrenberg 1990), and customer dissatisfaction (Bernhardt 1981; and Bearden and Mason 1979). In most cases, researchers compare two or more groups of different chronological ages: usually a group of older people with one or more groups of younger people. In a few cases, researchers compare the responses of different segments of older people (Moschis 1993; French and Bryan 1989; and Tantiwong and Wilton 1985). Also, some researchers use cognitive age as a substitute for or complement to chronological age (Johnson 1993; Wilkes 1992; and Barak and Stern 1985).

Despite growing knowledge on aging and consumer behavior, many questions still remain unanswered. Although the first stream of research offers meaningful insights on how people process marketing information, researchers of this stream do not explain how the cognitive deficiencies of the elderly influence their searching process in a "real" environment (Moschis 1994), or how they impact other consumer responses, especially those associated with affect and behavior. Moreover, even if the second stream effectively describes some observable behaviors of the elderly, findings regularly conflict from one study to another. This situation can be explained by two reasons. First, researchers of this stream widely continue to use chronological age as their segmentation basis, even though other independent variables, particularly cognitive age, have been strongly recommended. Second, little effort has been devoted in this stream in theory building (Yoon 1997).

The motivation for this paper comes from the fact that much still to be learned regarding how aging impacts consumer responses, and that the existing streams of research use theoretical focus which limit our ability to learn more. Here, we argue that any stream of research clearly addresses the question: why there are differences, if any, between the responses of aging people and those of younger individuals? Thus, the purpose of this paper is threefold. First, we aim to synthesize and integrate what is known about the influence of age on consumer behavior. For doing so, a conceptual framework is developed. Second, we intend to point out the major contributions and gaps in that field. Finally, a new research focus is presented in order to overcome challenges with existing approaches. This new research focus is characterized by the development of integrative theories that takes into account several age-related changes.

The rest of this review will proceed as follows. First, the conceptual framework is presented. Second, we synthesize the literature concerning age-related changes which are reputed to have an impact on consumer responses (the first dimension of the framework). Third, we synthesize the information concerning the differences between the consumer behavior of the elderly and that of younger people (the second dimension of the framework). Finally, in an attempt to reconcile the two previous parts, a critique of the literature is offered and a new research focus is put forward.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The conceptual framework presented here possesses two principal components: age-related changes and consumer responses (see figure 1). The concept of consumer responses can be examined by focussing on three components: cognition, affect and behavior. Although simple, the C-A-B framework played an important role in the earliest attempts to build models of consumer behavior (Engel, Kollat and Blackwell 1968). Moreover, as summarized by Holbrook and Batra (1987), a wide variety of consumer behavior patterns can be described and explained by slightly modifying the C-A-B framework.

The cognitive component includes all the stages whereby an individual become conscious of a problem, collects information to resolve, and analyzes the information before buying or consuming a service or a product. The affective component encompasses all the range of emotions (liking, disliking, love, hate, fear, anger, joy, sadness, and so on) that a consumer could experience in a decision process related to consuming. The behavioral component contains the physical actions of buying and consuming a product or a service. Specifically, we focus on two cognitive responses (sources of information and store selection), two affective responses (attitude towards advertising and attitude towards new technologies), and three behavioral responses (purchase of products, purchase of brands and complaining). These specific responses are those that

FIGURE 1
The Conceptual Model
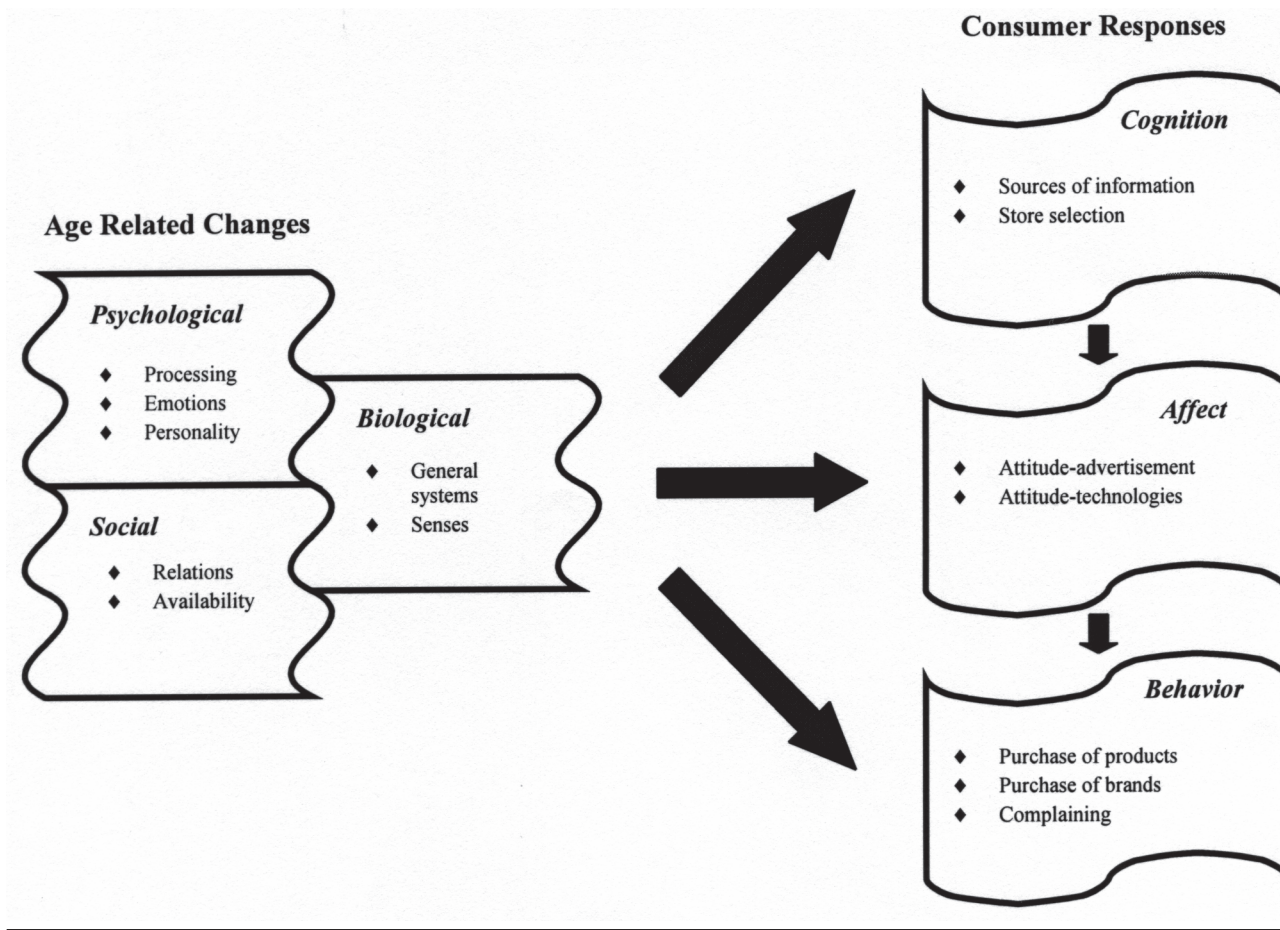
have received most attention from researchers interested by aging and consumer behavior.

Age-related changes are usually grouped into three broad categories: biological (or physiological), psychological and sociological changes. An excellent overview of these three categories of changes is offered in the series of *Handbooks of Aging* (Birren, Schaie, Abeles, Gatz and Salthouse 1996; Binstock, George, Marshall, Myers and Schulz 1996; Schneider, Rowe, Johnson and Holbrook 1996). Although these changes will be discussed separately, a strong interdependency between them is assumed. To illustrate this interdependence, the different age-related changes overlap on each other in figure 1. In the present article, we pay attention to two biological changes (overall physiological systems and senses), three psychological changes (information-processing, emotions and personality) and two social changes (relationships and availability). As we explain in the following section, these changes are the most susceptible to have a significant impact on consumer behavior.

The framework suggests that several age-related changes of any type can influence a given consumer response. To explain older people's consumer behavior, we have to identify and understand the complex set of biological, psychological and social changes which affect a specific aspect of consumer behavior. For a better understanding, we also have to understand how these different changes interact together.

AGE-RELATED CHANGES

Biological Changes

According to Moschis (1994), biological changes refer to "the changes in human functional capacity resulting from changes in cells and tissues that in turn cause deterioration of the biological system and its subsystems." Few authors appear to have studied the impact of biological changes in marketing and consumer behavior contexts (Moschis 1994; Scheme 1988). In this sub-section, we first examine the impact of overall physiological aging on consumer behavior, and second, the consequences of sensory aging on the capability to perceive communication.

Overall Physiological Changes. Biological changes are likely to alter almost all aspects of consumer responses. The following represent four examples of the way biological changes might influence consumer behavior. First, they surely alter needs in terms of consumed products and services (Moschis 1994; Lumpkin and Hunt 1989; and Schewe 1988). Second, in influencing the sensory and information processing abilities of older people, these changes influence their capacity to perceive, understand and process communication (see next sub-section). Third, biological changes, associated with a loss of functionality or serious pain, influence negatively the emotional state of older people (Maigai and McFadden 1996) which in turn determines how they feel towards life in general, and marketing stimuli and offers in particular. Fourth, the

shopping patterns of older people could be influenced by a possible loss of mobility (LaForges 1989; and Lumpkin and Hunt 1989). On this subject, even if the problem of mobility does not appear to have a significant influence on the type of retail store frequented, this deficiency may affect switching patronage between stores (Lumpkin and Hunt 1989).

Sensoring Changes. Given that communication is usually presented visually, orally or by both means, researchers have been especially concerned with age-related declines in vision and audition. Rousseau, Lamson and Rogers (1998) offer an excellent review on this subject. The elderly perform less well than younger people in regards to the following visual abilities: color vision, contrast sensitivity, glare sensitivity, temporal resolution, visual acuity and visual search (Rousseau, Lamson and Rogers 1998). The age-related changes associated to these abilities might affect in many ways how older people will perceive a message.

Basically, there are two types of age-related changes in audition: loss in sensitivity to higher frequencies and difficulty distinguishing specific sounds in a noisy environment (Rousseau and al. 1998). For example, hearing deficiency related to the first type of change makes it more difficult to understand a female voice in comparison to a male voice. The second type of hearing change may especially affect how radio messages are received.

Psychological Changes

In the following section, we will pay special attention to three types of psychological changes which appear to have a significant impact on consumer responses: information processing, emotions, and personality.

Information-processing Changes. Information-processing changes are by far the most studied and discussed (in the category of "age-related changes") by researchers in marketing and consumer behavior (Law, Hawkins and Craik 1998; Rousseau and al. 1998; Yoon 1997; Cole and Balasubramanian 1993; Gorn, Golberg, Chattopahyay and Litvack 1991; Cole and Gaeth 1990; Gaeth and Heath 1987; Cole and Houston 1987; Roedder-John and Cole 1986). According to Roedder-John and Cole (1986) and Cole and Houston (1987), the deficiencies in learning and problem-solving are primarily attributable to limitations in working memory capacity and strategies. Given that findings in psychology and gerontology suggest only a modest decline in working memory with age, memory strategies appear to be the crucial determinant (Cole and Houston 1987). Basically, there are two memory strategies: one related to information encoding, and one to information retrieval (Roedder-John and Cole 1986). Based on an experiment, Cole and Houston (1987) suggest that the problem of memory strategy faced by older people in a communication context is related more to encoding than retrieval.

The limitations in learning and problem-solving of older people have several consequences on consumer behavior, especially when older consumers search for information (cognitive component). Several experiments propose that older people perform less well in recalling and recognizing television and print advertisement (Cole and Houston 1987; Roedder-John and Cole 1986); are more susceptible to misleading statements in advertisements (Law, Hawkins and Craik 1998; Gaeth and Heath 1987); have more difficulty findings relevant information when reading an informational label (Cole and Balasubramanian, 1993; and Cole and Gaeth 1990); use fewer information aids such as unit pricing and open-dating (Bearden and Mason 1979); and search less information than other clusters of consumers (Furse, Punj and Stewart 1984). In addition, decline in cognitive abilities can play an important role in other age-related declines, especially emotional and social ones.

Memory deficiencies, and consequently learning and problem-solving abilities, would vary according to certain conditions. First, Phillips and Sternthal (1977) suggest that information self-pacing could help to diminish learning difference. Second, Cole and Gaeth (1990) suggest that the elderly can perform more easily certain problem-solving tasks if they receive before some instructions. Third, Cole and Gaeth (1990) recommend changing the designs of labels in order to make them more readable to the elderly. Fourth and fifth, point-of-purchase displays and the repetitions of a message appear to significantly favor memorization (Law, Hawkins and Craik 1998; Cole and Houston 1987; and Roedder-John and Cole 1986). Sixth, Gorn and al. (1991) mention that older people recall a greater number of elements when an advertisement is only musical (without verbal cues).

Emotional Changes. The influence of emotions on aging is a relatively new field of research. Recent studies reveal that emotional changes experienced by the elderly do not just affect their morale, and consequently their affective answers to marketing stimuli, but also other components of the aging process (see Maigai and McFadden (1996) for an excellent overview). Similarly, the emotional states of older people probably impact all the aspect of the decision process related to consuming. To our knowledge, no marketing researcher has formally studied the influence of the elderly's emotion on consumer responses.

Changes in Personality. The question of "how personality changes with age?" has been studied intensely in psychology and gerontology. In consumer behavior, just a few seem to have addressed this issue (Moschis 1994, and Lepisto 1985). For literature reviews on this complex topic, the reader should consult the article of Kogan (1990). In the following section, we briefly discuss two of the three models presented by Kogan (1990) (trait models and developmental stage models), and one summarized by Moschis (1994) (the cognitive personality theory). These models have been chosen since they offer relevant frameworks to understand how personality could affect consumer behavior. However, this does not constitute an extensive review of this large area of research.

Some researchers argue that as people age their frame of values and their personality traits do not change significantly (Kogan, 1990). This stability could have some marketing consequences, especially if older people believe in values which can impact their consumption decision process. For example, Laforge (1989) argues that low propensity of older people to complain is explained in part by their strong belief, acquired during youth, that companies are insensitive to customer problems.

Theorists belonging to the second school think that personality is built through different stages corresponding to different life periods (although there is a disagreement about when personality achieves stability). Among all the models, that of Erikson is probably the one which most clearly states that personality changes in old age (Kogan, 1990). According to his eight stage model, an individual in the last stage either accepts the inevitability of mortality and achieves wisdom, or despairs because he or she has not accepted the idea of dying. If this model is a good representation of reality, marketers have to deal with two types of older customers who perceive life in an opposite way. However, this developmental model has not received much of empirical support and has been severely criticized for its deterministic structure (Moschis 1994).

According to the cognitive personality model (largely inspired by work in psychoanalysis), personality is based on the interaction of environment, self-concept and social constraints (Moschis 1994). In later life, older people have difficulty adapting their perceptions of themselves (the self) to the new social environment characterized by the loss of some traditional roles (active parents, workers, etc.). In some cases, older people continue to act in line with a younger

"self-view". This attitude of "thinking and acting young" can have consequences on the products and services demanded by many older people and on the shopping atmosphere they look for (Moschis 1994).

Social Changes

Age related social changes refers to changes of roles experienced by people while aging. As people age, they reduce the number of their roles, and perform with less intensity the remaining roles. Social changes have a direct impact on different determinants which influence consumer behavior. In this sub-section, we focus on relationships and time availability. Apart from Moschis (1994) and Phillips and Strernthal (1977), few researcher have examined the social life of older people in the context of marketing.

Relational Changes. When an individual retires, the number and the variety of his or her interpersonal relationships decrease significantly. To compensate for the perceived lack of first hand information, several researchers theorize that senior citizens are likely to consult more intensively mass media than the general population (Moschis 1994; Stephens 1981; and Phillips and Sternthal 1977). The reduction of the variety and the number of interpersonal contacts does not mean that the elderly do not rely on other people as sources of information (Moschis 1994; and Phillips and Sternthal 1977). Given that they interact with a decreasing number of people, the ones regularly seen and consulted become more important, especially family members and friends.

Changes in Time Availability. In comparison with other segments of population, healthy older people might spend a considerable amount of time in social activities. This availability of time affects the way they collect information and shop. A recent study suggests that people who have more free time tend to shop more for hedonistic reasons, in contrast to utilitarian reasons (Bloch, Ridgway and Dawson 1994).

CONSUMER BEHAVIOR AND AGING

In this section, although we are primarily concerned by synthesizing the major findings concerning the differences between the elderly and younger people, we also pay special attention to underscore inconsistency in results.

Cognitive Responses

The cognitive dimension is probably the most studied aspect on the second dimension of the framework. In this sub-section, we focus on two issues having received a great deal of attention: sources of information and stores selection.

Sources of Information. In this section on sources of information, we look at four issues: the debate "formal sources of information" versus "informal ones," the debate "television" versus "print media," the motives underlining the use of mass media, and the use of in-store information. Some researchers suggest that older people, because of their reliance on mass media, may be particularly receptive to mass media (Davis and French 1989; and Stephens 1981). On the other hand, others mention that informal sources of information, especially family members and friends, are those which are the most important for the elderly (Phillips and Sternthal 1977).

The effectiveness of television versus print as an information source has also been a topic of debate. Some researchers suggest that print media is more effective for older people since they can self-pace the information presented within this media (Phillips and Strenthal 1977). In addition, print medium contains more information, an important concern for the elderly (Zeithaml and Gilly 1987). Other researchers propose that television is more effective, given its great capability to attract attention and to entertain (Cole

and Houston 1987; and Stephens 1981). In addition, this medium necessitates less effort in terms of concentration and information-processing.

Opposing the research that suggests that older people use mass media primarily to get information (Gorn and al. 1991; and Phillips and Sternthal 1977), recent empirical evidence shows that older customers refer to media for both entertainment and information motives (Rahtz, Sirgy and Meadow 1989). Rahtz, Sirgy and Meadow (1989) find that both chronological age and subjective age are strongly correlated to the construct "television orientation," which is defined as "a disposition to use television for entertainment and information-gathering purposes."

The level of familiarity, the perceived usefulness and the rate of usage with in-store information (nutritional labeling, open-code dating, and unit pricing) are significantly lower among the elderly than the population in general (Bearden and Mason 1979). This low propensity to use point-of-purchase information might be explained by the information-processing problems experienced by the elderly. However, Cole and Gaeth (1990) observe that the elderly can significantly increase their rate of usage if they receive instructions beforehand.

Store Selection. The store selection of older customers is a topic which was mainly studied at the end of the 70s and in the beginning of 80s (Tantiwong and Wilton 1985; Lumpkin, Greenberg and Goldstucker 1985; Lumpkin and Greenberg 1982; and Lambert 1979). Given the fundamental changes which have occurred in the retail industry structure since the early 90s, we will focus on aspects of store selection which remain relatively stable over time: shopping orientation and store attributes preferences.

According to Lumpkin and Greenberg (1982), even if older people tend to shop less frequently (for the specific case of apparel) than younger people, they seem to enjoy shopping. In addition, they point out that their results differ from those of Martin (1975), who suggests that the elderly shop primarily for utilitarian reasons. In light of recent typologies of customers (Boedeker 1995; and Bloch, Ridgway and Dawson 1994), Lumpkin and Greenberg's findings that propose that older people are recreational shoppers seems particularly open to question. In all the recent typologies, no relationship is found between chronological age and the fact of belonging to a recreational segment.

Concerning the attributes that the elderly considered before choosing a clothes store, Lumpkin, Greenberg and Goldstucker (1985) conclude that this segment of customers base their patronage decisions on criteria similar to those of younger people. Moreover, differences in "determinance scores" (for a list of store attributes) are not particularly significant between different groups of older people ("60-64," "65-74" and "75 and over"). This last finding conflicts with the main conclusion of Tantiwong and Wilton's (1985) research. The three segments of aged consumers they discuss, namely the "price-conscious," the "convenience-conscious" and the "price- convenient tradeoff," have, as their name indicates, different requirements when it is time to choose a retailer.

Affective Responses

In this sub-section, we focus on the two points related to the affect component which have received the most attention from academics: attitudes toward new technologies, and attitudes toward advertising.

Attitudes Toward New Technologies. The common belief that the elderly population is averse to technological change has been challenged by many researchers (Festervand, Meinert and Vitell 1994; Moschis 1987; and Zeithaml and Gilly 1987). Although adoption of new technologies is usually lower among the elderly (Zeithaml and Gilly 1987), some researchers believe that older

customers do not necessarily have a negative attitude towards these types of products, and that most of them believe that some new technologies could have a positive impact upon their lives (Festervand, Meinert and Vitell 1994; Moschis 1987). The low propensity by the elderly to adapt new technologies would be related more to a lack of information than to a negative attitude. On the other hand, this argument has not received much empirical support.

Attitudes Toward Advertising. To our knowledge, Davis and French (1989) are among the rare researchers who studied the attitude toward advertising of the elderly. They offer a typology of older female consumers (the "engaged," the "autonomous," and the "receptive") based on a segmentation basis that they call "advertising usage patterns and advertising attitudes and beliefs." "Engaged" customers do not believe in all claims made in advertisement. "Autonomous" customers seem especially critical towards the raison-d'être of advertising, and are suspicious of the claims made in commercials. "Receptive" customers, as the designation indicates, are the more favorable toward advertisements.

Behavioral Responses

In this section, we address the following issues: the purchase of products, purchase of brands, level of satisfaction, and propensity to complain.

Purchase of Products. We can logically conclude that the consuming patterns of the elderly are somewhat different for some categories of products (Moschis 1987). Older people spend more money (per capita) on products and services related to medical care, and they invest less intensively (per capita) in products and services related to professional life (transport and clothing), housing (morgage and house furnishing), and children (education). However, their consuming patterns (per capita) for current consumption of goods and services (food, utilities and household operations) do not appear to be very different from those of younger people (Uncles and Ehrenberg 1990; and Moschis 1987).

Purchase of Brands. In a recent study, Uncles and Ehrenberg (1990) challenge the intuitive preconception that older consumers, given their reluctance to change and/or their limited spending power, only buy a limited number of brands. When the number of purchases per year is held constant, the number of brands purchased by the elderly is found to be similar to that of younger people (Uncles and Ehrenberg 1990).

Level of Satisfaction. Some researchers concluded that the level of dissatisfaction (after purchase) among the elderly is probably less than that of the population at large (Bernhardt 1981, and Bearden and Mason 1979). On the other hand, Zeithaml and Gilly (1987) find no difference between the level of satisfaction among the elderly and younger people for three new technologies (on four tested). These diverging results suggest that differences in satisfaction between the elderly and younger people might vary according to the type of products tested.

Propensity to Complain. Bearden and Mason (1979) find that complaining behavior by the elderly and the population is similar for food products. Both groups are reluctant to complain to management. Opposing this point of view, Bernardt (1981) suggests that older people are less likely to complain about physical products. Two principal reasons are proposed in the literature to explain this lower propensity to complain. First, older people believe that complaining usually gives little results (Bernardt 1981; and Laforge 1989). Second, some elderly customers because they experience some problems of mobility might be reluctant to complain (LaForge 1989).

OPPORTUNITIES, EVALUATION AND A NEW RESEARCH FOCUS

This last section is divided as follows: identification of opportunities of research, evaluation of the existing literature, and presentation of a new research focus.

Opportunities. If we refer to the conceptual framework (figure 1), we observe that some issues received more attention than others. For the dimension of "age-related changes," researchers in consumer behavior generally focus on information-processing (the first stream of research). Little research concerns emotional, biological, and social changes in consumer behavior contexts. A more balanced redistribution of attention and energy by researchers is probably needed given that all three categories of changes significantly influence consumer responses.

For the second dimension of the framework (the second stream of research), we observe a similar pattern. The cognitive dimension, particularly the issues related to sources of information, received far more attention in comparison to the affective and behavioral dimensions. This situation might be explained by the natural link that exists between information-processing and the search for information. The affective dimension has been especially neglected. To our knowledge, no research addresses such central topics as attitudes towards products and brands, and just a few studies concern attitudes towards advertising.

Evaluation. In the case of the first stream, tested theories and methodologies are accepted as being almost irreproachable. Most of these theories have their roots in cognitive psychology and gerontology, two sciences especially advanced in studying the influences of aging. Hence, this stream can be considered an extension of the work made in other well-developed human sciences. In addition, the first stream helps us to understand an important cause, information-processing deficiencies, at the origin of many differences in consumer responses. However, it does not explicitly reveal how this cause interacts with other possible causes, and which consumer responses it influences. In other words, it does not draw relationships between other psychological changes (e.g., emotion and personality), other age-related changes (e.g., biological and social changes), and the different customer responses (e.g., cognition, affect and behavior) (see figure 2).

The quality of the information provided by the second stream is in part disappointing, especially in terms of the consistency of the findings related to customer responses. For many of the issues studied in this stream, there seems to be a divergence in opinions among researchers concerning differences between the elderly and younger people. These conflicting findings might be caused by the use of inappropriate theories. Most of the studies reviewed use chronological age as independent variables, despite the cautions raised by many researchers (Barak and Stern 1986; and Barak and Schiffman 1980). If we refer to figure 2, many researchers assume a direct relationship between chronological age and consumer responses, and do not take into account the influence of a set of biological, psychological or social changes. Researchers assume that behavioral differences can be explained by what has been demonstrated to be only vague cause (chronological age).

To overcome the theoretical challenge associated with the second stream, two alternatives were put forward in the literature: use of cognitive age (Barak and Stern 1986; and Barak and Schiffman 1980) and typologies (French and Bryan 1989; and Moschis 1993). However, even if these approaches might represent an improvement, they also have theoretical limitations. Although cognitive age was found to be a better indicator of biological, psychological and social aging than chronological age (Barak and Stern 1986), this

FIGURE 2

Theory XYZ for Consumer Response A
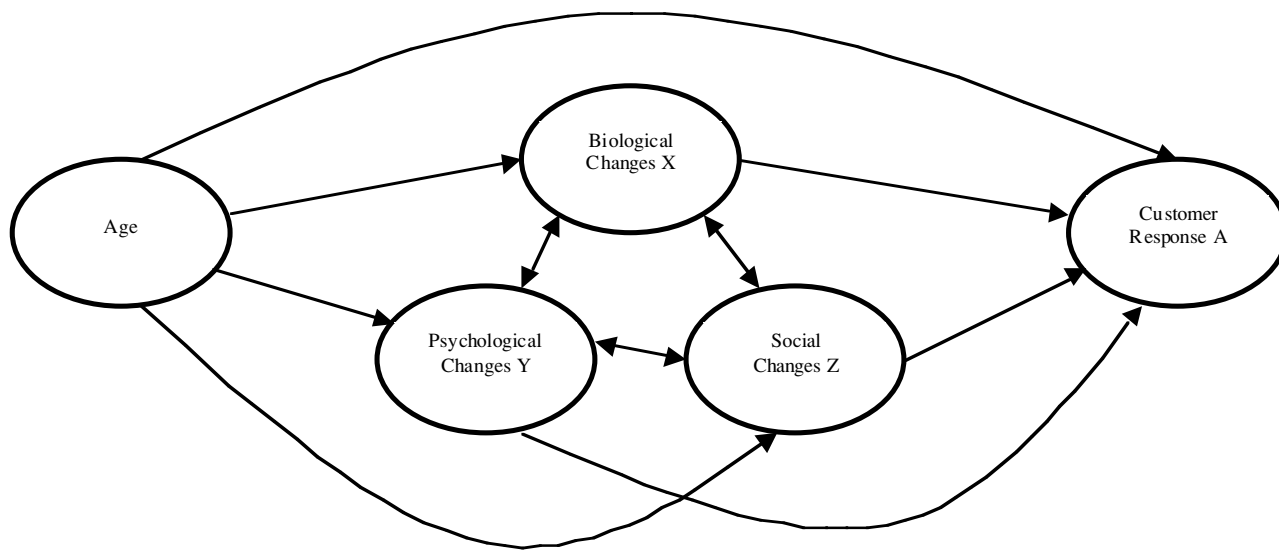
measure can not perfectly substitute a theory with precise constructs associated with relevant age-related changes. As interesting cognitive age can be as a measurement, it still offers only a general estimation of the causes, and not the real causes (Wilkes 1992). In the case of typologies, the relevance of this approach entirely depends on whether or not segmentation bases lie on strong theories. Apart from Moschis (1993), rare are the researchers who use segmentation bases which take into account different age-related changes. Rather they usually segment by using attitudes or lifestyles traits.

New research focus. The research focus we propose addresses the development of theories which are concerned with those relevant age-related changes which determine a given consumer response (see figure 2). As demonstrated in the section on age-related changes, a predetermined set of influences which impact all customer responses does not seem to exist. Thus, we suggest that specific theories should be developed depending on the studied responses. Two approaches seem especially meaningful to build such theories. First, one could refer to the abundant literature in gerontology and other relevant sciences, such as biology, psychology and sociology. Second, one can also use qualitative methodology, especially case studies. On this subject, many theorists argue that a naturalistic approach is particularly appropriate to theory building (Price, Arnould and Folkman Curasi 2000; Eisenhardt 1989; and Glaser and Strauss 1967). In the validation process, instead of paying attention mainly to the relationships between the concept of age (chronological, cognitive or both) and customer responses, we suggest that all the other relationships be assessed (see figure 2).

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this paper is to offer a framework that allows to integrate and critically review the literature on aging and consumer responses. We propose the present framework not only as an instrument to synthesize information, but also and mainly as a platform to build a general theory of aging in consumer behavior.

Basically, two conclusions are extracted from our analysis. First, given the narrow focus of academics interested by information-processing changes, and the weak conceptual development of the second stream, we still have a limited understanding of the impact of the complex phenomenon of aging on consumer responses. At this moment, we just have a limited number of insights to determine under which conditions practitioners should use specific strategies for aging people. Second, in order to really improve our knowledge on the subject, integrative theories which take account specific age-related changes have to be developed. The construction of these theories should be based on more advanced social sciences and qualitative research.

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Shoes and Self

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ABSTRACT

Based on questionnaires, observations, and interviews in 1990 and 2000, it is clear that to most Americans, their footwear is an extension and expression of themselves. The study finds strong gender differences, with women being more alert to the symbolic implications of shoes than men. Shoes affect our perceptions of others and our perceptions of self, including our passage into adulthood. Among the magical transformations we attribute to shoes is their ability to supercharge our athletic performance. Not only is footwear an extension of self, it also acts as a repository of memory and meaning in our lives.

How lovely are thy feet with shoes, oh prince's daughter (Song of Solomon 7:1)

Shoes are totems of Disembodied Lust. They are candy for the eyes, poetry for the feet, icing on your soul. They stand for everything you've ever wanted: glamour, success, a rapierlike wit, a date with the Sex God of your choice, Barbie's wedding dress. Shoes hint that attaining those things is just as easy as slipping them on your feet. They seem to have the magic power to make you into someone else, someone without skin problems, someone without thin hair, someone without a horsy laugh. And they do (Pond 1985, p. 13).

An initial impression might well be that there is no more ordinary and unremarkable consumption object than shoes. For some of the people included in this U.S. study the impression is accurate—buying, wearing, caring for, and disposing of shoes is for them a necessity with which they concern themselves as little as possible. But far more commonly, shoes are seen as highly significant articles of clothing that are regarded as expressing the wearer's personality and perhaps as even capable of magically transforming them into beautiful, handsome, happy, confident, or heroic people. Shoes are seen by most of those studied as revealing age, sex, and personality and as creating moods and capturing memories. For adolescents, shoes are a key signifier of their identities, and the shoes they desire often conflict what their parents regard as appropriate. Shoes appear as a key vehicle through which adolescents and young adults work out issues of identity, individualism, conformity, lifestyle, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, and personality.

This paper draws on portions of two studies conducted in 1990 and 2000 in Salt Lake City, Utah. I began with a half dozen depth interviews and a small scale student survey involving ideas about footwear. I subsequently enlisted 96 university students (32 in 1990 and another 64 in 2000) to examine their wardrobes and write-up an autobiography of their shoes in a manner suggested by the work of Kopytoff (1986) and Löfgren (1990). Each student subsequently conducted semi-structured depth interviews with two non-students and prepared transcriptions. The students in the 2000 study also conducted and wrote-up observations of shoe buying behaviors. While the shoe autobiographies come from university students primarily in their early twenties, the interviews include a wider set of people ranging in age from 16 to 74. Just under 10 percent of the 288 interviews and autobiographies were from people born outside of the U.S., and they are excluded from the present analysis.

SHOE SIGNIFICANCE FOR MEN AND WOMEN

The small, non-representative, survey of 30 students in 1990 revealed that men owned an average of 12 pairs of shoes or boots while women owned an average of more than 30 pairs. Men, however, paid approximately $25 more for their most expensive footwear. The depth interviews and shoe autobiographies conducted in 2000 support these findings, but only after excluding two women who paid more than $1200 for their most expensive shoes or boots. Interviews and autobiographies also revealed that while no male reported owning more than 30 pairs of footwear, several women had over 100 pairs and a dozen owned between 50 and 70 pairs.

The survey also found that women were significantly more likely than men to agree with statements that:

- I often look at what shoes women wear.
- I often look at what shoes men wear.
- I like to window shop for shoes.
- I would like to buy new footwear soon.
- I often buy footwear to indulge myself.
- I have a difficult time throwing out old footwear.
- Some of my footwear has sentimental meaning for me.
- There is at least one pair of my footwear that I will probably keep forever.

Men were more likely than women to agree that:

- I have had erotic thoughts about women wearing certain sorts of shoes or stockings.
- For me, shoes are just a utilitarian thing and style doesn't mean much.

Nevertheless, both sexes overwhelmingly rejected the latter statement. Shoes are seen by both men and women as important and shoe styles, color, condition, and match with clothing are seen as telling cues for making inferences about others.

These findings are supported by other work on shoes. The average American woman is said to own 30+ pairs of shoes and 88 percent of women buy shoes that are a size too small (O'Keeffe 1996). Americans buy approximately a billion pairs of footwear a year and 80 percent of these are estimated to be purchased for purposes of sexual attraction (Rossi 1993). Shoes figure prominently in stories and fairytales, including *Cinderella* (a highly sexualized tale in it's more original versions–e.g., Bettleheim 1976), *Puss n' Boots*, *Seven League Boots*, *The Wizard of Oz*, *The Red Shoes*, and *The Old Woman who Lived in a Shoe*, as well a more contemporary tales (e.g., Bird 1998; McMurtry 1982; Nicholson 1997; Wolfe 1987; Vonnegut 1987). Shoes and our desire for them are the objects of art (e.g., Cotton 1999; West 2001; Warhol 1998), satire (e.g., Alderson 1998; Pond 1985), museum exhibitions (e.g., Michell 1997; Pratt and Woolley 1999; Ricci 1992), films (Turim 2001), and exposés (e.g., Goldman and Papson 1998, Vanderbilt 1996). And they are the objects of a growing number of histories, catalogs, essays, and tributes (e.g., Beard 1992; Caovilla 1990; Cox 1998; Girotti 1997; Mazza 1994; McDowell 1989; Patterson and Cawthorne 1997; Steele 1999; Sunshine and Tiegreen 1995; Trasko 1989; Yue and Yue 1997). As all of this attention suggests, what we wear on our feet is far from a matter of indifference or utilitarianism.

SHOES AND IDENTITY

Rites of Passage

In other times and places including Scotland (Wright 1922) and Mexico (Heyman 1994), the mere possession of shoes was enough to confer status, with the rich being known as "people with shoes." In other contexts, including American adolescence, the type of shoes worn is the more critical marker of age and economic status. One of the more common rites of passage involving shoes, is a young girl's symbolic transformation to womanhood through her first pair of high heeled shoes. The poignancy and meaning attached to this purchase is evident in reports such as this one:

I was in 6th grade when I decided I was ready to venture into the world of womanhood; I needed to bless my virgin feet with their first pair of high heels. I began to save every penny and nickel I earned. I even charged one of my father's houseguests rent for staying in my room. Every time my family went shopping, I begged to go see if "my" shoes were still there, to make sure that nobody had stolen them away from me. When I finally had enough money, my mother took me to Payless to get my shoes. I was so thrilled. She kept asking me if I was sure I wanted those shoes, those white, fake-leather, sandal-like shoes with a two-inch cork heel. Undaunted, I walked out of the store in my shorts with my new high heels on. I wore my new shoes home proudly, feeling like a real woman, sexy and mature.

Just as more traditional rites of passage involve suffering a trial or an ordeal, many women reported that they suffered blisters, sprained ankles, falls, and embarrassment on first wearing heels. Although high heels are the most common shoe rite of passage for young woman, some also reported that first owning ballet slippers, non-orthopedic shoes, or pantyhose were their marks of becoming a woman.

Obtaining and wearing certain shoes was also seen as a rite of passage for men during their adolescence (see also Barthelemy 2001).

When I was around twelve years old, I always wanted to have a pair of leather shoes. There were couple reasons why I always wanted to have leather shoes, especially black leather shoes for school. Firstly, it was about time that I left grade school and got ready for junior high. I felt a pair of black leather shoes could upgrade my status from being a kid to a teenager. A pair of leather shoes could make me feel that I was more mature and a lot more independent. The reason why I felt that way because my parents determined not to buy leather shoes for their kids until they graduated from grade school. They felt kids were kids and they didn't need to wear expensive things. However, they felt that graduation from grade school reflected that kids were more knowledgeable and self-disciplined than before.

Unpopular shoes during childhood could also be stigmata (Goffman 1963). Some of those whose parents' forced them to wear unpopular footwear resigned themselves to wearing the hated shoes until they wore out or were outgrown, while others resorted to more devious strategies of superannuating their shoes.

Thanks to some tasteless blue light special–Mom and Dad arrived home one night with a large sack full of shoes. The shocking thing was that only one of us at the time was in need of a new pair of sneakers. We peaked into the sack only to find ten pair of bright green sneakers. My first thought was how UGLY they were. Of course, who could pass up a good $1.99 per pair deal–certainly, my parents couldn't! From then on over the course of 3 years my brothers and I were forced to wear those awful shoes.

One of my childhood memories in regard to shoes was when my father made me purchase a pair of shoes because they were "sturdy". I came from a large family where money was a concern and, therefore, each of us as children only owned one or, if you were lucky, two pairs of shoes. This situation made it more important that the shoes purchases were of good quality. Needless to say, my father made me purchase "sturdy" shoes. In this particular case, the "sturdy" shoes were ugly. I hated them. It was only my father's persuasive personality that made me break down and say I would wear these shoes. I wore the shoes, but hated every second. I purposely tried to destroy them. I kicked walls, knocked them against curbs, and dragged them along the sidewalk while riding my bike. However, nothing would destroy these shoes. To my great dismay, they were truly "sturdy" shoes. I ended up wearing them for what I felt was a very long, long time.

What I would do, is get on my skateboard; and I'd go out and ride my skateboard and sit down on my skateboard and get going fast down a hill and drag my feet down the hill.

The role of parents as gatekeepers in deciding when it is time for the sought-after rite of passage shoe is evident in these comments. By keeping children in their childhood shoes for longer, these parents are perceived to be withholding adulthood (or the next stage of adolescence) from their children. There is some indication of the importance of these developmental status symbols in reports of sleeping with the desired shoe once it was acquired. Such shoe attachments are similar to those of transitional objects which symbolically bridge the gap between child and absent parent (e.g., Gulerce 1991, Winicott 1953), except that in the present case they are more accurately separation objects which reflect the newly independent status of the child from the parent.

By Their Shoes Shall We Judge Them

If shoes are thought to be expressive of self, it is likely because we judge others within our culture according to their footwear. One woman began by stating that she had an open mind when it came to shoes worn by others, but her subsequent comments call this judgment into doubt:

I don't think I have too strong of an attitude about what men and women should wear on their feet....I don't like women wearing shoes that look too much like men's business shoes....I also don't like it when women wear spiked heels that look like the type of thing some of the women on State Street wear. I like wild shoes as long as they are tasteful, but four-inch clear plastic heels just doesn't do anything for me. I also think that the shoes that look like nurses shoes or orthopedic shoes are the worst thing ever invented to put on your feet. Sure they might be comfortable to wear, but they are ugly as sin! For mens' foot wear, I have a hard time with men wearing sandals, especially the full footed type like huaraches....I also think that men should never where white shoes unless they are tennis or running shoes or unless they are in a wedding line. I don't know why it bothers me so much but I HATE mens' white dress shoes!

Strong negative expressions like hate were common in evaluations of certain shoe styles worn by men and women.

> There is one kind and women's footwear that I just cannot stand. High, high heeled shoes. I hate them with a passion. I have never understood how women can stand to wear them. I wonder if they know how stupid they look when they attempt to walk in them. What is even funnier is that you know their feet are killing them. I would much rather see a women in something more practical such as short pumps or flats. The only other footwear that I have strong thoughts about are faddish shoes. For instance, Vans "off the wall" tennis shoes. Those things drove me crazy. More recently is the fad of having steel tipped shoes and boots.

> I like women's shoes to be classy and feminine. The ultimate turnoff for me in a woman's dress shoe is when it is cut so low that you can see the cracks between her toes. I'm not sure why I don't like this, perhaps its like seeing what I affectionately term "plumbers butt," which Dan Akroyd made famous on Saturday Night Live.

> I hate it when people wear black shoes with blue jeans; with black or grey jeans it's okay, but I think it looks stupid with blue jeans.

In other cases shoe styles worn by others were the basis for applying stereotypes and categorical labels to these people.

> When a person wears sandals or orthopedic shoes, I automatically stereotype him or her as a granola or very idealistic and radical.

> Preppies have the penny loafers, and thrashers, all they wear are hightops, and stuff like that...it just sort of goes with them.

> I don't like 'rapper' shoes. I don't like combat boots because they scare me because I know the people who are wearing them are probably racist.

> Because shoes carry many connotations, they quickly reflect different personalities and interests. Cowboy boots suggest one is from the country; extremely high heels insinuate promiscuity; and hiking boots reflect the new "back to nature" lifestyle.

As part of the last comment suggests, high heels were highly valued, by both men and women, for their sex appeal, verging on fetishism for some. As Veblen (1899) noted, high heels not only incapacitate a woman, but also signal her class, inasmuch as such shoes preclude manual labor.

Nevertheless, because of different values and lifestyles there is a lack of consensus about whether certain stereotype-evoking footwear is good or bad. Consider for instance the cowboy boot, a uniquely American contribution to footwear fashion (Beard 1992).

> One of the most unattractive looks for men is the business suit and cowboy boot combination that is somewhat popular in Utah. Every time I see that, it makes me cringe. Those silly high heeled, pointy toed things definitely belong on the range and not in the board room. They look fine in their place, but absolutely ruin the effect of a pinstriped suit.

> I think it is great when men wear cowboy boots. I don't know what it is but I love boots. My grandpa has about eight different kinds of cowboy boots- snake skin, eel skin, etc., and they look so sharp.

> Rightly or not, cowboy boots, for me, now symbolize everything that I can't stand; F-Dudes, big belt buckles, people who call their girlfriends and wives their old ladies, people who poke along in those muddy four-by-fours slowing traffic to a stand still, and worst of all redneck pride and mentality.

There is a certain classificatory zeal evident in the first comment above, which sees cowboy boots as appropriate in some contexts, but now in others. This is not just an outsider's perspective. For those who wear cowboy boots, there are even more specific canons of what represents appropriate footwear.

> As I got older style became more important to me. I grew up in a small town and became a cowboy. I recall the need for cowboy boots, both as functional and for style. The first pair I bought was an impulsive act. I had $35.00 in my pocket and I saw a pair for $29.95. They just happened to fit. I was so proud to wear boots. However, when my peers learned I bought a cheap pair of Acme's, I was again humiliated. Real cowboys wore Tony Lama boots, and paid well over $100.00. This was an early '70's price. I can't remember the next pair of boots I bought, but from then on I bought quality.

> As I became more serious about being a cowboy, I realized the importance of quality boots. Cowboys do funny things with their expensive boots. I got heavily into rodeo and rode saddle broncs and bulls. The cowboy boot is a very important tool for rodeo riding. I had a pair of Justin brand boots that I had to modify for riding saddle broncs. I cut the inside of the heel off to form a deep pocket for the stirrups. This aided in keeping my feet in the stirrup while riding the bronc. I then cut a slit all the way down the back to allow my foot to slip out in the event I got bucked off and my foot hung up in the stirrup. A good, expensive pair of boots is needed to hold up to the abuse of riding broncs.

> I needed a different pair of boots to ride bulls. This pair needed to be as tight and deep as possible because besides your hand, your feet kept you on the bull. If your foot came out of your boot, you lost your spurring ability and you'd be bucked off. In 1974 I bought a pair of Tony Lama's that had a good riding heel, was 15 inches deep and cost close to $200.00. I slit the front and back slightly to aid in tucking in my pants while I rode. I still have those boots today. And with a bit of polish every now and then, I still wear them for dress sometimes. This is the best quality boot or shoe I've ever purchased.

> During my cowboy days it was also in style for what we called 'freak shoes.' These had big, blocky heels with wing tips on the toes. It was o.k. to wear them for fashion to most any place we went. But don't be caught wearing them to a rodeo. Not only did they provide no function, but they simply were not 'cowboy.'

The American cowboy heroic myth is invoked by these boots, along with the characteristics associated with this myth, including rugged individualism, independence, quiet strength, and alienation from civilization (see Cawelti 1971).

Having the appropriate regional footwear props can also be instrumental in affecting self-image (McMurtry 1982). Other boots may have similar effects (Lyon 2001). This is not unlike the magical transformation envisioned in tales like Cinderella in which a glass slipper is both a symbol of identity and a key part of the magical transformation of a poor and unimportant girl into a beautiful princess (see Philip 1989). Such transformations of self-image are much in evidence in the present study, as the next two sections reveal.

Shoes and Self Transformation

As with most aspects of consumption, relationships with shoes are not so much person-object relationships as person-person relationships mediated by objects, in this case shoes. Whether self image is changed by shoes because of actual feedback from others or because of the reactions we have learned to expect from wearing certain shoes in certain situations, donning shoes can be a self-transformative experience. Like Cinderella, part of the magic of shoes is in having something new and different on your feet. A part of the incentive for buying new shoes is in attempting to renew this magical newness.

> She said that ballet shoes make her very conscious of her feet. She also said new ballet shoes make her want to dance and make her feel like she will be able to dance better than before. New shoes "make me want to be a great dancer."

> His childhood memories were mainly of his black canvas low top tennis shoes. He remembers quite vividly that he and his friends thought "new shoes make you run faster".

> Converse is a brand that comes to mind. Getting a new pair was always exciting because you feel like your athletic abilities were going to increase; jump higher, run faster, etc. As kids, I feel that we are all caught up in this.

> The shoes I'm wearing often effect how I feel about my entire appearance. I think my new shoes look good. I think I look good.

> I love new things, and I always enjoy getting new shoes. They add zest to my wardrobe and give my spirits a lift, especially my dress shoes.

For adolescents, having objects that physically or psychologically aid in performance of a skill can be important to developing a sense of identity (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981). Moreover, some informants report feelings of magically acquiring new skills by donning special shoes.

> I also remember my tap shoes that I wore for dancing. I really thought I was a wonderful tap dancer. I would try to wear my tap shoes everywhere, my mom use to get upset with me when she would notice that I had my tap shoes on to go outside and play. I guess the tap shoes made me feel like I could do something that other kids couldn't do.

> Those first toe shoes meant you were older and really ready to dance. I got mine before a lot of other girls in my class and I was really proud. It meant I was stronger and more prepared than the rest.

> The most fondest [sic] memory I have as a child is when my grandpa bought me a pair of cowboy boots. It was a [sic] event

in my life when I was either six or seven years of age. It might have been a birthday but I can't exactly remember. I can recall exactly the store that we bought them at, it is now a clothing store. The boots itself [sic] was the type with a square front and also a buckle on the side. I can't remember if they were leather or not. At that time it didn't matter too me. The reason I can remember this so well is that I had a cowboy hat, gun, and holster to go along with my boots. My outfit went together so well that I had pictures taken of me in my backyard. The only other memory I have of those boots are those of going to school with them. I really don't think anybody else noticed them but I sure did, in fact, I think it even boosted my confidence while I had them.

The special transformative functions of shoes do not disappear with adulthood. If anything, shoes may provide more specialized transformations among adults. Consider the following accounts of adult men.

> Dress shoes place me in a sense of responsibility and authority. I feel more noticeable in a quality pair of dress shoes.

> I always felt cocky in my cowboy boots, after all they looked good and they made me a few inches taller. I remember going out several times and feeling good about the way I looked and felt. Sometimes the girl I was dating was almost taller than me and the boots gave me a little advantage (not just in height either).

> My cowboy boots are only worn when I feel like getting dressed up and/or feeling tall. You see, cowboy boots have a heel on them that can add to your height and make you seem taller. I think this effect may be a reason why cowboys like to get in fights. When you feel taller, you feel like you are bad. You feel stronger and meaner. Though I never have personally fought because I've worn cowboy boots, I have experienced the feelings earlier described while in cowboy boots, and have actually hoped and wished for a fight.

Adult women also report transformative effects from their footwear, some of which are like those of men wearing similar shoes.

> I like cowboy boots. When I wear my cowboy boots, I feel rugged, outdoorsy and masculine. I like how they make me feel tall, I feel like I can dominate when I wear cowboy boots.

> When I'm wearing flats I get mean, or at least I'm ready to get mean. If I had to I could fight with flats, like if a smart ass was beginning to bug me, I would be more inclined to throw down with her or him. Whereas when I'm wearing heels I'm always a lady.

> I act and feel different in different pairs of shoes. In Keds I feel sort of "Bee-Boppy" and high spirited. In my more athletic tennis shoes I feel like a "jock" . In high heels I feel regal, businesslike, and sexy.

> I find when I wear high heels I never fully relax. They put me in a formal state of mind, and I feel I have to walk straight, sit straight, and speak correctly.

Just as the right pair of shoes can provide a magical transformation of self, their lack can prove devastating as one woman whose special shoe order was unsuccessful recalls:

I had to wear another pair of shoes that I really hated, and that turned out to be a very embarrassing time in my life. Having the wrong shoes really ruined the entire Prom.

Similarly, other women reported that:

If I do not like the shoes I am wearing and feel ugly or inappropriate it makes me grouchy, unsociable, and insecure.

My white keds are my favorite shoes because they are casual, comfortable and easy to wear. They reflect a simple, down to earth attitude. Conversely, my dress shoes make me feel conservative, formal and serious. It is difficult to be comfortable and easy going while wearing nylons and heels.

I will change from outfit to outfit just because the shoes are wrong and I often have a pile of shoes on the floor. My need to look right and feel right can often get out of control. And it is essential to have my look complete in order to feel complete.

Besides acting as magical transforming devices, shoes can also act as disguises or cloaks of invisibility to hide behind as two other women observed:

I also get really paranoid when I feel my shoes look stupid or the color is wrong or something. I mean I really get fixated on them, I can't seem to look people in the eye, and my whole day is shot. I rationalize many of my purchases with the fact that I am short. Fashion experts tell us that in order to draw the eyes up and create the illusion of height, short women should wear the same color of shoe and hose as her skirt. Of course, it is for this reason that I have many different colors of dress shoes.

And also because I hate my ankles I am particular about the styles of shoes I wear. I prefer to wear either high top tennis shoes with scrunched socks or a boot of some kind. I am teased about it a lot, but I just can't stand for my ankles to show. I have been known to go home just to change shoes. I also dislike most colored shoes. I do own my share of them, but they always seem to standout and I end up feeling very uncomfortable.

Athletic Shoes and Performance

A special category of transformative shoe is the athletic shoe. Given the $200 million dollar annual U.S. advertising expenditure by makers of such shoes, it is perhaps not surprising that people come to believe that their athletic performance is greatly affected by the shoe they wear (Bloch, Black, and Lichtenstein 1990; Telander 1990, Van Pelt 1988). Athletes also recognize the psychological advantage that having the latest footwear may give them over competitors (Albert 1984, Nash 1977). While it is estimated that over 80 percent of the athletic shoes sold are worn for fashion are not used for their avowed purposes (Pereira 1988, Telander 1990), the focus in this section is on those that are used for their intended purposes. Perhaps because the advertising for these shoes stresses the performance benefits they provide, it is such benefits that are cited by many athletes (sometimes almost verbatim) as the reason for their preferences in athletic shoes.

My snow boots don't make my feet look small, delicate or attractive but they do serve the purpose of keeping my feet warm and dry. Similarly, my athletic shoes are not extremely flattering but they serve the purpose of protecting my body and feet while I exercise. For example, my Nike Air jogging shoes maximize performance, protect my joints and provide comfort while I run. The fact that the shoes are bulky and bright pink is irrelevant. My main concern is that they maximize performance and protect my body.

The shoes that I run in are generally Nike. They have a good reputation for support and comfort. It's important to have a good padded sole for bounce and arch protection. So I purchase a pair with a good reputation that will have mercy on my feet.

...bicycling shoes have got to be stiff. They have got to be stiff to be efficient. If they are not stiff, you've lost a lot of energy. You also have to determine which type of cleat system works with your bicycle. Hiking boots must have deep treads on the soul [sic] and a stiff toe so you can kick steps into snow and ice. Running and racquetball shoes must have a lot of cushion in the soul [sic] in order to absorb the shock that can cause damage to your knees, ankles, and shins. Name brands in these shoes are important because...the larger companies do more research into the product they are producing, which results in a better product. You can also read about and compare name brands in magazines and books to determine which brand will suit you best.

Despite the existence of "cross-training shoes" intended for multiple sports, there is a belief in this sample that each sport requires distinct footwear with different features.

Shoes are very important to our society. Without the appropriate shoes I would not be able to run, hike, play tennis, ski, scuba dive, bike, golf, or participate athletics like basketball, baseball and football. Each of these activities requires a specific kind of shoe.

If athletic performance improves with a new specialized shoe, the tendency is to attribute it to the shoe. If performance does not improve, the shoe must not have been good enough and another may be seen as warranted. Heroic stories of shoe performance sometimes result, as the following stories attest.

...I guess I really do owe my life to this pair of boots. Two summers ago, while backpacking in the Tetons in Jackson, Wyoming, I found myself crossing a very steep slope just a few feet above large glacier that headed almost straight down and ended in mass of huge granite boulders. There was no trail across except for footholds that someone had made with an ice-ax. These footholds were just big enough to get my toes into and to make things worse, the ground was composed of very loose sentiment that the glacier had deposited as it started to melt in the summer weather. The slope was steep enough that, while standing straight up, I could touch the ground at eye level with my hand. The crossing was about 50 yards across and, with a 60 pound backpack strapped on, I started across. Every step was a new adventure in experiencing fear. Several times, after carefully testing each foothold, I started to slide only to finally have my toes and boots find semi-solid footing. I seriously thought that I was going to die in a 1,000 foot, high speed, decent that would end in a pile of boulders. I thank my boots for getting me across that trail and afterwards I swore that I would never do anything so stupid again. When coming back down the trail I went a mile out of my way to avoid the crossing. I think that this was by far my most memorable event in the life of my feet.

I once borrowed a pair of soccer boots from my friend and tried it for several soccer games. I liked it very much and found it very efficient in the game. It made me feel strong before the other players. I could kick the ball for a longer distance.

Probably my most memorable pair of shoes, as a child, was a pair of baseball shoes made by Pony. To me, this pair of shoes was one of God's greatest gifts. They were extremely comfortable and they could make tracks in the dirt like no other pair could. I always had total confidence in my footing and I know that gave me more confidence as a baseball player. I became emotionally attached to that pair of shoes and every year for the next five years I had a brand new pair of the exact same make, style, and color. I could not believe that not everyone who played baseball was wearing these "perfect" baseball shoes.

Given this sort of perceived effect of athletic shoes, especially those for high risk sports, salesperson expertise is often relied upon in making purchases and high price is more of a comfort than an impediment.

I have rock climbing shoes which are a must for climbing although functionality definitely outweighs comfort. I climb every couple weeks during the summer. I use my chest-high waders 3-4 times per month for fishing. I take great care in storing these just right so that they last longer. What's funny is that I take better care of these waders than my dress shoes which cost twice as much. I have a pair of hiking boots and a pair of ski boots. I demand performance out of these which is how I justified paying for top quality (the ski boots cost $350).

Nevertheless, some informants recognize that the benefits of top of the line athletic boots may be psychological more than physical.

Furthermore, athletic shoes may improve performance psychologically as well as physically. Advertisements are continually insisting that proper shoes are mandatory for good performance. Therefore, any increase in performance due to new Nike's may, at least in part, be attributed to the power of advertising and the psychological benefits derived from owning Nike Air's.

Others also recognize that the benefits may prove illusory.

I was debating whether I wanted to pay $80 for the shoe. It sounds kind of strange, you know, you get it, you can't wait to use it, you want to go out and play basketball so you go out and play only to find that euphoria type of feeling quickly wears off and then it just becomes a regular shoe—it hangs out in the closet with the rest of them.

Even in the last account it can be seen that there is a longing to believe that special shoes will magically improve the performance of the athlete. Shoes are seen as an essential part of the ritual garb needed to transform the amateur athlete into a superstar (Gmelch, 1971). However both these and the magical transformations discussed in previously are specialized cases of the more general symbolic function of shoes in the development of self from childhood to adulthood.

CONCLUSIONS

As a second skin for our fragile coddled feet, our footwear helps perform feats we could not attempt without them. Shoes are liminal objects that keep us pure and apart from the excremental contagion of the earth. Whether dancing, running, skiing, jumping, or presenting a cultivated self-image, our footwear is an indispensable part of our lives. We could much sooner get along without automobiles, televisions, computers, CDs, and even clothing than we could do without our shoes. But it is not, or no longer, their simple functionality that we value. This paper has reported only a portion of the findings from the shoe study. Shoes are also richly memory-laden consumption goods that are seldom disposed of with impunity. Ballet dancers keep garbage bags full of old, functionally useless toe shoes, women keep closets full of shoes they will never wear, and men keep closets full of athletic footwear that has long since ceased to be usable. As such clinging to these useless possessions suggests, shoes act not only as temporary carriers of our identity in the contexts in which we wear them. Rather, shoes move from being identity prosthetics and props for self presentation to being seen as inseparable parts of our extended selves. It is as if part of our selves and our experiences have seeped into the leather and fabric of our shoes and resides there indelibly.

There are strong elements of magical beliefs in our regard for shoes. As the many Cinderella tales suggest, we often believe that shoes can transform us. Not only will our appearance be different with coveted shoes upon our feet, our lives will be changed utterly. With the right brand and model we will become mysteriously alluring, amazingly swift, prodigiously agile, and delightfully rhythmic. For this we are often willing to endure the pain of tortuously designed shoes. We long for the day we can first wear high heels, leather shoes, or any shoes at all. Shoes have long been involved in our rituals from home building to marrying and from coming of age to death. While athletic footwear may be portrayed as the epitome of high technology and engineering, dress shoes are better regarded as works of art. At both of these extremes shoes are ideally imbued with magic.

We also seem to delight in making inferences about others from their footwear. Shoes convey taste, social status, gender, cultural capital, and information about age and self-regard. They inform our ideas of beauty, character, and sexiness. They are more than the foundation upon which we stand. They are the foundation of our sense of self. They can convey wit, irony, fashion sense, seductive intent, aggressiveness, boldness, and other elements of self. Our soles are the mirror of our souls. We feel and act differently in different shoes.

And shoes are a key target for consumer fantasies and indulgence. It is little wonder that shoe stores dominate the shopping mall. As shopping has become entertainment, shoes are an important object of desire and delight. As this tentative analysis suggests, even when they are flippant and frivolous, shoes are serious objects of hope, joy, and sorrow. They separate us from the dirt and symbolic impurity of the ground and elevate our status and gendered sense of self.

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Calories for Dignity: Fashion in the Concentration Camp

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the existence and purpose of fashion in the Nazi concentration camp. I propose that the costly pursuit of fashion represented a crucial drive to regain human dignity: an urge that was almost as essential to surviving the lager as satisfying hunger. The significance of fashion in Auschwitz and other concentration camps suggests that the desire to enhance one's personal appearance is elemental, and that its pursuit is central to feeling human.

"By day, I'm dressed like a person of quality: no patches on my striped pants and jacket, a well-cut cap with a peak in front, shoes that are almost wearable." (Paul Steinberg, writing of his experiences as a slave laborer in Auschwitz in *Speak You Also: A Survivor's Reckoning*, 2000. He was 17 in 1944.)

FASHION IN THE NAZI CONCENTRATION CAMP

It seems impossible that fashion would be important in a concentration camp, but it was. Some prisoners in Auschwitz, malnourished as they were, traded bread for tailoring services, soup for a better pair of pants. Understanding this desire to be fashionable in the most dire of circumstances may tell us something fundamental about human motivations, and, by extension, about needs and goals underlying consumer behavior.

I propose that this costly pursuit of fashion represented a crucial drive to regain human dignity: an urge that was almost as essential to surviving the lager as satisfying hunger. The significance of fashion in Auschwitz and other concentration camps suggests that the desire to enhance one's personal appearance is elemental, and that its pursuit is central, if not to being human, then at least to feeling human.

In their choice of clothing, consumers strive for a strong congruence between self-image and product image (Belk, Bahn and Mayer 1982). In most concentration camps, however, the choice of clothing was not up to the prisoner. Uniforms were issued, heads were shaved, and prisoners were made to look as much like each other as possible. Aside from the dehumanizing impact of the attire at Auschwitz, the uniforms were wholly inadequate for cold conditions, as the fabric was very thin and was often full of holes. (Also, many prisoners were not issued underwear.)

With the loss of possessions, particularly one's personal clothing, came the loss of individuality and personal dignity. Other factors, such as constant, overwhelming hunger and barely survivable (or deathly) workdays also facilitated this process. As Elie Wiesel (1960) relates:

"I now took little interest in anything except my daily plate of soup and my crust of stale bread. Bread, soup–these were my whole life. I was a body. Perhaps less than that even: a starved stomach. The stomach alone was aware of the passage of time."

In the next section, I briefly describe some key aspects of life at Auschwitz, including the social hierarchy. This serves as a foundation for the following sections in which I examine ways in which prisoners struggled to regain their individuality through the acquisition of possessions and fashion through trade.

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF AUSCHWITZ

The following is a short description of some key aspects of concentration camp life, based on multiple memoirs and personal interviews. This provides the context for understanding the value of items such as a bowl of soup, an easier work detail, a tailored pajama jacket, or a small morsel of potato. My description focuses on Auschwitz concentration camp, which was actually composed of multiple camps in close proximity (e.g., Auschwitz I, Auschwitz II–Birkenau, Buna, Monowitz). These were both extermination camps (particularly Birkenau, which housed four gas chambers) and slave labor camps. While all of the large Nazi extermination/labor camps had unique structures and cultures, they shared many similarities, as they were all facets of a centralized system created by the Third Reich.

The uniforms that male prisoners were given looked much like striped blue and white pajamas.[2] Women were assigned either striped dresses or plain gray dresses.[3]

"Most of the prisoners were given a uniform of rags which would have made a scarecrow elegant by comparison (Frankl 1963, p. 31)."

Food allotments differed depending on one's work detail, the availability of supplies, and other factors, but generally consisted of a piece of bread in the morning (sometimes with a pat of margarine), along with imitation coffee (but often there was no morning bread). The evening meal consisted of a bowl of watery soup and a piece of bread. One's place in the dinner line (or connection to the soup server) was crucial in that soup given from the bottom of the pot might include a chunk of potato or even a small piece of meat.

Thus, the daily calorie intake was far below what is necessary for good health, and because of this one's work assignment was crucial. Work could range from light administrative duties (rare among Jewish prisoners) to hard labor such as ditch digging or carrying very heavy bags of cement continuously from sunup to sundown. It did not take prisoners long to realize that survival depended in large part on one's *Kommando* (or work unit). That prisoners struggled to get assigned to a relatively easy *Kommando*, or to switch from a difficult to a better *Kommando*, is discussed in every memoir of Auschwitz that I have encountered, and was even acknowledged by Rudolph Höss, the SS *Kommandant* of Auschwitz, in his memoirs (Höss 1992).

A well-maintained social hierarchy of prisoners existed (see Figure 1 for a depiction of the men's camp hierarchy at Auschwitz). The base of this structure was filled with the Muselmanner. These were the "poorest" of prisoners who held no influence, had nothing

[1] I would like to thank Russell Belk, Kent Grayson, Andrew John, Michael Solomon, and John Sherry, for their helpful insights and comments on this project. This paper is dedicated to my father, Gene Klein, who was a prisoner in Auschwitz at the age of 16.

[2] Throughout the Middle Ages, striped clothing was the attire of Jews, and other groups considered outcast, as depicted in literature and paintings. Striped clothing at that time symbolized evil and the disturbance of order (Pastoureau 2001).

[3] There are some reports of prisoners simply being given the old civilian clothes of arrivals who had been sent to the gas chambers.

FIGURE 1
Camp Hierarchy (Men's Camps, Auschwitz)

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                    ┌─────────────────────────┐
                    │           SS            │
                    └─────────────────────────┘
                                 │
              ┌──────────────────────────────────────┐
              │        Kapos (also: Prominenz)        │
              │                                       │
              │      (Prisoners given positions of    │
              │        power over other prisoners)    │
              └──────────────────────────────────────┘
                                 │
          ┌──────────────────────────────────────────┐
          │          "Privileged" Prisoners          │
          │     (Light work Duty, Access to Goods)    │
          └──────────────────────────────────────────┘
                                 │
      ┌──────────────────────────────────────────────┐
      │              Average Prisoners                │
      └──────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                                 │
  ┌──────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
  │                   Muselmanner                     │
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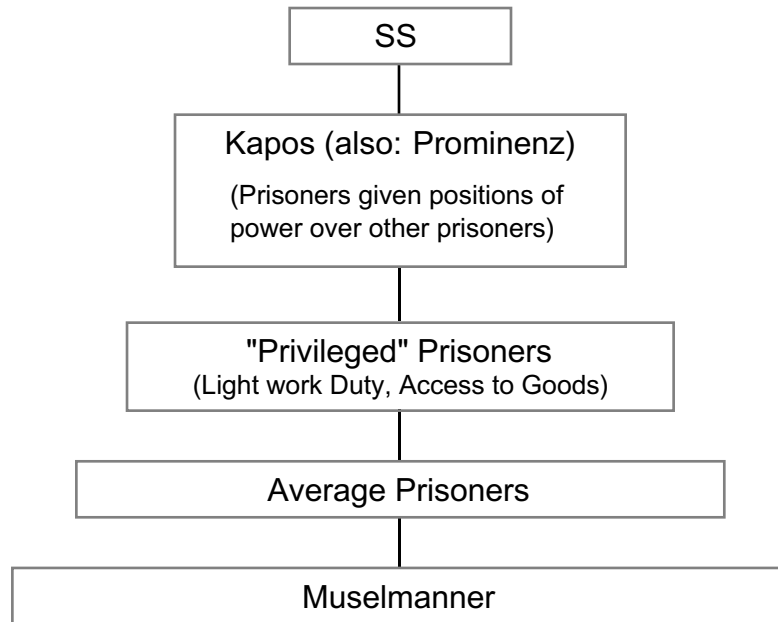
to trade for food and were too close to starvation to sell food. The Muselmanner was at death's door and was so beaten down and withdrawn that he appeared not to care. Prisoners higher in the hierarchy recognized that assignment to a difficult work detail was a fast ticket to the ranks of the Muselmanner.

The "average" prisoner would probably not be in the most difficult of *Kommandos* (at least not for a prolonged length of time), but had no special access to goods or to influence. With some seniority and connections with influential prisoners he might eventually move to the privileged class, or he might fall into the category of Muselmanner due to the prolonged deprivation of camp life, assignment to a difficult *Kommando*, infection, accident, or a psychological blow (such as the death of a friend or family member who had been a source of social support in the camp).

Privileged prisoners tended to belong to easier *Kommandos* and often had access to goods. An example would be the Canada *Kommando*, the name given to the workers who sorted the possessions of new arrivals (suitcases, food, jewelry, etc.). While there were strict rules forbidding prisoners (and SS guards) from looting, it was a common practice. Thus, prisoners who worked in Canada were able to trade their goods for food, clothing, tailoring services, etc.

At the top of the prisoner hierarchy, but under the SS (who, of course, had their own complex hierarchy) were the kapos, prisoners who were given authority over other prisoners by the SS. Also included are the Prominenz, or camp aristocracy. Those in the Prominenz could be kapos, but could also have achieved their privileged status in other ways (perhaps, for example, through black market trading in conjunction with the SS). The demeanor of the kapos ranged from benevolent toward the prisoners to sadistic. Because of their positions, kapos had special access to food and other goods. For example, a prisoner might give a "gift" to a kapo in exchange for an improved work assignment or more lenient treatment. In the early days of Auschwitz, kapos were often "Green Triangles", indicated by the uniform patch that indicated that one had been a criminal. Later, political prisoners and Jews rose to these ranks.[4]

Seniority was also an important factor. Prisoners who had been in Auschwitz the longest (as indicated by low numbered tattoos) were accorded respect by other prisoners. But achieving this seniority–managing to survive–was usually accompanied by having moved up the hierarchy and gaining access to goods, having influence, and working in a lighter *Kommando*.

The hierarchy depicted in Figure 1 is only a thumbnail sketch. Volumes could be written on the intricacies of the social structure among prisoners at Auschwitz.[5] The key point is that one's social standing was crucial to survival. Many survivors rose, at least temporarily, to the status of privileged prisoner.[6] For example, memoirists Primo Levi (1996) and Paul Steinberg (2000) both survived their second winter in Auschwitz by being moved from outdoor labor to indoor work as chemists. Louis de Wijze (1997) obtained the plum job of caretaker for the SS rabbit supply. My father's reprieve only lasted two weeks, but probably saved his life. He was on his way to Muselmanner status in a satellite labor camp where he spent his days carrying heavy metal railroad lines up a mountain. Because he spoke German, he was selected to carry surveying equipment for a German civilian engineer. This afforded him not only a much easier workload, but through the generosity and bravery of the civilian, stolen food from the SS kitchen.

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[4]As this suggests, there was also a hierarchy among different types of prisoner (politicals, criminals, Jews, etc.) but the focus here is on the Jewish prisoners, who are widely agreed to have suffered the greatest degradation at Auschwitz (Weirnicki 2001), and thus made the greatest sacrifices for fashion. (Note that all memoir and interview quotes are from Jewish prisoners.)

[5]The reader is directed to Primo Levi's *Survival in Auschwitz* (1996) for a more detailed description of the camp hierarchy.

[6]This appears to be true based on the memoir literature, though I know of no empirical studies that have tested this hypothesis. It is not surprising, however, that memoirists seem to over represent the privileged prisoners: the vast majority of prisoners, the Muselmanner, died in the camps, and kapos, one would guess, are less willing to publicly relate their experiences.

TRADING CALORIES FOR DIGNITY

Given the experience of having one's sense of self stripped away, it is not surprising that prisoners sought to regain their dignity. What *is* surprising is that this struggle occurs even while basic needs, such as hunger and sleep, are barely met. Yet, prisoners sometimes traded precious calories for objects or services that would improve their appearance. Or, more simply, they spent energy, another precious resource, on fashion improvements. Prisoners had tradeoffs to make: maintaining dignity was not free. It is a testament to the importance of human dignity that prisoners were willing to sacrifice so much of so little that they had to fight back against debasement.

A lively economy was in operation in the concentration camps. [For discussion of a World War II P.O.W. camp economy, see Radford (1945); for discussion of an American prison economy, see Szykman and Hill (1993). See also, Goffman (1961).] In many concentration camps, the unit of currency was a slice of bread or a bowl of soup. As Joseph Bau (1998), a prisoner of the Plaszow concentration camp recounts:

"Our world revolved around this ersatz bread; it became a medium of exchange on the black market near the latrine and the accepted currency for any purchase. It was also given to us as wages for our hard work (p. 140)."

Of course, with severe hunger as the norm, there was a powerful market for food, and prisoners who were lucky or opportunistic found many ways to make their purchases:

"The tobacco business I have started, thanks to my English friends [POW's in a nearby barrack at Auschwitz] enables me to double my daily rations and thus considerably enhances my chances for survival. Without the extra portions in addition to the daily minimum, the outlook would have been very bleak for me…. Every day, scores of prisoners succumb to malnutrition, exhaustion and physical violence…. At night in the barrack, I can hear them hallucinate and groan. In the morning, trucks loaded with corpses drive to the crematoria of Birkenau (de Wijze 1997, p. 50)."

Not surprisingly, many prisoners kept their eyes open to every opportunity to obtain something valuable. Prisoners referred to the acquisition of goods that fed this economy as "organizing", and sources of these goods ranged from a piece of thread found on the floor to medical supplies stolen from the hospital. It was within this economy that prisoners who had successfully increased their calorie intake (but who were still very under nourished) were able to "buy" fashion, and through this fashion, status.

The prisoners of the *Sonderkommando* (gas chamber and crematoria workers) were heavily involved in trade because of their access to goods (from the newly arrived prisoners). Filip Muller spent three years in the Auschwitz *Sonderkommando*:

"Almost every prisoner in the *Sonderkommando* spent a great deal of energy on *organizing*, partly because it helped alleviate the harsh living conditions, but also because it drew our minds off the horrors around us. Besides organizing, there was an activity known as *Auschwitz fashion*, by means of which many members of the *Sonderkommando* attempted to blind themselves to their desperate situation. In order to make themselves look more like human beings they imitated their torturers by aping their way of dressing (1979, p. 62)."

Judith Isaacson writes of her early days in Birkenau:

"We wanted to cover our nakedness, and unlike Eve in the Garden of Eden, we had to include our nude heads. The going rate for a ragged kerchief soon rose to a day's ration of bread... Someone had found a needle and I decided to borrow it. Reluctantly I broke off a small piece of bread to pay her fee. Why do I bother?, I asked myself, as I hemmed my kerchief with some unraveled thread. We women were a strange sex I decided: we sustain our sanity with mere trifles. Even in hell. Yes, even in hell (1991, p. 77)."

There were other ways, besides trading, that prisoners were able to re-establish their individuality through fashion. Louis de Wijze joined the Jewish soccer team in the SS-sponsored "league". He recounts his first game at Auschwitz, which was played against the Red Triangles (political prisoners):

"Filled with pride I had entered the field with my teammates. It had been a great feeling to substitute the squeaky-clean, colorful soccer attire and real leather shoes for the smelly prison clothes and the hated number. For the first time in a long while I had not felt like a number, an animal in the herd."

As suggested in the quotes above from Isaacson's memoir, female prisoners found particularly creative ways to enhance their appearance. In her diary, my aunt Oli Kluszik writes (after describing the hunger she is experiencing):

"I'm sitting on a green bench, four people are busy with something near me. One of them is making an elegant blouse of her shabby shirt… The other one is writing camp poems on the paper taken from the factory, the third one is knitting a striped pullover of her undone scarf and the forth one is crouching in front of me beating a nail back into her worn out shoe on top of the covered trench."

Oli, and her sister Lily Isaacs, prepare a newsletter by writing on scraps of paper stolen from the munitions factory where they work near their camp in Germany. Each Sunday, they go from barrack to barrack to read their work to the other inmates. Their publication is called the "Grey Paper" because all of the women wear gray dresses. In jest, they include a section on fashion:

"Do you have a grey broad-shouldered shirt and you don't know what to use it for? Our drawings will show you our gathered, pleated, broad-shouldered skirts with a slit, decorated with a monogram. The blue and white-striped shirt-blouse inlets, decorated with various buttons, are very fashionable."

THE FUNCTION OF FASHION IN THE CONCENTRATION CAMP

Thus far I have referred to fashion acquisition as a method for restoring human dignity in a context where multiple forces are at play to debase and degrade. We can refer to this function as self-enhancement. The purpose of maintaining one's appearance is to maintain the sense of being human. Thus, one function of fashion in the camp may have been purely emotional and inner-directed: improving appearance made the prisoner feel better, more human, and perhaps, more strongly attached to their former life.

Utilizing Holbrook's typology of consumer value, this purpose of fashion would be referred to as self-oriented because the

consumption experience is valued for the effect it has on the self. Other-oriented value is outward looking, and consumption is valued for the effect it has on other people. In the latter case, the consumer hopes to gain status or esteem in the eyes of others (Holbrook 1999). Similarly, in Russell Belk's (e.g., 1988) theory of symbolic consumption, people see their possessions as an extension of themselves. Belk distinguishes between consumption encoding—self-image developed through one's own consumption, and consumption decoding—the inferences that others make based on one's possessions.[7]

There is ample evidence in the memoir literature that, in addition to direct influences on self-esteem, fashion played an important signaling function. In particular, it was a mechanism for showing one's place in the status hierarchy. As Solomon (1999) points out, possessions can be used to convey relative status to others in a social group. There are many mentions in survivor memoirs of feeling superior or "luckier" than the new, incoming prisoners (e.g., Steinberg 2000).

In summary, two functions of fashion were clearly operating in the camps: fashion increased esteem and allowed one to recapture a sense of human dignity, and it also signaled to others one's status within the camp hierarchy.

DISCUSSION

In this paper, I have endeavored to show that fashion existed in Nazi concentration camps, and to explain why and how this phenomenon might have developed. I view fashion in the camps as foremost an attempt by prisoners to regain their status as human beings. Thus, while fashion is often thought of as a hollow or frivolous marketing generated phenomenon, this research suggests that fashion can serve as an important expression of individuality, and as an essential tool for establishing one's dignity in the face of powerful dehumanizing forces.

Fashion is one way of enhancing self-esteem and demonstrating one's individuality (Snyder and Fromkin 1980), but there were other avenues taken by prisoners in the camps. Prisoners fell in love, formed close friendships, shared resources, and discussed literature and poetry (Hirschman and Hill 2000). Many mentions of such activities in memoirs are followed by descriptions of their humanizing effects.

FUTURE RESEARCH

In this paper, trading in the camps was documented. Future work should tie this activity to theoretical frameworks within consumer behavior. For example, theories such as symbolic consumption (e.g., Belk 1988) and Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (Maslow 1970) can be informed by the phenomenon of fashion in the camps.

As mentioned above, there were many activities that camp inmates participated in that served to preserve human dignity. Of particular interest to consumer researchers is the prevalence of sharing and gift giving in the camps. For example, those who had access to additional food often traded some and gave the rest to others (usually friends within a social clique). Family members who were together in the camps often shared their resources.

Sometimes total strangers helped each other. While the atmosphere of the camps could be extremely competitive, there are abundant examples of altruism. Thus, helping others may have played an important role in the reestablishment of human dignity.

Another issue surrounds the role that possessions played in the return to life outside the camps. Here is a late entry in Oli's diary (written for her fiancée):

"I'm writing to you relieved and happy as the sun has broken through the clouds and we've been liberated. I'm wearing a new dress instead of the coarse grey one, nice high-heeled shoes instead of the clumsy wooden ones and I'm going around smiling."

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[7]It can be difficult to disentangle self- versus other-directed motives. An article of clothing might affect self-esteem both directly, through self-directed value, and indirectly, through status enhancement in the eyes of others. An example of this interplay is the idea, proposed by Solomon (1999), that the need to display status objects plays a role in self-identification.

To Retain or To Relinquish: Exploring the Disposition Practices of Packrats and Purgers

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ABSTRACT

In this paper, we consider packrats and purgers. Packrats are people who from a behavioral perspective, keep things and from a psychological perspective have difficulty disposing of things. Purgers seem to continually take stock in whether items are needed, and if not, typically are quite willing to dispose of them. Based on data from semi-structured depth interviews, we distinguish between packrats' and purgers' perceptions of themselves and each other, as well as their disposition strategies and behaviors, and emotional responses. We offer suggestions for future research in this neglected domain.

What about disposition? Although disposition is considered an integral part of consumer behavior, most would agree that it has been the focus of relatively little research. Important contributions to the disposition literature have taken a variety of forms. For example, seminal work by Jacoby, Berning and Dietvorst (1977) proposed a taxonomy for voluntary disposition behaviors, and more recently, Young and Wallendorf (1989) offered an expanded taxonomy, contemplating the personal, interpersonal and societal foci related to various methods of disposition. Some research has examined disposition in particular contexts, including garage sales (Herrmann 1997, 1995), swap meets (Belk, Sherry, and Wallendorf 1988), and flea markets (Sherry 1990). Other work has considered how life stage and life transitions might affect disposition of possessions (Andreasen 1984; McAlexander 1991; Price, Arnould and Curasi 2000; Young 1991).

Jacoby et al. (1977, p. 26) pose the question, "What factors influence the disposition choice?" In this paper, we consider two types of individuals, commonly known as packrats and purgers. Packrats (named for their rodent counterparts that collect diverse plant materials and hoard them into caves in semiarid rocky environments) are people who, from a behavioral perspective, keep things, and from a psychological perspective, have difficulty disposing of things. Purgers, on the other hand, seem to continually take stock in whether items are needed, and if not, typically are quite willing to dispose of them. In this research, we explore the packrats' and purgers' perceptions of themselves and each other, and examine their disposition strategies and behaviors. In the next section, we discuss literature on disposition and consider how the meaning of possessions is related to disposal practices. We then describe our methodology (semi-structured depth interviews with packrats and purgers), and present our findings. We conclude with implications and avenues for further research.

BACKGROUND

Taxonomies for Disposition Behavior

Several researchers have offered taxonomies of disposition behavior (Jacoby et al. 1977; Pieters 1993; Young and Wallendorf 1989). We attempt to integrate their perspectives in answer to the question, "What should I do with this product?" Indeed, Jacoby et al. argue that consumers contemplating disposition of a product have three basic choices: to retain the product, relinquish it temporarily, or relinquish it permanently. Keeping the product suggests that one might: 1) continue to use it for its original purpose (e.g., an older mobile phone, but moved to a secondary location in the house), 2) use it for something other than its originally intended use

(e.g., old towels that serve as cleaning rags), or 3) store it for later personal use or for someone else who might need it. Relinquishing a product temporarily suggests that one might loan or rent it to someone else.

Relinquishing a product permanently suggests a multitude of alternatives. First, consumers might *discard* or *abandon* products, the former referring to socially acceptable disposition via the trashcan and the latter referring to socially unacceptable disposition such as littering. Second, consumers might choose to *recycle* products so that the broken down product ingredients are used to manufacture another product (i.e., resource recovery, using recycled paper to make paper towels). Third, consumers might decide to *sell* products either directly to another consumer at a yard sale, or to an intermediary such as a secondhand shop. A fourth alternative is to *give away* possessions, as donations to charities or as gifts to loved ones.

Jacoby et al. (1977) argue that an individual's characteristics and personality profile are likely to affect one's disposition strategies and behaviors, and much research in the disposition domain has focused on environmentally conscious "green" consumers (Balderjahn 1988; Ellen, Wiener, and Cobb-Walgren 1991; McCarty and Schrum 1993). Herein, we consider the disposition strategies of packrats and purgers.

Disposition as Related to Product Characteristics and Product Meanings

Characteristics of products indeed affect consumers' disposition behaviors (Jacoby et al. 1977). For example, certain possessions must be discarded post-consumption. Perishable possessions have a limited "shelf life" once they are purchased and prepared for consumption. Additionally, some possessions are literally "used up" during consumption (e.g., makeup, facial tissue, detergent). As a result, it is unlikely that individuals would differ on their disposition strategies related to these types of products. On the other hand, for products that do not have limited shelf life or are not completely consumed during consumption, owners may indeed attribute various meanings to those possessions. Various research streams highlight the influence of possessions in the consumer's life, for instance: as a vessel of personal meaning (Csikzentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981; McCracken 1986; Wallendorf and Arnould 1988), as a relationship partner (Fournier 1998; 1991), and even as an influencer of one's identity (Belk 1988; Kleine, Kleine, and Allen 1995; Schouten 1991; Solomon 1983).

Recent research suggests that products can have both functional and symbolic meanings, depending on the consumer's motives and goals for consuming the product (Ligas 2000). Functional product meanings refer to the product's utilitarian attributes and characteristics, i.e., the core product and the "bells and whistles" that enable the product to perform in a specific way (Fournier 1991; Prentice 1987; Thaler 1985). Symbolic product meaning focuses on the personal, intrinsic meaning associated with products. The product gains meaning, because it is tied to some specific event (Grayson and Shulman 2000; Wallendorf and Arnould 1988), develops interpersonal qualities (Fournier 1998), or assists some way with the consumer's identification of self to others (Belk 1988). In some cases, consumers develop emotional bonds with products and often find the items necessary for expression and communication (Fournier 1998; Houston and Walker 1996; Kleine

TABLE 1
Informant Summary Information

Packrats	Gender	Age	Purgers	Gender	Age
Pr 1	M	42+	Pu 1	F	18-25
Pr 2	F	18-25	Pu 2	F	18-25
Pr 3	F	39	Pu 3	M	20
Pr 4	F	38	Pu 4	M	37
Pr 5	F	42+	Pu 5	F	42+
Pr 6	M	26	Pu 6	F	18-25
Pr 7	M	26	Pu 7	M	60
Pr 8	M	29	Pu 8	F	30
Pr 9	F	21	Pu 9	M	21
Pr 10	F	51	Pu 10	M	56
Pr 11	M	53	Pu 11	M	62
Pr 12	M	29	Pu 12	F	48
Pr 13	M	51	Pu 13	F	27
Pr 14	F	60	Pu 14	F	48

et al. 1995). Thus, products that have meaning to consumers, either functional or symbolic, are likely to be more difficult to dispose. Indeed, one might infer that packrats attach more meaning to their possessions than do purgers. In the sections that follow, we present our method and the resultant data that explore not only this issue, but also the more central issue of the differences between these two consuming groups.

METHODOLOGY

We developed an interview script to explore disposition behaviors, attitudes and perceptions of packrats and purgers. Interview probes were designed to elicit informants' self-identification as a packrat or purger, general perceptions of packrats and purgers, typical disposition behaviors, and related thoughts and emotions. As part of a course requirement, seven students identified four family members or acquaintances (non-students, at least 18 years of age) they thought were packrats or purgers to participate in semi-structured interviews (Price et al. 2000). We aimed for an equal male/female split for both packrats and purgers.

The students facilitated initial contact with the individuals who they thought were packrats or purgers, asked each if he/she would be willing to assist in a class project, but did not reveal the specific nature of the project. Twenty-eight informants, fourteen self-described packrats (7 males, 7 females) and fourteen purgers (6 males, 8 females), volunteered for the interviews. During the course, the students were coached in interviewing techniques (e.g., how to identify "key" or "emergent" issues, when to probe for additional detail). Table 1 provides summary information for each informant.

In analyzing the data, the authors considered and coded packrats' and purgers' information with regard to: 1) perceptions, 2) disposition strategies and behaviors, and 3) emotional reactions.

FINDINGS

Understanding Packrats

Perceptions of Packrats. Our data suggest that most packrats (Pr) and purgers (Pu) view packrats as hoarders, messy and disorganized. The following are quips that illustrate a typical packrat:

I am a hoarder, a naturally disorganized person, but it is organization in my eyes. Occasionally I feel the need to purge and organize, but it does not last long. [Pr 8, M, 29]

My own house is messy, dirty, cluttered, crowded, full of unnecessary junk that's never used. [Pr 9, F, 21]

Another packrat, however, refutes these stereotypical images of a packrat. For him, achieving "order" and being "physically neat" do not mean the same thing. Although this packrat does not necessarily place items in specific places, he knows where to locate everything of importance:

I am orderly, just not neat. I know where all the things are that I need; I am not disorganized. [Pr 6, M, 26]

Purgers agree, noting that that packrats are less likely to be organized and more likely to have an unkempt, messy home, reporting:

A packrat is someone who just likes to store junk around the house, and who does not want to dispose of possessions. [Pu 3, M, 20]

Someone who has collections of things, who doesn't clean often, is disorganized and has more stuff than they need. [Pu 9, M, 21]

They save everything from paper clips to whatever else. They just like messes! [Pu 12, F, 48]

Product Retention and Product Meanings. When contemplating disposing of a possession, packrats often opt to *keep* rather than relinquish the product. They offer a variety of explanations for their choice. First, many packrats believe that they or someone else might use the product at some future time, i.e., that the product continues to have functional value (Ligas 2000), for example:

I always think I'll be able to use something again, or someone else will be able to use it. I am resourceful. [Pr 13, M, 51]

Purgers acknowledge that packrats store items for use in the future. However, purgers view these actions not from a future resource perspective, but rather from a financial perspective, noting:

> A packrat is a cheap person who stores useless stuff and believes that it will work again, even though he knows that it won't. [Pu 4, M, 37]

Second, packrats are self-professed use innovators (Hirschman 1980; Ridgway and Price 1994). They are looking for different ways to use old products, as suggested by:

> I am creative, and I try to find more use for my things. I am more ingenious, and [how I use my possessions] is less black-and-white. [Pr 10, F, 51]

Third, packrats are mindful of the financial investment in their possessions, and conscious of being thrifty. Contrary to the purgers' view, packrats do not consider themselves to be "cheap;" instead, packrats often view disposition as a potential waste of money, as illustrated by the following comments:

> I spent money on these items; throwing them out would be wasting. [Pr 7, M, 26]

> It would be like wasting money [if I discarded the item], especially if the product is not at the end of its life. [Pr 3, F, 39]

Finally, both packrats and purgers agree that packrats often find personal and symbolic meaning in their possessions (Belk 1988; Csikzentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981; McCracken 1986; Wallendorf and Arnould 1988). The following comments provide evidence that packrats' possessions are linked to memorable people, places, or events in their lives:

> I am more sentimental. I don't want to get rid of something, even if I don't use it. It elicits positive memories, such as shopping with others or being with a loved one. [Pr 12, M, 29]

> These items are like memories, and they remind me of my childhood and growing up. [Pr 2, F, 18-25]

> These things [trinket from childhood, artwork] are important because they are about friends and family. [Pr 10, F, 51]

> A packrat is a collector, someone who likes to store things and who finds meaning in everything they own. [Pu 1, F, 18-25]

> A packrat is someone who is reminiscent, emotional, and careful. They live in the past. [Pu 2, F, 18-25]

Relinquishing Products. Once packrats make the decision to relinquish a possession, they become interested in finding the product a good home (Herrmann 1997; Price et al. 2000). Thus, they seem more likely to engage in donating, gifting, selling or recycling than in trashing. Examples of donating include:

> I find it extremely difficult to get rid of things by throwing them out. I feel it is wasteful, plus someone else may need it eventually if I don't. I call a specific place to donate, like Big Brothers/Big Sisters. [Pr 13, M, 51]

> I donate clothing. I feel that disposing of them is a waste. [Pr 2, F, 18-25]

> I give such items to Goodwill. [Pr 7, M, 26]

Packrats gift items to others when they believe that the used item could be either useful or personally meaningful to a friend or close family member. By giving an item to someone they know, packrats attempt to insure that the item's "value" is still appreciated:

> I usually end up passing it on to another relative or friend, or a close family member who can find use for it. [Pr 3, F, 39]

> I practice gift-giving because I feel that there is too much value to the items, and I feel that my items will be appreciated [by others]. [Pr 5, F, 42+]

> I would rather give stuff to someone I know. The last resort is to throw something away. [Pr 8, M, 29]

And in some instances, packrats sell items, often in garage sales. Satisfaction for packrats, however, does not come from making money on these items, but rather from the expectation or hope that someone else will find these items worth purchasing and using:

> I sell some things, and if given the opportunity, I like to have a tag sale once a year. [Pr 11, M, 53]

> Selling makes me feel more satisfied. I take care of my things and reselling makes me feel as though I'm being credited for keeping them in good condition. [Pr 12, M, 29]

The Emotions of Disposition. Because many packrats are emotionally attached to their possessions, they report on a variety of emotions when they ultimately decide to dispose of an item. For example, some packrats reported a strong sense of guilt when relinquishing an item:

> At first, I have a feeling of guilt because it is tough to part with those items. I may need them again and not have them. [Pr 1, M, 42+]

> I feel a sense of guilt, as if I have done something wrong. [Pr 3, F, 39]

Indeed for some packrats the connection to an item is so strong that its disposition results in the packrat sensing a void in his life.

> I feel bad, because it is like something is missing. [Pr 6, M, 26]

> I just don't dispose of meaningful items. I would miss them too much. [Pr 7, M, 26]

If an item is donated or given as a gift, however, packrats tend to be more positive. By "passing the item on," packrats see themselves as not being wasteful, but instead as doing a good deed:

> I feel relieved, as if I have helped someone. I can then begin the cycle of packratting over again. [Pr 4, F, 38]

Packrats in discussing the positives and negatives of disposition note their ambivalence:

> I feel good because it is given to a person who could use it. There is a hole inside [me] though…I am still uncertain of whether I should have kept it. [Pr 5, F, 42+]

Understanding Purgers

Perceptions of Purgers. Purging is defined as an act of cleansing of impurities, to remove by cleansing, or to rid. In contrast to the messy, disorganized packrats, purgers see themselves as neat, clean and organized. Ridding one's self of "stuff" is seen in a very favorable light, as an accomplishment:

I am clean and not cluttered. [Pu 6, F, 18-25]

I am neat and orderly. [Pu 7, M, 60]

I'm much more neat and organized. I actually get rid of things. [Pu 12, F, 48]

Packrats compliment purgers' orderliness, yet believe that purgers run the risk of not having a particular item when it is needed:

Purgers are neat and orderly, but they never have anything around when they need it. [Pr 6, M, 26]

A purger is someone who throws things out easily. He is an organized person, a non-saver! [Pr 11, M, 53]

Purgers and packrats disagree about their perceptions of purgers' disposition strategies. For purgers, if an item is no longer useful, the question is why *not* simply get rid of it? Personal preferences and situational factors are in effect. Some purgers systematically assess what possessions they want to keep.

I keep stuff around for a little while, and then I get rid of it. [Pu 13, F, 27]

Others relinquish things because of situational factors (Jacoby et al. 1977), particularly space constraints:

I don't keep junk around, because it will only limit what little storage space I have. [Pu 4, M, 37]

I have a lot more room. Why save anything that you don't need? [Pu 14, F, 48]

Packrats are very derogatory of purgers, labeling them as wasteful individuals who continually need to replace items that are useful. Furthermore, packrats view purgers as people who unnecessarily waste money:

A purger is someone who is wasteful and never satisfied, because he is always getting new possessions. [Pr 1, M, 42+]

A purger is a spendthrift who does not truly understand the value or worth of an earned dollar. They are wasteful! [Pr 3, F, 39]

This is someone who wastes, especially money… Items are not kept for their meaning, but just to have them. [Pr 5, F, 42+]

A purger is someone who is frivolous, wasteful, and who gets rid of things for no reason. Some are people who do throw things away that are no longer useful to them. [Pr 13, M, 51]

A purger is less economical. I feel that people who throw things away often are not getting full use out of such things. [Pr 12, M, 29]

Relinquishing Possessions. Purgers seem to attach less meaning to products than do packrats. More frequently than retaining products, they engage in a variety of disposition strategies, including discarding, selling, trading, donating and recycling. A preferred strategy for many purgers is discarding items. Purgers say that this is an efficient means of disposal:

I throw things out, because it is quick and easy. [Pu 1, F, 18-25]

I dispose of things, because I can't be bothered with bringing my stuff to other places. [Pu 6, F, 18-25]

Other purgers don't want to keep useless things. As evident in the following quotes, purgers are not interested in spending more time organizing, cleaning or maintaining unwanted items:

I try to minimize useless stuff. It is less things to clean. [Pu 13, F, 27]

I don't like to keep things that I don't use, because they take up space, collect dust… [Pu 8, F, 30]

Further, in contrast to packrats, purgers typically do not consider the future use of old, used items. They see such items as a distraction and an annoyance:

There is no need to keep something once I am done using it. I probably won't use it again, or I will just go buy it again the next time. It is useless after it gets old. [Pu 9, M, 21]

What am I going to do with this stuff? Everything has its own duty. If it doesn't work, why keep it? [Pu 14, F, 48]

Finally, some purgers suggest that by keeping old, out-dated items, they are not in-tune with technology or with the latest trends:

I like to keep up-to-date with technology, so I discard out-dated products. [Pu 4, M, 37]

I feel I am an early adopter for new products that come out into the marketplace. [Pu 1, F, 18-25]

I am trendy and trendy people do not keep [old or used] things. [Pu 2, F, 18-25]

In some cases, purgers consider the trade-offs of discarding versus selling, donating or trading-in products. Ease of disposition continues to be a theme with purgers; if it is easy to donate, for example, then purgers may choose donating over discarding:

I throw away possessions that I no longer need, or else I store them separately from my new or most commonly used possessions. I also try to sell items that I no longer use and that still have value. [Pu 3, M, 20]

I discard unwanted possessions or trade them in for newer products or models. [Pu 4, M, 37]

I usually throw away more than I donate because it is easier. It all depends on what it is. For example, I have a 35-inch TV which I'll donate to a tech school, because they will come to pick it up and I won't have to lift it. [Pu 11, M, 62]

I donate stuff or dispose of it. For example, I gave dishes to a battered women's shelter. It is less hassle. [Pu 12, F, 48]

The Emotions of Disposition. Seemingly because they don't attach a great deal of meaning to products and they are interested in maintaining a pristine home environment, a majority of purgers experience a sense of relief upon disposing of unwanted possessions. They feel better because they no longer have "junk" lying around:

I feel refreshed, as if I got rid of old baggage; I moved on to the next phase of my life. [Pu 5, F, 42+]

I feel less congested. I don't have a lot of unnecessary junk around the apartment. [Pu 3, M, 20]

DISCUSSION

Our findings highlight key differences between packrats and purgers. First, packrats and purgers have very different "core beings," value systems (Kahle, Beatty and Homer 1986), perspectives about product meanings (Belk 1988; Ligas 2000), and attitudes toward being future versus past focused, wasteful versus industrious. Consumers' core being transcends both the functional (attribute) and symbolic (primarily benefit/consequence) aspects of how possessions gain meaning; it is concerned with the impact of the possession on one's desired end-state, where the product participates in creating more experiential and self-identifying opportunities, i.e., what the product does to make the customer feel, think, and act a certain way. Being a packrat means being an individual who values not only the resource commitment, i.e., money, to gaining a possession, but also the functional and personal meanings and sentiment created by a product. The packrat consumer is "practical," in the sense that he wants the "maximum bang for his buck." The packrat is innovative, because he is constantly thinking about how to extend the life of his possessions, either by considering new ways to use old products or by ensuring that they have a new home with another consumer (Price et al. 2000; Ridgway and Price 1994). Moreover, packrats like to be surrounded by possessions that will enable them to conjure up memories of people, places, and events that are worth reliving and remembering. In contrast, purgers are "efficient," i.e., they are practical in the sense that they typically maintain items with an immediate use. Anything that does not serve a purpose in the present is waste or clutter. Purgers identify themselves as clean, uncluttered and organized. For purgers, old products have little or no future value (functional or symbolic), and they are not interested in thinking about innovative uses for old things. Additionally, purgers think of themselves as innovators, as being technologically at the forefront; thus old products are inconsistent with their images of themselves and consequently are worthy of disposition (Kleine et al. 1995).

Second, packrats and purgers, by definition, have diverse disposition practices. Essentially, packrats are more likely to keep things and purgers are more likely to relinquish them. When packrats decide to relinquish possessions, a key concern is making the product available for someone else's use. Packrats often dispose via donation, for example to charitable causes or community projects. If the possession is more sentimental or has personal meaning, then packrats are likely to give or gift the possession to a close friend or relation, enabling packrats to maintain an attachment, although indirect, with a cherished possession, and to ensure that they are remembered by the new "caretaker" (Price et al. 2000). In some cases, packrats sell items, at garage sales for example, where the seller may actually tell stories about the items so that the products' meanings will be evident to the new owner (Hermann

1997). In contrast, purgers' needs for efficiency seem to drive their disposition practices; they are most likely to throw away old, unwanted, unused items. Moreover, because purgers value organization, they don't want to be concerned with possessions that take up space and serve no purpose. Purgers will donate or sell belongings, as long as minimal effort is required.

Finally, we find differences in the emotions of packrats and purgers as related to disposition. Packrats' possessions, because of the meanings attached and possibilities for future use, seem to bring these individuals much happiness. Their possessions trigger memories, as well as potential opportunities. In dispensing of possessions via donations, sales, or giving items away, packrats acknowledged their emotional ties to products and articulated feelings of guilt and sadness, as well as hope for the future use. In contrast, purgers expressed relief and contentment after disposition. For these consumers, "out of sight, out of mind" certainly rings true!

CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

Our exploratory investigation offers interesting insights about packrats and purgers, and addresses a relatively neglected area of research in consumer behavior, that of disposition practices. Importantly, we believe that our research offers some interesting venues for future work and a deeper understanding of the differences between packrats and purgers. Below, we offer suggestions for future endeavors.

First, we focused on disposition strategies for packrats and purgers. An examination of both groups' acquisition patterns would provide a broader understanding of their consumption practices. Given our findings, one might anticipate that packrats would be more likely than purgers to attend garage sales, flea markets and swap meets. Also in contrast to purgers, packrats might be more willing to buy things that do not serve a current need, yet could be useful at some point in the future. Our findings suggest that packrats perceive purgers as wasteful, and purgers perceive packrats as cheap. Thus, future research might also address some price-related issues. Are packrats more price-conscious in their purchases than purgers? Do the two groups vary on price-quality assessments? Are warranties and money-back guarantees more important to packrats than purgers?

Second, it would be useful to consider how packrats and purgers react to product promotions and packaging. Because of their different core values, one might expect that unique messages would be appropriate in persuading packrats and purgers. We might speculate that packrats are likely to be persuaded by messages that describe the intimate, personal nature of a particular item (e.g., furniture, clothing). Moreover, message content that focuses on functional value, extended product life, or suggests creativity as related to product use may be effective in communicating with packrats. On the other hand, we might anticipate that purgers are likely to be captivated by messages that speak to innovativeness and new technologies. Seemingly purgers would not be persuaded by functional or symbolic messages. With regard to product packaging, one might argue that packrats would pay attention to packaging if it adds some personal meaning to the item, e.g., decorative cookie tin, or if it can assist in storing the original item or some other item, e.g., baseball cards in a shoe box. For purgers, on the other hand, it may be the case that they would prefer small, streamlined packaging so that they could use the packaging to store things in a way that saves space and has a neat look.

A third opportunity is to investigate the existence of product-specific packrats, i.e., packrats who keep things in one product category, but more generally exhibit purger tendencies. One might imagine that people who are very involved in a product category (e.g., a form of collecting behavior, such as comic books, cigar

boxes, etc.) would tend to acquire and retain products and accessories, yet at the same time be expeditious to discard items in other less involving product categories. Online services such as Ebay make it is easier for consumers to buy, sell, and even swap less meaningful items for personally relevant ones. It would be interesting to focus on how such individuals are able to "separate" both kinds of behaviors, depending on the product category.

In sum, our purpose for this research was to explore the thoughts, feelings, and actions of packrats and purgers. Our data suggest that packrats and purgers do differ, and this difference is not based solely on their behaviors. Clearly, both types of consumers have dramatically different ways of looking not only at each other, but also at the products they consume.

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The Relationship Between Rational and Experiential Processing: Conflict, Complicity, or Independence?

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Consumer judgment and decision making research has traditionally focused on *rational* explanations for behavior, in which individuals are assumed to have a conceptual understanding of the object in question, and consciously use information in the environment to make explicit judgments about the object. However, there has been a progressive recognition in recent research in both psychology and consumer behavior, that deliberate and logical consideration of information about a situation is only one of two possible systems guiding decisions and behaviors. The second system, that we label *experiential* following Epstein (1994), decisions and behaviors rely instead on a fast, more intuitive consideration of the information relevant to a situation, and of how one feels about it. From an experiential perspective, it is not an individual's rational consideration of explicit information that is relevant to decision making and behavior, but rather one's intuitions and emotions associated with prior experience of the situation. The role of experiential processing in shaping consumer decisions and actions has been empirically demonstrated in a good number of studies that have focused on persuasion (e.g., Conway and Dube, in press), evaluation and decision (e.g., Schwarz 1998; Adaval, 2001) and consumption (e.g., Shiv and Fedorikin,1999). Research also shows that the relative influence of one processing mode over the other is determined by the type of products (Adaval, 2001) and situations (Shiv and Fedorikin, 1999), as well as by individual characteristics (Conway and Dube, in press). One of the relatively unexplored issues in research on the rational and experiential systems pertains to the relationship between these two modes of information processing and decision-making. There is evidence in both general and consumer contexts that the two modes of processing sometimes conflict (Denes-Raj and Epstein 1994; Shiv and Fedorikin, 1999), and are sometimes are simply independent (Conway and Dube, in press). Even if empirical evidence for their synergistic functioning has not emerged yet (presentation by Raghunathan and Trope will offer such evidence), early theorizing by Epstein (1985) suggests that the rational and experiential systems often act in complicity. Because the design of effective communications aimed at influencing decision making and behavior is likely to be very different depending on the operation of these two processing modes, it is critical to develop an in-depth understanding of how rational and experiential processing systems relate to each other.

Reducing Competitive Ad Interference By Varying Advertising Context: A Test of Network Models of Memory

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ABSTRACT

Past research in marketing has demonstrated negative effects of competitive advertising on brand name recall, brand attribute recall and brand attitude (e.g. Burke and Srull 1988, Keller 1991). Such effects have been explained using competitive interference and the theory of spreading activation as theoretical grounds. However, the processes underlying these theoretical explanations have not as yet been subject to empirical testing. The present research aims at providing insight into the process of competitive interference by examining the facilitating effects of varying advertising contexts on brand name recall.

According to the associative network model of memory, concepts in memory are represented as nodes with the relations between concepts as pathways linking the nodes. When a person is exposed to information about a brand in an experimental context, we assume that a node is set up that marks the experimental episode and that all information obtained in the experiment is connected to this node. The experiment node is connected to the brand name node through the product class and advertising context nodes. The attribute information of a brand in turn is uniquely connected to the brand name node.

An uncued brand name recall task may be viewed as activating the experimental node since the task requires the retrieval of all brand names that are connected to the experimental context. The activation that flows outward from the experimental node will be distributed across the pathways that are connected to it. Therefore, the more the number of pathways that emanate from a node, the smaller will be the amount of activation in each path. If no competing brands are present, then the product class cue and the advertising context cue together identify each brand uniquely and assist in its retrieval by diverting activation towards it. If interfering brands are present, the product class cue is not unique to any one brand name. Therefore the activation from the product class cue is divided between all the brand names connected to it. This causes a reduction in the amount of activation reaching each brand, and if the total activation is less than the threshold level, results in retrieval failure. This suggests that the greater the number of brands encountered, the lower will be the level of activation that reaches each individual brand.

Further the level of activation of a brand name is proportional to the number of pathways converging on it. The probability of retrieving a brand name is directly proportional to the amount of activation that converges on it; however, a minimum level of threshold activation is required for retrieval to take place. This suggests that brand name retrieval will be enhanced when multiple paths are laid in memory, which lead to the brand name. Varying the advertising context of the brand will result in greater activation flowing to that brand since more than one advertising context node will be activated for that brand as compared to competing brands. This leads us to suggest that varying the advertising context will result in an increase in the probability of brand name retrieval since the activation from these multiple nodes will converge on the brand name. In addition to the retrieval advantage, multiple contextual cues should also help in making the encoded information more resistant to competitive interference. This is because the presence of more than one contextual path will make the brand name more distinctive and therefore less susceptible to competitive interference.

We employed a 3 (one exposure vs. two same exposures vs. two varying exposures) X 2 (competitive interference present vs. absent) factorial design to test our hypotheses using one hundred and fifty undergraduate students as respondents. Our results partially replicate past research on the effects of varied context. We find that repetition enhances brand name recall in the absence of competitive advertising; however, when competitive advertising was present, repetition resulted in no more recall than a single exposure to the ad. The use of varying ad executions was found to result in greater recall than using a single exposure, but resulted in no greater recall compared to the same exposure repetition condition, when competitive advertising was absent. However, in the presence of competitive advertising, varying executions resulted in greater recall than both one exposure and repeated same exposures.

We were also able to provide further insights into the role of contextual cues as predicted by the spreading activation mode. First, we found that when subjects recalled the ad context, their brand name recall was significantly higher than when they did not recall the ad context. We also find that the likelihood of brand name recall given recall of the ad context is significantly higher in the varied context condition than in the same execution condition, which supports the prediction that the greater the number of contextual paths that lead to the brand name, the higher the probability of brand name recall. Finally, we find that the facilitating effect of product class cue on brand name recall is greater in the absence of competitive interference, which provides further evidence in support of the spreading activation model.

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Decision Uncertainty, Expected-Loss Minimization and the Compromise Effect

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Simonson (1989) first introduced the concept of a "compromise effect" into the consumer-behavioral literature as a specific type of context effect. It suggests that a brand in a two-alternative set can gain more market share following the addition of an adjacent competitor that makes the brand a compromise choice within the choice set. Only a few explanations of compromise effects have appeared in recent years (Simonson 1989; Simonson and Tversky 1992; Wernerfelt 1995).

We suspect one of the reasons for the lack of research attention to compromise effects is that marketing scholars may categorize compromise effects as a special case of attraction effects, without any theoretical distinction. Few have discussed the conceptual difference between these two types of context effects. However, a clarification of theoretic distinction between attraction and compromise effects may help us understand the mechanism and determinants of compromise effect. The attraction effect refers to the phenomenon that the addition of a dominated alternative to a choice set can increase the choice likelihood of existing alternatives, if the existing alternative is superior to the new entrant on both attribute dimensions. Both attraction and compromise effects deal with the result of the addition of a third alternative on an existing two-alternative choice set, and both have the same outcome in terms of an increase of market share of the target brand. However, the context of attraction and compromise effects is different. The essential distinction is that the third brand added into the choice set is completely dominated by the target brand in attraction-effect situations, whereas perceived equivalent to the target brand in compromise-effect situations.

The compromise effect has seen limited explanation of its underlying mechanism. We propose *Expected-Loss Minimization* under decision uncertainty as the underlying mechanism. A consumer's shopping decision almost always involves uncertainty. To some extent, uncertainty may reflect a consumer's perceived risk. A number of definitions of risk have appeared in the psychological literature. In this study, we use expected loss (the logical equivalent of expected value) as definition of risk of shopping decision in this situation. Traditionally, in defining risk indicators, loss has meant essentially what it means within prospect theory. That is, a prospect yields a loss if it results in an outcome that falls short of some specified reference point. In the compromise effect context, a consumer may use a *target* outcome or aspiration level as the reference point. We provide a proof to show that a consumer may minimize the expected-loss by choosing the compromise option given the decision uncertainty. Therefore, we hypothesize that the higher a consumer's decision uncertainty, the more likely he or she will select the compromise option as a vehicle to minimize expected loss of decision.

We ran a measurement development study prior to the main study to obtain reliable and valid measure of decision uncertainty. The development of a psychological decision-uncertainty instrument began with a literature review that generated an item pool, designed to measure hypothesized components of decision uncertainty. Nineteen items were generated to reflect five facets of consumers' uncertainty: decision process uncertainty, inadequacy of information, product uncertainty, prediction of decision, and justifiability. A self-administered questionnaire for scale development was given to an initial sample of fifty-four undergraduate students enrolled in a marketing course at a state university. Based on the result of an exploratory factor analysis, eight items remained in the instrument. Using just these eight items, decision uncertainty exhibited high reliability for all six products (Cronbach $\alpha > .85$).149 undergraduate students in a state university participated in the main study for extra credit for a marketing class. They were presented with six product classes. In each product class, there were three alternatives, differing on two attributes. All other attributes in a product class were defined as identical. Subjects examined the alternatives in each set, and then made their shopping decision by choosing one brand, followed by completing the decision uncertainty scale.

The compromise effect suggests that the market share of the compromise option will increase as a result of addition of the third brand to the choice set. In our study, the compromise effect is significant in four out of six product classes. In order to test the hypothesized positive relationship between decision uncertainty and compromise effect, we use logistic regression as the analytical tool because the dependent variable in this study is dichotomous (it is coded as "1" if a compromise option is chosen by the subjects, and as "0" otherwise). As predicted by our hypothesis, the coefficients of decision uncertainty for all the product classes are positive, with all being significant except one product. This finding suggests that decision uncertainty significantly increases the likelihood of the compromise option being chosen in the shopping decision process.

Of course, there are several limitations in this study. We employed undergraduate students as subjects in a paper-and-pencil task. Moreover, brands are described on only two or three attributes, without physical presentation of products. These experimental conditions limit the external validity of findings in the study. The compromise effect is not a universal phenomenon occurring in all circumstances. It might be influenced by particular characteristics of the decision maker, the choice task, and the product. Studies about how these characteristics influence the compromise effect may provide insightful avenues to understand this phenomenon.

What If You Surprise Your Customers … Will They Be More Satisfied? Findings from a Pilot Experiment

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this pilot experiment was to investigate the causal relationship between surprise (measured via verbal and non verbal measures) and satisfaction. The results clearly show that– although respondents in the surprise condition did not have higher levels of satisfaction than in the control conditions–1) consumers evaluated more positively the 'surprising element' in the surprise condition than in the non surprise condition; and 2) within the surprise condition, the level of surprise was found to have a direct effect on satisfaction.

INTRODUCTION

It has been argued that "businesses need to move beyond mere satisfaction, to customer delight" (Rust *et al*. 1996: 229). Customer delight–which is defined as the highest level of customer satisfaction–is believed to translate into higher customer retention and loyalty (Oliver *et al*. 1997, Rust *et al*. 1996). Interestingly, *pleasant surprise* is believed to be a privileged way to trigger customer delight (Rust and Oliver 2000).

The idea that surprise and delight are related was first suggested by the empirical work of Plutchik (1980). This author found that delight results from a combination of surprise and joy. Westbrook and Oliver (1991; Oliver and Westbrook 1993) also report some indirect evidence for a link between surprise and satisfaction. Using cluster analysis on the emotions consumers experienced during products/services consumption, both of these studies brought to light a cluster of consumers with high scores of surprise and joy; these consumers were found to be more satisfied than the consumers from any other group. The exploratory surveys by Oliver *et al*. (1997) and Mano and Oliver (1993) also suggest the existence of a relationship between surprise and satisfaction. Their LISREL analysis supported the causal path "*arousal* $\Rightarrow$ positive emotions [*positive affective reactions* for the Mano and Oliver study] $\Rightarrow$ satisfaction." However, a closer look at their measures for arousal reveals that it is rather surprise that was measured: two out of the three items of the DES scale of Izard (1977) for surprise were used. Finally, the existence of both a direct and indirect (via positive emotions) relationship between surprise and satisfaction was also confirmed in a recent exploratory diary study by Vanhamme (2001), which involved a wide range of product/service purchase/consumption experiences.

Thus, all the studies mentioned above suggest a potentially important influence of surprise on consumer satisfaction. However, they do not provide definitive empirical support for the causal relationship between these two concepts. Furthermore, none of these studies investigated the impact of surprise on the evaluation of the attribute used for eliciting surprise. The purpose of the present pilot study is thus to investigate the causal relationship between surprise and satisfaction in an experiment and assess to what extent the evaluation of the surprising attribute is influenced by the surprise reaction.

Another objective of this experiment is to go beyond paper-pencil measures of emotions. The marketing literature has traditionally favored verbal reports of emotions (e.g., Edell and Burke 1987, Richins 1997) but these measures have numerous drawbacks [rationalization of emotions, introspection and retrospection problems, etc., see Derbaix and Poncin (1999)]. Some researchers have, therefore, sought to develop non-verbal scales of emotions (e.g. physiological measures, coding of facial expressions). Vanhamme (2000)–using galvanic skin response (GSR), electromyography (EMG) and coding of facial expressions beside paper-pencil measures–has shown that measures of facial expressions provide the best results for the emotion of surprise in a consumption/purchase context. In the present study, both verbal reports of emotions and coding of behavioral aspects, such as facial expressions, will thus be included.

THE EMOTION OF SURPRISE

Most recent studies carried out on surprise (e.g., Meyer *et al*. 1997, Reisenzein 2000, Schützwohl 1998) consider it to be a neutral and short-lived emotion. It is described as a syndrome of reactions, i.e. a specific pattern of reactions at the *subjective* (e.g. subjective feeling, surprise exclamation), *physiological* (e.g. changes in the respiration rates) and *behavioral* levels (e.g. specific facial expression [mainly raised eyebrows and opened eyes], interruption of ongoing activities, focusing of attention on the surprising stimulus) (e.g. Meyer *et al*. 1997; Reisenzein *et al*. 1996, Vanhamme 2000).

The emotion of surprise is elicited by either unexpected or misexpected elements (e.g., Ekman and Friesen 1975, Scherer 1984) or, more precisely, a "schema discrepancy" (e.g. Meyer *et al* 1994, Schützwohl 1998). A schema is a type of private, normally informal, inarticulate, unreflective theory about the nature of objects, events or situations (Rumelhart 1984). Individuals continuously check whether their schemas match the inputs coming from the surrounding environment. As soon as inputs diverge from the schema, surprise is elicited.

As a result of the evaluation of the pleasantness / unpleasantness of the experience–which is subsequent to the evaluation of the schema discrepancy (Scherer 1984) -, the emotion of surprise is often followed by another emotion that colors it either positively (e.g. surprise + joy) or negatively (e.g. surprise + anger) (Ekman and Friesen 1975, Meyer *et al*. 1994). This explains why people talk about *positive or pleasant surprise* and *negative or unpleasant surprise* although surprise itself is neutral.

Finally, it has been found that–through its intrinsic arousal–surprise is an amplifier of subsequent affective reactions (Charlesworth 1969, Desai 1939). Thus, someone who experiences joy after having been surprised will feel more joyful than if he or she had not been surprised previously.

HYPOTHESES

A general theory about the influence of emotions on judgements (e.g. attitude, satisfaction evaluation, etc.) is the *affect-as-information view* (Schwarz, 1990)–and more specifically the *how–do–I–feel–about–it*? heuristic (Pham, 1998; Schwartz et Clore, 1996). In cases where people perceive their affective reactions as relevant to a judgement, the *how–do–I–feel–about–it*? heuristic posits that they use these reactions (emotions, mood, etc.) as a source of information for making their judgement with an object (Pham, 1998; Schwarz et Clore, 1996). Positive affective reactions lead to a favorable evaluation. And, the intensity of these affective responses influences the strength of the judgement (Gorn, Pham et Sin, 2001; Pham, Cohen, Pracejus et Hughes, 2001). Due to the *amplification property of surprise*, the element that triggers off

surprise (e.g. an attribute of the product, an element that is present during the consumption/purchase experience) will be given a "stronger", i.e. a more polarized evaluation than it would have been without surprise. Hence:

> H1. *In the context of a consumption/purchase experience, a product attribute that is positively evaluated will be evaluated even more positively if it is surprising.*

Furthermore, surprise could also have an impact on product satisfaction. Along with recent definitions (e.g., Aurier and Evrard 1998), satisfaction is defined in this paper as a psychological (i.e. cognitive and affective) state, which results from a buying and/or consumption experience (i.e. transaction specific). Among the antecedents of satisfaction, "disconfirmation" is usually the variable that accounts for the largest part of its variance. Some studies, however, have shown that positive and negative emotions considerably add to the explanatory power of the satisfaction model (e.g., Oliver 1993). However, the specific influence of surprise has not been analyzed before.

The influence of surprise on product satisfaction could occur through a *response contagion effect* (Vanhamme and Snelders 2001) and would lie in the *arousal* that is part of the emotion of surprise. The intrinsic arousal of surprise would amplify subsequent emotions elicited by the consumption/purchase experience, such as joy, and these, in turn, would enhance the satisfaction level of consumers (=*indirect influence* of surprise on satisfaction). Surprise might also amplify satisfaction *directly* since satisfaction is partly affective and surprise is theoretically able to amplify any affective reaction. Moreover, Oliver (1997) suggests that the higher the level of satisfaction, the higher the intrinsic arousal contained in the satisfaction response. Therefore, since surprise has a high potential of arousal, a surprised customer should experience a level of satisfaction with a high degree of arousal, that is a high level of satisfaction. Surprising consumption/purchase experiences should thus give rise to more polarized evaluations of satisfaction than non surprising experiences.[1] Hence:

> H2. *Consumers who are (pleasantly) surprised during their consumption/purchase experience with a product will have higher levels of satisfaction than consumers who have not been surprised during their consumption/experience with the same product.*

> H3. *For surprising successful buying/consumption experiences, surprise has a positive direct influence on satisfaction and a positive indirect influence–through the amplification of subsequent positive emotions. Positive emotions will thus not fully mediate the influence of surprise on satisfaction.*

As mentioned above, disconfirmation is often the variable that accounts for the largest part of explained variance in satisfaction (Churchill and Surprenant 1982). Westbrook (1987) showed, however, that the relationship between emotions and satisfaction was not mediated by disconfirmation. Disconfirmation (i.e. a *cognition* that summarizes the recognition that the performance of a product/service is better or worse than expected) is therefore also unlikely to encompass *all aspects* of the *emotion* of surprise that may influence satisfaction. Hence:

> H4. *The influence of surprise on satisfaction will remain significant once the influence of disconfirmation is taken into account.*

METHODOLOGY

Design, procedure and manipulation.

The experimental design is a "posttest only control group design" including one experimental group and two control groups. The products used during the experiment were strawberry yogurts wrapped in an individual package. Participants were recruited among the members of a non-student panel in a European town in order to enhance external validity. Their age and gender distribution was as follows: 24 percent between 20 and 31, 54 percent between 32 and 43, and 22 percent between 44 and 55; 41 percent male and 59 percent female. Respondents were matched according to sex, age and the frequency of consumption of strawberry yogurt, and then randomly assigned to the three conditions. They were paid a small amount for participation. Participants had to perform four tasks during the experiment; the *manipulation of surprise* occurred–in the experimental group–during the *third task*. During this task participants had to taste three jars of yogurt. Surprise was elicited by the discovery of a foldable plastic spoon hidden under the wrapping of the *third yogurt* jar the participants had to eat during the *third task*. This foldable spoon was a novelty, and its presence was supposed to be a pleasant surprise. The participants of the experimental condition *(=Surprise/Spoon condition)* did not know that they would discover such a foldable plastic spoon in the wrapping of the jar of yogurt (the two previous yogurts did not contain a foldable spoon and the existence of such a spoon was not mentioned at any time). In one of the control conditions, the foldable spoon was presented as part of the product from the start and there was a foldable spoon in all strawberry yogurts–as announced (=*No Surprise/Spoon condition*). In the other control condition, there was no mentioning of a foldable spoon and such a spoon never appeared in any of the yogurts (=*No Surprise/No Spoon condition)*. Thus, nothing was surprising for the participants of the control groups. Pre-tests–carried out on participants from the same population prior to the experiment in order to check the manipulation and the material–confirmed that the foldable spoon's presence or absence (depending on the condition) never elicited surprise in the two control conditions whereas the presence of the foldable spoon elicited surprise in the experimental group.

When each participant arrived in the laboratory, the experimenter showed him/her a demonstration tape describing and illustrating the experimental tasks to be performed. Beside the description of the experimental task, the demonstration tape's purpose was also to create the participants' schema about the product characteristics. This videotape contained a clear visual and verbal description of the product that would be used in the experiment (i.e. a strawberry yogurt with the foldable spoon in the *No Surprise/Spoon* condition and without it in the two remaining conditions). Thus, this videotape secured that the proper schema would be activated during the experiment (this was confirmed during pre-tests).

During the first task, participants were asked to test and rank different plastic spoons by order of preference. To do so, they were

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[1]Another possible explanation for the surprise-satisfaction relationship–and thus H3–relies on an *accessibility effect* (Vanhamme and Snelders, 2001). This effect is not discussed further here since our experiment was designed to elicit a response contagion effect: respondents knew–prior to performing the experimental tasks–that they would have to evaluate their consumption experience and these evaluations were made immediately after consumption.

given a strawberry yogurt identical to the ones they would have to taste during the third task; the jar was still in its packaging and included a foldable spoon in the *No Surprise/Spoon* condition. The purpose of this task was 1) to make sure that the participants would not be surprised–during the third task–by other elements (e.g. the taste of the yogurt) than the discovery of the foldable spoon and 2) to reinforce the schema of the product. The second task was a questionnaire with items about involvement with the product-category, mood and intro-/extraversion (sex, age and frequency of strawberry yogurt consumption had been recorded prior to the experiment). The last task was to answer the final questionnaire including a manipulation check section and scales about emotions, satisfaction, disconfirmation and appreciation of the foldable spoon. The participants were left alone while performing the tasks. The whole task lasted for a maximum of 45 minutes, including the debriefing.

Measures.

The *Differential Emotion Scale* of Izard (1977) was used to capture the subjective experience of surprise and of joy (i.e. verbal reports on a 5 point scale of intensity). *Facial expressions* were video recorded and coded independently by three judges according to the procedure developed by Ekman and Friesen (1975) and adapted by Reisenzein (2000). Other observable aspects pertaining to the emotion of surprise were also coded (i.e. focus of attention, interruption of ongoing activities, surprise exclamation). Beside the verbal and non verbal measures of emotions, a 3 items (10 point scale) measure of the appreciation/liking of the foldable spoon as well as a multi-items scale of disconfirmation (Oliver 1997) and three scales of satisfaction were administered (the Oliver (1997) scale, the mono-item Delighted-Terrible scale (Westbrook 1980) and the SATEXP scale of Aurier and Evrard (1998), see appendix 1). Control measures of mood (Peterson and Sauber (1983) scale), extraversion/introversion (Saucier (1994) scale) and involvement with the product-category (Jain and Srinivasan, 1990) were also collected.

SUMMARY OF MAIN RESULTS

Results–Manipulation and design checks.

Thirty-one valid questionnaires were collected for the *No Surprise/Spoon* and *Surprise/Spoon* conditions and 34 for the *No Surprise/No Spoon* condition (a dozen questionnaires had to be discarded due to either "technical" problems, obvious demand effects, problems in the manipulation (e.g. absence of surprise in the experimental group or onset of surprise in a control group), or not following the instructions. None of the remaining 65 participants from the two control groups declared having experienced surprise whereas all remaining 31 participants in the experimental group were surprised (this surprise was pleasant: mean 7/10 on the scale anchored by "very negative (1)" to "very positive (10)"). All but 4 participants in the experimental group displayed at least one observable characteristic of surprise and no participant from the control conditions displayed characteristics of surprise. Highly significant differences were found between the experimental group and the control conditions for the measures of surprise (see also table 1, SUR). Corroborating the work by Reisenzein (2000) and Vanhamme (2000), surprise was most often indicated–in the experimental group–by raised eyebrows (35% of the respondents), then opened eyes (13%); opened mouth did not happen very often (6%). Interruption of ongoing activities and focus of the attention/exploratory behavior were observed for, respectively, 61% and 68% of the respondents in the experimental group (a few respondents (10%) had a spontaneous surprise exclamation).

Scales were assessed for uni-dimensionality using Principle Components Analysis. Items were then aggregated and the distributions of each variable checked for normality in each group (the normality assumption did not hold for verbal surprise for the *No Surprise/No Spoon* condition, verbal negative emotions for all three conditions and all non verbal measures–except the overall measure of observed surprise (OBSS)–for the *Surprise/Spoon* condition; non parametric statistics will thus be used for those variables). Reliability analysis was also performed on all verbal scales. All *Cronbach alpha* were above .7 except for three of the 5 dimensions of involvement and intro-/extraversion. All inter-judge agreements for facial coding and other observed measured were very high (Rust and Cooil (1994) PRL index>.9). Internal validity of the results was ensured through the design and matching of the participants. As expected no difference was found between the experimental group and the two control groups with respect to the control measures (it was also checked that the correlations between these measures and the other variables did not affect the results for the hypotheses).

Results for H1.

As expected the results support H1. In the *Surprise/Spoon* condition, the liking of the element used for eliciting surprise, i.e. the foldable spoon, is significantly higher than in the *No Surprise/Spoon* condition, where the same foldable spoon was used (table 1).

Results for H2.

Contrary to what was expected, none of the scores of satisfaction are significantly higher for the experimental condition than for the two control conditions (table 1). However, it should be noticed that only 5 participants in the experimental condition used the foldable spoon. The others used another spoon (reasons: they thought they were not allowed to use the foldable spoon for the taste test and had to use the 'official spoon' depicted on the demonstration videotapes, there were plenty of other spoons on the table so they did not need this one, they had already opened another spoon prior to discovering the foldable spoon, etc.). The 5 participants who used the foldable spoon did have higher satisfaction scores than the others in the experimental condition, except for DT (SAT: 6.7 vs. 5.5; SATEXP: 6.9 vs. 6.0; SATGLO: 6.7 vs. 5.7; DT: 4.6 vs. 4.6). However, these differences are not statistically significant and the small sample sizes do not allow for valid inferences. These scores are also higher than those of the control groups (table 1).

Results H3 and H4.

The PLS approach for modeling structural equations, mode A of estimation,[2] (Wold 1980) was used to test H3 and H4. This method is a good alternative to the maximum likelihood method of estimation (e.g., LISREL) when its underlying assumptions are not respected (e.g. too small sample size, non multi-normality) (see Fornell et Bookstein (1982) for a comparison of the two methods). Furthermore, mode A of estimation is free of multi-colinearity problems, which is an advantage as the indicators of a latent variable can be highly correlated.

The model including all possible indicators for each of the latent variables in the experimental group (i.e. joy, surprise, disconfirmation and satisfaction) is represented in figure 1 (upper

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[2]As indicators were reflective, mode A of estimation was used. Note also that Tenenhaus (1998) advises to use mode A systematically because of multicolinearity problems occurring with mode B. Finally, Dijkstra (1981) also recommends mode A when there are a lot of indicators compared to the number of observations (which is the case in this study).

TABLE 1
Score comparison between experimental and control groups

	Mean Surprise/ Spoon condition (1)	Mean No Surprise/ Spoon condition (2)(♦)	Mean No Surprise/ No Spoon condition (3)(♦)	(1) versus (2) (t test & WSRT)	(1) versus (3) (t test & WSRT)	Legend: *p(2tail)<.05; WSRT=Wilcoxon signed ranks test. SUR=verbal surprise DT=D-T satisfaction scale; SAT=Oliver satisfaction scale; SATEXP=Aurier&Evrard (1998) satisfaction scale; SATGLO=agregation of items of DT, SAT and SATEXP SPOON=appreciation of the foldable spoon (♦) control conditions (♦ ♦) 1=absence of surprise
SUR(♦ ♦)	3.65	1.44	1.22	t(30)=13.32* z=-4.87*	t(30)=16.74* z=-4.87*	
SPOON	7.14	5.98	-	t(30)=2.61* z=-2.39*	-	
SATGLO	5.91	6.10	5.55	n.s.	n.s.	
DT	4.58	4.60	4.58	n.s.	n.s.	
SAT	5.66	6.03	5.20	n.s.	n.s.	
SATEXP	6.13	6.09	5.81	n.s.	n.s.	

part). This model has a good predictive validity (i.e. significant Q^2 and R^2 for satisfaction, Fornell & Bookstein, 1982; Tenenhaus, 1998; Valette-Florence, 1988; see upper table on the right side of figure 1) and a good convergent validity for joy (0.65>0.5) and satisfaction (0.83>0.5) (Valette-Florence, 1988). For surprise, convergent validity is not good enough (0.41<0.5). The model has also a good discriminant validity (0.36<0.41) (Valette-Florence, 1988). Due to the convergent validity problem for surprise, the model has been re-estimated using only the indicators of surprise that were sufficiently correlated with the estimates of the latent variable as advised by Wold (1980). Results are provided in figure 1 (lower part). This model is very close to the first model and respects all criteria of predictive (significant Q^2 and R^2), convergent (.66<.5, .65<.5 and .83<.5) and discriminant (.32<.65) validity.

H3 is only partially supported by the data in that there seems to be only a direct influence of surprise on satisfaction (see figure 1, lower part). Surprise does amplify satisfaction and joy since path coefficients [and correlations] between the latent variables of surprise and satisfaction and between the latent variables of surprise and joy are significant. But the latent variable of joy has no impact on satisfaction (path coefficient and correlation between the latent variables of joy and satisfaction are not significant).

Furthermore, as expected (H4), the direct influence of surprise on satisfaction remains significant despite the presence of disconfirmation in the model.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This pilot experiment clearly shows that surprise has an effect on the evaluation of the surprising product attribute. Consumers evaluated more positively the same product attribute (i.e. the foldable spoon) in the surprise condition than in the non-surprise condition. The results further show that for successful consumption/buying experiences, pleasantly surprised consumers did not report higher satisfaction scores than non-surprised consumers. Nonetheless, most of them did not use the spoon for reasons related to the context of the experiment, and those who did use the foldable spoon, did have higher, although non-significant, scores. It is

therefore possible that H2 would have been supported if more consumers had used the spoon. Replication of this study should therefore check this issue.

The fact that significantly higher scores emerged for the evaluation of the foldable spoon (the surprising product attribute itself) and not for the scores of satisfaction with the whole product could be explained by the relative relevance of the emotion of surprise for the satisfaction judgment. On the one hand, surprise might have been less relevant for the satisfaction evaluation with the whole consumption experience than for the evaluation of the spoon (yogurt evaluation was probably largely done on the basis of taste). As a result, this emotion might have been granted a place large enough to make a significant increase only in the case of the spoon evaluation. This explanation is consistent with the *How-do-I-feel-about-it?* heuristic. On the other hand, the higher satisfaction scores of the 5 respondents who used the foldable spoon to eat the yogurt might mean that usage (i.e. making a connection between the surprising attribute and the product) is sufficient for making the emotion of surprise relevant to the satisfaction evaluation of the consumption experience with the product (although respondents who used the spoon may have done so because they considered it an important attribute).

Although people in the surprise condition did not have higher levels of satisfaction than people in the two control conditions, within the surprise condition, variation in the level of surprise (elicited by the product attribute) was found to have a direct effect on satisfaction. The direct effect was the sole effect since surprise did not influence satisfaction indirectly (through its amplification of the emotion of joy). Since 1) the study by Vanhamme (2001) – on a large set of products/services–reveals both a direct and indirect relationship (correlation) between surprise and satisfaction and 2) studies on satisfaction have shown that models of satisfaction formation can vary according to the type of product/service (e.g. Churchill and Surprenant 1982), this experiment should be replicated with other products/services. It could then be checked whether the type of relationship (direct and/or indirect) varies according to types of products/services.

FIGURE 1
PLS approach for modeling structural equations with latent variables (Mode A)
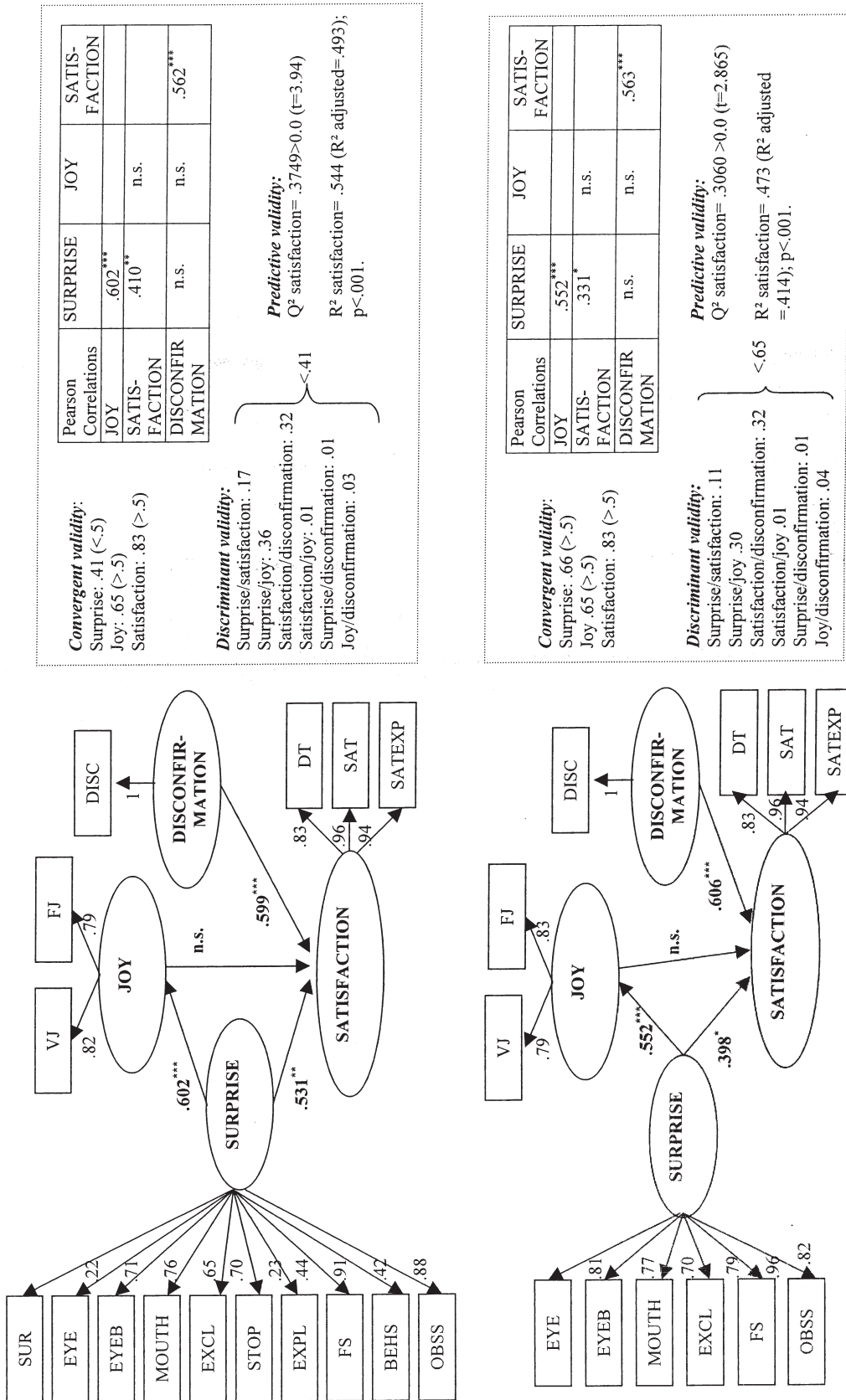
Legend: *** $p<.001$; ** $p<.01$; * $p<.5$; 1 tail tests. *Remark. Coefficients are standardised coefficients; EYE=coding of opened eyes; EYEB=coding of raised eyebrows; MOUTH= coding of opened mouth; FS= general measure of facial expression of surprise (taking into account EYE, EYEB and MOUTH); EXCL= apparition of a sponteanous exclamation of surprise; STOP= interruption of ongoing activities; EXPL= focus of the attention; OBSS=coding of general observed surprise (all aspects included); VS=verbal joy; VJ=verbal joy; FJ=facial expression of joy; DISC=disconfirmation (see also table 1 for satisfaction scales).*

Surprising customers is not free of costs; companies need to invest time in understanding their customers and in creating surprising aspects in–or around–the product/service delivered. It is worth noting that it can be difficult–for mass product consumption–to secure that all consumers will be surprised with the same aspect because surprise depends on the consumers' individual schemas. In one-to-one relationships with the customers, companies have a better knowledge of their customers' schemas and are therefore more likely to succeed in surprising them.

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APPENDIX 1
Satisfaction scales used in the experiment (translated from Dutch)

DT scale (Westbrook 1980)

Delighted	Pleased	Mostly satisfied	Mixed (about equally satisfied and dissatisfied)	Mostly dissatisfied	Unhappy	Terrible
(7)	(6)	(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)

Oliver (1997)[*]

    1) Product 3 is one of the best yogurt I could have bought
    2) I am satisfied with Product 3
    3) Product 3 is exactly the yogurt I needed
    4) Product 3 was not as good as I thought it would
    5) I am not happy that I ate Product 3
    6) I have truly enjoyed Product 3
    7) Consuming Product 3 has been a good experience

Aurier & Evrard (1998)[**]

1) How satisfied are you with Product 3? (*Circle a number between 1 and 10*):

Product 3 did not please me at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Product 3 pleased me very much
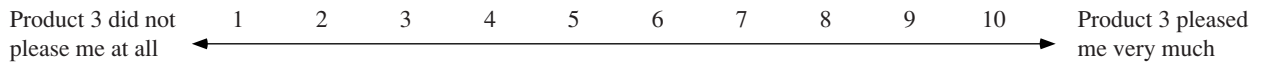
2) Compared to the other yogurts you bought before, Product 3 was: (*Circle a number between 1 and 5*)

The worst				The best
1	2	3	4	5
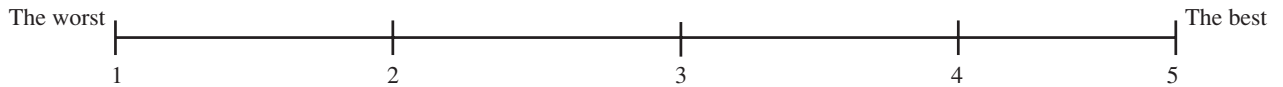
3) To what extent does Product 3 resemble your ideal yogurt? (*Circle a number between 1 and 5*):

To a very large extent	To a large extent	To an average extent	To a lesser extent	To a very small extent
5	4	3	2	1
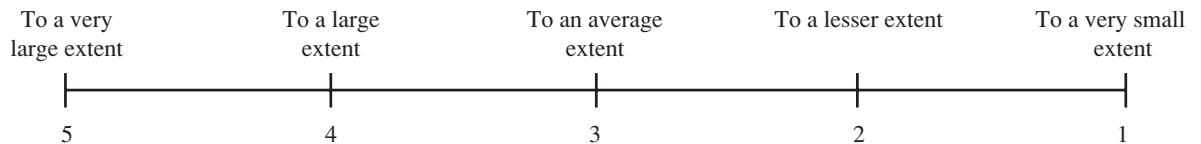
4) Would you recommend Product 3 to your friends? (*Circle a number between 1 and 5*):

Definitely yes	Probably yes	Perhaps	Probably not	Definitely not
5	4	3	2	1
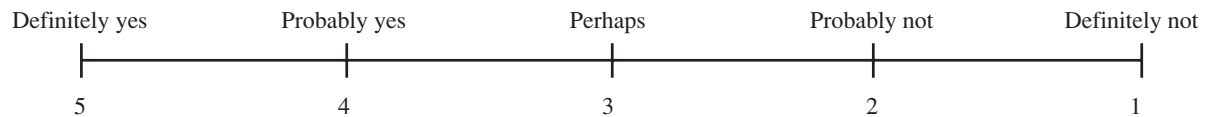
[*] 5 items out of 12 did not fit the purpose of the study and were left out.
[**] 1 item out of 5 did not fit the purpose of the study and was left out.

'Minding the Mall': Do We Remember What We See?

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ABSTRACT

In this paper we examine those factors that, from a consumer's perspective, contribute to the success of shopping malls. In Europe the retail sector is currently characterized by merciless competition. The hypotheses are tested in three related empirical studies. In the first study, we investigate those determinants, derived from environmental psychology, that are crucial in forming positive perceptions of such malls at the point of sale. In the second study, we test whether such positive perceptions evoke positive memory images. The authors assume that memory images have a role to play in the evaluation of shopping centers when the consumer is at home or in the office (that is, when she/he is physically distant from the shops) and has to decide which mall she or he wishes to visit. Finally, in the third study we investigate whether, apart from memory images, word-of-mouth can also influence this decision.

STRATEGIC SITUATION FOR SHOPPING CENTERS

The current strategic situation in retailing is characterized by tough competition. In the US and in Europe the number of shopping centers is rising (BBE 2000; Mitropoulos and Siegel 1999, p.5): In 2001, there were 704 more shopping centers operating in the US than in 2000 (ISCS 2002). In Europe, close to 6.8 million square meters (ca. 73,2 square foot) of retail space in shopping centers were planned for the years 2000 and 2001 (ICSC 2000). Thus today, even in smaller cities customers are sometimes spoilt for choice with four or five different malls to choose from. Consequently, the crucial question is: how can a shopping mall survive the competition, both in winning and retaining customers?

To answer these questions two major approaches are discussed: the approach based on gravitational models, and the approach focusing on consumers' perceptions of stores, shopping centers, and shopping areas. Probabilistic gravitational models (Huff 1964) try to predict and explain retail patronage as a function of store size and distance from the consumer. Square footage of selling space is often used as a surrogate measure for the attraction of the shopping area (Huff and Batsell 1975, p.165). Approaches based on gravitational models assume that all other elements of the marketing mix remain constant. Thus, probabilistic gravitational models turn out to be problematic as soon as consumers perceive differences between the outlets (Cox and Cooke 1970, p.17; Houston and Nevin 1981, p.677). This is where the second line of inquiry focusing on the *perception* of retail entities begins (Bell 1999; Gentry and Burns 1977-78; Turley and Milliman 2000; Wakefield and Baker 1998). We follow this second research stream for two reasons: First, empirical studies have shown that the distance between two competing malls is not critical for the success of a mall (Eppli and Shilling 1996, p.466). The second reason concerns the geographical location of the malls we studied: although there are promising attempts to integrate mall perception and spatial variables in explaining patronage behavior (Houston and Nevin 1981; Howell and Rogers 1981; Lusch 1981; Meoli, Feinberg and Westgate 1991), it has to be admitted that the city malls in our study are very close to other similarly large malls. Furthermore, we can reasonably exclude the attraction measure "tenant variety" (Meoli, Feinberg and Westgate 1991, p.441f.) since many malls have become interchangeable due to the ubiquity of almost homogeneous national or global retail chain stores (Meoli et al. 1991, p.441). Therefore, it

seems both possible and sensible to focus on perceptions of a mall and its design rather than on the spatial dimensions, "size of the mall", "size, type, and number of the stores", and "proximity to the consumer". Thus, we concentrate on studying consumers' experiences of the mall as physical space and its mental representation. Adding to the present stream of research in this area, we want to provide insights not only into perceptions of the mall, but also into the importance of the mental representation of these perceptions for consumers when they are distant or away from the mall and deciding whether or not to patronize it.

Therefore, in the context of this paper, we are interested in the factors responsible for the evaluation of a mall both at the point-of-sale (POS) and away from the POS. The latter is of great importance, since consumers often decide which shopping mall they will visit while at home. Given the findings on the importance of mall perception for mall patronage at the POS (Groeppel-Klein 2001), it can reasonably be assumed that memory images of shopping malls already visited, are equally fundamental to this decision. It further seems conceivable that consumers acquire additional information through word-of-mouth (WOM) which amplifies memory images. To sum up, three questions can be asked:

1. What are the crucial factors for establishing a positive perceptual image of a mall?
2. What factors are responsible for a positive memory image of a mall?
3. Apart from the impact of memory images, are mall evaluation and planned behavior away from the POS influenced by WOM?

FACTORS EXPLAINING THE PERCEPTUAL IMAGE OF SHOPPING MALLS

Valuable hypotheses explaining the formation of perceptual images can be derived from environmental psychology. The cognitive approach in environmental psychology analyses primarily "geography of mind" and tries to determine how individuals perceive and remember environments. The findings of brain research, perception theory, and gestalt theory can help explain the representation in memory of spatial information, the so called 'mental maps' (Ittelson 1977; Russell and Ward 1982; Golledge 1987). Several empirical studies of store environments (e.g. Sommer and Aitkens 1982; Grossbart and Rammohan 1981; Bost 1987) show evidence of a significant correlation between the existence of store maps (knowledge of location, assortments, service malls, escalators, etc.) and sentiments regarding shopping convenience. From these findings, the conclusion can be drawn that retailers should study the imparting of verbal and non-verbal information to consumers, in order to improve their internal maps. Such 'landmarks' can be provided by 'merchandising themes' (products that are usually used together are presented side by side in the store and portrayed as being "taken from real life"; Groeppel-Klein 1998b, p.492), visually striking elements, and clearly separated aisles and product display zones (Hackett, Foxall and Van Raij 1993, p.389). Using structural semiotics as a tool for retail analysis, Floch (1988) also stresses the importance of easy wayfinding in meeting the expectations of consumers. At an aggregate level, the perceived degree of order and structure in the mall environment allowing easy orientation and easy wayfinding can be measured using the environmental

dimension 'easy orientation'. We can assume that this subjectively perceived easy orientation plays a major role in facilitating both mental convenience and cognitive relief for consumers not only in individual stores, but particularly in larger shopping malls.

Empirical studies (e.g. Donovan and Rossiter 1982; Donovan et al. 1994; Flicker and Speer 1990; Groeppel 1991; Groeppel-Klein 1997, 1998a, 1998b; Tai and Fung 1997; van Kenhove and Desrumaux 1997) based on the emotional behavioral model of environmental psychology (Mehrabian 1987) lead to the conclusion that, in addition to easy orientation, the information rate being subjectively perceived in the shopping mall, is responsible for a positive perceptual image. The level of the information rate depends on the novelty (unexpected, surprising, unfamiliar in an environment) and the complexity (number of elements, motions or changes in the setting) of an environment. The more varied, novel, surprising, and animating the environment, the higher the information rate. Environmental stimuli generate primary emotional reactions (pleasure, arousal, and dominance) which, in turn serve as intervening variables that determine the reaction ("approach" vs. "avoidance") to the environment. Approach behavior at the POS for instance means that consumers enjoy staying at the POS and extend the duration of their stay, recommend the store to other consumers, spend more, rate their intention to come back frequently with a higher probability and have a positive overall impression of the POS (Groeppel-Klein 1998a). To sum up, approach behavior can be considered as crucial for the success of stores.

Different empirical studies focusing on the POS supported the notion that the aggregated 'easy orientation' and 'information rate' dimensions are particularly suited to capturing the store and mall environment in an integrated way (Groeppel-Klein 2001; Groeppel-Klein and Baun 2002). In our study, we do not investigate the effect of single visual merchandising stimuli, but analyze the impact of the mall atmosphere on consumer behavior at an aggregated level. In this way, we take into account the fact that stimuli in the mall environment do not impact independently, but interact with one another (Turley and Milliman 2000, p.194). Furthermore, Bloch, Ridgway, and Dawson (1994, p.37) note that testing the effects of single environmental cues is somewhat problematic. As a result they propose measuring the overall atmosphere of the mall. This perspective favors the use of aggregated measures of 'information rate' and 'easy orientation'.

The construct 'information rate' is especially likely to be a key success factor for an agglomeration of shops under the same roof such as a shopping mall. A shopping mall "lives" off its variety and vividness; shopping and leisure motives often blend into one (Bloch et al. 1994, p.26). A consumer will enjoy staying at a shopping mall and develop a positive overall impression of it, only on condition that she/he can experience a high information rate. However, the above-mentioned easy orientation can contribute to the cognitive relief of the consumer, making him/her receptive to an exciting store design. High information rate on the one hand, and easy orientation on the other, can ensure that the consumer experiences an interplay of arousal and (cognitive) relaxation which can be assumed to influence approach behavior towards the shopping mall positively. Environmental psychology provides a valuable framework for generating hypotheses regarding shopping mall layout and atmosphere. The following hypothesis can be proposed:

H1: The more positively consumers perceive the information rate of a mall and the easier the orientation in the mall, the more the approach behavior will increase.

FACTORS EXPLAINING POSITIVE MEMORY IMAGES OF SHOPPING MALLS

The first hypothesis links the atmosphere of a mall and the approach behavior at the POS (i.e. inside the shopping mall). However, the decision as to which shopping mall to visit on the next shopping trip, is often made at home. Away from the point-of-sale, consumers cannot perceive environmental cues directly. We therefore propose that a memory image acting as a mental representation of the shopping mall, operates as a link between consumers' perception of the mall environment and their approach behavior towards the mall when she/he is away from the mall. Again, we expect the two constructs 'information rate' and 'easy orientation' to play a major role in the formation of mental representation of malls.

Theories of mental imagery are concerned primarily with the representation and access to information from visual mental images (Kosslyn 1995; Leven 1995; Pinker and Kosslyn 1983). Visual mental images can be divided into perceptual images and memory images. Perceptual images arise when an object, or its reproduction, is actually present. In contrast, memory images are those of the absent object and therefore stored in the absence of the object itself, as remembered perceptual images (Behrmann, Moscovitch, and Winocur 1999; Kroeber-Riel 1996; Richardson 1983). Supporters of the "Percept-Analogy Theory" (e.g. Paivio 1971, 1991) have assumed for more than thirty years that memory images are stored in a non-verbal mode as complete units. Findings from neurophysiology (e.g. Buckner 2000; Grady et al. 1998; Kelley et al. 1998a, 1998b; Wheeler, Petersen, and Buckner 2000) prove that memory images are indeed internal representations which store visual information that is spatially organized and provide an integrated visual experience when retrieved. For instance, in experiments using Positron Emission Tomography (PET)[1] Kosslyn (1995, p.290f.) gained two important insights into the nature of memory images: when memory images are retrieved, neural links are activated between the brain regions where the visual memory is located, and the topographically organized brain regions where the spatial structure of the perceptual image supplied by the retina are processed. In this manner, memory images stored in the subject's mind, make visual and spatial information available and open to the subject's conscious experience. This experience is often referred to as the "quasi-sensory" quality of memory images. Metaphorically speaking, memory images can be regarded as "pictures in the head" (Kosslyn 1995, p.291). These internal representations have quasi-sensory properties and can "depict" three-dimensional objects (Cave et al. 1998, p.15). Furthermore, it can be shown that memory images have several properties (dimensions) which can guide behavior (Ellen and Bone 1991, p.807; Kroeber-Riel 1986, p.83). These dimensions can be used for measuring the behavioral effect of memory images (Kroeber-Riel 1996, p.232f.). Two dimensions

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[1] Positron Emission Tomography (PET) belongs to the neuroimaging methods allowing an insight into the brains of living subjects (Posner and Raichle 1996, p.18ff.). Similar to the x-ray tomography PET produces an "electronic image" of the brain. To receive the tomographies a radioactive marker substance (e.g. isotopes of carbon or nitrogen) is injected into the body of the subject. The positrons radiating from the substance emit gamma-rays that can be measured outside the body. From these rays, computer-generated images of the brain, the so-called tomographies, can be produced. From the blood flow which can be gauged from the tomographies, the activity in specific brain regions can be measured.

that can be regarded as of major importance for the mental representation of shopping malls are the 'vividness' and 'order' of the memory image.

'Vividness' is widely considered to be the main dimension of memory images and plays a major role in attitude formation and behavioral intentions (Babin and Burns 1998; Ellen and Bone 1991; MacInnis and Price 1987; Ruge 1988, p.105). Vividness refers to how colorful, detailed, and varied the memory image appears to the "mind's eye". Since the quantity of stimulation coming from a store or shopping mall environment can be expressed by the information rate, we can reasonably propose a direct link between the information rate provided by the shopping mall and the vividness of the shopping mall's memory image. In short, we propose the perceived information rate as an antecedent of a vivid memory image of the mall. Therefore, we consider vividness as the dimension corresponding to the information rate of the shopping mall environment.

'Order' can be considered another important dimension of memory images. 'Order' means that consumers have a distinct and consistent internal picture of a certain object. For the present study, we define 'order' as the degree to which a mental representation of a shopping mall is structured. Findings from gestalt psychological imagery research support the high relevance of spatial organization of objects for memory and interpretation performance: only a meaningful spatial structure of an object makes it possible for the observer of the object to get his bearings, to memorize, and to evaluate the object (Arnheim 1981, p.80; Haber 1981, p.6; Kroeber-Riel 1996, p.79). Neuropsychological research indicates that the spatial structure of an object is stored in and can be retrieved from memory (Kosslyn 1996, p.227f., 256f.). Thus, we propose 'order' as the memory dimension mirroring the perceived easy orientation of a shopping mall. However, away from the POS, it may be asked whether the 'order' of the memory image displays the same important influence on the approach behavior as easy orientation does at the POS. At the POS itself the comfort experienced when shopping depends heavily on how easily consumers can find their way through the mall. However, away from the POS, "finding one's way through the memory image" plays only a secondary role for consumers. Further research will show if the 'order' dimension of the memory image away from the POS, has a similarly strong influence on approach behavior as did easy orientation in the shopping mall itself.

The link between mental imagery (Kroeber-Riel 1986, 1996; MacInnis and Price 1987; Paivio 1971; Pinker 1998) and evaluative processes, has been researched primarily in the context of advertising research (see Babin and Burns 1997, for an overview). Babin and Burns show that mental imagery acts as a mediator between imagery-eliciting stimuli in advertisements and attitudes towards the advertised product as well as towards the advertisement. Their model indicates that the 'vividness' dimension in particular exerts a significant positive influence on attitude towards the ad, thus stressing the importance of memory images for attitude formation. This again points to the particular importance of memory images–and especially the 'vividness' dimension–for approach behavior. Kroeber-Riel points out that memory images are perceived "as reality" (Kroeber-Riel 1996, p.36). While the effect of memory images is weaker than that of perceptual images, they can–even though to a somewhat lesser extent–produce the same effects as perceptual images. He therefore concludes that the effect of memory images is based on their functional equivalence to perceptual images, which means that internal pictures can also influence consumer behavior, because of their "realistic appearance" (Kroeber-Riel 1986, p.81). This notion of functional equivalence between perceptual and memory images, presented by Kroeber-Riel, is supported by recent findings by Damasio (2000) and Wheeler et al.

(2001). The findings suggest that during the perception of an object, as well as during the retrieval of its memory image, the same neural processes in the brain are involved (Damasio 2000, p.146). This is particularly true for very vivid memory images, as Wheeler et al. (2001, p.11129) record: "vivid retrieval of sensory-specific information can involve the reactivation of sensory processing regions". If we transfer this line of reasoning to shopping malls, it can be asked whether a positively toned memory image of a mall, can influence shopping mall-assessment *outside* the shopping mall in the same way as the perceived mall environment does when consumers are *in* the mall. In other words: do the specific dimensions 'vividness' and 'order' of the memory image, influence the approach behavior towards a mall as significantly as the 'information rate' and 'easy orientation' dimensions of the perceptual image (hypothesis 1) do? Thus, we can hypothesize:

H2: The easier the orientation, and the higher the information rate of a shopping mall, the more positive the order and vividness of the memory image of that mall, in such a way that order and vividness influence approach behavior towards the shopping mall when physically distant from it.

In order to ensure that the above-mentioned hypothesis does not turn out to be a tautology, it is necessary to ensure that the constructs of 'memory image' and the evaluative component of the approach behavior, are separated clearly from each other. The key to this differentiation is again to be found in results from neurophysiology. Neurophysiological studies have shown that an absent object (in our case the mall when the consumer is at home) has first to be generated as a mental representation, before secondary emotional reactions can occur as a basis for more complex evaluative processes (Damasio 2000, p.18f.). Memory images in their own right act as "neutral knowledge stores". These non-evaluative representations can play an important role in the process of object evaluation. In this process memory images are first of all retrieved from memory and then subsequently evaluated. Findings from neurophysiology show that these consciously-perceived memory images do indeed guide emotional reactions (Damasio 2000, p.187ff.).

RELEVANCE OF WORD-OF-MOUTH

Finally, in a third step, we investigate if, apart from memory images, approach behavior is also influenced by word-of-mouth. Away from the POS, consumers can share their experiences or gossip about a shopping mall. This kind of oral communication, which is perceived as non-commercial by the receiver, is defined as word-of-mouth (WOM) (Gelb and Johnson 1995, p.54; Richins 1984, p.697). Several studies have shown that WOM influences product or service judgments and choice (Herr, Kardes, and Kim 1991, p.457; Putrevu and Lord 1999) and the attitude towards brands (Sundaram and Webster 1999). Herr et al. (1991) found that the power of the WOM effect depends on the presence of prior impressions consumers have formed of the object. Herr et al. (1991, p.457) show that consumers' own impressions of the relevant object to be evaluated, play a distinctive role in evaluation, since their own impressions are rated more trustworthy than those of other consumers which may be seen as somewhat ambiguous (Herr et al. 1991, p.460; Hoch and Deighton 1989, p.8f.). Since memory images cannot be studied independently from other information about the object stored in the consumers' minds (Kroeber-Riel 1986, p.85), we need to consider whether the 'vividness' and 'order' dimensions of memory images and WOM have an independent effect in the same direction on consumers' approach behavior.

TABLE 1
Information Rate and Easy Orientation in Mall A: Results from Factor Analysis

Items	Factor 1 Information rate	Factor 2 Easy orientation
varied	**+0.898**	+0.214
something new can always be discovered	**+0.881**	+0.211
clearly laid out	+0.107	**+0.936**
easy orientation	+0.452	**+0.758**
Eigenvalue[1]	1.798	1.541
% of variance explained[1]	44.944	38.534
Cumulative %	83.479	

[1] After Equamax rotation.

Given the higher salience of the consumer's own impressions, we can presume that the effect of the two dimensions of memory images is likely to be higher than the effect of WOM. Thus, the following hypothesis can be derived:

H3: Approach behavior towards a shopping mall depends not only on the perceptions at the POS and the resulting memory image with its accompanying 'vividness' and 'order' dimensions, but also on WOM received after forming this memory image.

TESTING THE HYPOTHESES IN THREE EMPIRICAL STUDIES

To test our hypotheses, we conducted three empirical studies in three different malls in Germany. While "Mall A" is one of the most high-class malls in Germany, "Mall B" and "Mall C" represent a less prestigious type of city mall. Standardized interviews were conducted in malls in study 1 and in consumers' apartments in studies 2 and 3. In all three studies, we ensured that respondents of all ages, educational and income levels were interviewed. To avoid respondents terminating the interview process, interviews in the malls and apartments were brief; no interviews were longer than ten minutes. For the same reason the scales were restricted to two to three items per construct. Moreover, the use of such parsimonious scales guarantees the efficiency demanded of "real life" retail studies (Reardon, Miller and Coe 1995, p.87). In all three studies scale reliability was satisfactory. All items were measured on anchored five-point rating scales.

Study I

To test our first hypothesis empirically, we conducted standardized interviews in a 'high-quality' mall ("Mall A") in the center of Berlin in June 1999 (n=103). To operationalize the 'information rate' construct, we used the items 'varied' and 'something new can always be discovered'. 'Easy orientation' was measured by the items 'easy orientation' and 'clearly laid out'. A factor analysis (table 1) performed on the four items of the scale revealed that the statements loaded clearly on the two proposed dimensions with a factor variance of 83.5% (factor loadings between 0.758 and 0.936).

The computed factor scores (method: regression) were used as independent variables for regression analyses. The results show that both constructs have a significant influence on the dependent approach variable 'intention to recommend the store' (table 2). Summary table 3 shows that 'information rate' and 'easy orientation' also have a significant impact on 'overall impression of the mall', and 'willingness to spend'. We measured the latter intention with a 'coupon question'. The subjects were asked to imagine they received a coupon worth 10,000 DM (ca. 5,113 EUR) which they could cash in anywhere in Berlin. Subjects named the share of the coupon value they would be willing to spend in "Mall A". Multicollinearity can be ruled out for all analyses.

In addition, we correlated the constructs describing the mall environment with the time spent in the mall. We determined a highly significant Pearson correlation between information rate and time spent in "Mall A" (in minutes), $r(76)=0.305$, $p=.007$. No significant correlation could be found between the perceived easy orientation and time spent in the shopping mall. This comes as no surprise, since easy orientation helps consumers find their way around the shopping mall more effortlessly thus possibly reducing the time spent searching. Summing up our results, we did establish support for hypothesis 1. Thus, from the consumers' point of view (when perceiving a mall at the POS) information rate and easy orientation can be considered crucial factors for the success of shopping malls.

Study 2

To test our second hypothesis, we conducted two empirical studies in June 2000 using standardized questionnaires in another shopping mall ("Mall B") in the center of a medium-sized German town. The studies were conducted in Mall B (n=90) and in the apartments of respondents (n=90). The subjects, who did not receive any monetary or non-monetary incentive for participating in the survey, were informed that we were interested in the image they have in mind when thinking of "Mall B". Using the data collected at the point-of-sale, we first tested the link proposed in hypothesis 1 for robustness. As expected, the items measuring the aggregate assessment of the mall environment again loaded clearly on the two dimensions 'information rate' and 'easy orientation'. Once more, multiple regression analysis using the computed factor

TABLE 2

Results from Multipe Regression: Information Rate and Easy Orientation on Intention to Recommend "Mall A"

Dependent Variable: I will definitely not (1)–definitely (5) recommend the mall.

Multiple R:	0.742	R Square:	0.551		

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F	Signif F
Regression	2	59.716	29.858	43.503	.000
Residual	71	48.730	0.686		

Coefficients		B	Beta	T	Signif T
Information Rate		0.850	0.698	8.768	.000
Easy orientation		0.314	0.260	3.271	.002

TABLE 3

Results from Multiple Regressions on Overall Impression, and Willingness to Spend

	Dependent Variables					
	Overall impression R=0.681 R^2=0.464			Willingness to spend R=0.603 R^2=0.363		
Independent variables	**Beta**	**T**	**Signif. T**	**Beta**	**T**	**Signif. T**
Information rate	0.609	7.017	.000	0.535	5.647	.000
Easy orientation	0.311	3.581	.001	0.284	2.999	.004

scores as independent variables and the dimensions of the mall approach behavior as dependent variables shows the positive influence of information rate on the intensity of mall approach behavior (tables 4 and 5).

However, results for the aggregate dimension 'easy orientation' are mixed. For "Mall B", easy orientation explains only a portion of the approach behavior. This effect could possibly be attributed to the fact that at the time of the survey, "Mall B" had been open for only three months and therefore an impression of novelty (information rate) dominated the overall impression of the mall, thus reducing the importance of easy orientation for approach behavior. Furthermore, due to this dominance of novel stimuli, it might have been difficult for subjects to assess the ease of orientation reliably. So, for "Mall B" it was decided to concentrate on information rate and its mental representation. Further analysis of the memory image dimension 'order' (mirroring the perceived 'easy orientation') was left for the study of "Mall C" which had been open for about two years at the time of the research and where consumers could consequently be expected to be able to assess the dimension 'easy orientation' with greater reliability.

In principle, it would have been possible to ask subjects for a detailed description of their memory image and to analyze associations with reference to the 'vividness' and 'order' dimensions. However, to keep interviews short and comparable with respect to the interview techniques used at the POS and in the household

sample, we decided to use standardized scales to investigate the dimensions of the memory image in detail.

Measuring Memory Images

For our household sample, the same operationalizations and rating scales used in study 1 to examine perceptual image were employed here also. However, we had to solve the problem of how to measure the memory dimensions 'vividness' and 'order'. Kroeber-Riel (1986, p.82f., 86ff.) recommends measuring visual information processing with a technique of the same modality (i.e. non-verbal / pictorial scales), because the primary disadvantage of verbal measures of imagery is that they require the subjects to translate sensory experiences into verbal protocols. Therefore, we used a pictorial scale for measuring the dimensions of the memory image. For this pictorial scale, we selected pictures that constituted "visual metaphors" expressing the 'vividness' and 'order' dimensions particularly well. Both pictures for the 'vividness' and 'order' dimensions (cf. appendix, figures 2 and 3) were recognized as representations of the respective target dimension by more than 80% of randomly selected respondents in a pretest (n=27). Therefore, the pictorial scale can be deemed to have a high internal validity (Groeppel 1988, p.187).

In addition to the pictures, a new verbal "metaphorical scale" for imagery measurement was added to the questionnaire. The verbal scale we propose, is based on visual metaphors that arise

TABLE 4
Results from Multipe Regression ("Mall B", POS Sample): Information Rate / Easy Orientation on Intention
to Recommend

Dependent Variable: I will definitely not (1)–definitely (5) recommend the mall.

Multiple R:	0.392		R Square:	0.154		
Source	**df**	**Sum of Squares**	**Mean Square**	**F**	**Signif F**
Regression	2	15.676	7.838	7.891	.001
Residual	87	86.424	.993		
Coefficients		**B**	**Beta**	**T**	**Signif T**
Information Rate		0.368	0.344	3.483	.001
Easy orientation		0.202	0.188	1.910	.059

TABLE 5
Results from Multiple Regressions on Overall Impression, and Willingness to Spend ("Mall B", POS Sample)

	Dependent Variables					
	Overall impression			**Willingness to spend**		
	R=0.610 R^2=0.373			R=0.338 R^2=0.114		
Independent variables	**Beta**	**T**	**Signif. T**	**Beta**	**T**	**Signif. T**
Information rate	0.509	5.989	.000	0.336	3.330	.001
Easy orientation	0.338	3.978	.000	-0.039	-0.386	.700

when thinking about the dimensions of memory images presented as verbal stimuli. The use of visual metaphors should ideally trigger dual encoding (linking verbal and visual association chains) of statements (Paivio and Walsh 1993, p.321). Although a metaphor is a verbal expression, it can, due to its pictorial quality, evoke mental images in the consumer's mind (e.g. "wild like a bull at a rodeo"). Therefore, over and above pictorial scales, this method seems suited to measuring memory images in a modality-specific fashion. Modality-specific measurement in this case means that the visual association evoked by the visual metaphor can be compared with the memory image of the mall that is stored in a visual mode. We draw on research where metaphors, as concrete "entities" i.e. imaginable words, are likely to be subject to dual encoding (Paivio and Walsh 1993) involving both hemispheres (see Ley 1983, for an overview). Recent findings from positron emission tomography (PET) research measuring brain activity when hearing nouns of different imageability, show that imageable words are processed with reference to previous sensory experiences of the respective living or non-living objects (Wise et al. 2000). Hence, we operationalized the 'vividness' and 'order' dimensions using selected visual metaphors connected with them. To generate the metaphors used in the scale, we conducted a pretest (n=27) with a modified version of step 5 ('most representative image'), and step 6 ('opposite image') from the guided conversation used by ZMET (Zaltman and Coulter, 1995). In order to gain a deeper understanding of the metaphors associated with the concepts of 'vividness' and 'order', we analyzed the content of images, metaphors and concepts that

came to the minds of respondents when thinking about the dimensions presented neutrally as verbal stimuli. Ambiguous metaphors closely associated with both dimensions were eliminated. Unambiguous metaphors most frequently mentioned in association with a dimension were used as items to measure the dimensions of memory images: 'lively like children playing on an adventure playground' and 'lively like a fish in water'[2] for the vividness dimension; 'clearly structured like a chess board' and 'not messy like an upset toy box' for the order dimension.

The memory image was measured at the beginning of the survey. To avoid context effects, distraction questions were inserted between the memory image and the approach behavior scales. In order to collect data on the memory images of the mall in consumers' minds, all subjects were asked to 'see' (visualize) the mall with their mind's eye. When subjects reported that they had the picture of the mall in their mind, they were asked to rate this memory image using the metaphorical items and pictures described above. The correspondence between the visual metaphors of both picture scale and verbal scale and the memory image was measured on a 5-point-scale with 1='doesn't fit my memory image at all' to 5='fits my memory image perfectly'.

In the remainder of the paper, we are mainly interested in the results from the household sample concerning the mall perception–mall memory relationship. Using the household sample, a factor

[2]A German metaphor that could be translated as 'fit as a fiddle', which gives the gist of it.

TABLE 6
Factor Analysis over the Operationalizations of the Perceptual Image and the Memory Image
("Mall B", Household Sample)

Items	Factor 1 Easy orientation	Factor 2 Vividness	Factor 3 Order	Factor 4 Information rate
clearly structured	**+0,873**	+0,134	-0,026	+0,027
clearly laid out	**+0,841**	+0,149	+0,161	+0,089
easy orientation	**+0,792**	+0,032	+0,310	+0,060
vivid like a fish in the water	+0,082	**+0,811**	+0,110	+0,149
vivid like playing children	+0,073	**+0,777**	+0,055	+0,152
picture: vividness (bright people)	+0,078	**+0,679**	-0,078	+0,113
not messy like an upset toy box	+0,105	+0,100	**+0,821**	-0,076
picture: messy desk [recoded]	+0,162	-0,109	**+0,784**	-0,133
clearly structured like a chess board	+0,244	+0,409	**+0,523**	-0,196
varied	+0,074	+0,252	+0,119	**+0,855**
something new can always be discovered	+0,124	+0,308	+0,170	**+0,810**
Eigenvalue[1]	2,233	2,112	1,750	1,520
% of variance explained[1]	20,301	19,197	15,907	13,815
Cumulative %		69,220		

[1] After Quartimax rotation.

analysis for the dimensions of the constructs "perceptual image" and "memory image" was computed. The results show that the items load clearly on the four postulated dimensions, thus indicating four different constructs (table 6).

However, as explained before, for "Mall B" we are only interested in the trajectory 'information rate' → 'vividness' → 'approach behavior'. To analyze this link postulated in our second hypothesis, we tested a causal model (n=90). For parameter estimation of the path diagram the maximum likelihood method (ML) was used. Figure 1 shows the path diagram for the LISREL 8 analysis.

The results of the causal analysis indicate clearly that 'information rate' has a significant effect on the 'vividness' dimension of the memory image. Thus, the more consumers consider the shopping mall to be varied and "full of discoveries", the more vivid their memory image of it. The 'vividness' dimension in turn influences the approach behavior towards the shopping mall: the more vivid the memory image, the more positive the overall impression of the shopping mall, the greater the feeling of value for money for the merchandise offered in the mall, and the more emphatically consumers will recommend the shopping mall to others (i.e. they plan to provide positive WOM). Although a direct path between the information rate and the approach behavior can be drawn, the path coefficient is relatively low (0.17) and non-significant (t-value<2). This result demonstrates that the memory image indeed works as a representation mediating the effect of the mall environment on approach behavior when the consumer is away from the POS. The validity of the causal model can be considered satisfactory.

Interim conclusions: Our results show that the 'information rate' experienced in the shopping mall (perceptual image) influ-

ences the 'vividness' dimension of the memory image. The 'vividness' dimension in turn has a strong impact on approach behavior towards the shopping mall when away from the POS (e.g. at home). The second hypothesis therefore, can be supported fully with regard to the link between 'information rate' and 'vividness'.

Study 3

In the third empirical study in Summer 2001 at another local Mall ("Mall C"), we finally tested the third hypothesis, investigating if negative or positive word-of-mouth when away from the POS can add to the effect of memory images and thus possibly exercise a similarly strong effect on approach behavior. Again we interviewed 198 subjects in their apartments of whom 166 had already visited "Mall C", having presumably formed a memory image of it. Consequently, we restricted the analysis to those subjects who had the chance to form a memory image based on their own perceptual image of the mall. Subjects were asked to report any WOM they had received about the shopping mall. These reports were rated on a 5-point rating scale measuring how positive the perceived WOM was [1=not at all positive (more than two negative statements)–5=very positive (more than 2 positive statements)]. The factor scores for the 'vividness' and 'order' dimensions of the memory image were derived from a factor analysis. To test hypothesis 3 we used multiple regressions with the 'vividness' and 'order' dimensions of the memory image and the perceived positive valence of WOM as independent variables on the approach behavior variables (tables 7 and 8).

The results support hypothesis 3: WOM and memory image together influence the relevant approach variables. The WOM

FIGURE 1
Final Path Diagram

PATH DIAGRAM: MALL ENVIRONMENT, MEMORY IMAGE AND APPROACH BEHAVIOR

GFI = 0,95; AGFI = 0,89; RMR = 0,050; CFI = 0,91; Fitted Residuals (FR): -0,11 ≤ FR ≤ 0,13
With the exception of γ_{12} all T-values > 2 ☆ all hypothesized paths highly significant
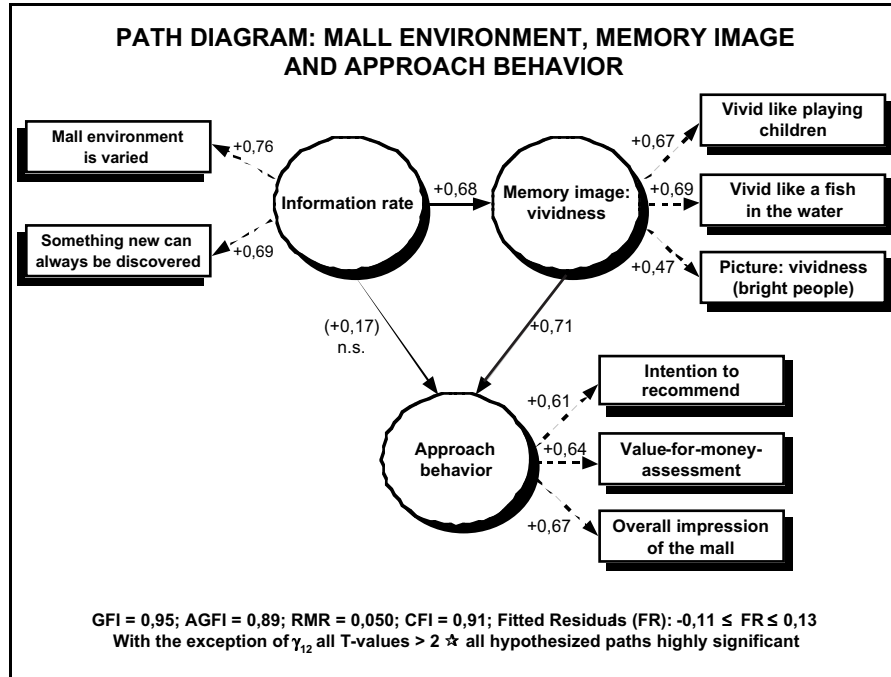
TABLE 7
Regression Memory Image Dimensions 'Vividness' and 'Order' and WOM on 'Intention to Recommend the Shopping Mall'

Dependent Variable: I will definitely not (1)–definitely (5) recommend the mall.

Multiple R:	0.607		R Square:	0.368		
Source	**df**	**Sum of Squares**	**Mean Square**	**F**	**Signif F**
Regression	3	77.438	25.813	18.047	.000
Residual	93	133.015	1.430		

Coefficients	**B**	**Beta**	**T**	**Signif T**
Vividness	0.465	0.338	3.957	.000
Order	0.424	0.301	3.607	.001
Positive valence of WOM	0.365	0.274	3.179	.002

effect turns out to be significant but less strong than the combined influence of the two dimensions of the memory image. Furthermore, we note that there is no multicollinearity between the three independent variables.

Discussion and Further Research

The aim of the three studies presented was to analyze the link between perceptual images and memory images of shopping malls. The first study, carried out at the POS inside the mall, was based on findings from environmental psychology and supports the relevance of the 'information rate' and 'easy orientation' constructs for approach behavior at the POS. For memory images as mental representations of shopping malls, 'vividness' and 'order' are the corresponding dimensions. Our second study shows that, outside

the shopping mall, 'vividness' is responsible for evaluation and planned behavior towards the mall. Finally, the third study indicates that WOM exerts a significant influence on the approach behavior in concert with memory image. As expected, the WOM effect is somewhat weaker than the combined effect of the two dimensions of the memory image. However, WOM should not be neglected, since it exerts an influence even when consumers have a memory image on which they can rely exclusively. Thus, a positive WOM adds to the memory image that consumers retain and leads, outside the POS, to approach behavior of consumers towards the shopping mall.

In future studies, it would be useful to test whether the results confirmed for malls can be replicated for individual stores in the mall. Furthermore, it would be of interest to consider the 'time'

TABLE 8

Results from Multiple Regressions on Overall Impression, Value-for-Money-Assessement, and Mall Patronage

	Dependent Variables					
	Overall impression			Shopping center patronage		
	R=0.611 R^2=0.373			R=0.509 R^2=0.259		
Independent variables	Beta	T	Signif. T	Beta	T	Signif. T
Vividness	0.303	3.570	.001	0.246	2.661	.009
Order	0.227	2.727	.008	0.306	3.384	.001
Positive valence of WOM	0.369	4.297	.000	0.215	2.300	.024

dimension in new studies: one could test if the 'order' dimension is influenced more by the "pleasant design of the mall" than by the patronage behavior of the consumers, and especially by the frequency with which they shop in the mall. It is possible that the perceived easy orientation of the mall increases in step with consumers' learning process as they form detailed mental maps of the mall. Likewise, it is conceivable that the information rate is subject to a "wear-out" process where the mall is perceived as less varied and full of surprises, the more often it is visited by consumers. If these effects can be proven, it would be useful to test if they can be influenced by retailers and mall management, and if the two effects compensate for each other in their influence on approach behavior towards the mall. From the perspective of international consumer research it would be of additional interest to find out if there are intercultural differences in the importance of the 'easy orientation' and 'information rate' dimensions and their respective mental representations for approach behavior towards malls.

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APPENDIX
Figure 2: Pictorial Scale "Vividness"
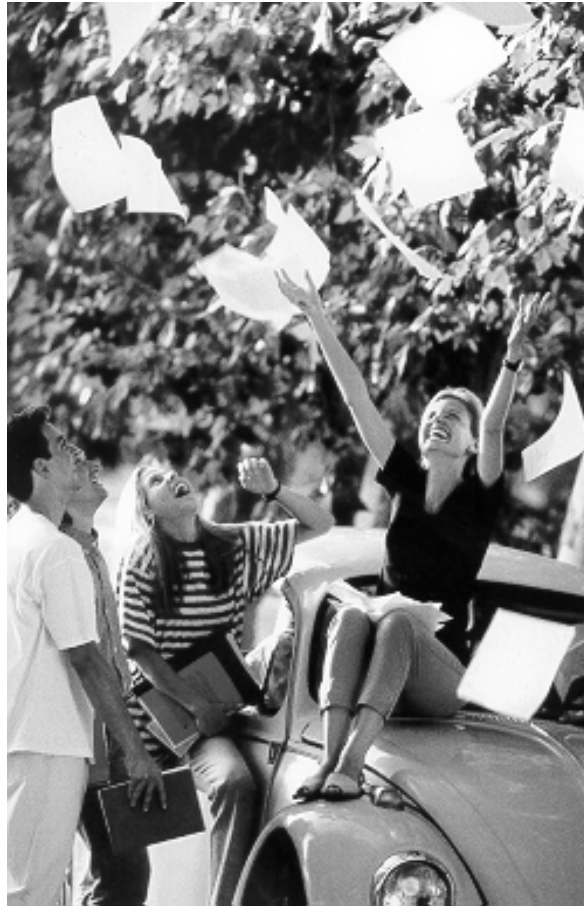
Figure 3: Pictorial Scale "(DIS-)order"[1]

[1]Reverse coded for interpretation.

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Psychological Approaches to Future Rewards: Sequences, Valuation, Effort, and Frequency Programs

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Many decisions consumers make have some form of time component, such as choosing between a cheeseburger (to satisfy a short-term craving) or a granola bar (in line with their long-term diet choice), deciding whether to pay for the gym monthly or yearly, buying financial investment products with delayed returns, or deciding how frequently to visit the dentist to ensure healthy teeth into old age. Intertemporal choice research helps us understand consumer behavior in such decisions. Most mainstream research in this area has focused on measuring the rates at which people tend to discount the future. However, in recent years a renewed interest in understanding the psychological processes underlying discounting has developed (e.g. Liberman & Trope, 1998; Metcalfe & Mischel, 1999; Ebert, 2001; Frederick, Loewenstein and O'Donoghue, 2002). The papers in this session contribute novel work of this type focusing on the psychology of sequences (paper 1), the valuation and motivational attraction of the distant future (paper 2), and a psychological theory for frequency reward programs, an innovative application of this research (paper 3).

The first paper by Frederick and Loewenstein focuses on the psychology underlying preferences between sequences (multiple outcomes whose temporal relation is explicit). They attempt to explain why traditional measures of time preference imply considerable discounting, while studies examining preferences for sequences show the opposite— that consumers prefer to delay the better outcomes until last. In a comprehensive review, they first explore nine distinct considerations (e.g. uncertainty, opportunity costs, and contrast effects) that play a role in intertemporal choices, and that might help explain the differences between sequence studies and traditional single outcome studies. Then, in two sets of experiments, they extend research on sequence preferences by using elicitation procedures other than choice. Their findings enable the authors to explain, to some extent, the apparent variations in time preference across various streams of intertemporal research.

The second paper, by Ebert and Prelec, focuses on the role of cognitive effort in the valuation of future rewards. Researchers have suggested that low values for future rewards result from people's pallid perceptions of the future combined with a lack of effort, implying that assigning low value to future rewards is relatively effortless. They suggest valuations will increase (and discounting will decrease) with increased cognitive effort. In contrast to this view, the authors' research suggests that incorporating future time into valuations to discount future rewards is effortful. In addition, the high discount rates shown in typical measures of discounting may reflect people's lay beliefs of how value and future time *should* be related, suggesting greater effort is unlikely to reduce discount rates.

The third paper by Kivetz provides us with an interesting and important marketing application in which to examine the interplay of rewards and time: frequency programs. Kivetz develops a theory around effort streams in frequency programs, and how they relate to reward preferences and to likelihood of joining the program. While future time or delay is not explicitly presented to consumers, it is implicit in the effort stream and, in many respects, effort may be viewed as a proxy for delay by consumers of these programs. The theory developed by Kivetz suggests a reference-point model

where the effort to earn rewards shifts consumers' expectations of the magnitude of their future compensation (their reference point) and so can affect how they frame any program reward offered (i.e., as a gain or loss). In six experiments, the author tests predictions from this theory.

"The Psychology of Sequence Preferences"
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Most research on intertemporal choice is guided by the presumption that consumers are "impatient"; that they care less about, or "discount" future outcomes. In a typical study, consumers are offered choices between an immediate reward and a delayed reward of equal or greater value. The results of these studies reinforce the assumption which guided their design–immediate rewards are nearly always preferred to an equivalent delayed reward and often preferred to a much greater delayed reward. (For an overview of this empirical research, see Frederick, Loewenstein, & O'Donoghue, 2002.)

However, a smaller body of research appears to suggest the opposite, by showing that consumers typically prefer improving sequences (in which the better outcomes are delayed) to declining sequences (in which the better outcomes come first)· However, there has been no adequate account of how or why the use of multiple outcomes as choice objects so fundamentally alters intertemporal preferences. Our goal is to provide such an account.

We first explore nine considerations that may be relevant in intertemporal choices: (1) uncertainty, (2) impatience, (3) opportunity cost, (4) extrapolation, (5) utility of anticipation, (6) utility of memory, (7) contrast effects, (8) diminishing marginal utility, and (9) preferences for the distribution of utility. We examine reasons why each of these considerations might be more or less relevant in the studies that involve outcome sequences, than in more traditional elicitation methods.

Our second goal was to explore sequence preferences using elicitation procedures other than choice. Study 1 was designed to assess the types of sequences consumers would create when they were free to allocate a fixed quantity of goods (or bads) over a series of time periods. We used three different domains: movies, massages, and headaches. We found that consumers generally wanted movies to be distributed evenly across time (they generated flat sequences), that they wanted to expend their supply of massages fairly quickly (they generated deteriorating sequences), and that they were willing to endure most of the headaches early (they generated improving sequences). Considered together, however, the results do not indicate preference for improving sequences and, for all three types of outcomes, the modal response was equal division across time periods. We suspect that when subjects are allocating, consumers may defer to a "divide equally" heuristic, without deliberating too deeply about the hedonic optimality of the resulting allocation–a proposal that is consistent with what others have found in the context of interpersonal allocation (see e.g., Harris & Joyce, 1980; Allison & Messick, 1990; Messick, 1993).

In another study, 342 respondents were asked to evaluate a set of two restaurant coupons that conferred two dinners of differing qualities in either an ascending sequence [$50 dinner this month,

$100 dinner next month] or a descending sequence [$100 dinner this month, $50 dinner next month]. We explored preferences for this stylized sequence using a variety of elicitation procedures: One group chose between the two sequences, a second specified a willingness to pay for just the improving sequence, a third specified their willingness to pay for just the declining sequence, a fourth specified their willingness to pay for both sequences, and two other groups chose between one of the two sequences and another prize that we thought would be comparably attractive (a $120 gift certificate for CD's).

We found that when the sequences were evaluated separately (by two different groups), the increasing sequence was valued more highly than the declining sequence ($68.83 vs. $60.95) but, when both sequences were evaluated jointly, the declining sequence was valued more highly ($77.23 vs. $68.51). These results suggest that consumers may value the improving sequence more highly, but cannot justify paying the same or more to delay the superior outcome. An analogous pattern emerged in the choices as well, as the improving sequence was evaluated more favorably in an indirect choice (in which both options were separately compared to a third option—a $120 gift certificate for CD's) than when they were simply directly compared to each other. Specifically, when the two sequences were directly compared, 54% chose the improving sequence. However, when pitted against $120 worth of CD's, 68% preferred the improving sequence over the CD's, whereas only 49% preferred the declining sequence over the CD's.

We conclude that the evaluation of intertemporal prospects is determined by the interplay of several distinct considerations, which apply, to different degrees, in different domains. For example, opportunity cost is not pertinent to goods that cannot be invested, and uncertainty is probably not very important when deciding which of two dinner coupons to redeem first. However, not only does the applicability of these diverse considerations vary across domains, but their relevance may also be highlighted or suppressed by different elicitation procedures. We suspect that the large differences in imputed discount rates between sequence studies and single outcome studies reflects this. In particular, studies involving choices between sequences may encourage respondents to consider contrast effects between events and to extrapolate trends beyond the specified time periods of evaluation. Neither of these things would occur when the objects of choice are single outcomes.

However, the studies presented in this paper show that using multiple outcomes as choice objects does not automatically yield preference for improvement. The three alternate elicitation procedures we explore in this paper–allocation, matching, and pricing– preserve a sequences formulation, yet do not reveal the preference for improving sequences that has been found in many other studies involving sequences. We conclude that these alternate procedures may evoke considerations that choice tasks do not (e.g. allocation tasks may evoke equality) or suppress considerations that are salient in choice tasks (e.g. uncertainty).

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"Valuation of Future Rewards: Considering Cognitive Effort, Lay Beliefs, and Salience of Delay"

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In many decisions consumers make, they appear to place much more value on short-term than on long-term desires (i.e., they discount the future). They choose unhealthy foods and skip a session at the gym despite resolutions to eat healthily and exercise regularly. They procrastinate at work, invest insufficiently or fail to take preventative health measures, like visiting the dentist regularly.

The reasons for such pervasive myopia in consumer's lives are only partially understood. We know that immediate needs and desires (e.g. eating a cheeseburger) are especially potent when visceral needs are heightened (e.g. the person is hungry). While the pull of the present can account for much discounting, other studies without an immediate option still reveal high discounting. Psychologically, the lack of attraction of the more distant future is less understood. Early researchers suggested that people perceive the distant future as remote, pallid, and uncertain, relative to a more arousing, vivid and predictable near future (Rae, 1834; Böhm-Bawerk, 1889), and recent empirical evidence shows that temporally distant events are indeed construed more abstractly than are proximal events (Liberman and Trope, 1996). Economists Becker and Mulligan agree that these pallid perceptions may account for high discounting of the distant future, and suggest that increased cognitive effort will increase its value (Becker & Mulligan, 1997). These ideas of how the distant future is perceived and how its associated low value may be increased suggest that initial low valuations of the future may be relatively effortless to assess.

The experiments presented focus on our valuations of the distant future. Taken together they suggest that: 1) Discounting of the future is not simply due to lack of effort. 2) The discount rates we measure may exaggerate discounting. 3) People may believe that discount rates should be high, so exerting further effort in valuing future events is not likely to lead to decreased discount rates.

The first study followed a conjoint design, with participants rating preference for 15 dated restaurant gift certificates either with or without time pressure. The attribute levels were five local restaurants, five delays (1 day, 1 week, 1 month, 3 months, and 1year), and three meal sizes (main course, main course and appetizer, 2 main courses). When the conjoint is done without time pressure, delay emerges as the most important attribute. We might expect delay to become even more influential with time pressure for two reasons. First, if cognitive effort is required to give full weight to a future event, then time pressure should bias preference in favor of the less-delayed certificates. Second, as delay was the most influential attribute with no time pressure, a simple strategy under time pressure would be to choose based on this attribute. The results were exactly opposite to this prediction. Delay was less influential for those participants with time pressure, while restaurant type was the most influential attribute for them. Closer examination of the results suggests that time pressure made preference less sensitive overall to changes in more distant times, i.e. the relationship between preference and delay looks more hyperbolic with time pressure. Participants are clearly influenced by delay in rating their preferences (valuations), but for the distant future, more not less effort is involved in producing lower preference (valuation) ratings.

Two additional experiments, comparing between- and within-subjects designs, complement these findings suggesting participants believe that discount rates should be high. In experiment 2, participants simply stated their equivalent present cash value for $20 restaurant certificates available at a particular future time (the five delays used above). Participants either valued a certificate at only one future time (between-subjects design) or they valued certificates for all five future times (within-subjects). Use of a within-subjects design can have several effects: a) it allows participants to be more consistent in their responses and to demonstrate their theories of how present value and delay are associated; b) it provides information of all delay possibilities for the certificates, facilitating evaluation of delay; c) it makes the delay variable more salient. To help control for information and salience effects, one-half of the participants were randomly assigned to receive full information on all delay possibilities before making their present values. Between-subjects participants did show some discounting, though their valuations were relatively insensitive to delay. Within-subjects participants showed about twice as much discounting. The information/salience manipulation had little impact on discounting.

These results are consistent with those of the time pressure experiment. There, too, delay was presented within-subjects, but participants seemed relatively insensitive to delay unless they had sufficient time to incorporate delay into their preferences. Both results suggest a tendency for people to be relatively insensitive to increasing delays unless it is clear they should attend to delay in their valuations and they have the time to do so. Thus, low future valuations may not be due to simple lack of effort, as previously thought. In addition, these results suggest that people believe discount rates should be high, higher than those obtained using between-subjects measures. This suggests that were they to exert more effort in valuing future events they would discount them even more. Experiment 3 replicated the results of Experiment 2 using a hypothetical cash prize of $80 available at the same 5 future times, in place of the $20 restaurant certificate.

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"Does the End Justify the Means? The Impact of Effort and Intrinsic Motivation on Preferences Towards Frequency Program Rewards"

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"If someone tells you, 'I have made an effort and did not find,' do not believe it… 'I have made an effort and did find,' believe it."
Babylonian Talmud (Megillah 6b)

In recent years, frequency programs have become ubiquitous in the marketplace. Specifically, evidence that customer retention is cheaper and more effective than acquisition and that some customers are more profitable than others has led many companies to establish frequency (or loyalty) programs in a wide variety of industries (e.g., Deighton 2000; Drèze and Hoch 1998; Gupta, Lehmann, and Stuart 2002; Reichheld 1996). The myriad types of frequency programs (FPs) share a common underlying structure, whereby to earn future rewards customers need to invest a series of efforts, such as purchasing products and services or engaging in certain activities (e.g., rating products; completing surveys).

The main goal of the present research is to improve our understanding of consumer preference towards frequency programs and, more generally, towards streams of efforts that lead to future rewards (e.g., publishing to get tenure). Surprisingly, despite the proliferation of FPs, we still know very little about the factors that influence consumer perception of and response to such programs. For example, a fundamental question is whether the type and magnitude of the required effort influences the preferred rewards. The managerial literature, despite the great deal of attention it has devoted to FPs, is mute on this question, suggesting only that higher rewards and lower efforts lead to greater program value (see, e.g., O'Brien and Jones 1995). Moreover, the impact of efforts on reward preferences is not addressed even in the voluminous psychological research on related topics, such as behaviorism (e.g., Hilgard and Bower 1975), achievement motivation (e.g., Atkinson 1957; Lewin 1951), goal setting (Locke and Latham 1990), and more.

Building on the notion that preferences are constructed (e.g., Bettman, Luce, and Payne 1998; Payne, Bettman, and Johnson 1992), the current research proposes that consumers' valuation of FP rewards is contingent on the characteristics of the required effort stream. That is, consumers employ the required effort as a reason or justification for forming particular reward preferences (see, e.g., Kivetz and Simonson 2002; Prelec and Herrnstein 1991; Shafir, Simonson, and Tversky 1993). Moreover, this paper provides a unifying framework for investigating several aspects regarding the effort-reward relationship, including the impact of effort requirements on consumer choice between sure-small rewards and large-uncertain rewards; the moderating effect of the intrinsic motivation to engage in the effort stream; the influence of the required effort level on the responsiveness to larger (sure) rewards, and more.

The paper is organized as follows: We begin with a theoretical analysis of the effect of effort on the construction of reward preferences. It is argued that the impact of effort can be explained by combining three simple assumptions, which state that: (1) effort requirements lead to reward expectations, with higher requirements leading to greater expectations, (2) reward expectations serve as reference points for evaluating the actual FP rewards, and (3) the valuation of program rewards vis-à-vis the reward expectation (or reference point) follows the principles of prospect theory's value function (Kahneman and Tversky 1979). This account leads to a broad set of predications, which have not been recognized before, regarding the impact of effort on consumers' reward preferences.

These predictions are tested in a series of six studies involving both real and hypothetical decisions, with approximately 5,500 participants. The findings indicate that (a) the presence (as opposed to absence) of effort requirements enhances the preference for sure-small rewards (e.g., a guaranteed winning of $10) over large-uncertain rewards (e.g., a 1% chance to win $1,000); (b) the effect of effort on reward preferences is attenuated when the effort requirements are intrinsically motivating; (c) continuously increasing the effort level leads to an inverted-U effect on the preference for sure-small over large-uncertain rewards; and (d) consumers' sensitivity towards the magnitude of sure rewards increases with greater effort requirements, although consumers realize that earning these rewards becomes less likely. The final section discusses the theoretical implications of this research as well as the practical implications with respect to the design of FPs and other types of incentive systems.

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Transfer of Brand Equity in Brand Extensions: The Importance of Brand Loyalty

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ABSTRACT

In this article, the authors explore the effects of different dimensions of brand loyalty towards the original brand on the evaluation of brand extensions Recent research on consumer reactions to brand extension has not investigated this relationship. We find that a high affective relationship towards the parent brand may reduce the evaluation of brand extensions. Second, loyal behavioral intention towards the parent brand is important for reaching a positive evaluation of extensions. Finally, self-image relationship towards the parent brand is found to increase the evaluation of brand extensions.

INTRODUCTION

One of a firm's most valuable resources is the brand equity. In an attempt to leverage this asset, an increasing number of companies are extending their brands into multiple product categories (Court, et al. 1999). Richard Branson has for example extended the Virgin brand to a huge range of products like; magazines, record retailing chain, record label, airline company, train company, personal computers, vodka, cola, financial services, radio stations, bridal services, movie theaters, perfume, and cellular phones (Keller 1998).

Past research on brand extension has focused on what determines the success or failure of extensions. An assumption common to most of the research is that brand affect and product category similarity play important roles (cf. Boush 1987; Aaker and Keller 1990; Boush and Loken 1991; Park, et al. 1991; Herr, et al. 1996; Bottomley and Doyle 1996; Jun, et al. 1999). That is, evaluation of an extension is a joint function of how much the brand is liked in its original category and the similarity between the original and extension categories.

However, despite the interest, research on brand extensions has not covered all of the brand equity dimensions connected to the original brand. As such, the impact of brand loyalty on evaluations of brand extensions has not been investigated. This is surprising, given the core position brand loyalty has in the literature (e.g., Aaker 1991).

The purpose of this research is to explore the effects of different dimensions of brand loyalty towards the original brand on the evaluation of brand extensions. First, a short review of the literature is given. Second, relationships between brand loyalty and evaluation of brand extensions are hypothesized. Data from a quasi-experimental field study involving three established brands extended into a total of 11 hypothetical product-categories are used to test the hypotheses. Last, a discussion of results, limitations, and future research is given.

BRAND EQUITY AND BRAND EXTENSION

Brand equity has been variously conceptualized as a financial measure (e.g., Simon and Sullivan 1990), a measure of consumers' behavior (e.g., willingness to pay a price premium, brand loyalty, see Aaker 1991; Swait, et al. 1993), or a measure of consumers' beliefs (Keller 1993; 1998). Most researchers agree that brand equity can be described as the value a brand name adds to a product (e.g., Farquhar 1989). The main contribution of a brand name is identification and differentiation of the branded product. Keller (1993) introduced customer-based brand equity, which he defined as "the differential effect that brand knowledge has on consumer

response to the marketing of a brand" (Keller 1993: 45). Differential consumer response is based on consumers' knowledge of the brand as well as the favorability of associations. For the purpose of this study, brand equity is treated as a composite of brand-related beliefs, including *brand awareness*, *brand image*, and *brand loyalty* (Aaker 1991; Keller 1993; 1998; Agarwall and Rao 1996; Dawar and Pillutra 2000).

Brand extension research has focused on several of the brand equity dimensions. First, Herr, et al. (1996) studied the relationship between *brand awareness* and the evaluation of brand extensions. They operationalized brand awareness as dominance, which can be defined as the strength of the directional association between the parent category and the branded product, and measured dominance with subjects' response latencies. Herr, et al. (1996) found that consumers' affect for strong category-dominant brands transfers better than a weaker category dominant brand's affect.

Second, several studies have investigated the relationship between *brand image* and the evaluation of brand extensions. Initial research by Aaker and Keller (1990) did not find any support for their hypothesis that higher quality perceptions toward the original brand are associated with more favorable attitudes toward the extension. Perceived quality was used as a measure for overall evaluation of the original brand. However, subsequent research has found a positive effect between the quality of the original brand and the evaluation of the brand extensions (Keller and Aaker 1992; Sunde and Brodie 1993; Dacin and Smith 1994; Bottomley and Doyle 1996). Furthermore, Broniarczyk and Alba (1994) found that brand-specific associations were important for evaluation of brand extensions (see also Glynn and Brodie 1998). Park, et al. (1991) studied functional and symbolic benefits. They found support for the notion in Park, et al. (1986) that brands have to be extended consequently as either functional extensions or symbolic extensions. Finally, Smith and Park (1992) have analyzed the effects of experience and search goods on the evaluation of brand extensions, similar to Keller's (1993: 7) "non-product-related and product related attributes". Smith and Park (1992) defined search goods as attributes that can be evaluated accurately through visual inspection, while experience goods are attributes that must be assessed through actual trial. They found that the relative effect of brand extensions is greater for experience goods than for search goods (see Nakamoto, et al. 1993; Rangaswamy, et al. 1994; Park and Srinivasan 1994; Loken and John 1993; Sen 1999 for similar discussions and results).

Third, no one has fully investigated empirically the relationship between *brand loyalty* and the evaluation of brand extensions. The only research we have found is a short ACR abstract by Coderre, et al. (1998: 77). They found support for their hypotheses that brand-loyal consumers of a core brand react less favorably to brand extensions than do other groups of consumers. However, no data or statistics is available documenting this finding.

Aaker (1991: 39) states: "the brand loyalty of the customer base is often the core of a brand's equity". Aaker (1991: 42) continues arguing: "Brand loyalty is a basis of brand equity that is created by many factors, chief among them being the use experience. However, loyalty is influenced in part by the other major dimensions of brand equity, awareness, associations, and perceived quality. In some cases, loyalty could arise largely from a brand's perceived quality or attribute associations. However, it is not

always explained by these three factors. In many instances it occurs quite independent of them and, on other occasions the nature of the relationship is unclear. It is very possible to like and be loyal to something with low perceived quality (e.g., McDonald's) or dislike something with high perceived quality (e.g., a Japanese car). Thus, brand loyalty provides an important basis of equity that is sufficiently distinct from the other dimensions". This distinct brand loyalty construct has been investigated heavily for several decades (for reviews, see, e.g., Jackoby and Chestnut 1978; Kahn and Meyer 1991; Dick and Basu 1994; Fournier and Yao 1997) yet it has not been used to assess the favorability of brand extensions. There is therefore a gap in knowledge about the relationship between loyalty towards the original brand and the evaluation of brand extensions making this an important area to investigate. One can speculate that it has not been investigated due to the assumed relationship that high loyalty towards the original brand should result in more positive evaluations of the extensions.

RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

The primary purpose of this study is to determine empirically the extent to which brand loyalty affects the evaluation of brand extensions. The following discussion provides a rationale for research hypotheses pertaining to different dimensions of brand loyalty.

Brand loyalty

Brand loyalty is a key element in sustaining stable demand and sales flows over time (Aaker 1991). Moreover, brand loyalty not only assures steady receipts and revenues but also facilitates reduced advertising and marketing budgets without forgoing effectiveness. The overall result of these advantages is increased marketing efficiency (e.g., Webster 1994; Fornell 1992; Zeithaml, et al. 1996). This is the reason why so much research is directed at achieving a better understanding of consumers' loyalty behavior (e.g., Dick and Basu 1994; Liebermann 1999).

Brand loyalty refers to a "biased behavioral response expressed over time by some decision-making unit with respect to one or more alternative brands out of a set of such brands" (Jacoby and Chestnut 1978: 80). However, nuances regarding the basic concept of loyalty have not been explicitly articulated (Fournier and Yao 1997). Though Jacoby and Chestnut (1978) clearly identify brand loyalty as "a function of psychological (decision-making, evaluative) processes exhibited over time".

Different dimensions of brand loyalty have been presented and discussed in the literature. Most recently, Liebermann (1999) distinguished among three types of loyalty: (1) Image oriented loyalty representing the fact that a consumer prefers the brand over alternative offers made by competitors. (2) Marketing oriented loyalty defining the customers' tendency to recommend the brand to relatives and friends; and (3) Sales oriented loyalty representing the larger sums spent by consumers. Liebermann (1999) advocates that this is a multistage process. The process evolves gradually, and it is likely that image oriented loyalty will precede marketing oriented loyalty, which will in turn precede sales oriented loyalty. This hierarchical order can be used to evaluating the relationship between brand loyalty and brand extensions. First consumers have to learn about the original brand, use it and then like it better than the competitors' brands. Next, consumers must be so satisfied with the original brand that they recommend it to others. Finally, consumers spend more money on the brand, which is an indication that new extensions under the original brand will receive positive attention, promote positive evaluations and product trial.

Different operationalizations of brand loyalty have been presented and discussed in the literature. *Calculative commitment* measures the degree to which a consumer experiences the need to maintain a relationship given the significant perceived termination and switching costs associated with discontinuing the relationship (Fornell 1992). Consumers have reasons for this need to maintain the relationship with the brand because they invest time, as well as economic and cognitive resources in the relationship (e.g., Fornell 1992; Grønhaug and Gilly 1991). This dimension of loyalty may have an influence on the evaluation of a brand extension if there is a strong relationship between the producer and consumer. For example, a consumer may have a strong relationship with his/her bank agency. This relationship may be used as an argument for using the insurance products in the same bank (given that the bank has extended towards insurance products). There is doubt, however, that a consumer may feel any calculative commitment towards an extended product from a producer of a snack brand, for example. Therefore, this aspect will not be investigated any further at this time, but it could be an option at a later point in time.

Affective commitment expresses the extent to which consumers like to maintain their relationships with the brand, based on their affective attachment to and identification with the brand. This dimension of loyalty was first introduced in interorganizational studies (e.g., Allen and Meyer 1990). More recently, Fournier (1998) has discussed a related dimension in the marketing discipline. Her analysis suggests an alternative to the construct of brand loyalty by the notion of brand relationship quality. Brand relationship quality is similar to brand loyalty, since both constructs attempt to capture the strength of the connection formed between the consumer and the brand in order to predict the relationship stability over time. Fournier (1998) specified six facets of brand relationship quality. Several of them stipulate the affective components (e.g., love, passion, and self-attachment). Love, for example, captures strength as defined by degree of affect associated with the brand attitude. This is a major contribution to the loyalty construct. In the present paper the affective component suggested by Fournier (1998) and Allen and Meyer (1990) is used. Our argument is that consumers who have a strong affective relationship towards the original brand are going to transfer this affective relationship towards the brand extensions. We posit that:

H_1: *The evaluation of a brand extension is more positive when consumers have stronger affective relationships with the original brand*

The *intention to be loyal in the future* signals that customers are forging bonds with a company or brand. Consumers are indicating behaviorally that they are bonding with the brand (Zeithaml, et al. 1996). Zeithaml, et al. (1996: 34) advocates that "Loyalty may be manifested in multiple ways; for example, by expressing a preference for a company over others, by continuing to purchase from it, or by increasing business with it in the future". These measures could be effected by both calculative and affective commitment, but also other constructs such as perceived quality and satisfaction can influence the loyalty behavioral intentions (e.g., Parasuraman, et al. 1991). Nevertheless, we keep the loyalty behavioral intentions construct as a measure for capturing the future loyal behavior towards the original brand. Having a positive behavioral intention towards the parent brand indicates that the consumers indirectly have high calculative and/or high affective commitment towards the original brand. Furthermore, consumers indirectly have positive perceived quality and satisfaction towards the parent brand, given the positive behavioral intention. Therefore:

H_2: *The evaluation of a brand extension is higher when consumers have a more positive behavioral intention towards the original brand*

Self-image relationship towards the parent brand: Most of the research on brand extensions has used a feature match approach similar to Tversky's (1977) contrast model. This focus has limited researchers to only investigate the relations between the original brand and the extension (product category fit). Therefore researchers largely have overlooked the relations between consumers and their preferred brands. By so doing one has neglected the effects of similarity in terms of a match (level of congruity) between individual consumers' self-image and the symbolic expressions of different brands (based on self-congruity theory). This type of similarity is better understood as congruity between an individual's self-image and a brand's personality traits. Aaker (1997: 347) defines brand personality as *"the set of human characteristics associated with a brand"*. According to Aaker creating a brand personality literally involves "personification" of a brand. She argues that brands are vehicles that consumers use for self-expression. To accommodate this need for self-expression marketers try to build brands imbued with strong personality traits that match consumers' self-image. Aaker (1999) investigated how such brands are evaluated when they possess a strong personality that may or may not match the personality of a consumer. She found support for the notion that individuals who identify themselves on a particular personality dimension have a greater preference for brands that are highly descriptive on that dimension (for similar findings see e.g., Vitz and Johnson 1965; Dolich 1969; Ackoff and Emsoff 1975). Thus, consumers prefer brands that are associated with a set of personality traits congruent with their self-image (Sirgy 1982).

Previous research has shown that the greater the congruency between the personality traits that describe an individuals *self-image*, and those that describe a brand, the greater the preference for the brand (e.g., Malhotra 1988; Sirgy 1982; 1985; 1986). Our question is whether the same logic is relevant for brand extensions. In other words, we do expect that consumers have a tendency to prefer brands extensions with personalities highly congruent with their own actual and ideal self-image. Therefore:

H_3: *The evaluation of a brand extension is more positive when consumers self-image is closely related towards the original brand*

METHOD

In order to test the hypotheses a quasi-experimental field research design was chosen. Data was gathered through a consumer survey.

Stimuli: The original brands were selected with regard to the criteria of being relevant to subjects, highly familiar, and not broadly extended previously. Established rather than fictitious brands were chosen because affective relationship (H_1) and buyer intentions (H_2) towards the original brand were important variables. We also wanted to measure the brand personality and brand image dimensions, which demanded established brands (H_3). Five brands were subjected to a pilot study in order to assess to which degree they were highly familiar, and associated with one or several product categories: DnB (bank), IBM (computers), Maarud (snack), Ford (automobile), and Telenor (telecommunications). Based on the results from this initial study, a brand was selected from each of the following categories: snacks, cars, and telecommunications. Maarud is the leading snack brand (FMCG) in the country where the study was conducted (Norway). It has been on the market since 1936. Ford has been one of the most selling automobile brands in Norway for more than fifty years. Telenor is the number one telecommunication company in Norway, and it was the only telecom company until recently. Choosing original brands from three such different categories would hopefully give some variation (in affective relationship (H_1), behavioral intention (H_2), and brand personality (H_3) towards the original brands) and allow good external validity. These three parent brands were leveraged to 11 hypothetical brand extensions: Maarud snack extended into ice cream, beer and chocolate; Ford extended into bicycle, motorcycle and lawnmower; Telenor telecom extended into cable TV, travel agency, PC, bank and insurance.

Sample and data collection: A questionnaire was constructed for each of the three focal brands and administrated to subjects chosen from a population of a major Norwegian city. The city was first subdivided into geographical regions. Four of these regions were selected for collection of data. Respondents were contacted in person at their homes. A questionnaire delivered door-to-door was used because Smith and Park (1992) found that consumers have difficulty responding to the measures of similarity in the absence of visual aids. Each respondent was asked to complete questionnaires for one of the three original brands. The respondents participated voluntarily and without receiving any compensation. Nevertheless, of the individuals contacted, 81 % agreed to participate in the study. These individuals were given a short summary of the purpose of the study. In order to make the task more realistic, they were told that the study purpose was to estimate consumer reaction to a number of planned brand extensions. Respondents were told that the completed questionnaire would be collected personally by the researcher on the following day. This procedure yielded a response rate of 68.5 % of the contacted population (84.6 % of those who agreed to participate). Among the 760 questionnaires collected, 59 questionnaires had to be removed from the sample due to major non-response biases. A total of 701 questionnaires were conducted.

Measurement

In the empirical literature on brand extensions, consumer response to brand extensions has most frequently been operationalized using attitudinal measures, typically some form of overall evaluation of the proposed extensions (Fishbein and Ajzen 1975). We use three measures developed by Keller and Aaker 1992; Broniarczyk and Alba 1994; Keller and Sood 2002/3; and Muthukrishnan and Weitz 1991 (see Table 1).

Independent variables: *Affective relationship towards the parent brand* (H_1): was measured by three items captured from Allen and Meyer (1990) (Item a was removed–low factor loadings). *Loyal behavioral intention towards the parent brand* (H_2): was measured by three items captured from Zeithaml, et al. (1996). *Relationship between the consumers' self-image and the brands' image* (H_3): was measured by two Likert type scales. *Similarity between the parent brands and extensions*: was measured using three items selected from the extension literature (see Table 1).

RESULTS

Table 2 reports the descriptive statistics associated with the variables in our study. It shows the means, standard deviation, and number of respondents for each brand.

Inspection of the measures shows that for all variables the standard deviations are greater than 0.90 indicating that subjects vary in their overall evaluations of the brand extensions; affective relationship; loyal behavioral intention; similarity between original brand and extensions; and similarity between the consumer's image and the brand's image. The mean scores on the variables varied also

TABLE 1

Measures from the Consumer Survey

Dependent variable:	
1. Overall evaluation of the brand extension:	a) Overall, I am very positive to extension XYZ: *Totally disagree (1) to Totally agree (6)*. (e.g., Keller and Aaker, 1992: 42)
	b) What attitude do you have towards extension XYZ: *Dislike (1) to Like (6)*. (e.g., Broniarczyk and Alba, 1994; Keller and Sood 2002/3; Muthukrishnan and Weitz 1991)
(Total sample: α=0.88)	c) Overall evaluation of the extension XYZ relative to existing brands in the extension category: *One of the worst (1) to One of the best (6)*. (Broniarczyk and Alba, 1994: 218)
Independent variables:	
2. Affective relationship towards the original brand:	a) I have a positive affective felling towards UVW
	b) I believe that I could as closely related to another brand in this category as I am to UVW [1]
(Total sample: α=0.57, Eigenvalue=1.04, Total variance=9.5%)	c) The brand UVW has a personal meaning to me Anchored by: *Totally disagree (1) to Totally agree (6)*. (Partly from Allen and Meyer (1990))
3. Loyal behavioral intention towards the original brand:	a) I would like to recommend the brand UVW to people I know
	b) I would have been very much interested to change to another brand in the category than UVW [1]
(Total sample: α=0.70, Eigenvalue=2.08, Total variance=18.9%)	c) I do wish to continue buying brand UVW Anchored by: *Totally disagree (1) to Totally agree (6)*. (Partly from Zeithaml, Burrey and Parasuraman (1996: 38): Item 2, 5, and 10)
4. Self-image relationship towards the parent brand: *(Total sample: α=0.88, Eigenvalue=1.17, Total variance=10.6%)*	a) To what extent would you say that usage of the original brand XYZ is closely connected to the picture you have of yourself as a person?
	b) To what extent would you say that usage of the original brand XYZ is closely connected to the picture you have of the person you would like to be? Anchored as: *Not at all similar (1) to Highly similar (6)*. (Aaker, 1999)
5. Similarity between the original brand [UVW] and extension [XYZ]: (e.g., Smith and Park, 1992: 302)	a) Think of what you associate with brand UVW, how much overlap exists with extension XYZ? (e.g., Boush, et al. 1987)
	b) Think about brand UVW, how similar is the user situation with extension XYZ?
(Total sample: α=0.81, Eigenvalue=3.33, Total variance=30.3%)	c) Think about brand UVW, how similar is the competence for making the original brand and extension XYZ? (e.g., Aaker and Keller 1990; Smith and Park, 1992: 302) Anchored by: *Not at all similar (1) to Highly similar (6)*

[1] Items are reversed

across the extensions. Overall, the car sample seems to be a little bit different from the snack and telecom samples since the evaluations on the average are lower. In our analysis we have aggregated the extensions as has been frequently done in prior studies in brand extensions (see, e.g., Aaker and Keller 1990; Smith and Park 1992).

Test of hypotheses

As illustrated in Table 3, we examined the relationships by using multiple regressions. The models included the main effects of the independent variables on the dependent variable (overall evaluation of the extensions). Prior to hypothesis testing, the correlations data were examined for extreme values. However, as mentioned earlier, there was found a strong relationship between perceived quality, loyalty, and behavioral intention in previous research (e.g., Zeithaml, et al. 1996). Therefore, we decided to test for multicollinearity by investigating the Tolerance, VIF, Eigenvalue, and Condition Index as suggested by Belsley, et al. (1980, Chapter 3; see also See Dillon and Goldstein (1984: 271-292); Cohen and Cohen (1983); Mason and Perreault (1991: 269-271)). The Tolerance value is less than 1.0 in all cases; VIF is less than 1.46 (critical value>2.0); Eigenvalue is less than 5.7 (critical value>10.0); and the Condition Index is less than 17.1 (critical value>30.0). Thus, we do not find any indexes which indicate high and dangerous multicollinearity. Based on the findings, we conclude that multicollinearity should not be a major concern in the present study.

As shown in Table 3, all models are highly significant and explain a substantial portion of the variance in dependent variables (ranging from 36 % to 37 % of total variance), indicating a reasonable model fit. Also, the standardized regression coefficients indicate significant relationships between independent and dependent variables.

Test of H_1: H_1 postulates that consumers evaluate brand extensions more favorably if they have a strong affective relationship towards the original brand. For all samples (Snack, Automo-

TABLE 2
Means and Standard Deviations of Study Variables

Variables	Snack sample (n=747)	Car sample (n=645)	Telecom sample (n=1.185)
1. Overall evaluation of the brand extension	3.29 (1.25) 1) (n=719) 2)	3.04 (1.19) (n=632)	3.16 (1.28) (n=1064)
2. Affective relationship towards the original brand	2.67 (1.17) (n=1.230)	2.34 (1.16) (n=1060)	2.66 (1.12) (n=1160)
3. Loyal behavioral intention towards the original brand	3.55 (1.00) (n=1.230)	2.81 (1.17) (n=1035)	3.57 (1.12) (n=1145)
4. Self-image relationship towards the parent brand	4.15 (0.90) (n=1.230)	4.17 (0.96) (n=1050)	4.09 (0.97) (n=1085)
5. Similarity between the original and the extension	2.89 (1.11) (n=606)	2.47 (1.10) (n=548)	2.80 (1.12) (n=951)

1) Values in parentheses are the standard deviations associated with each mean
2) Values in parentheses are the number (n=xxx) of subjects answering the question

TABLE 3
Regression Brand Loyalty Variables on Evaluation of Brand Extensions

Variables included[1]	Snacks sample	Car sample	Telecom sample
Independent variables			
1. Affective relationship[2]	−.05	−.03	−.06 *
2. Loyal intention	.14 ***	.12 ***	.09 **
3. Self-image	.25 ***	.21 ***	.19 ***
4. Similar brands	.41 ***	.45 ***	.49 ***
Adjusted R^2	.36	.36	.37
F for full model	85.60 ***	73.40 ***	127.08 ***
d.f.	579	515	871
Collinearity Statistics			
Tolerance:	< .99	< .99	< .99
VIF:	< 1.46	< 1.45	< 1.40
Eigenvalue:	< 5.62	< 5.47	< 5.61
Condition Index:	<17.10	<15.87	<16.94

[1] Dependent variable: "Overall evaluation of the extension"
[2] Standardized beta coefficients

*   P<.10   **   P<.05   ***   P<.01

bile, and Telecom samples) there is a negative impact of the construct on the evaluation (β=[−.06 −.03]), and the negative impact is slightly significant in the Telecom sample. Thus, H_1 is not supported.

Test of H_2: H_2 states that consumers evaluate brand extensions more favorably if they have a high loyal behavioral intention towards the original brand. A significant positive main effect of loyal behavioral intention on the evaluation of brand extensions is seen for all samples. Hence, H_2 is supported.

Test of H_3: H_4 states that consumers evaluate brand extensions more favorably when there is a high self-image relationship towards the parent brand. As could be seen from Table 3, self-image relationship towards the parent brand has a major influence on the evaluation of brand extensions. Thus, H_3 is supported.

Similarity between the original brand and the brand extension was also included (more like a control variable in the model). And as found in most of the literature focusing on brand extensions, similarity was highly significant.

DISCUSSION

Past research on brand extension has traditionally focused on perceived similarities between parent brands and extensions and has examined the effects of this factor on evaluations of brand extensions. However, despite this interest, research on perceived similarity and brand extensions has some limitations. In this article we focus on some aspects of brand loyalty. We find that a high affective relationship towards the parent brand may reduce the evaluation of brand extensions. Second, loyal behavioral intention towards the parent brand is important for reaching a positive evaluation of extensions. Finally, self-image relationship towards the parent brand is found to increase the evaluation of brand extensions.

Managerial implications: Three significant managerial implications emerge from the research. *First*, the study findings reinforce the fact that *brand loyalty* is an important construct for brand equity (Aaker 1991) and also an important determinant of brand extension evaluations. Therefore, it is substantial to measure the level of brand loyalty towards the original brand. Given high loyal behavioral intention towards the original brand consumers are more positive towards extensions from the brand. On the other hand it seams dangerous to extend a brand too much if the consumers have strong affective relationships towards the original brand. This result was not significant, and we do not want to stress the managerial implications too fare at this stage. More research is needed to figure out these relationships.

Second, a substantial research stream has surmised that consumers' initial perceptions of brand extension similarity are a key factor that limits the extension's acceptance. This study extends that conclusion by demonstrating that extension similarity is not a fixed property. Instead, similarity judgments are dynamic; they, along with evaluations, do change with different features of similarity. It is important to have high overall similarity between the original brand and the brand extensions. However, it is also substantial to have high similarity on different features between the original brand and brand extensions. Different features could be usage situations, user image, associations, etc. High similarity on only one of the features could give opportunities for the brand managers because this similarity feature could be used in the advertising. Indeed, after repeated exposure of the similarity feature, also more (overall) incongruent extensions are evaluated positively.

Theoretical implications: In terms of our theoretical arguments, in a broad sense, the study findings support the importance of understanding the perceived relevance of brand loyalty. This construct has to be improved theoretical, as well as how to operationalize and measure it. Improving the theoretical understanding of brand loyalty can extend our understanding of the construct when investigating the effects on brand extension evaluations.

Limitations: A number of assumptions characterized our research setting that suggest limitations to our study findings. For example, the parent brands were well-regarded, well-known and characterized by their unique set of associations. But what if a generally undesirable parent brand comes out with a brand extension? Do the same rules apply? What happens with the affective loyalty and the intention to behave loyal? This issue arises because we predict in many cases that evaluations become more favorable. But this is likely to be true only if the parent brand is favorable. Furthermore, the chosen brand extensions could have been more realistic and more information about the extensions is normally available in a realistic decision-making process.

Relaxing any one of these or other assumptions could change the strength—or even existence—of the effects that were observed in the study. However, the strength with the chosen design is the use of a quasi-experimental field research design. This is a more realistic way of measuring consumers' evaluation of brand extension (see e.g., Dacin and Smith 1994; Broniarczyk and Alba 1994). We could extend the present study making the evaluation processes even more "realistic". In a "real" situation, consumers would have access to considerably more information about an original and extended brand. In general, as the amount of information on a product increases, the weight given to any single piece of information decreases (Dacin and Smith 1994). In the future, researchers should not only use more complex multiattribute descriptions of extension products but also present extension stimuli in the form of different types of marketing communications such as print or television advertising (see one preliminary thoughts and investigation by Keller and Sood 2002/3). Similarly, though some measure of favorability of evaluation has been the core dependent variable in prior extension research, this approach does not correspond fully to the decision-making process in a competitive market. At a minimum, further studies should incorporate "competitive concept tests", in which consumers evaluate and/or engage in an actual choice task involving the stimulus extension (see e.g., Keller and Sood 2002/3) and a set of competing alternatives.

Finally, the measures used in this article could be improved in the future. These are particularly the case when it comes to the concepts of affective loyalty and behavioral intention of being loyal. This is an opportunity for further research.

Further research and conclusions: Our findings also suggest several specific issues which warrant further inquiry. First, the construct of affective relationship towards the parent brand could be drawn wider. One avenue for further research could be to use the framework developed by Fournier (1998). If one were to investigate the affective relationships towards some core brands in the manner Fournier (1998) has done, and then continue by asking about evaluations of different brand extensions, then the full answer about the relationship between affect towards the core brand and the evaluation of brand extensions could be found. Furthermore, a second issue for future research is the effect of different brand personality dimensions on the evaluation of brand extensions. Using the measurement scale developed by Aaker (1997) it could be interesting to investigate which dimensions of the brand personality construct effect the evaluations of extensions. This could possibly give some answers for brand managers when they propose to extend their brands. For example, the Marlboro brand has a specific brand personality, therefore, it would be interesting to use the brand personality construct to find categories matching these personality dimensions.

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The Effect of Morphemic Familiarity and Exposure Mode on Recall and Recognition of Brand Names

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Brand names, like words, are typically created from morphemic combinations (Robertson, 1989). A morpheme is defined as the smallest unit of language that carries information about meaning or function (O'Grady, Dobrovolsky, and Aronoff 1989). English contains more than 6,000 morphemes ranging from full words such as "man" to small parts of words that cannot stand alone such as "-ly." These 6,000+ morphemes can and have been combined to form the tens of thousands of words found in today's English language dictionaries.

Use of this morphemic approach in brand name development carries a number of advantages. For an English speaking consumer, for example, the morphemes contained in the names "Vitabath," "Duracraft," and "Hydrovive" are already represented in memory, thus aiding brand name learning. Moreover, since morphemes themselves are meaningful units, their use can result in a name with associations that support the desired brand image (Robertson 1989). Thus, the name "Duracraft" suggests that the fans bearing this name are well-made and will last a long time.

Despite the advantages of familiar morphology, some managers choose names that consist of non-native morphemes within their domestic markets. Managers wanting to elicit a country-of-origin effect, for example, will likely use morphemes that are generally recognized as originating from the language intended as the country-of-origin (e.g., French-sounding Mont Blanc, a German brand) (Harris, Jackson, Strum, Klassen, and Bechtold 1986). Even Nike, the all-American brand has a name consisting of a Greek morpheme meaning "Victory." In this case, the distinctiveness of "Nike" was presumably a key factor in this name choice (Kohli and LaBahn 1997).

The use of a morphemically familiar or unfamiliar name can have a marked effect on memory. Since a consumer's ability to comprehend, receive, and encode such information is limited by her knowledge (Alba and Hutchinson, 1987), the consumer is likely to have an easier time encoding morphemically familiar names than morphemically unfamiliar names. This relative ease is a function of prior lexical representation of the morphemes contained in a morphemically familiar name.

A second factor determining consumer memory for brand names is the relationship between exposure and memory modes. The modern marketplace often requires that consumers use visually-presented information auditorily and auditorily-presented information visually. A consumer looking to buy a brand she heard advertised on the radio, for example, must visually recall the brand name in order to include it on her written shopping list and then must visually recognize the brand name as it appears on product packaging. Similarly, a consumer interested in purchasing a brand appearing in billboard advertising may have to recall the brand name in order to ask for it in a store or recognize the brand name when said aloud by a store clerk. These scenarios share a common feature; in all cases, the consumer is exposed to the brand name in one mode but needs to remember it in another.

In a mismatch, two possible scenarios for encoding and retrieval emerge: 1) the consumer encodes the information in both modes upon initial exposure by performing on-line grapheme-to-phoneme (i.e., letter to sound) or phoneme-to-grapheme (i.e., sound to letter) transcription and then retrieves the requested information directly from memory or 2) the consumer encodes the information in the mode presented, retrieves this information, and then performs on-line transcription in order to present the information in the requested memory mode. Although these scenarios differ in the timing of transcription, they both require that transcription be performed. Proper performance in either case, then, requires knowledge of applicable grapheme-to-phoneme and phoneme-to-grapheme correspondence rules. Such knowledge is not necessary when exposure and memory modes match, since the consumer is asked to retrieve the brand name as it was originally presented. The varying role of correspondence rule knowledge requires that any investigation of consumer memory for brand names consider the difference between matched and mismatched modes.

This paper draws on this distinction between matched and mismatched modes in order to understand recall and recognition for morphemically familiar and unfamiliar brand names. More specifically, it argues that the relative advantage of morphemically familiar and morphemically unfamiliar brand names on recognition depends on exposure and memory mode (mis)match; morphemically unfamiliar names should hold a recognition advantage when exposure and memory modes match and morphemically familiar names should hold a recognition advantage when exposure and memory modes mismatch. In contrast, the paper argues that consumers are more likely to recall a morphemically familiar name than a morphemically unfamiliar name regardless of whether exposure and memory modes (mis)match.

The study employed a 2 x 2 between-subjects experimental design in order to test the relationships described. The two factors were morphemic familiarity of the brand name (morphemically familiar, morphemically unfamiliar) and exposure mode (visual, auditory). All subjects were exposed to a target name and two fillers. Subjects were tested for recall and recognition after exposure to all three names and the completion of a variety of other measures.

The findings do offer support for the idea that recognition of morphemically familiar and unfamiliar names depends on the relationship between exposure and memory modes. As predicted, subjects were more likely to recognize the morphemically unfamiliar name than the morphemically familiar name when exposure and memory modes matched. Similarly, the morphemically unfamiliar name outperformed the morphemically familiar name in the case of visual-auditory mismatch. In contrast, however, the results offer directional support of higher recognition for the morphemically familiar name in the case of auditory-visual mismatch. The difference in recognition rates across the two mismatched scenarios was unexpected but may be explained in terms of perceived distinctiveness of the name following auditory versus visual exposure.

Whereas the distinction between matched and mismatched modes clearly influenced recognition, it appears to have less bearing on recall. Following auditory exposure, the morphemically familiar name was more likely to be recalled than was the morphemically unfamiliar name. This relationship held regardless of whether exposure and memory modes matched or mismatched. In contrast, the morphemically unfamiliar name was better recalled in the case of visual match. There was no significant difference in recall rates in the case of visual-auditory mismatch. The superior recall of the visually-presented morphemically unfamiliar name versus the visually-presented morphemically familiar name was unexpected but may be explained in terms of phonological recoding.

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The Influence of Self-Regulatory Goal on Information Processing, Affective Responses and Counterfactual Thinking

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Regulatory focus theory (Higgins 1997) offers an interesting and powerful framework to understand consumer information processing, judgment, and behavior. The three papers in this session examine people's cognitive and affective responses to persuasive information that is compatible versus incompatible with their regulatory focus.

According to Aaker and Lee (2001), individuals pay more attention to information that is compatible with their regulatory goal. The first paper by Yi applies the compatibility principle to examine the effects of framing on persuasion. The results of this research show that promotion (prevention) focused individuals are more persuaded by positively (negatively) framed messages that emphasize potential gains (losses). Furthermore, the superior persuasion of a message that matches the respondents' regulatory focus is mediated by the intensity of distinct regulatory focused emotions (e.g., cheerfulness or relief for those with a promotion versus prevention focus), rather than the valence of the respondents' cognitive responses.

The second paper by Keller, Lee and Sternthal draws on the compatibility principle to examine how people choose between stability and change. According to Liberman et al. (1999), individuals with a promotion versus prevention focus are more likely to adopt an alternative strategy to attain a goal than stay with their original strategy. In a series of studies, they show that willingness to change is not only a function of regulatory focus but also of regulatory focus compatibility. Promotion-focused individuals are more willing to change when this action emphasizes gains, and prevention-focused individuals are more willing to change when this action emphasizes losses. The authors further extend the principle of compatibility to examine the impact of goal-related versus benefits-related information. As consistent with Liberman et al.'s (1999) conjecture that a promotion (prevention) focus encourages goal- (benefit-) related, high (low) level construal of task representations, respondents with a promotion (prevention) focus are more likely to adopt the alternative strategy when they are presented with goal- (benefit-) related information that is compatible with their promotion (prevention) focus.

The notion that promotion focus prefers change and prevention focus favors the status quo also provides the starting point for the paper by Grant and Xie. They extend regulatory focus to examine individuals' counterfactual thinking and affective responses to stock prices rising or falling after making a decision to sell half and hold half their original stock portfolio. They hypothesize that individuals with a promotion (prevention) focus are more likely to be action- (inaction) oriented and thus pay more attention to shares sold (held). two studies, the authors demonstrate that, indeed, promotion focused respondents who pay more attention to shares sold respond more positively when stock price rises and more negatively when stock price falls. In contrast, prevention focused respondents who pay more attention to shares held respond more positively when stock price falls and more negatively when stock price rises.

The Discussion Leader Miguel Brendl provided a general overview of regulatory focus research to-date and offered insightful comments for future research.

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"The Effect of Regulatory Fit on Persuasiveness of Message Frames: Affective Response as a Mediating Process"
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Although framing research has a long tradition in marketing, previous studies on message framing are limited in several ways. First, many researchers have failed to recognize that message framing is a phenomenon that is distinct from other kinds of framing, such as risky choice framing and attribute framing (see Levin, Schneider, and Gaeth 1998). Second, although consumer researchers have recognized that the way a message is framed may affect persuasion, most previous studies focused on comparing positively valenced frames that emphasize the benefits of compliance with negatively valenced frames that emphasize the loss of benefits of noncompliance (for an exception see Aaker and Lee 2001). In practice, a message can be framed in terms of one of four possible future outcomes: obtaining gains by complying, forgoing gains by not complying, avoiding losses by complying, or suffering losses by not complying (Brendl, Higgins, and Lemm 1995). Third, previous studies on message framing mainly focused on the role of cognition while ignoring the impact of anticipated emotions on persuasion.

The current research deviates from previous studies on framing by investigating the persuasive effect of two alternative positively valenced frames: one version that emphasizes that consumers will be able to obtain positive states or gains by complying (i.e., the "eagerness" version) and another version that stresses that they can ward off negative states or losses by complying (i.e., the "vigilance" version). It is expected that persuasion will be maximized in situations in which a consumer's chronic regulatory focus (i.e., promotion vs. prevention focus) matches the outcome focus of the message (i.e., emphasis on gains vs. losses). This prediction is based on Higgins' (1998) regulatory focus theory, which suggests that people with a promotion focus are more sensitive to the presence or absence of positive outcomes (i.e., gains and nongains) rather than to the presence or absence of negative outcomes (i.e., losses and nonlosses), whereas the opposite is true for people with a prevention focus (Higgins, Shah, and Friedman 1997).

Furthermore, this paper attempts to uncover the mediational processes underlying the hypothesis of regulatory fit. On the one hand, superior persuasion in the regulatory fit conditions is likely to be mediated by the greater positivity of cognitive responses that consumers generate while reading the message. On the other hand, it is also likely that greater persuasion under conditions of regulatory fit is mediated by the anticipation of distinct emotions that

consumers expect to experience: cheerfulness and relief. Specifically, it is hypothesized that superior persuasion among consumers with a promotion focus who read the eagerness version of the message (i.e., focus on gains) occurs via anticipation of cheerfulness rather than quiescence. On the other hand, superior persuasion among consumers with a prevention focus who read the vigilance version (i.e., focus on non-losses) will be mediated by anticipation of quiescence.

The hypotheses were tested in an experiment with college students. As predicted, for those respondents with a chronic promotion focus, a message that emphasizes the presence of gains (i.e., the "eagerness" version) elicited greater anticipation of cheerfulness, compared to a message that stresses the absence of losses (i.e., the "vigilance" version). In contrast, for those with a chronic prevention focus, the vigilance version elicited greater anticipation of relief, compared to the eagerness version. The findings also support the hypothesis that persuasion is maximized under conditions of regulatory fit. Further, mediational analyses revealed that the superior persuasion of the regulatory fit message was mediated by the intensity of distinct anticipated emotions, rather than by the positivity of cognitive responses.

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"Stability versus Change: The Effects of Regulatory Focus Compatibility on Behavior Change"

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According to Liberman et al. (1999), individuals with a promotion focus are more likely to adopt a change in their strategy to attain goal than those with a prevention focus. They further suggest that a promotion focus encourages mental representations that are more abstract and general, whereas a prevention focus encourages representations that are more concrete and detailed.

In the current research, we extend the hypothesis of regulatory focus compatibility (Aaker and Lee 2001) to further investigate individuals' willingness to adopt change. We hypothesize that individuals with a promotion versus prevention focus are more likely to adopt change when presented with promotion information that emphasizes gains (e.g., benefits of effective exercising) rather than losses (e.g., benefits of stress reduction), and the reverse for those with a prevention focus. We further hypothesize that those

with a promotion focus are more likely to attend to high-level goal-oriented information that is more abstract, whereas those with a prevention focus are more likely to emphasize low-level benefits-oriented information that is more concrete. These hypotheses were tested in four studies.

In study 1, participants were provided with either a promotion goal of exercising (to build stamina) or a prevention goal (to prevent cardiovascular disease). They were then presented with benefits of a different exercise machine that were (in)compatible with their goal. As predicted, participants presented with the promotion (prevention) goal were more likely to switch when the alternative offers the promotion- (prevention-) focused benefit of effective exercising (stress reduction). Furthermore, the results showed that participants' promotion focused thoughts were more likely to be goal-related rather than benefits-related, and the reverse for prevention focused thoughts. The results of study 2 provide convergent evidence that promotion focus orients toward high-level construal while prevention focus orients toward low-level construal.

In two other studies, we manipulated participants' regulatory focus by priming them with a scenario that emphasized either gains or losses. We then presented these promotion- or prevention-focused participants with another scenario in an exercising context, similar to studies 1 and 2. They were presented with goal-related information that is either promotion-focused (to build stamina and achieve cardiovascular training; study 3) or prevention-focused (to prevent loss of stamina and reduce the chances of cardiovascular disease; study 4), followed by benefits-related information that is either promotion focused (emphasizing effective exercising) or prevention focused (emphasizing pain reduction). Consistent with Liberman et al. (1999), our results showed that those with a promotion focus were more willing to switch to a different exercise machine than those with a prevention focus, replicating the findings of study 1. Furthermore, our promotion-focused participants were more likely to switch when presented with goal-related information that was compatible with their regulatory focus, regardless of the compatibility of the benefits-related information. In contrast, those with a prevention focus were more likely to change only when the benefits were compatible with their regulatory focus.

The results of the current research replicate past findings that promotion focus prompts more switching. More importantly, our results show that willingness to change is not only a function of regulatory focus but also of regulatory focus compatibility. Promotion-focused individuals exhibit greater willingness to change when this action emphasizes gains, whereas prevention-focused individuals are more willing to adopt change when this action emphasizes losses. Furthermore, we present evidence that promotion-focused individuals are more likely to be persuaded by high-level information that emphasizes the goal versus the benefits; whereas prevention-focused individuals are more responsive to low-level information that emphasizes the benefits versus the goal.

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"An Analysis of Counterfactual Thinking and Rationality: The Role of Regulatory Goal Focus in Individual Investor Response"

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Financial professionals frequently advise stock investors to sell half their stake in a company to lock in capital gains while still maintaining exposure. This common portfolio strategy, however, can elicit seemingly irrational responses–feeling positive utility when overall wealth decreases but negative utility when wealth increases. We examine the occurrence of this effect and attempt to link two distinct lines of research–regulatory goal focus theory and counterfactual thinking–to articulate a theoretical explanation for a psychological phenomenon that may lead to irrational (and rational) reactions to portfolio performance.

Regulatory focus theory, which makes predictions based on individuals' motivational state, suggests that people may be categorized as having either a promotion goal–seeking to approach a positive outcome–or as having a prevention goal–seeking to avoid a negative outcome (Higgins 1997). The adoption of a promotion focus toward a goal is believed to center on the acquisition of positive outcomes by achieving gains, advancing and realizing ideal end states. Consequently, a promotion orientation motivates the individual to reduce the psychological distance between an actual state and the desired state. A prevention focus is thought to center on warding off negative outcomes by meeting obligations, maintaining a state of safety or security and realizing ought end states. Consequently, a prevention orientation motivates the individual to maintain the psychological distance between an actual state and the undesired state.

Extending this theorizing, Liberman, Idson, Camacho and Higgins (1999) suggest that each goal state will elicit distinct consequences. Specifically, Liberman et al. demonstrate that promotion-oriented individuals prefer change, while prevention-focused people have a preference for maintaining the status quo. We employ a stock market investment context to explore the effects of a promotion goal orientation versus a prevention goal orientation when research participants are told they sell half their stake in a stock but maintain the other half, which we conceive of as change and status quo.

Our studies extend Liberman et al.'s findings by demonstrating that the investor's affective state is the result of the kind of counterfactual comparisons evoked, which is driven by the individual's goal focus. We offer evidence that such differences establish whether investors attend to the shares that have been sold or the shares that have been held in a sell-half-hold-half scenario. The resultant assessment of performance, then, is made based on a relative counterfactual comparison of what happened the next day to what could have happened. Counterfactual thinking, which is thought to occur spontaneously, most likely in response to certain triggers, such as a departure from established norms or a last-minute decision (Kahneman & Miller 1986), is a process of mental comparison by which people judge and interpret their choices or outcomes.

In two studies, we investigate how regulatory focus determines counterfactual thinking and thereby influence responses. In both studies, respondents were asked to imagine having an investment in a technology company and deciding to sell half and hold half their shares after a news announcement of ambiguous significance.

In Study 1, we manipulated either a promotion or prevention orientation among university undergraduates and measured their cognitive and affective reactions to a stock price rise or fall immediately following a decision to sell half and hold half their shares. Our results show that when a promotion orientation is manipulated, participants focus on the shares they have sold. They experience disappointment when the stock goes up but contentment when the stock goes down. When a prevention orientation is manipulated, participants focus on the shares they held, resulting in anxiety when the stock goes down but relief when the stock goes up. Further, we find that the type of counterfactual thoughts varies according to regulatory focus. Promotion-oriented respondents have more counterfactual thoughts about the shares they sold, whereas prevention-oriented respondents have more counterfactuals about the shares they held, regardless of whether the stock price rose or fell the next day.

These results support our contention that a promotion focus fosters thoughts about the shares that were sold (change) and that a prevention focus elicits thoughts about the shares that were held (status quo). Furthermore, we contend that these findings qualify theorizing in the counterfactual literature, in which action (selling) rather than inaction (holding) is thought to elicit more counterfactuals. We find no difference in overall number of counterfactual thoughts as a function of action or inaction.

In Study 2, we manipulated the salience of the focal action instead of regulatory focus by telling participants that their original intent was to hold (or sell) all their shares. Then, at the last minute, they sold (or held) half, thereby emphasizing the salience of the decision. When the salient action is selling (holding) the stock at the last minute, participants focused on shares that they sold (held), and they felt more positive when the next-day price dropped (rose). These data replicate the findings in Study 1 that responses to falling or rising stock prices is a function of respondents' emphasis on different aspects of the investment decision. The results corroborate our conclusion that distinct regulatory foci draw attention to selling (change) versus holding (status quo).

Therefore, we conclude that investors with a promotion focus are disappointed when the stock price rises after selling half their shares but pleased when the price falls. Prevention-focused individuals, however, are pleased when the stock price rises after selling half their shares and disappointed when the price falls. These results suggest that investors with a promotion focus have a tendency to dwell on the fate of the shares that have been sold, while investors with a prevention focus tend to attend to the shares that are maintained, which is consistent with theorizing by Liberman et al. (1999).

The present research provides evidence that regulatory goal focus may affect the natural tendency to consider what could have been, or counterfactual thinking, to interpret the subjective utility of an outcome.

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Antecedents and Consequences of Emotional Responses to Advertising

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OVERVIEW

Although consumer research has made progress towards understanding the specific effects of specific emotions on attitude toward the ad (A_{Ad}) and attitude toward the brand (A_B), the field does not have a full understanding of the reasons why individual responses to a particular ad vary widely across consumers. For instance, Edell and Burke (1987) found there was more variance in feelings reactions to TV ads than in other, more cognitive ad-related judgments. This observation led Edell and Burke and others (Aaker, Stayman, and Hagerty 1986; Scott 1994) to suggest a potentially important implication of this intriguing variation—feelings may be more appropriately characterized as properties of the individual than as properties of the ad.

Additionally, our understanding of the effects of emotional ad responses on variables other than A_{Ad} and A_B is incomplete. For example, the impact of emotions on memory in persuasion contexts is not clearly understood: research findings about the influence of emotional advertising appeals on consumer memory has been somewhat mixed, with some researchers arguing they result in poor consumer memory traces (Zielske 1982), while others argue that if tested properly, emotional appeals can have a substantial effect on memory (Friestad and Thorson 1993).

The purpose of this session was to contribute to better understanding of emotional effects by focusing on new antecedents and consequences of emotional responses to advertising. In addition, our session expanded the emotional responses to the advertising domain, creating a more comprehensive system of emotional responses. The session provided insight into these issues by examining three types of antecedents of emotional responses to advertising: 1) individual difference variables that affect the extent to which individuals experience emotion in response to an ad, such as affect intensity and the propensity to experience empathy and/or sympathy in response to a media presentations; 2) ad characteristics that affect the degree to which an ad evokes an emotional response, such as classical vs. vignette dramas, narrative structure, and rational vs. emotional appeals; and 3) the interface between the ad and the individual–that is, the degree to which the ad "hooks" the viewer. Additionally, the presentations expanded the types of emotional responses currently studied in consumer research by defining and differentiating two additional emotional ad responses: empathy and sympathy. Finally, the session articulated consequences of emotional ad responses that have not been thoroughly understood to date: implicit and explicit memory effects. (The Table summarizes the antecedents, emotional responses, and consequences that were examined in the session papers.)

"Empathy and Sympathy Responses to Advertising Dramas: Individual Differences and Emotional Effects"

Barbara B. Stern, Rutgers University
Jennifer Edson Escalas, University of Arizona

In the first paper, Jennifer Edson Escalas presented her work with co-author Barbara B. Stern, examining the effect of sympathy and empathy in response to advertising dramas on ad attitudes. This paper distinguishes between sympathy and empathy as separate but related constructs. The rationale for examining the linked constructs is that prior empirical research has borrowed but one half of the empathy/sympathy system, treating empathy as a monolithic

response measured on a continuum ranging from empathy to non-empathy (Boller 1990; Boller and Olson 1991; Boller, Babakus, and Olson 1989; Deighton and Hoch 1993; Deighton, Romer, and McQueen 1989; Wells 1989). More recent empathy research follows suit, not including the role of sympathy as an emotional response to persuasive appeals (see Aaker and Williams 1998, for review). This paper aims to expand the research domain to include both empathy and sympathy as a more comprehensive system of emotional responses, and to test them in an experimental setting.

To clarify the confused terminological history of both constructs, the authors return to the dualistic tradition in multidisciplinary research, where disciplines such as aesthetic criticism, philosophy, and psychology (Morrison 1988) converge on the existence of two constructs. Sympathy centers on a self-conscious, emotionally cognizant, sympathetic observer who remains "outside" a textual or real-life stimulus, while empathy involves an unself-conscious, emotionally absorbed, empathic participant who loses him/herself in it. Even though both are considered feelings responses to created works, they are categorized as different response types. The logic is that individuals experiencing empathy completely forget their own "personal existence" by sharing "the feelings of the characters," whereas individuals experiencing sympathy remain emotionally "conscious" of their personal lives, and understand but do not directly re-experience another's feelings (Langfeld 1920 [1967], p. 138).

In consumer research, even though sympathy is not mentioned by name, Deighton and Hoch make a similar distinction between emotional responses elicited by "feelings claims, following the empathic path to persuasion" (Deighton and Hoch 1993, p. 278) and emotional responses communicated by displays of feelings whose "intention and meaning" can be interpreted by consumers. The latter response can properly be called sympathy, for consumers can "conceivably be quite dispassionate" (Deighton and Hoch 1993, p. 267) rather than empathically moved to "manifest some of the physiological correlates of emotion" (p. 266). In this paper, the authors create two new scales—one for empathy and one for sympathy—that enable measurement of response differentiation, relatedness, and strength. The underlying assumption is that the different responses are interconnected parts of a system rather than mutually exclusive, and that the reconnection of sympathy to the empathy research stream allows for a more informed approach to emotional responses.

Furthermore, this paper examines an important antecedent of sympathy and empathy responses to advertising: the dramatic form of the ad. The authors use Stern's (1994) labels for different drama types (classical/vignette), and adapt them to reflect Deighton and Hoch's distinction between advertising dramas that show emotions versus those that teach viewers "how to have" them (1993, p. 267). Two experiments empirically demonstrate that sympathy and empathy make separate contributions to emotional responses to advertising. The authors find that classical drama ads are better at eliciting both empathy and sympathy responses, whereas vignette ads are not especially good at eliciting either. The classical drama's chronologically organized plot enables viewers to recognize the feelings of central characters (sympathy) as well as to share them (empathy), which lends support to the idea that sympathy is considered a unique response in the empathy process. That is,

TABLE

Antecedents and Consequences of Emotional Responses to Advertising Examined in the Proposed Special Session

Paper	Antecedents	Types of Emotional Responses	Consequences
Stern & Escalas	Dramatic form of the ad (classical vs. vignette)	Empathy	Attitude towards the ad
	Individual differences in propensity to feel Empathy and Sympathy in response to media presentations	Sympathy	
Edell, Moore, & Escalas	Being Hooked	Upbeat feelings	Attitude towards the ad
	Affect Intensity	Warm feelings	Attitude towards the brand
	Narrative ad structure	Disinterested feelings	
Williams	Emotional intensity of appeal	Warm feelings	Explicit memory
	Emotional diagnosticity		Implicit memory
	Rational vs. emotional appeals		

FIGURE 1

Relationship between Sympathy and Empathy

| Drama Type | → | Sympathy | → | Empathy | → | Ad Attitude |
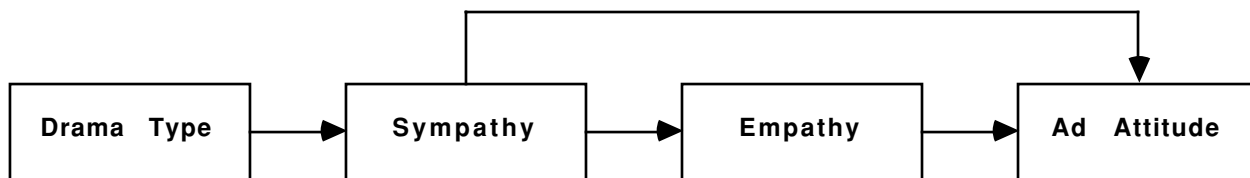
classical drama ads evoke empathy by way of sympathy. Sympathy appears to be the "easier" emotional response to evoke in an advertising context, which seems reasonable insofar as complete absorption in a sixty second advertisement may be more difficult to evoke than recognition of the emotions. The findings reveal a consistent pattern of results, with sympathy the first and more easily achieved emotional response, and empathy the later response of some ad viewers.

In the experiments, the authors also find that empathy responses mediate the effect of sympathy responses on A_{Ad}. These findings provide further evidence for the empathic path to persuasion model. However, the authors find both an indirect effect of sympathy responses on A_{Ad} through empathy responses and an unexpected direct effect. The direct effect may be a function of a number of factors, including cognitions arising from the experience of sympathy and individual differences in the propensity to experience sympathy and empathy responses to advertising (see Figure 1).

In their directions for future research, the authors intend to explore individual differences in consumers' propensity to experience empathy and sympathy responses to media presentations, which are an important antecedent of empathy and sympathy as emotional responses to advertising. The authors have developed two scales to measure these individual propensities in the context of

media presentations rather than to the real life situations studied by psychologists. The justification is that responses to advertising stimuli occur in the domain of *created* media representations rather than that of *real-life* events. That is, responses to advertisements are influenced by their aesthetic attributes (formal structure) as well as by individual predilections, in contrast to responses to naturally occurring events, influenced solely by the individual and the event. For example, whereas someone might react with terror to the experience of viewing a sinking ship, that same person might react with enjoyment to the cinematic spectacle of the Titanic going under. Preliminary results indicate a direct effect of these two individual difference variables on the corresponding level of sympathy and empathy experienced by ad viewers, with the propensity to experience empathy also affecting the level of sympathy response.

"Fishing for Feelings: Hooking Viewers Helps!"
Julie A. Edell, Duke University
Marian Chapman Moore, University of Virginia
Jennifer Edson Escalas, University of Arizona

In the second paper, Julie A. Edell presented her research with co-authors Marian Chapman Moore and Jennifer Edson Escalas, which examines three antecedents of emotional responses to advertising: the individual difference affect intensity, the ad characteris-

tic narrative structure, and the nature of the ad/individual interface, conceptualized as whether the individual is "hooked" by an ad, that is, the degree to which a viewer is pulled or drawn into an ad. Two experiments examine the effects of these antecedents on upbeat, warm, and disinterested feelings, which in turn affect A_{Ad} and A_B.

To better understand individual variation in emotional responses to advertising, the authors examine the interface between the individual and the ad, specifically the extent to which viewers are drawn into, or hooked by, an ad. They treat "being hooked" as a holistic construct that is related to a psychological construct, "experiential involvement" which is defined as "pronounced engagement with attentional objects" (Wild, Kuiken and Schopflocher 1995, p. 569). During episodes of experiential involvement, "individuals are captured by feelings, 'immersed' in activities, 'absorbed' in imagery, 'riveted' by interactions with others, and so on..." (Wild et al. 1995, p. 569). These processes describe what the authors mean by "being hooked," however, in the context of advertising, the full extent of experiential involvement will probably not occur. Thus, "being hooked" is a more moderate concept, created specifically for an advertising context.

A basic tenet of advertising is that attention is important for generating responses to ads (Aaker, Batra and Myers 1992). The authors assert, however, that it takes more than just attention to evoke feelings in ad viewers: it takes sustained attention, sufficient to result in viewers' involvement with the ad's plot or arguments or viewers taking the ad personally. That is, only when the viewer is hooked can an ad hope to evoke emotions other than feelings of disinterest. Ad viewers may become hooked in a variety of ways. An ad can pull viewers into the ad by making them feel as though they're experiencing what is happening in the ad, by reminding them of experiences from their own lives, by presenting an experience the viewers would like to have in the future, and so on.

Additional antecedents of feelings responses to advertising include characteristics of the individual watching the ad. The authors examine one important individual difference variable: affect intensity (AI). Larsen, Diener, and their colleagues (Larsen, Diener, and Cropanzano 1987; Larsen, Diener, and Emmons 1986) find that some people respond more emotionally to almost everything, while others are more reserved or conservative in their feelings reactions. Based on this research, high AI individuals should experience more feelings in response to ads than low AI individuals.

Finally, a third type of antecedent consists of the many and varied characteristics of ads themselves. Some ads are, by their nature, more likely to evoke emotions in viewers than others. The authors examine one particular ad characteristic: narrative structure, which the authors feel is a particularly good candidate for explaining variation in emotional responses to ads. Aaker et al. (1986) assert that emotions (in particular, warm feelings) arise in reaction to people or situations. Advertising narratives provide the characters and situations necessary to evoke an emotional response. Furthermore, some psychologists assert that different emotions have different "plots," so a story that organizes a condition of the world and a person's relationship to it in a particular plot will lead to a given emotion (Lazarus 1999, Shweder 1994). Advertising narratives that show emotion plots should evoke the corresponding feelings in ad viewers.

Results from two experiments support the assertion that the ad/individual interface is critical in explaining the strength and nature of an individual's feelings responses to TV ads. Viewers who are more hooked by an ad report stronger upbeat and warm feelings and weaker disinterested feelings. Therefore, not only does being hooked lead to stronger emotional responses that advertisers might

want their ads to evoke (such as upbeat and warm feelings), but being hooked also results in weaker levels of disinterested feelings, which advertisers want to avoid. The results also show that individuals with higher affect intensity scores experience stronger upbeat and warm feelings than do less affectively intense respondents and that affect intensity moderates the effect of being hooked on warm and upbeat feelings. The authors also find that narrative structure is positively related to upbeat and warm feelings and negatively related to disinterested feelings. Furthermore, these effects are mediated by the degree to which ad viewers are hooked by the ad. Finally, the authors again find that being hooked is related to more positive attitudes toward the ad, both directly and through its effect on feelings.

"The Impact of Emotional Advertising Appeals on Consumer Implicit and Explicit Memory: An Accessibility/ Diagnosticity Perspective"

Patti Williams, University of Pennsylvania

In the third paper, Patti Williams asserts that emotions are not always diagnostic cues in memory and, thus, that consumer explicit memory does not always reveal an impact of such emotional appeals. In contrast, implicit memory is based upon accessibility and not diagnosticity and as such may reveal effects of emotional appeals that explicit memory measures do not. In her paper, three experiments manipulate the emotional intensity of the appeal, the emotional diagnosticity of the appeal, and whether the appeal is rational vs. emotional, in order to examine the effect of warm feelings on explicit and implicit memory measures.

Emotional advertising appeals have received increased attention over the past decade in consumer behavior research. Such appeals are common (Stayman, Aaker and Bruzzone 1986) and have been shown to have substantial impact on consumer attitudes and purchase intentions (Edell and Burke 1987). However, research examining the impact of emotional advertising appeals on consumer memory has been somewhat mixed, with some researchers arguing they result in poor consumer memory traces (Zielske 1982), while others argue that if tested properly, emotional appeals can have a substantial effect on memory (e.g. Friestad and Thorson 1993). As a result, the impact of emotions on memory in persuasion contexts is not clearly understood.

The objective of this research is to address these mixed results by relying on an accessibility/diagnosticity model (Feldman and Lynch 1987) to explore the impact of emotions on consumer explicit and implicit (Lee, forthcoming) memory. Explicit memory is characterized by conscious awareness of and an intention to remember, and is typically measured by traditional memory measures such as free or cued recall and recognition tasks. Implicit memory, in contrast, refers to the effects of a prior episode that are expressed without awareness or intention to remember, and is typically measured by indirect tasks such as stem or word fragment completion and category associate generation.

Thus far, research has focused upon measuring explicit memory for emotional advertisements, ignoring their potential impact on consumers' implicit memory. However, while emotional traces stored in memory may be accessible after viewing advertisements, those traces may not be particularly diagnostic when consumers engage in the effortful, strategic searches of memory necessary for explicit memory performance, and thus may often be out "outshone" by other cues available in memory (Smith 1988). In tests of cued recall or recognition, for example, highly diagnostic cues (such as product category membership type cues) are given to respondents as part of the memory test itself. As a result, it is unlikely that participants will intentionally search for or use poten-

tially weaker emotional cues (which are often considered by researchers to be "peripheral" or "heuristic") contained in memory. In contrast, however, emotional traces may have a substantial impact on implicit memory, which requires no assessments of diagnosticity, instead relying entirely upon accessibility. Moreover, researchers such as Zajonc (1980) and Kihlstrom (1993) have argued that emotional experiences may often be implicit or non-conscious in nature, which suggests that investigations of the effects of emotional appeals on implicit memory may shed light on previously conflicting results.

This paper reports the outcome of three experiments designed to investigate the potential impact of emotional advertising appeals on consumer implicit and explicit memory. The first experiment explores the impact of advertising appeals by varying degrees of emotional intensity upon both implicit and explicit memory. Results show that with greater intensity of emotional response, there is a corresponding boost in explicit memory for the appeals. However, implicit memory shows impact of both mild and intense emotional appeals. The second experiment extends these results, investigating the impact of the diagnosticity of emotional appeals, via relevance of the emotional appeal to the product category featured in the ad. Results show that when the emotion is diagnostic for the underlying product category, and processing occurs in an elaborative fashion, emotional appeals can apparently cross the diagnosticity threshold necessary to result in superior explicit memory performance. In contrast, even appeals featuring non-diagnostic emotions impact implicit memory performance.

Finally, the third experiment compares the impact of rational versus emotional advertising appeals on implicit and explicit memory. Results show that diagnostic and non-diagnostic rational appeals have a more consistent impact across both types of memory measures, while the impact of emotional appeals varies, based on emotional diagnosticity, consistent with results of experiment 2. Together, results suggest that emotional appeals do have an impact on consumer memory, however, not always on consumer explicit memory. In particular, some of the previous issues in finding an effect of emotional appeals on consumer memory may be due to the relatively mild emotional responses evoked by those appeals, or the use of non-diagnostic emotions in those appeals and the resulting minimal impact that mild or non-diagnostic emotions have on explicit, but not implicit memory. Implications regarding the impact of emotional appeals in general on consumer memory will be discussed, as well as development of appropriate measures to assess advertising effectiveness.

Discussion
Dawn Iacobucci, Northwestern University

Finally, our discussant, Dawn Iacobucci, developed a nomological framework based on the antecedents and consequences of the emotional ad responses presented in the three papers in order to suggest directions for future research and guide the session discussion. Her network can be found in Figure 2.

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FIGURE 2
Nomological Network
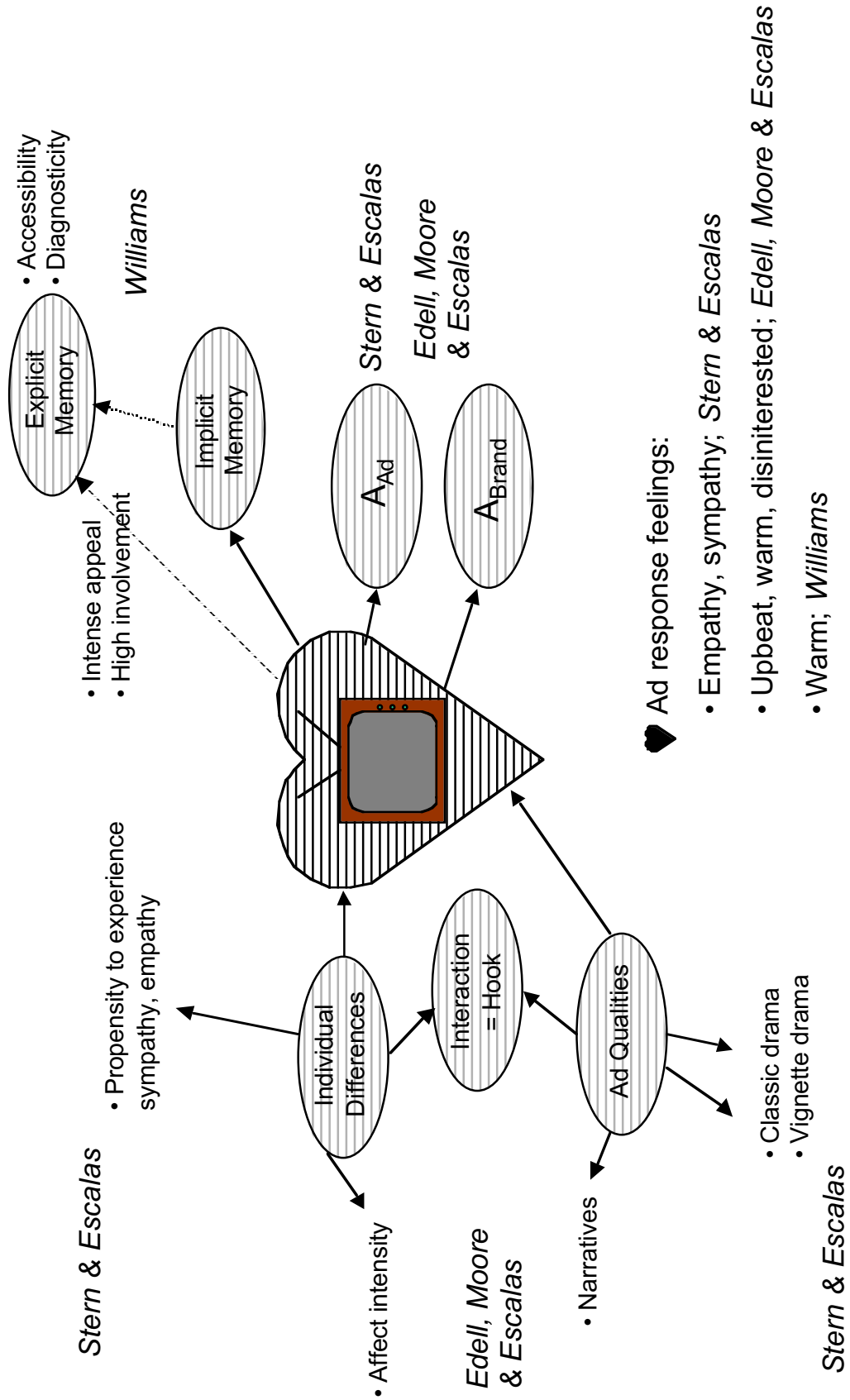
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Introducing Gender into the Analysis of Techno-Consumption

Susan Dobscha, Bentley College

Technology has proliferated every realm of the cultural landscape, from the boardroom to the bedroom. Technology has changed everything from the way we think about conception to the way we find mates to the way we teach our children about the world. Broadly defined, technology is the "tools, devices or systems designed to help users carry out specific tasks (Koerber 2000)." We narrow this definition to include three forms of "techno-consumption": the production and use of new technologies, such as computer software and video games, the creation of personal web pages for public consumption, and the participation in computer-mediated communities, such as consumer or brand forums. Gender is a major discursive element in this new technocultural landscape.

This session supported the belief that "certain technologies have the power to define the way we think about ourselves as humans and, therefore, to influence how we think about gender (Koerber 2000)." If technology is "inextricably linked to particular patterns of power and authority" and reflective of the human condition in which it developed and used, then naturally gender emerges as a powerful context in which to critique and interpret techno-consumption. Therefore, the following questions were posed in this session:

- What types of gender identity are expressed through techno-consumption?
- Does techno-consumption reflect the gender dynamics that exist within society? Or does it create an opportunity to contest the current gender order?
- How is gender negotiated within a technological landscape fraught with gender stereotypes?

This session serves to challenge the prevailing meta-discourse in consumer behavior that seems to conceive of technology as gender-neutral and therefore, renders it immune to the usual critiques (Fisher and Bristor 1993; Hirschman 1993; Murray and Ozanne 1991; Stern 1993). While some consumer researchers have challenged the culture-neutrality of technology (Mick and Fournier 1998; Thompson 1994), few have examined closely the gendered nature of technological products and computer-mediated communications.

In the first paper, Brumbaugh and Gravois Lee examine the children's computer game market to determine whether children's play styles are reflected in development, thus explaining why boys' games outnumber girls' 2 to 1. Lee and Brumbaugh assert that toy manufacturers are merely reflecting the values inherent in technology (which have historically been male-centered) and therefore create software titles more in line with boys' interests.

While Lee and Brumbaugh confront the gendered nature of children's techno-consumption, Kozinets et al. examine the role gender plays in the formation and participation in certain consumption-based online communities. Applying discursive analysis to computer-mediated communications, the authors find that gendered communication emerges within consumption-oriented communities where the product or service can be characterized as "male" or "female." Their analysis concludes that the texts created by forums that focus on a traditionally female product (in this case, cat enthusiasts) reflect female communications styles and male forums reflect male communications styles, thus transcending and complicating the assumed "gender neutrality" of technology.

Finally, Schau and Muniz explore gender construction and maintenance within the context of personal web pages. Their research highlights the tensions that exist between one's "real" gender identity and the identity that is created for public consumption on the web. Personal web pages more so than online communities reflect the intentional choices of their creators; thus, negotiating gender becomes a critical task. Schau and Muniz conclude that women who create personal web pages must dance a fine line between a desire to display their femininity while maintaining their status as "web-savvy" or technologically sophisticated.

"Gender and Technology-Based Games"
Anne M. Brumbaugh, Wake Forest University
Renée Gravois Lee, Quinnipiac University

Evidence suggests that girls are underserved with respect to technology-based games (see, e.g., Borg 1999, Chaika 2001). Technology-based game platforms like Nintendo, PlayStation, Game Boy, the Game Cube, and X-Box have reached greater penetration and acceptance among boys than girls (Myers 1995). At the same time, research shows that girls are less comfortable with computers and are less likely to be interested in technology-related careers (AAUW 2000, Woodka 2001). For example, the National Science Foundation found that the percentage of computer science degrees awarded to women dropped from 37 to 27 percent between 1984 and 1997 (*New York Times* 2000).

Many factors have been attributed as the causes of this decline, but a recent observation suggests that the characteristics of computer games that grew exponentially in popularity over the past 15 years may have turned girls off of such games in particular, and disturbingly, technology in general (*Technology Review* 1993). Computer games' emphasis on aggressive behaviors, gender-stereotyped characters, and individual (versus social) interaction are game traits that plentiful prior research on children's play styles would suggest that girls may not find interesting.

Specifically, research has shown that girls' play tends to be more collaborative and that girls play in small groups more than boys (Maccoby 1988). Girls' play is based more on role-playing and pretense than boys' play (Lindsey, Mize, and Pettit, 1997), and girls tend to exhibit more relationship-building behaviors (Leaper 1991, Maccoby 1985) than boys. In contrast, boys tend to be more aggressive and play in larger groups than girls. Their play is more physical and disruptive (DiPietro 1981), and though they may play in groups, they tend to exhibit more individualistic behaviors than girls in similar groups. Interestingly, when playing with the same toy, a stuffed clown, girls exhibit gender-traditional caretaking behaviors more than boys, who exhibit more physical play with the same doll (Cardera and Sciaraffa 1998). Toy design and advertising frequently emphasize these gender differences (Pennell 1994).

We assert that manufacturers have had an easier time creating technology-based toys for boys than for girls because boys' play style is more consistent with the capabilities offered by such technologies. Computer technology has been characterized as an individual endeavor one performs alone, one that uses explicit rules for interaction and communication (Cooperstock et al. 1997). Ever advancing graphics capabilities provide game designers with the opportunity to create vivid action sequences, with graphics changing based on players' input. Active, aggressive (even violent), individual, rule-based games would offer an experience consistent

with boys' play style, but inconsistent with girls' more collaborative, social, flexible mode of play.

Therefore, in this research, we link research on gender differences in children's play styles with the characteristics, popularity, and other features of technology-based toys. We inventory the breadth and depth of technology-based games, categorizing the sample of games on technology-related characteristics, gender-related characteristics, and other related themes. In addition, we analyze in depth a representative subsample of these games to assess the extent to which such games are consistent or inconsistent with gender-prescribed play styles. Not surprisingly, we find that the characteristics of technology-based games skew overwhelmingly male. As a consequence, consistency between game characteristics and children's play styles exists only for boys, and this consistency encourages consumption among boys but not girls.

Based on this analysis, we offer propositions about how boys and girls will interact with technology-based games depending on the specific features of the games. Importantly, because of the inherent similarity between technology and boys' play style, we appreciate the challenges game manufacturers and designers have in developing games that attract girls' attention and maintain their engagement. In the interest of offering play experiences to girls that broaden their interest in and experience with technology, we offer suggestions about how to create technology-based games to attract girls as well as boys based on each gender's preferred play style.

"Boys Talk Facts, Girls Talk Feelings? Questioning Gendered Consumption Discourse in Online Communities of Consumption"

Rob Kozinets, Northwestern University
Pauline Maclaran, De Montfort University
Miriam Catterall, The Queen's University of Belfast
Margaret Hogg, UMIST

Given that email and various other forms of computer-mediated communication (CMC) have emerged as the most pervasive and compelling uses of information technology in the home (see, e.g., Kraut et al. 1998), much of the consumption of contemporary technology can also be said to be the consumption of electronically-mediated discourse. Our research stream seeks to provide an understanding of the consumption of electronically mediated discourse in online communities devoted to consumption-oriented topics. In this presentation, we identify and provide some theoretical understanding of some of the key issues pertaining to gender differences in this form of consumption.

When it comes to the consumption of CMC technology, many studies have assumed that the computer has no inherent gender bias and that CMC adheres to a democratic communication model (e.g., Turkle, 1988). This research has often highlighted the potential freedom of access and social anonymity that the Internet provides (Herring, 1993, Yates, 1993, Landow, 1993). Some of these researchers opine that the relative anonymity of the Internet's text-based medium results in a lessening of consumption and communication inequalities based on gender, race, class and other social cues. Similarly postmodern perspectives promote the abstract concept of cyberspace and identity playfulness as escape routes from the physicality of biological sex and from the concomitant social and cultural constrictions of gender (Turkle 1995). However, research evidence to date demonstrates that, as with other technologies, the Internet is embedded in social structures and cultural processes that can never be neutral (Hock 1999).

For example, Herring's (1993) study of web-based discussions found that males contributing to CMC disproportionately to females, that female's messages gain fewer replies, that male postings are more likely to be information-centered, and that female postings tend to be more personal. Comparative studies of male and female discourse have often found similar differences. Male discourse has been found to be more thing-centered and aggressive, and female discourse more communal (for reviews, see, e.g., Cameron 1997, Lakoff 1990, Soukup 1999, Tannen 1984, 1994). This presentation explores and complicates these assumptions in a consumption-oriented context.

Using a combination of netnographic inquiry and discourse analysis, this current research reports findings from a longitudinal study carried out to explore discursive strategies employed in two consumption-centered online communities (for more on the importance of CMC to consumers and consumer research, see, e.g., Kozinets 1999, Muniz and O'Guinn 2001, Sherry and Kozinets 2001). The first online field site is a series of communities devoted to digital photography, with the majority of messages posted by self-identified male message posters. The second is a series of communities devoted to the care of cats, with the majority of messages posted by self-identified female posters. Our study examines the ways in which the consumption of the CMC medium differs between males and females between and within these two communities.

Netnographic studies (see Kozinets 2002) lend themselves readily to discourse analysis given the wealth of text-based data that are guaranteed. Discourse analysis is concerned primarily with the reality that texts construct, a reality that can be evaluated on its own terms (see, e.g., Hine, 2000). Discourse analysis' central focus is on the ways in which textual contributions are justified and given authority and how authors construct and perform their identities through their postings (Hine 2000). We thus find discourse analysis an idea complement to netnography in the study on the simultaneous production and consumption of consumption-related CMC in online communities.

Our findings suggest that the consumption of CMC exhibits important gendered and gendering effects, but also that these effects are far more complex and situational than many prior investigations of CMC consumption suggest. Online community consumption related topics tend to skew discourse style towards particular male or female styles as they self-select particular targeted demographic groups. However, within these fragmentary and diverse groups, there is considerable room for individual maneuvering across an extensive continuum of gender positions (including asexual, combined couplehood male-female positions, and gay male and lesbian positions). Many of these positions appear to be coterminous with particular consumption positions inherent in the diversity of consumption interests and consumption styles. For example, digital child portraiture is seen as more female and its consumption promotes a more female discursive mode, while digital nude photography is seen as more male-centered and promotes a more male discursive mode. Similarly, competitive cat showing is seen as more male, and compassionate cat massage is seen as more female.

As Tannen (1994) notes, gender differences are embedded within a more complex framework of culture, polysemy, and pragmatics. To this, we would add that gender differences are also embedded within the complex framework of consumption interests and positions. These consumption positions act as important contemporary factors that both reflect and influence gender discourses. Increasingly, these combined gender-consumption discourses are being shared and inculcated through the consumption of CMC, making studies such as this one increasingly relevant to our understanding of the social effects of high technology consumption.

"Gender Performance in Personal Webspace and Online Communities"

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Stacy Horn, President of Echo (a 'cyber salon' devoted to feminist issues) once lamented "the statement 'we're all equal on the Net' really means everyone is assumed to be American, white, heterosexual and male–until proven otherwise" (Press Release 1997). Five years later, it appears we are no closer to realizing the liberatory potential of an ungendered techno-utopia, nor has Haraway's (1991) prophecy of a "post-gender world" (p.73) emerged in computer-mediated environments (CMEs). In CMEs, fueled in large part by the explicit display of traditional gendered sexuality (male-centric pornography), femininity is often a highly sexualized, objectified, commodified and generally vulnerable position. Women who identify themselves as females online are frequently exposed to sexually aggressive advances (bordering on harassment) and subjected to belittling and dismissive remarks or flames that call into question their technical capabilities, their general knowledge base, their objectivity and their emotional stability (Ananova 2001, Pennington 1996). We examine the performance of gender in personal webspace, specifically the use of brand affiliation (names, hyperlinks and logos), to illuminate the strategies real life (RL) women use to express gender symbolically in a domain that does not rely on lived bodily configurations. As in previous research tackling the intersection and interaction of gender and marketing (cf., Catterall, MacLaran and Stevens 2000, Costa 2000, Dobscha and Ozanne 2000, Scott 2000), we explore gender performance and the use of brand affiliation in the techno-consumption realm of personal webspace.

Using netnographic techniques (Kozinets 2002), including the visual analysis of personal websites as consumer generated texts, we identify operating strategies of gender performance within the context of personal webspace. Our data consist of personal websites as public displays of conspicuously constructed, performed (Carlson 1996) identities, and electronic interviews with personal webspace authors (email correspondence and captured chatroom discussions). Archived and analyzed in an iterative, constant comparison method, the data reveal that women use brands as a form of cultural shorthand to stake claim to feminine identities online and open themselves up to a host of limiting, often demeaning, positions: sexual object/prey, maternal role model, fragile ego, damsel in distress, technical novice, overly emotional and intuitive creature, man-hater, deviant, prude, bitch, and wayward child. The above positions mimic tropes feminists have critiqued and women have for generations been relegated to enact. The important difference here is that in CMEs women voluntarily perform these prescribed gendered roles and conspicuously employ brands (names, hyperlinks and logos). Although these positions, especially when taken separately are shallow, partial and in turns degrading, we find them in our data to be strategically employed by Net savvy women. Conversely, our data also demonstrate women who strategically choose to pass either cashing in on the assumption of the unstated masculine online identity or attempting to construct an androgynous, though not specifically male, one. In all cases, these gender performances in personal webspace are deliberate, include commercial referents, and in this specific data set, pertain to women who anchor their online identity in the corporeal (women's RL bodies).

Our findings align with the recent theoretical moment in feminist studies, termed prosthetic feminism, where the definition of feminine is not biologically driven, nor a social construction, but rather an intentional manipulation of the body, like a prosthetic device (cf., Browning 1996, Senft 1996). The women in our data wield their online gender performances, including commercial references, to the service of their own whims. They assert mastery over their online selves by enacting gender tropes unthinkable and indeed undesirable to them in RL, i.e., sexual deviant, helpless female, sexless matron. Maneuvering within the confines of a still male-centric and patriarchal domain, these women use familiar gender postures as sites of subversion, playgrounds and therapy. The women in our study engage in various gender performances: to express themselves, to role-play, to work through complex issues, to assert dominance, and to gain knowledge or material wealth. While it may be comforting to imagine "the image of each of us floating through the Internet as indiscernible and equal beings" (Pennington 1996), the reality of women performing gender strategically at will is perhaps a step toward gender empowerment. Perhaps to contradict Audre Lord (2000), they will succeed in dismantling the master's house with the master's tools.

The Social Form of Napster: Cultivating the Paradox of Consumer Emancipation

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ABSTRACT

Aggregating more than 10 million users in the first six month period and attaining a growth rate of 200,000 new subscribers in a single day, the online music file sharing service Napster.com became the noisy center of a new social reality that struck terror into even the most sturdy of music entertainment executives. In this exploratory netnographic analysis of Napster consumption meanings, we analyze 80 cyber-interviews, 52 emails, 70 homepages and 80 entries on message boards to map micro-emancipatory consumption discourse and practices and build an understanding of the moderato social processes that construct Napster as an emancipative consumption community.

We introduce the idea of the social form of emancipation. A social form of emancipation is theorized as an operationally closed, self-referential and consumption-related social system, which, by social communication, is engaged in a permanent process of ensuring a social distinction between itself and its environment (which is the only device to be used to reproduce itself in the course of time). Consumer emancipation of consumption-related yet market-distanced social entities is developed and explored as a process conditioning communication about ideologies, meanings, norms, and values in the social form of emancipation.

Our findings reveal that consumer emancipation is the reassurance of social difference through communication, and the implicit self-paradoxification of centering into the cultural crosshairs of the social form of emancipation those entities it wishes to distance from.

By exploring and problematizing the distinctions between one particular social form of emancipation "Napster" and its environment, the present work helps consumer researchers better understand consumer emancipation as a conviction to difference, a difference which is being cultivated through social communication (autopoiesis). The specific autopoietical processes at Napster create the social form of emancipation as a space of choice against modern society's conviction to inclusion with respect to music corporations, commodification and copyright. The work concludes that social communication, understood as the concatenation of operations of drawing distinctions and observations of these operations performed by drawing other distinctions, is an important yet equally under-researched dimension of consumer emancipation.

"What record companies don't really understand is that Napster is just one illustration of the growing frustration over how much the record companies control what music people get to hear, over how the air waves, record labels and record stores, which are now all part of this 'system' that recording companies have pretty much succeeded in establishing, are becoming increasingly dominated by musical "products" to the detriment of real music. Why should the record company have such control over how he, the music lover, wants to experience the music? From the point of view of the real music lover, what's currently going on can only be viewed as an exciting new development in the history of music. And, fortunately for him, there does not seem to be anything the old record companies can do about preventing this evolution from happening"

(The Artist Formally Known As Prince 2000).

Prince's pragmatic statement exemplifies a potent new trend in western consumer culture. A mode of entertainment consumption is forming around the idea that digitized music and other digitized information can be exchanged online from one consumer's computer to another's. Napster.com can be regarded the premier example of this way of information exchange referred to as peer-to-peer file sharing. Aggregating more than 10 million users in the first six month period and attaining a growth rate of 200,000 new subscribers in a single day, Napster became the noisy center of a new social reality that struck terror into even the most sturdy of music entertainment executives. Behind this threatening new reality stands a type of software combining the convergence of mp3 music files with an Internet relay chat feature and an informational website. Coordinated by a couple of central server computers, they enabled not only community, but also free access to and download of up to 100 million copyrighted songs archived on the private hard drives of up to 100 million subscribers worldwide. This fact is so important that it needs to be pressed. Napster's file sharing system constitutes an emancipative consumption scape leaping over the constraints of the music market. In fact, Napster suggests constituting a complex and contradictory online subculture community (Schouten and McAlexander 1995), attempting to maintain a certain "outsider status" (p, 58; Hedbige 1979) from mainstream society's norms and values of music copyright, commodification, and corporations, and engaging in discourse supporting communality and disparaging markets, and the circulation of the gift as an alternative exchange practice of music (Giesler and Pohlmann 2002). However, what initially started as an emancipative expression of distance from music corporate forces seems to have become its virtual sponsor by now.

Napster's decline from the bad boy to the toothless tiger is preordained. Yet our understanding of the social processes conditioning its status in consumer culture, its emancipative relation to the capitalist market system and its cultural evolution from an ignoramus to a sponsor of intellectual property in the course of time remains limited, yet our vocabulary to describe them is poor. Consumer research theory provides a useful, but incomplete, insight into tensions between the market and (subcultural) consumption communities and consumer emancipation. While a body of existing literature on market-community tensions problematizes the particular dimensions of decommodification (Wallendorf and Arnould 1991, pp. 27-28; Kopytoff 1986, p. 64), cultural capital (Holt 1998, p. 21), liminality and antistructure (Sherry 1990, p. 27), the construction of market-community dialectic (e.g., Wallendorf and Arnould 1991; Holt 1998; Jenkins 1992, pp. 278-284; Kozinets 2001; Muniz and O'Guinn 2001; Schouten and McAlexander 1995; Thornton 1996), power struggles and consumer emancipation (Firat and Dhalokia 1998; Firat and Venkatesh 1995; Kozinets 1999; Murray and Ozanne 1991; Holt 2002), and the temporary and locally bound nature of consumer emancipation (Kozinets 2002), it has been silent about the socio-dynamics of emancipation, that is the *evolutory processes* by which consumption-related social entities of various forms attempt to create and maintain social distance from their (market) environment. Operating on a semantic level, consumer research theory provides a number of loosely coupled concepts and ideas for the emancipatory character of particular consumption-related social entities. It assumes an understanding of consumer emancipation in snapshots and looks at characteristic

"processes" as marking practices of cultural entities, rather than those dynamic *processes* reifying and conditioning the cultural transformations, understood as the ways whereby culturally conditioning communication about ideologies, meanings, and values is evolving in the course of time. Consumption theory is now equipped to move beyond the static identification and interpretation of particular community-market tensions and move forward to a dynamic understanding of the cultural transformation of various consumption-related yet market-distanced social entities.

We introduce the idea of the social form of emancipation. A social form of emancipation is an operationally closed, self-referential, and consumption-related social system, which, by social communication, is engaged in a permanent process of ensuring a social distinction between itself and its environment, which is the only device to be used to reproduce itself in the course of time. Having this said, consumer research can draw on an extended epistemological device for consumer research practice that looks at the ways how, by communication, three distinctions are established and carried out: the social distinction between actor and observer, the ecological distinction between social form and its environment and the temporal distinction between past, present and future.

The paper begins with a theoretical overview of related consumer research literature and goes on focusing on the used methodology in the second section. To develop the idea of the social form of emancipation and some of its key facets, the third section netnographically explores important discourse and practices used at Napster to emancipate consumers and distance music consumption from commodification, corporations, and copyright. The concept and discussion section finally develops the idea of the social form of emancipation and offers a discussion of the theoretical and conceptual context in which it is set.

THEORY

The following section reports on relevant theoretical comments on the tensions between communities and markets and its ideological apex, consumer emancipation, in the discipline of consumer research, and in the allied social sciences and humanities. We discuss Kozinets' (2002) classification of consumer emancipation as the apex of the oppositional relation between markets and communities with respect to social gathering in cyberspace. In doing so, the text demonstrates a variety of present conceptual deficiencies and weaknesses and clearly identifies its own genuine potential of contribution to the field in a critical summary.

Tensions between Communities and Markets

Firat and Venkatesh (1995, pp. 245, 255) theorize markets and their "totalizing" and "growing influence" to affect individual consumers and consumer communities. Markets cause the fragmentation of consumers into more isolated groups (Firat and Venkatesh 1995, p. 255). Markets therefore are held to evolve and even undermine some important social institutions, such as community and culture founded on common experiences. In addition, the "overpowering" forces of markets are held to adversely affect individual consumers by causing them to adopt "increasingly passive" and identity-structuring consuming positions (Firat and Venkatsh 1995, pp. 255, 256). Wallendorf and Arnould (1991, pp. 27-28) describe the need to discharge the threat of the market to familial communities by transformational acts of decommodification at Thanksgiving. Here they follow Kopytoff's (1986, p. 64) dichotomous notion of decommodification as a way of moving an item from the amoral market to a moral communal sphere. Decommoditization rituals ensure that some items remain unambiguously singular counter to the creation of homogenized values in everyday excessive commoditization.

In the study of the Harley-Davidson subculture communities, Schouten and McAlexander (1995, p. 58) report on the "outsider status" of the bikers' subculture of consumption and relate to the risks and opportunities of transferring this "outlaw mystique" to mainstream markets. Although the Harley-Davidson subculture is generically commercial, efforts to capitalize on the marketability of a subculture of consumption entail bi-directional risks. Likewise, thematizing tensions between new upscale bikers as outsiders and traditional bikers as insiders, for instance, Schouten and McAlexander lay ground for Thornton's (1996, pp. 122-128) notion of "selling out" as a powerful and common counter cultural narrative.

In a related stream, Belk, Wallendorf, and Sherry (1989) set out the dichotomous relation between communally sacred works, collectibles and spaces and profane monetization. Similarly, Turner (1967, pp. 391-392) develops the notion of communitas emerging from shared ritual experience "which transcend those of status-striving, money grubbing, and self-serving" and act as sacred "proofs that man does not life by bread alone." In his ethnography about the flea market, Sherry (1990) incorporates Turner's (1982) notion of liminality and antistructure, contending that the disorder of the flea market provides a corrective for some of the pathological aspects of consumerism.

Other correctives can be found in the oppositional relationship between media fan communities and the entertainment industry. Jenkins (1992, pp. 278-284) offers detailed account on a corrective similar to Sherry's in the non-profit trade relation of media fan communities, which reject profit, monetizing the exchange value of goods and services, and extracting excess value, or profits from exchanges. In doing so, they discursively create distance from conventional consumer culture and excessive consumption in favor of a more communal exchange. Likewise, McCracken (1997, p. 87) contrasts corporate control over music and film via rigorous copyright policy with sampling practices in his analysis of social plenitude. Following Baudrillard's (1968) notion of consumption as the active manipulation of signs, social entities use common marketplace interests as the "social cement" to form their foundation (Kozinets 1999) and, as McCracken discusses, engage in sampling practices to produce formerly unimagined combinations of items, artifacts, and opinions. Thus they create a universe of social plenitude where "no genuine potentiality of being remains unfulfilled" (Lovejoy 1950, p. 52). McCracken reports that, in an age of plenitude, fans take possession of *The Simpsons* and *The X-Files* (see e.g. Clerc 1996), they sacrilize the commercial code, singularize, and internalize it. On the Internet evidence is found in the many fan websites containing own story interpretations, action plots, caricatures, picture collages and self-made comic strips. McCracken points out that these modified codes come to *belong* to fans and their "rights of ownership" must be honored. However, entertainment corporations view the sampling practices and discourse warily although these consumer communities obviously help spreading their products and even drive forward the processes of idea creation. Sampling practices and the culture of plenitude work well together, the culture of plenitude and the market logic do not (see e.g. Gaines 1991; Buhle 1987; Harris 1990).

In his ethnography about Star Trek fan communities, Kozinets (2001) elicits a reversed relation showing that fans are differentiated as members of the fan community by their lack of profit motive, whereas the for-profit dealers are viewed warily. Pike (2001, pp. 74-81) revealed a similar tendency reporting on the rejection of commercial vendors at pagan festivals although these vendors bestow important social functions. The distance between the commercial as profane and the communal as sacred is symbolic of the

broader cultural tensions between markets and communities and is even aggravated in the critical call for consumer emancipation.

The Call for Consumer Emancipation

The critical call for consumer emancipation in consumer research centers the notion that consumers distance themselves from the restrictive influences and constraints of the market or maintain "an autonomy from the mainstream market culture" (Firat and Dhalokia 1998, p. 157). In order to achieve this goal Murray and Ozanne (1991) synthesize elements of Baudrillard's (1968) code of signs and Habermas' theory of communicative action (1985) and develop what Holt (2002) terms "*code-conscious deviance*." This means that emancipation requires the *reflexively defiant consumer* who is "empowered to reflect on his or her conditions to decide how to live" and who uses this critical reflexivity to defy the code in his or her consumption. Firat and Dholokia (1998) offer an alternative account on consumer emancipation mapping out the historical change of consumption patterns. These authors assert that the *hegemony* of the capitalist market has led to an overall individual-private-alienated-passive consumption. Emancipation is constructed as a good escape from this desperate condition of the individual from the evildoing realms of the market into the communal sphere of *theaters of consumption* (pp. 154-155), temporally unbound scapes of cultural interaction that exist *beyond* the market. Thompson, Pollio, and Locander (1994) and Thompson and Haytko (1997) argue yet differently that consumer culture is a much more open-ended discourse with numerous countervailing positions that allow for individuated self-construction. Holt (2002) argues that all of the above-cited critical positions share a similar narrative of cultural authority: marketers shape consumers' tastes and desires by vesting brands with powerfully seductive meanings. Then critics argue for various types of consumer resistance to combat the presumed authoritarian tendencies of marketing. In Holt's conceptualization, a mode of cultural sovereignty is promoted, whereby "marketing, in its postmodern incarnation, acts as a parasitic cultural machine that pilfers from public culture to cycle through commodities valued meanings and pleasures at an ever increasing velocity." In the future, Holt suggests, we will see the rise of gated consumption communities, "sequestered groups of consumers whose solidarity is premised upon creating narrowcast consumption domains to individuate oneself through consumption" and, again, to virtually distance oneself from what one filters out. Rather than constructing an individual or a distantly shared identity from all the signs in circulation, consumer emancipation means to aggressively delimit the cultural resources from which consumers draw to a handful of specialized interests.

In the most recent vision about consumer emancipation Kozinets (2002) concluded that communally enacted consumer emancipation, if possible at all, takes place in hypercommunity context, and must be conceived of as temporary and local. He demonstrates that negative market discourse, gift-giving, and the positioning of production and consumption as forms of self-expressive art at the Burning Man festival serve to temporarily distance consumers from particular market logics and corporate interests, rather than lastingly and from markets per se. For the first time in the study of emancipative consumption, Kozinets identifies *speed* as a key independent variable and explains, "that temporariness and speed of change are key cultural factors providing a community's members with a sense that they possess an authenticity that can evade corporate appropriation. By dissolving shortly after it forms, the hypercommunity becomes locked into a historical moment, seen as singular and priceless because, exactly like a particular moment in time, it is incapable being reproduced."

Critical Summary

These studies present a helpful, yet incomplete insight into the oppositional relation between communities and markets and its ideological apex, consumer emancipation. As it currently stands, their authors generate understanding by capturing a variety of cultural still pictures revealing significant disjuncture between particular social entities appearing distanced from, outside of, or subversive to the dominant market environment. As a consequence, the various critical projects of individually or discursively enacted consumer emancipation neglect aspects of social organization undertaken by consumers in order to escape from the market. In fact, the entire concept of consumer emancipation has yet to prove its ability and usefulness to critically inform our understanding of the politically charged, escapist and distancing construction of communal consumption. Consumer researchers can now move forward the market-community discourse to a truly paradoxical vision of consumer emancipation. Instead of focusing their approaches on a particularly reified concept of consumer emancipation as the static punch line of cultural sovereignty against corporate authority, the present vision of consumer emancipation then goes beyond the "symptoms of distance" on the social surface, to be theorized here as the dynamic processes that "build" the emancipative space of choice as an aim and a consequence of social communication about ideologies, meanings, and values.

METHOD

To study how the emancipative subculture community Napster is constructed and altered in the course of time and to evidence some of the key facets of consumer emancipation in the social form of emancipation, we examine the phenomena that it structures: social communication about ideologies, meanings, and values. To pursue this goal we link a netnographic research method to map micro-emancipatory consumption discourse and practices to the analytical investigation of communication in order to relate to micro data the moderato social *processes* that build and maintain Napster's subculture community.

The data used in this study was gathered by the authors throughout a period from October 2000 until February 2001 and includes 80 cyber-interviews, 52 emails, 80 board postings, 70 homepages, functional and historical writings as well as the authors' own observation using Napster.com. All data was electronically catalogued and stored. As was suggested by Kozinets (1997), we used several web pages (http://www.napsterresearch.com and http://www.markus-giesler.com) to attract potential informants' attention.

NETNOGRAPHIC THEMES

Napster is a music consumption-related yet market-distanced subculture community that alters participants' consumption meanings through discourse, rules, and practice. Napster's consumption experiences are socially constructed as distanced from the economic realms of mainstream entertainment consumption and the music market. To oppose marketplace logics that usually drive acquisition of music as a commodity, Napster is constructed around the circulation of music as a gift. Gift giving becomes a distinctive mode of communication and helps to build Napster as an alternative space of choice. Furthermore and concurrent to these observations, informants' comments reveal a dialectic that seeks to separate Napster's liberating ideology from the ostensibly corrosive forces of the music market. Napster sees itself as an alternative protocol to modern society's conviction to inclusion, to this extent, an inclusion through music commodification, corporations, and copyright. In doing so, Napster consumption practices are effectively disar-

ticulated from market logics and rearticulated onto emancipative ground through social communication about mass cultural critique and Marxist ideologies. The following sections explore consumptive discourse and practice at Napster in detail.

Communicating Napster Against Modern Society's Conviction to Inclusion

Following Napster founder Shawn Fanning the motivation to start Napster's system of gift circulation and multiplication was rooted in "frustration not only with MP3.com, Lycos, or Scour.net, but also to create a music community. There was really nothing like it at the time." In the ancient world only barbarians and the semantic case of Satan were able to draw a distinction in order to observe god and his creation from the other side. As a natural consequence failing god was the price for seeing "the observed and the other," and the gaining of the supposedly "better position" the result. (At least the ideology of) today's functionally differentiated modern society largely gives up barbarianism and diabolism and replaces it with the all encompassing claim of liberal opening, freedom, equality and the market. Social control is being performed no longer via exclusion but inclusion, or in the Foucaultian (e.g. 1961) sense, even forced inclusion. In the functionally differentiated modern society of today, the engagement in Satan's observation technique, the drawing of a distinction within a unity against the unity, and the similar yet postmodern indication of the supposedly "better position" has become the matter of cultural emancipation (or social protest): one enters society's prisons, lunatic asylums, and shopping malls, and it seems as if society's conviction to (forced) inclusion itself bears crystallization points of disappointing experiences that build the breeding ground for the various emancipative tendencies within Napster's social form of emancipation.

Opposing Commodification, Corporations, Copyright. Napster consumers circulate the gift and, in doing so, they seek to consume music in ideological opposition to the well established principles of a functionally differentiated system of modern music production and consumption in the triangle of commodification, copyright and corporations and against the ongoing de-sacrilization of music into the profane sphere of capitalist markets throughout the past 130 years. Napster, by contrast, understands itself as a locus of communally enacted social change and the fostering the regaining of social freedom. Informants often referred to the perils of copyright, which, following "Derek" (cable, sharing 693 copyrighted files), "has eaten those art species that are not accepted by the masses." while at the same time offering alternative ways to think about the status and value of information as "a free resource for all of us." Napster consumption and the circulation of the gift are taken as an antidote against the negative impacts of the contemporary music entertainment regime. The critique against modern music marketing is evident in the picture drawn by "Laura" (ISDN, 45 files shared). Her statement suggests a correlation between pop stars and fashion ideals like Britney Spears and being pressed by the "mass media dictatorship":

> *Whenever you switch on the TV today they just poison you with this army of Britney Spears girls and tomorrow you may dress up like her. A day later you are hanging over the toilet and puking yourself to the shape of Britney and so on. So what has Napster got to do with it? It just gives me a way to boycott this whole mass media dictatorship for the rest of my life!*

Laura's comments reveal a dialectic that seeks to separate Napster's liberating ideology from the ostensibly corrosive forces of the entertainment market. Here self-orientation means self-extension (Belk 1988, Kozinets and Handelman 1998) in that

Napster and the gift are used as an agent through which a personal violation of moral values is indicated, the differentiation from a surrounding evil is given form. Personal dissatisfaction with dominant social structures or predominant cultural practices affecting oneself rather than others, e.g. artists or society, is the motor for critical positioning. Consuming Napster is prized for its functional instrumentality in serving as a means to accomplish deliverance from the evils of mainstream music consumption culture and fashion dictatorship as a quest for personal harmony and ethical hygiene. Kozinets and Handelman (1998) have stressed the importance of "symbolic personal significance as a vehicle of self-realization and personal harmony" as a dimension of consumer resistance. The gift serves as a way to come closer to one's "ideal" self. The ideal "music fan" in the case of "Thomas" (ISDN, sharing 357 files), seems to hearken back to their discussion:

> *Boycotting the business is an issue for any real music fan! It's not fellow traveling some crazy fashion, it's for yourself!*

Holbrook's (1999) typology of consumer value posits that ethics (including justice, virtue, and morality) is one of eight values that may be obtained in the consumption experience. Smith (1996) has suggested a distinction between altruistic and agonistic motivation of consumption experiences, and Napster consumption can here be interpreted as an agonistic act of ethical purification for oneself. In contrast to that, but similarly agonistic, some informants' motivations to consume Napster are drawn from the impulse to belong and to integrate. Typically, participation in an emancipative social entity is an end in itself maintaining social ties while being only perfunctorily interested in the consumption activity that distance from the market. For example, "Sarah" (ISDN, sharing 72 files) illustrates that "It feels good to be part of such a powerful movement. Isn't it strange that people all over the world have somehow the same feelings?" Napster is seen as a movement to which "you wish to add yourself in order to add value to yourself".

Sampling, Re-Enchantment, and Revolution. In order to achieve the state of emancipation informants often communicated revolutionary, socialist, communist, and even anarchist semantic fragments when contrasting Napster and its philosophical underpinnings with their experienced "social inequalities" and disappointments in capitalist mainstream consumer society. For instance, informants who criticized that music production has become standardized and consumption passive often thematized mass culture critique applied to popular music. For many informants the creative and cultural possibilities had previously been corrupted by the corporate entertainment industry. As a contrast, Napster would present an escape from the masses and a return to individuality. Many of those comments re-invoke the castigating notions of "pseudoindividuality" and "regression of listening" of the early Marxian Frankfurt scholars Adorno and Horkheimer ([1947] 1979). Adorno and Horkheimer famously argued about what happens to music when it is subject to industrial capitalist production: it has no aesthetic value whatsoever and leads to a very specific type of consumption that is passive, obedient, and easily manipulated. Napster indicates that residues of the "mass culture" argument permeate discourse as an allusion to mainstream society's music market and culture. Visual proof for the interest in the ironical sign game of combining the political matter of Napster with reanimated fragments of the Marxist critique of the political economy is found in old-looking socialistic poster and graffiti nostalgia like "Napster–la revolución", subtitling the portrait of Ché Guevara on the background of rebellious labor class workers. "When you pirate MP3s you are downloading communism" is the message of a faked, retro-looking, ironical comic illustration subtitled "Reminder of the

Recording Industry Association of America." It shows diabolical accomplice Lenin encouraging an obviously American white Caucasian young male consumer who sitting in front of his Apple IMac to download MP3s. "When you pay for MP3s you are rockin' out with the man," says its counterpart illustration, this time, of course, a "Reminder from Gnutella, Freenet and Geeks everywhere." Here a prototypical industrial capitalist male in a black suit, equipped with a cigar, money wads, and a BMG (Bertelsmann Media Group) logo on his breast pocket flanks the same young consumer. And apropos McCracken's (1997) notion of sampling culture, the "Napster Manifesto", an anonymous call for "net communism" even makes use of a distorted version of Marx's and Engel's ([1848] 1999) Communist Manifesto, containing terms like "music industry" and "capitalism" instead of terms like "bourgeoisie", "bourgeois class" or "agriculture and manufacturing industry." Where Marx and Engels cried "Abolition of property!" some Napster users cry "Freedom of Information!" today. Both social movements center in its critique the cruelties and injustice of the political economy. A deeper reading of the Marxist-flavored signs in the consumption discourse at Napster suggests that the difference, which still had a meaning in modern Marxist critiques, has become the source material for the communicative signification of meaning in postmodernity.

CONCEPT AND DISCUSSION

The present netnographic examination suggests that *consumer emancipation* is the reassurance of social *difference* through *communication*, and the implicit self-paradoxification of centering into the cultural crosshairs those entities one wishes to emancipate from. Given these netnographic insights, my work can now turn to the discussion section to present its conceptual contribution: the social form of emancipation.

The Social Form of Emancipation

The social form of emancipation is a transdisciplinary concept endogenizing the concept of communication and difference as means to organize the nature and quality of consumer emancipation. At its core stands George Spencer-Brown's ([1969] 1977) remarkable, yet widely unknown work on the continence of distinctions and the laws of form. Originally aiming at re-founding Boolean logic, Spencer-Brown builds up a complex system of explanation whose calculus is based upon the intriguing idea that the simplest form or structure we can imagine is a distinction. A distinction includes everything: the indication that the distinction makes, the non-indicated rest of the world, which the indicated is distinguished from, and the distinction itself, separating the states indicated from the states non-indicated. From there on Spencer-Brown's calculus of form formulates three generic axioms for any observer: the "calling" (confirming) of the distinction, the "crossing" (canceling) of the distinction, both on a "first order," and the self-referential re-entering of the distinction into the realm it distinguishes on a "second order." With the possibility of re-entering into the distinction, Spencer-Brown explicitly included (for the first time in logic) an element of self-reference in the calculus it performs.[1] Starting from the mere definition of drawing

a distinction, only these three axioms empower Spencer-Brown not only to prove Boolean logic in a few pages, but also to help us arrive at a hitherto unknown way of approaching consumer behavior researchers' paradox of consumer emancipation. As Baudrillard (1968) famously brought it up: Why can one not escape the political economy of the sign without still residing in it? In his inquiry of the community-market discourse at the Burning Man festival, Kozinets (2002) refines this question with his observation that "it is as if by keeping the market centered in the cultural crosshairs, its alleged evils will be exorcised." We can move forward now and explore this paradox of consumer emancipation by conceptualizing the social form of emancipation.

The social form of emancipation is a complex self-referential social system (e.g., von Foerster 1969; Varela 1975; Varela and Goguen 1978; Luhmann 1997), which is engaged in processes engendering its own reproduction against, and only against, its environment through establishing control over causality by communication. We propose to see communication as a perfect example of the Spencer-Brownian concatenation of operations, performed by drawing distinctions and observations of these operations performed by drawing other distinctions. Communication then is nothing else but the permanent engagement in the three axioms for handling a distinction: accepting its motive (calling it); looking for different motives, values and contents (crossing it); or examining more closely its motive, value, and content (re-entering it). In doing so, communication reveals a triple insight. First it means creating the social form, a space of choice, which comes into being through restricting the realm of the possible on the first order. Secondly, it also means the exposition of the very act of restriction, together with the realm of the nonrestricted and the observer responsible for the restriction (and its exposure) on the second order. Paradoxically, on the second order of the observation, we can suddenly meet inside of the social form the environment from which the social form wishes to emancipate, the excluded side of the distinction, which has re-entered into the social form. The paradox of emancipation reveals that a social form of emancipation keeps out what it has to keep out, but it can only keep it out through knowing inside about the matter. Thirdly and through the operations of creating, exposing, and re-entering the space of choice, communication necessarily means bringing time into play. A social form of emancipation has to happen; it never *is* but permanently *performs through communication the creation of* its space of choice. We can call this performance autopoiesis and read it as the evolutory process that oscillates between and combines available (internal) and unavailable (external) factors of self-production. Autopoiesis describes the recursive iterations in communicative operations of the social form of emancipation, which needs the permanent mental "triggering" of the non-indicated environment, which the indicated is distinguished from. Yet the "cause" for the social form's autopoiesis is, by dint of its self-reference, the social form itself, by designating the one and not the other side of the distinction. The insights into the autopoietical processes of a social form of emancipation reveals at least two consequences: The first is that the paradox of emancipation is a yet virtually undescribed but natural matter of the self-paradoxical nature of autopoiesis of the social form of emancipation: you have to chase the king to ensure your status; likewise, chasing the king, you ensure his status. To repeat: the social form of emancipation can come into the social form of emancipation only as a paradox. Yet, precisely this is possible through the enactment of communication. Since each operation requires time and lets it pass, paradoxical communication can be comprehended only if time is included. The second insight therefore is that we could only make the paradox of emancipation available to us through a focus on consumer emancipation as

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[1] See also the following works by Louis H. Kauffman for a discussion of the mathematical dimension of Spencer-Brown's theory: "Self-Reference and Recursive Forms," Journal of Social and Biological Structure 10 (1987): 53-72; "Ways of the Game–Play and Position Play," Cybernetics and Human Knowing 2, no. 3 (1994): 17-34; "Arithmetic in the Form," Cybernetics and Systems 26 (1995): 1-57.

(autopoietical) *processes*. An observer can no longer considers himself a subject who can still hope to find within him (e.g. Firat and Dholokia 1998; Thompson, Pollio, and Locander 1994; Thompson and Haytko 1997), or in reflecting on language usage and interpretation (e.g. Murray and Ozanne 1991; Kozinets 2002; Holt 2002), foundation for agreement with and solidarity of others. The present work rather demonstrates that concept of the social form of emancipation and its observer, are "in motion," they engage in a dynamic perspective. In doing so, it closes the "evolutory" gap in the understanding of consumer emancipation.

CONCLUSION: DOES COMMUNICATION STRUCTURE EMANCIPATION?

In his study about the Burning Man *hypercommunity*, Kozinets (2002) suggests that, "the urge to differentiate from other consumers drives participation at Burning Man, and does not release them from grip of the market's sign game and social logics (Baudrillard 1968)." This netnography has aimed at investigating a possible conceptual framework for dealing with such an observation. By exploring and problematizing the distinctions between the social form of emancipation Napster and its environment, the present work helps consumer researchers better understand consumer emancipation as a conviction to difference, a difference which is being performed as the highly precarious dance of autopoiesis through communication. The specific autopoietical processes create the social form of emancipation as a space of choice through communication against modern society's conviction to inclusion. This work suggests that communication, understood as the concatenation of operations of drawing distinctions and observations of these operations performed by drawing other distinctions, is a structural yet time-endogenizing dimension of emancipation.

Consumer researchers can relate to methodological concerns new epistemological questions of the social distinction between actor and observer, the ecological distinction between social form of emancipation and its environment, and the temporal distinction between past, present, and future. Finally, they can strive to improve the discipline's instruments of description and to build a greater amount of controllable complexity into the self-description of consumer society. As if by itself, more precision and rigor in one's own communication makes visible what it excludes.

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Come Fly With Me: The Role of Consumer Confidence and Trust in Crisis

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

This research examines the role of consumer confidence on the relationships between trust and satisfaction and also between trust and behavioral intentions. In addition, the impact of locus of control is also examined in the relationships between dependence and satisfaction and also between dependence and behavioral intentions. These relationships are examined in different conditions of perceived environmental turbulence. A between subject experiment is conducted using a survey of adult-non-students. Responses from 608 respondents are analyzed to test the proposed relationships.

Previous theories of Customer Relationship Management (CRM) have examined the roles of satisfaction, trust, and commitment in influencing customers' attitudes toward the firm and their future purchase and use intentions. Such favorable attitudes have been found to insulate firms against the onslaughts of negative information or publicity. Recent events since September 11 have challenged this country and marketplace to the extent never before encountered in its history. These events also highlight a concept that has not been studied in previous consumer trust research, namely, consumer confidence. The researchers propose that consumer confidence is an important part of a model of consumer trust but is distinct from it in significant ways. We propose that trust towards a firm consists of two components: expectations and reliance. Consumer confidence, on the other hand, reflects a consumer's perceptions of the firm's abilities to deal with events. It is therefore based on demonstrated capability. This construct becomes important in a crisis situation when trust may still be maintained but a firm's inconsistent actions may undermine confidence. The events since September 11 (and the airlines' subsequent response to the events) have undermined consumer confidence, not consumer trust. Therefore, it is important to understand what actions can be taken to gain consumer confidence and in the process, restore patronage of the airlines.

Our research unravels the distinction between consumer confidence and trust and shows that consumer confidence becomes a salient construct in the presence of extreme environmental turbulence and impacts intentions to use air travel. A between subjects experiment was conducted using a survey method for data collection. Based on responses received from 608 adult non-students the hypothesized relationships were examined. The results show that in neutral conditions, both trust and confidence are significantly related to satisfaction. However, in conditions perceived to be threatening, confidence moderates the relationship between trust and satisfaction. Interestingly, we also find that the impact of trust on intention diminishes in conditions perceived to be threatening and instead, the impact of consumer confidence on intentions now becomes significant.

We also examine the role of locus of control in the relationships between dependence and satisfaction in addition to that between dependence and intentions. Our results indicate significant moderating effects of locus of control in the relationships between dependence and behavioral intentions for different conditions of environmental turbulence.

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Probing the Dimensions of the Need for Cognition

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Cacioppo and Petty (1982) developed a 34-item Need for Cognition Scale that quickly became the definitive tool for measuring this construct. Later, Cacioppo, Petty, Feinstein and Jarvis (1996) offered an abbreviated (18-item) version of the scale. This paper reports the results of two studies that evaluate the factor structure of the instrument in its two forms and examine the relationship of the underlying dimensions to consumer response to advertisements.

STUDY 1

Completing the original 34-item scale, presented as part of a larger "Lifestyles Study," were 195 undergraduate marketing students from a midwestern university in the US. Three weeks later, the same individuals read allegedly unrelated editorial and advertising materials and responded to measures of ad recall, recognition and amount read.

The initial factor analytic procedures were similar to those undertaken by Cacioppo and Petty. Specifically, principal-components analysis of the Need for Cognition Scale yielded nine eigenvalues greater than one. Final communality estimates ranged from .04 to .56; none were sufficiently near 1.0 to justify an assumption of minimal unique variance. Therefore, principal-components analysis was abandoned in favor of the common-factor model.

A principal-axis solution produced four eigenvalues greater than one. To account for 95 percent of the variance, it would be necessary to retain seven factors. Depending on the degree of conservatism employed, use of the scree procedure could point to the last marked discontinuity as occurring after the second, fourth, fifth or ninth eigenvalue. Based on this evidence and the value of accounting for a large proportion of variance, it seems appropriate to reject a single-factor solution for this data set.

Given the inferential advantages of maximum-likelihood factor analysis, that procedure was employed for remaining analyses. The chi-square value remains significant until the test of the ninth factor. However, the Tucker and Lewis (1973) rho statistic, which is less prone to overfactoring, reaches .95 with eight factors–an indicator that an eight-factor solution will provide good fit to the data.

Since the eight "need for cognition" factors may be expected to correlate with one another, a Harris-Kaiser oblique rotation was applied, with Varimax as the prerotation method. The first factor emerged with high loadings on six items associated with the enjoyment of cognitive tasks. Five variables characterized the second factor, which assesses confidence in cognitive ability. The third latent variable, with four items as its primary contributors, highlights a preference for complexity. Factor 4 is associated with four items centering on the need for purposeful cognitive effort. The three primary contributors to the fifth factor address a desire for understanding. Dominant in the sixth latent variable are two items measuring tolerance for cognitive responsibility. The essence of the seventh factor is captured in a single variable that measures trust in the consequences of cognitive effort. The two items with high loadings on Factor 8 capture intellectual self-perception. Interfactor correlations range from .01 to .27.

The relatively large number of factors required to provide a good fit to the data, together with the low correlations between those latent variables, suggests that need for cognition, as measured by the 34-item scale, is multidimensional. To determine whether the dimensions of need for cognition vary in their relationship to advertising processing, factor scores were correlated with ad recall, amount read and argument recall. The second factor (confidence in cognitive ability) achieved uniformly higher correlations with the ad-processing measures than did the total scale. This provides tentative evidence that when measuring need for cognition it may be useful to single out the specific latent factors embedded in the scale.

STUDY 2

The purpose of Study 2 was to analyze the dimensionality of the Need for Cognition Scale in its shorter version. Data were collected from a sample of 244 undergraduate students attending an Australian university. Each participant read a ten-page booklet containing two test ads (one simple and the other complex) for fictitious automobiles and filler materials. Subjects completed the 18-item version of the Need for Cognition Scale and measures of attitude toward the ad, brand attitude and purchase intention.

Maximum-likelihood factor analysis yielded four eigenvalues greater than one. Sixteen factors would be required to explain 95 percent of the variance. The scree procedure shows the last substantive discontinuity after the fifth factor. Similarly, chi-square drops to insignificance with the addition of a fifth factor and that is the point at which the Tucker-Lewis rho statistic reaches .95. Based on these criteria, a five-factor solution (with Promax oblique rotation) was adopted.

The first factor captures abstract thinking. The loadings for the second factor link it to preference for depth of thinking. Factor 3 relates to pragmatic thinking. The fourth factor represents a preference for complexity. The final dimension is a psychological-discomfort factor. The correlations between the factors range from .12 to .43.

Again ad response varies across the factors. All five factors significantly affect attitude toward the ad in both the simple and complex conditions, a result that is largely duplicated for brand attitude in the complex-ad condition. However, the influence of need for cognition on brand attitude in the simple-ad condition derives from the preference-for-complexity, psychological-discomfort and pragmatic-thinking factors. The same three factors account for need for cognition's effect on the intention to purchase in the complex condition, with little effect of the factors in the simple condition. A difference between the effects in the simple and complex conditions is the direction of the parameters: they are consistently negative in the simple condition and positive for the complex ad.

DISCUSSION

The Need for Cognition Scale's usefulness may be enhanced by the consideration of its factor structure. Both studies provided evidence that the construct (as measured by either form of the scale) is multidimensional. The observation that different factors account for need for cognition's effect on brand attitude and purchase intention in simple- and complex-ad conditions establishes the value of isolating and exploring the effects of the factors underlying the need-for-cognition construct.

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Time is on My Side: Duration Effects on Consumption Experiences
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Why do we sometimes enjoy the anticipation of an event, while in other cases we prefer instant gratification? Why do we sometimes want to get an unpleasant experience "over with" while in other cases we choose to procrastinate? This session provided an integrative view on the various conditions under which delaying an outcome might be beneficial to the consumer. The session examined consumer experiences during and after waiting for a variety of products and services, including candy and soft drinks as well as vacations and mammograms. The effects of anticipation and delay were explored for both positive and negative outcomes, and potential moderators of these effects were also examined.

"Is Hope to Enjoy More Enjoyed than Hope Enjoyed?"
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Ashesh Mukherji, McGill University

Do people enjoy planning for a future pleasurable experience more than they enjoy the actual experience itself? Evidence from two studies indicates that this may indeed be so. Results from these studies suggest that the focus of consumer attention during the planning and event phases may partly account for these results. Specifically, a focus on desirability issues during the planning of the event and on feasibility issues during the event itself enhanced enjoyment from the planning and eroded enjoyment from the actual event.

"The Effect of a Forced Delay after Choice on Consumption Enjoyment"
Stephen M. Nowlis, Arizona State University
Deborah Brown McCabe, University of Arizona
Naomi Mandel, Arizona State University

A consumer purchasing a product is often forced to wait before consuming it. We propose that the consequence of such a wait on consumption enjoyment depends on both the negative utility of the wait itself and on the positive utility of anticipating the consumption. These factors can exert different degrees of influence depending on characteristics of the decision task. In several studies, we found that participants forced to wait before consuming chocolate enjoyed the chocolate more than those who consumed it immediately. Yet despite the hedonic boost provided by the delay, participants forced to delay consumption did not enjoy waiting, nor did they choose to wait in the future. Furthermore, we found that the vividness of the product stimulus moderated these effects.

"But I Don't Want to Go: When Wait Management Strategies Exacerbate Stress"
Elizabeth Gelfand Miller, University of Pennsylvania
Mary Frances Luce, University of Pennsylvania
Barbara E. Kahn, University of Pennsylvania

While much research has been devoted to methods for reducing consumers' stress during waiting, we argue that the literature has ignored a crucial moderating factor, namely the valence of the waited-for event. In three experiments, we demonstrate that waiting can actually be positive in aversive environments and that standard interventions suggested to 'manage' waits (e.g., providing duration information) can actually exacerbate stress in these environments. We also explore the process behind these effects. Based on these results, we argue that marketers should consider the characteristics of their service or good, as well as the emotional state of their customers, when determining the best way to manage waits.

The Consumer Psychology of Rates

John Gourville, Harvard Business School

- *A cereal manufacturer faces increased costs. Is it better off raising price 5% and keeping package size constant or decreasing package size proportionately and keeping price constant?*

- *A vacationer is traveling to Southeast Asia for the first time. Are they more likely to spend money when the local currency is a multiple or a fraction of their home currency?*

- *A health agency seeks to change risky behavior. Is it better off quoting disease rates as infections per day or infections per year?*

These scenarios challenge the normative principle of descriptive invariance (Tversky, Sattath, and Slovic 1988), which holds that preferences should be invariant across different presentations of the same stimuli (in this case, numerical rates). Yet, there is growing evidence that consumers are sensitive to the manner in which rate-based information is presented. Work by Koehler and Macchi (2002) shows that a mock juror's assessment of guilt can be influenced by the manner in which numerical evidentiary data is communicated (e.g., 0.1 in 100 vs. 1 in 1000). Work by Gourville (1998) shows that an individual is more likely to donate to a cause when that donation is framed as "$1 a day" as opposed to "$365 per year." Finally, we are routinely presented with data framed so as to elicit surprise or shock, as when we are told, "someone dies in a traffic accident every 13 minutes" as opposed to "40,000 people die per year." Importantly, these systematic effects occur even though the underlying statistic (e.g., guilt, donation, total deaths) remains unchanged across framings.

In this session, we explore some manifestations and causes of these violations of descriptive invariance. In domains ranging from the pricing of consumer packaged goods, to the spending of foreign currency, to the communication of disease rates, we show that an individual's assessment of rate-based statistics often violate standard theories of normative decision making in systematic and predictable ways. In the process, we begin to offer a framework for the "consumer psychology of rates."

In the first paper, Gourville and Koehler explore the effectiveness of "downsizing price increases," an increasingly common pricing strategy which entails a decrease in package size in lieu of an increase in posted price. In two real-world data sets, they present evidence that downsizing is an effective strategy for increasing the effective price of a product. Counter to normative rules, this effectiveness suggests that consumers are more sensitive to changes in price than changes in quantity. To help explain this finding, they present two laboratory studies that indicate that (for the product categories tested) consumers "categorically" evaluate the quantity purchased. For instance, they evaluate the price of cereal "per box," the price of bread "per loaf," and the price of coffee "per container." As a result, they are quite sensitive to price, but much less exacting when it comes to quantity contained within a box, loaf, or container.

In the second paper, Raghubir and Srivastava investigate the spending effects of foreign currencies. Holding real prices constant, they predict that a consumers systematically under-spend or over-spend depending on whether the face value of a foreign currency is a multiple or a fraction of one's home currency. Across a series of studies, they find support for such a relationship. Further, they find

that factors (such as familiarity with the foreign currency) moderate but do not eliminate this effect.

In the third and final paper, Chandran and Menon study the effects of temporal framing on risk perception. In contexts ranging from gun deaths to radiation risk to infectious diseases, they predict and find that the near-term (e.g., per day) versus distant framing (per year) of the very same risk systematically impacts risk perceptions, attitudes toward the hazard, and behavioral responses. To explain these findings, they argue that a near-term framing (e.g., per day) increases the immediacy and magnitude of the risk, relative to a distant framing (e.g., per year). Across three experiments, they find consistent support for this explanation.

Together, these three papers serve to highlight the impact of rate-based information on everyday consumer choices. They demonstrate that seemingly simple changes in the way rate-based information is presented can influence factors ranging from perceptions of cost to immediacy of risk. While each papers looks at the effects of rate-based processing from a different angle, together they begin to tell a compelling story about the "consumer psychology of rates." In the process, the papers (individually and collectively) make a strong theoretical contribution to consumer research. Not only does each of the papers identify a new phenomenon, but also each goes a long way toward explaining that phenomenon. All are in the late stages of empirical work and all have well-developed theoretical frameworks. Having both theoretical and practical implications, we believe that this session should have fairly broad appeal, proving especially interesting for researchers in the areas of pricing, consumer decision making, and information processing.

INDIVIDUAL PAPER ABSTRACTS

"Downsizing Price Increases: A Differential Sensitivity to Price over Quantity"

John Gourville, Harvard Business School
Jay Koehler, University of Texas at Austin

As the cost of goods increase, manufacturers and retailers routinely pass these costs onto consumers. Usually, this has meant a straight price increase—a gallon of milk that costs $1.99 one year may cost $2.49 the next. A less obvious, but increasingly common, strategy is to "downsize"—to maintain the sticker price, but to reduce the size of the product. Thus, a can of coffee shrinks from 1 pound to 13 ounces over time, while potato chips that cost $2.99 for 16 ounces one month costs $2.99 for 14 ounces the next. Our research addresses why and when this strategy will be effective.

To explain the (possible) effectiveness of downsizing, we propose that for many transactions, consumers "categorically" evaluate the quantity purchased. For instance, they evaluate the price of cereal "per box," the price of bread "per loaf," and the price of coffee "per container." As a result, they are quite sensitive to price, but much less exacting when it comes to quantity contained within a "box" or a "loaf."

From the perspective of the manufacturer, we find support for this contention. In one study, using price and quantity data for four brands of breakfast cereal in a northeast supermarket, we find that variance in quantity (measured in ounces or servings) was 2 to 4 times greater than variance in price. In a second study, using longitudinal data from a large snack food provider, we find a systematic strategy by the manufacturer to periodically reduce

quantity in lieu of increasing price. Further, by comparing the market place response to these periodic quantity reductions to the marketplace response to straight price increases, we show that consumers are more sensitive to the latter. Both studies indicate that manufacturers view consumers as more sensitive to price than quantity. The second study suggests that this view is well placed.

At the level of the consumer, we find added support for the differential sensitivity to price over quantity in two laboratory studies. In one study, we find that consumers believe that downsizing will increase sales relative to a price increase because the former makes products "seem cheaper." In a second study, designed to test our argument for categorical processing, we presented subjects with a request to pledge money to a walkathon. We varied the length of the walkathon (10 vs. 25 miles) and whether the request was framed as a "per-mile donation" or a "total donation." We found that pledges in the "total donation" condition were insensitive to the length of the walkathon (at about $8) and that pledges in the "per mile" condition also were insensitive to length (at about 60¢ per mile). But insensitivity in the latter condition meant that the aggregate pledge for these subjects was more than 2 times greater at 25 miles than at 10 miles. It appears that individuals have a strong concept of a fair "total donation" and a fair "per-mile" donation, but are insensitive to the quantity (i.e., miles) over which that donation is allocated.

Moving forward, we continue to explore reasons behind this differential sensitivity to price over quantity. Potential explanations include a lack of awareness (e.g., I didn't realize that there was a quantity decrease), a lack of a mathematical ability (e.g., a 5% price increase is thought to be bigger than a 5% quantity decrease), and our proposed "categorical" evaluation of the quantity purchased.

"Effect of Face Value on Product Valuation in Foreign Currencies"

Priya Raghubir, University of California at Berkely
Joydeep Srivastava, University of Maryland

This paper examines how the face value of a foreign currency and exchange rate affects people's willingness to pay for a product and their purchase intentions for a product with a stated price. Although economic transactions can be represented in either nominal or real terms, Shafir, Diamond, and Tversky's (1997) money illusion suggests that people think predominantly in terms of nominal rather than real values. Using the money illusion effect as a starting point, we use an anchoring and adjustment process to describe how people use foreign money. Since the most accessible and salient piece of information–face value–is used as an initial input, the subjective value of a product (V), in home currency terms, is initially equated to the nominal value (Vn) of the product in the foreign currency (FCY): $V=Vn=FCY$. Given an exchange rate (r), the initial price of the product stated in terms of the face value of the foreign currency will be adjusted based on the exchange rate to arrive at the real value (Vr) in home currency terms. However, as is typical, the adjustment required to reflect the prevalent exchange rate is likely to be inadequate. With complete normative adjustment: $V=Vr=FCY/r$. Although people are aware of the distinction between nominal and real values, the anchoring and adjustment process suggests that their judgments are some combination of nominal and real values, with a bias towards nominal values because nominal representations are relatively simpler and more salient. We thus propose a simple model where a is between 0 and 1, inclusive:

$$V=aVn + (1–a)Vr=aFCY + (1–a)(FCY/r)$$

The use of the face value suggests that a>0, implying over-weighting of the nominal value relative to the normative value (a=0). The inadequate exchange rate adjustment implies (1–a)<1 (normative value=1). For one unit of FCY, $Vr=1/r$, and $V=a + (1–a)/r$. By definition when r>1, the bias, (Vr–V)<0 or Vr<V. When Vr<V, one unit of FCY seems more than what it is worth in normative terms, which is likely to lead to under-spending. Study 1 tests this hypothesis. On the other hand, when r<1, (Vr–V)>0 or Vr>V, one unit of FCY seems less than what it is worth, which is likely to lead to overspending. Studies 2 to 4 examine the effect of r<1 and r>1 on people's propensity to spend. While the value of r, whether it is greater than or less than 1, affects the direction of the bias, the strength of the bias is contingent on the value of a. As a→0, the bias reduces. Studies 5 and 6 discuss the factors that affect a.

Study 1 demonstrates the face value effect and shows that people systematically spend less in currencies as a unit of the home currency equates to a larger face value denomination (e.g., 1 US$=1100 Korean Won=24,500 Romanian Leu). Study 2 reverses the under-spending effect for currencies where a unit of the home currency equates to a fractional face value denomination (e.g., 1 US$=.4 Bahraini Dinars for US residents). Studies 3 and 4 systematically rule out alternative explanations and demonstrate the robustness of the face value effect across exchange rate presentation frames and across countries and currencies, respectively. Arguably, the face value effect is due to the accessibility and perceptual salience of the face value of the foreign currency. Theoretically, the strength and persistence of the face value effect should depend on the extent to which an individual has the opportunity to process exchange rate information and/or has experience in using a specific foreign currency. The last two studies show that the opportunity to process exchange information (study 5) and experience with a foreign currency–both measured (study 5) and manipulated (study 6) moderate the face value effect.

The results clearly highlight the main theoretical principle underlying our findings: although people are aware of the distinction between nominal and real values, their judgments are biased towards the nominal values. As such, our investigation extends the money illusion effect to the domain of foreign currencies. Arguably, reliance on nominal representations is due to the ease and relative salience of nominal versus real values rather than being strategic or motivational in nature (Shafir et al. 1997). Our results demonstrate that the strength and persistence of this bias towards nominal values depends on the ability and the experience of the decision maker. The findings suggest that the effect of face value on judgment may have an automatic component that respondents find difficult to control. Consistent with an interpretation of an automatic process, the strong and robust effect is only attenuated for those with relatively more experience and ability.

From a consumer welfare perspective, our results suggest that individuals are prone to systematic biases in spending foreign money even when they are cognizant of the exchange rate. To the extent that these effects occur outside of conscious awareness, individuals may be unaware that they are paying too much or too little which may potentially result in foregone opportunities. The findings provide evidence of automaticity in a sequential anchoring and adjustment process where one uses an automatic input and then engages in controlled processing. Importantly, our results indicate that ability and experience-related factors may moderate the face value effect. To the extent there is a tendency to convert an unfamiliar foreign currency in familiar home currency terms, factors that reduce the ambiguity in the conversion process should reduce the face value bias.

"When Am I At Risk: Now or NOW? The Effects of Temporal Framing on Perceptions of Health Risks"

Sucharita Chandran, New York University
Geeta Menon, New York University

"440,000 American succumb each year to the deadly effects of tobacco smoke."

" What will it take to get the 3,000 teenagers who each day start smoking to resist this deadly addiction?"

" A study by researchers at the University of California at San Francisco revealed that in movies in the 1990s, tobacco was used about once every 3 to 5 minutes. "

Consider these excerpts from recent articles in *The New York Times*. Increasingly, we are presented with statistics that frame risky behavior or the occurrence of a disease in terms of a temporal period (e.g., every day, every year, etc.). Do consumers draw different inferences from these statistics depending on the time frame in which they are presented? For instance, if *The New York Times* article had said, "1,206 Americans succumb *each day* to the deadly effects of tobacco smoke," would we draw different conclusions about the risks of smoking? In this research we explore risk perceptions, attitudes toward the health hazard, and behavioral intention when the risky behavior/health hazard is framed as a 'daily' versus a 'yearly' statistic. We predict that a risk seems more immediate when an "every day" frame is used, because it connotes a *near-term* threat, whereas an "every year" frame connotes a more *distant* threat.

Research on temporal distance has demonstrated repeatedly that the value of an outcome typically decreases over time and that a negative outcome undergoes steeper discounting than a positive outcome. It has also been suggested that individuals sometimes bring the future into the present through the creation of images, self-knowledge, and expectations. They imagine outcomes they would like to achieve and those that they would like to avoid. The imagined outcomes, in turn, drive current behavior. In this paper, we argue that framing risks (e.g., death from lung cancer, radiation from cell phone usage, accidents from reckless driving) in temporal reference periods can cause individuals to view that risk either as immediate and urgent (in the "every day" condition) or less-pressing and delayed (in the "every year" condition).

In Study 1, we show that the framing of a health-related statistic (e.g., death from smoking, risk of a traffic accident) as occurring every day (short temporal frame) versus every year (long temporal frame) heightens perceptions of risk and raises behavioral intentions to practice corrective/preventive behavior. We posit that this occurs because of the power of the "day" frame to increase awareness of the threat, to make that threat appear more intense, and to magnify focus on its potential detrimental consequences. In the next two studies, we replicate this result and identify contextual factors that interact with the temporal frame.

In Study 2, we presented subjects with statistics regarding the hazards of radiation emitted by cellular phones. We then explore the interaction between temporal distance the tactical versus strategic nature of any corrective/preventive behavior. Temporal Construal Theory finds that an action is evaluated differently at different points in a time continuum. An action is evaluated primarily for its desirability (which is strategic in nature) when the temporal distance between the point of decision and the point of intended action is large. But, an action is evaluated primarily for its feasibility (which is tactical in nature) when that distance is small. In keeping with this thinking, we find that a "day" frame triggers *tactical*

behaviors that are easy to perform and have immediate, but limited, consequences. In contrast, a "year" frame triggers strategic behaviors, which are more difficult to perform, but have longer-term impacts and a greater ability to reduce risk.

Finally, in Study 3, we investigated the potential interaction of the temporal framing of a disease with the "approach" versus "avoidance" regulatory framing of the message about the risky behavior that leads to that disease. In the context of mononucleosis, we either told subjects that they would increase the risk of Mono by kissing someone infected with the disease (approach framing) or decrease the risk by avoiding kissing someone with the disease (avoidance framing). Further, we manipulated the temporal framing of the disease as either a risk "per day" or a risk "per year." We predicted and found a significant temporal frame (day vs. year) by regulatory frame (approach vs. avoidance) interaction, wherein the perception of risk, attitude toward the disease, etc. was highest in the "day" by "approach" condition. Specifically, both the daily framing of the risk and the approach framing of the corrective action served to highlight the intensity and urgency of the disease. We conclude with a discussion of the implication of our results both from a theoretical standpoint and in terms of public policy.

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A Dynamic Choice Process: How Choices Generate Biased Memory that Influences Future Choices

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Previous research has examined the effect of memory on choices (e.g., Biehal & Chakravarti 1986, Lynch & Srull 1982). There is some limited research that has explored how making a choice could bias memory (Mather, Shafir & Johnson, 2000). However, no research has attempted to take a combined view to study the choice process. In this research, we suggest that choice behavior should be viewed as a dynamic process. What people have already chosen and how they have made the choices should affect what they remember about the chosen and non-chosen options, which in turn will affect their future choices. We set up such a choice-memory-choice experimental paradigm and investigate the process in two experiments. We present evidence that types of choice conflicts bias memory towards the chosen option differently, biased memory affects future choices and the impact is moderated by the level of differentiation of the new option in the second choice. We also distinguished two types of biased memory both theoretically and experimentally.

In the first experiment, we investigated the impact of two levels of choice conflicts on positive-biased memory towards the chosen option, and also explored the impact of biased memory on future choices. Subjects were first asked to choose from either a high conflict pair of options (i.e., both options are equally attractive) or a low conflict pair (i.e., one option is more attractive than the other). After either a short or a long delay, subjects were given a free recall task and a recognition task. They were then presented with a new, moderately superior option and were asked to make a second choice.

Previous research has suggested some negative effect of high conflict choices. For example, high conflict choices may generate more negative affect towards the choice process, which consequently lower participants' evaluations of the original choice options. We predict that, when the role of biased memory in the choice process is taken into consideration, relative to low conflict choices, high conflict choices will show a long term benefit for the chosen option because of the stronger encoding strength of the positive attributes of the chosen option.

Consistent with our hypotheses, we found that after a long delay, subjects in the high conflict condition showed more positive-biased memory towards the chosen option than subjects in the low conflict condition, whereas after a short delay, the opposite pattern was observed. The positive-biased memory was reflected in participants' recall of more positive attributes about the chosen option and the tendency of (mis)attributing more positive attributes to the chosen option. Moreover, we found that the significant conflict by delay interaction was mainly a result of confused misrecalls (misattributions). That is, rather than selectively remembering more positive attributes of the chosen option, subjects in the high conflict condition (vs. in the low conflict condition) were more likely to attribute the positive attributes of the non-chosen option to the chosen option after a long delay. However, the opposite pattern was observed after a short delay. We also found that the biased memory affects future choices. After a long delay, subjects in the high conflict condition (vs. low conflict condition) were less likely to switch to the new option in the second choice, whereas the opposite pattern was observed after a short delay. It was also shown that the correlation between confused memory and second choice increased after a long delay.

The first experiment focused on the encoding stage of the biased memory and we found evidence that the choice conflicts affected the encoding of the information and thus the biased memory. Evidence also showed that biased memory resulted in non-optimal choice behavior and increased loyalty to a less superior option. The second experiment focused on the retrieval stage of biased memory and examined under what conditions the effect of biased memory can be attenuated. Specifically, we manipulated the retrieval cues provided by the new option in the second choice by making it more or less differentiated from the original options.

The biased memory for the chosen option was less likely to be retrieved in the more differentiated condition because of fewer available retrieval cues and the retrospective interference generated by learning more unique features. Even if some biased memory may retrieved, it was less diagnostic when the new option was more differentiated (vs. less differentiated). Therefore, we hypothesize that the differentiated option will attenuate the effect of biased memory and after a long delay, this effect will be more significant in the high conflict condition (vs. the low conflict condition) where there was more biased memory.

This experiment was a 2 (high vs. low conflict) by 2 (highly vs. less differentiated new option) between-subject design. As we predicted, the percentage of subjects who switched to the new option in the second choice was higher in the more differentiated condition only when the conflict was high. When the conflict was low, however, we found that the percentage of switching to the new option was lower in the more differentiated condition, though not statistically significant. Consistent with the findings in experiment 1, the memory was more biased in the high conflict condition (vs. low conflict condition). But the mean level of biased memory was lower in experiment 2 than in experiment 1, which can be explained by the reduced product categories used in the stimuli. A mediation analysis supported the argument that switching was mediated by biased memory.

In sum, this research project aims to understand the choice process by incorporating the choice-induced biased memory into the dynamic. We examined both the encoding stage and the retrieval stage of the biased memory in order to provide a comprehensive view as to (1) how memory could be biased by previous choices, (2) what theoretical explanations can better explain the pattern of choice-biased memory, (3) how biased memory change over time, and (4) how memory biases can be attenuated. We provide new insights about the impact of choice conflicts on biased memory and better understanding of biased memory.

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Alternative Models for Capturing the Compromise Effect

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The compromise effect denotes the finding that brands gain share when they become the intermediate rather than extreme options in choice sets (Simonson 1989). It has substantial implications for consumer choice, and represents a significant violation of standard microeconomic theory. Despite the robustness and importance of this phenomenon, choice modelers have neglected to incorporate the compromise effect within formal choice models and to test whether such models outperform the standard value maximization model. In this article, we suggest four context-dependent models that capture the compromise effect within a heterogeneous multiattribute logit framework.

All of these models are motivated by theory from decision and consumer behavior research. A key characteristic of all models is that they view choice as a constructive process (e.g., Payne, Bettman, and Johnson 1992), whereby consumers construct their preferences based on the local choice set. Further, following the suggestion of Hardie, Johnson, and Fader (1993), the four alternative models incorporate both relative (i.e., reference-dependent) and absolute (or global) elements of consumer choice. In particular, our modeling approach assumes that the utilities (partworths) of attribute levels are known and have been measured at a global (context-independent) level; these global partworth functions can assume any shape (linear, concave, convex, etc.). The models then transform these partworth utilities according to the local context (i.e., based on the relationships among options in a given choice set). Thus, the alternative models are illustrated using equations and graphs that operate at the subjective utility space rather than the objective attribute level space. Moreover, the alternative models consist of individual-level utility functions, and therefore, account for heterogeneity through the estimated context-independent partworths. The proposed models are in no way limited to a particular method of preference modeling (e.g., partworth function vs. vector model) or preference measurement technique (e.g., full profile vs. self-explicated approach). That is, when discussing the models, we use the term "partworth" in the most general sense, to denote the utility or worth of a specific attribute level.

The alternative models differ with respect to the particular mechanism that underlies the compromise effect. In particular, the first two models, termed the Contextual Concavity Model (hereafter, CCM) and the Normalized Contextual Concavity Model (NCCM) account for the compromise effect by combining the notions of diminishing sensitivity and context-dependence; in other words, via "contextual concavity." A third model, called the Relative Advantage Model (RAM), is based on a modeling framework proposed by Tversky and Simonson (1993). A fourth model, entitled the Loss Aversion Model (hereafter, LAM), captures the compromise effect by incorporating two major principles that have emerged from behavioral decision research: reference-dependence and loss aversion (e.g., Tversky and Kahneman 1991).

Using two empirical applications and experimentally generated choice data (in two product categories), we contrast these alternative models among themselves and relative to the standard value maximization model. We employ a partworth function preference model (see, e.g., Green and Srinivasan 1978, 1990) and estimate individual-level partworths using the self-explicated approach (e.g., Srinivasan and Park 1997). The self-explicated task covers the entire range of attribute levels used in the choice study; thus, the self-explicated partworths are independent of the local choice context. We also employ choices calibrated by the multinomial logit model.

The calibration and validation results indicate that accounting for the local choice context, or the relative positions of options within the choice set, can significantly improve the predictive validity and fit of the standard choice model. Indeed, all four alternative models provided a significant improvement in fit over the nested value maximization model (hereafter, VMM), as indicated by the likelihood ratio test. More importantly, the validation results indicated that incorporating the compromise effect can lead to significantly higher predictive validity. However, while the contextual concavity and loss aversion models (i.e., CCM, NCCM, and LAM) exhibited superior predictive validity relative to the standard VMM, the RAM did not. In particular, the aggregate-level cross choice set predictions showed that the contextual concavity and loss aversion models yielded substantial improvements in predictive validity (ranging from 50 to 67%) over the VMM. Conversely, averaged across the two product categories, the RAM provided no improvement. Further, these tests suggested that the contextual concavity models had increased predictive validity relative to the LAM, and that the NCCM was somewhat better than the CCM. The individual-level cross choice set predictions, as well as the BIC measures of fit, also supported the notion that the NCCM, CCM, and LAM were superior to the VMM and RAM. In addition to their superior predictive validity and fit, the three leading models also predicted the enhanced shares of the compromise options and the substantial compromise effects observed in the validation data (ranging from 15% to 34%). By contrast, the RAM was unable to predict these compromise effects, and the VMM even predicted reversed compromise effects, consistent with betweenness inequality and the similarity hypothesis (Tversky and Simonson 1993).

A second empirical application generalizes the compromise effect to larger choice sets with five alternatives and four product attributes (instead of the traditional design of 3 options x 2 attributes). The results indicate strong compromise effects. Moreover, as in the first empirical application, the NCCM, CCM, and LAM are superior to the VMM and RAM both in terms of fit and predictive validity.

In addition to empirically testing the alternative models, we discuss the conceptual similarities and differences between the models and their ability to predict other context effects (e.g., asymmetric dominance). We conclude by suggesting that the models proposed in this paper have practical implications for applications that utilize choice models, such as conjoint choice simulators and for predicting choice shares for any given product line portfolio. In addition, we believe that the present research can be seen as part of the ongoing fruitful attempt to bridge the consumer behavior and marketing science disciplines.

An Examination of Money Management Tendencies

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The lack of money management among college aged consumers represents a major concern (Knight & Knight, 2000) and is associated with accumulation of financial debt among young adults (e.g., Lea, Webley, & Walker, 1995). We extend research on money management in the context of well-developed cognitive-behavioral decision theoretic multivariate models of money management addressing past limitations via; 1) inclusion of theoretically grounded constructs, 2) theoretical links between constructs, and 3) focusing on variables amenable to change in short-term interventions. Our goal in this study is to develop a comprehensive model of money management that identifies individuals who may be at risk of incurring financial debt due to poor budgeting.

We incorporate the following constructs from the Theory of Planned Behavior (Ajzen, 1988; 1991) and the Theory of Social Behavior (Triandis, 1980; 1994) to predict intention: attitude, subjective norm, affect, past behavior (i.e., past experience) and perceived control (i.e., internal ability), based on previous findings. Two models are proposed. One model implicates intention as being determined by attitude, subjective norm, affect, past behavior, and perceived control. In addition, we anticipate that perceived control will moderate relationships between subjective norm and affect on intent.

A second model identifies cognitive structure ($\sum b_i e_i$) variables that influence attitude. Given the centrality of the attitude construct in the consumer decision-making literature, we focus on the determinants of attitude toward maintaining a financial budget. Five perceptions of budgeting—consumption saliency, undesired effort, purchasing barriers, perceived knowledge, and structured spending–are likely to influence attitudes toward maintaining a budget.

Method

Sample. Respondents were 191 college students from a large eastern university, who participated as part of extra credit opportunities for required upper division course. Just over 50% of our sample indicated that they maintain a budget of their finances. We identified the salient beliefs from an independent sample of individuals similar to those in the main study (*n*=30). Measures are reported in the full text.

Results

We conducted two sets of analyses to examine the determinants of intention toward maintaining a financial budget and examine the moderating influence of perceived control onto variables in the proposed model. A summary of the regression analysis is presented in Table 1a.

All hypothesized components of the model for budgeting tendencies contributed significantly to prediction with the exception of perceived control providing support for Hypothesis 1. For the two-way interactions, we treated perceived control as a moderator and examined the relationship between subjective norm, affect, and past behavior onto intention to maintain a financial budget. The nature of the two-way interactions (i.e., the slope at each level of the moderator variable) for the hypothesized constructs is contained in Table 1b.

For intention to maintain a financial budget, respondents with high levels of perceived control, subjective norm was more predictive of intention, while at lower levels of perceived control, negative affect was more predictive of intention. Implications of the relationships and two-way interactions are considered in the discussion section.

Model of Budgeting Attitude. We examined the determinants of budgeting attitude via linear regression framework. Table 2 contains a summary of analyses for each cognitive structure variable. For attitude toward maintaining a financial budget, all hypothesized components of the model contributed significantly to the model.

Discussion

College aged consumers lack of money management continues to be a major problem (Knight & Knight, 2000). Research has indicated that improved budgeting can reduce the likelihood of financial debt (e.g., Heath & Soll, 1996; Lunt & Livingstone, 1991), however educational campaigns thus far have been ineffective (Lea, Webley, & Walker, 1995). The present study extends previous research by examining money management tendencies via theoretically grounded and linked constructs, and variables amenable to change in short-term interventions.

Budgeting Tendencies. Support for multiple determinants of budgeting intention was found via an extended model of the theory of planned behavior. These findings suggests that when people feel they have higher levels of ability toward maintaining a financial budget, they may be more aware of normative expectancies toward engaging in the focal behavior, thus making behavioral performance more likely. In contrast, when people feel that they have lower perceived control toward maintaining a financial budget, they may rely to a greater extent on their emotional reactions to an attitude object than on their beliefs about an object's attributes in determining their overall intentions.

Budgeting Attitude. Consumption saliency, undesired effort, purchasing barriers, perceived knowledge, and structured spending were hypothesized, tested and found to predict attitude toward maintaining a financial budget. Given our findings, it is not surprising that previous work focusing on single cognitive variables not directly related to budgeting decisions (e.g., general financial knowledge) have had relatively minimal success (e.g., Davies, & Lea, 1995; Hira & Brinkman, 1992). These findings have implications for the theory of planned behavior, and for the development of interventions to address these issues.

The results this study imply that a model of money management tendencies is incomplete when; 1) an influence of multiple variables are not incorporated from diverse decision-making models, 2) perceived control is not incorporated as a direct and indirect influence, and 3) the moderated relationships among levels of perceived control and subjective norm/negative affect onto intention are not considered.

Additionally, interventions focused on increasing money management tendencies in college students should entail one or both strategies; 1) change cognitive structure by increasing (or decreasing) beliefs and evaluations (e.g., perceived knowledge, structured spending), thereby, influencing attitude toward maintaining a budget, and 2) alter perceptions of control that lead to affective or normative mechanisms subsequently influencing budgeting tendencies.

In conclusion, the present research attempts to provide necessary concepts and suggestions to guide educational efforts in devising effective and appropriate strategies for college aged con-

sumers to avoid the consequences of financial debt, often caused by poor money management.

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Kids, Causes, and Culture: Expansion of Commodities and Consumers In the 1990s

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Linda Scott, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

This panel explored how three distinct aspects of social life intersected with new and intensive forms of marketization in the 1990s. Daniel Thomas Cook explored the new and contradictory notions of the "child consumer" that came to occupy an increasingly central place in marketing discourse and practice during this period. Cook detailed the schizoid character of the new child consumer through an analysis of market research reports and trade literature from industries that market to children. He discussed how the discursive transformation of children's consumer identity had made the 1990s boom in the children's market morally palatable and thus economically viable.

Inger Stole examined the proliferation of cause-related marketing and questioned whether the altruism behind such efforts is helped or hindered when subordinated to the ultimate goal of branding. Teasing out the differing public relations functions behind cause-related marketing efforts, Stole contended that this new marketing initiative serves to displace other, more effective and direct forms of philanthropy and linked the practice to the long-standing tradition of corporate public relations.

Douglas Holt and David Crockett's presentation focused on the commercialization of black urban neighborhoods, euphemistically termed "urban culture." Holt and Crockett used "strategic racialization" as a term to describe how marketers, in order to add brand value to their products, had began to use race to reference potent cultural sites. Pinpointing the rise of this phenomenon to late 1980s, Holt and Crockett gave a close reading of the racialized branding in Mountain Dew television commercials. The authors noted the particular challenges facing marketers in articulating racialized value to such brands in a credible manner.

Panel discussion leader, Linda Scott, noted how all the papers took what seemed to be unconnected associations, images and practices and turned them on their head exposing unseen dimensions of ideology and meaning. She also remarked on the highly contextual nature of these investigations, calling for more research to take social and political context into consideration when investigating consumption and consumer behavior.

The Influence of Regulatory Focus on Consumer Information Processing

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Regulatory-focus theory (Higgins, 1987) considers the different approaches people use to attain goals. This theory posits that there are two distinct regulatory systems for achieving desired end states, one concerned with acquiring nurturance and the other with acquiring security. Individuals who pursue what is termed a promotion regulatory focus concentrate on achieving their hopes, ideals, and nurturance needs by approaching matches to desired end states, whereas those who pursue a so-called prevention regulatory focus concentrate on satisfying their duties, obligations, and security needs by avoiding mismatches to desired end states.

Empirical studies that have examined regulatory focus theory reveal a number of intriguing findings. Of focal interest is the observation that a promotion focus is associated with the use of more risky, creative strategies and both the generation and simultaneous endorsement of multiple hypotheses. By contrast, a prevention focus is associated with more conservative, cautious strategies, such as generating only a few hypotheses or selecting one hypothesis from a set (Liberman et al. 2001).

The preceding findings suggest the possibility that different self-regulatory foci may be associated more generally with alternative information processing strategies. Specifically, promotion-oriented individuals may be more likely to process all types of information in a broader, inclusive fashion by noticing and attempting to integrate multiple or all elements of a message, including contextual data. Prevention-oriented individuals, however, may be inclined to process data in a narrower fashion by focusing on individual components of a message in isolation of others.

This paper seeks to test the preceding hypotheses and thereby advance regulatory focus theory by shedding light on whether regulatory foci affect the adoption of such alternative information processing strategies. In particular, we apply these notions to an advertising context and hypothesize that if an ad encourages the adoption of a promotion focus, ad recipients are likely to produce more favorable product judgments when the ad displays many non-obviously related pictures that imply a fairly abstract theme as opposed to a simpler, unitary image that relates directly to the advertised product. This follows because the inclusion of such related ad pictures should provide promotion-oriented individuals the opportunity to adopt their preferred information processing strategy, namely, to process and attempt to incorporate in a broad, inclusive fashion many disparate pieces of information. Accordingly, this should induce more favorable product judgments. On the other hand, if an ad encourages the use of a prevention focus, ad recipients should respond more favorably to an advertised product when the ad features a simpler, unitary image that relates quite directly to the product as opposed to many ambiguously related visuals that imply a fairly abstract theme. This should occur because a simpler unitary image should enable prevention-oriented individuals to adopt their preferred information processing strategy, namely, to process information in a relatively narrow, unambiguous manner. Accordingly, such individuals should respond more favorably to the advertised product.

The above-hypothesized two-way interaction of regulatory focus and the complexity of ad visuals seems to require a fair amount attention and elaboration of the ad in order for people to discern the relationship between those two factors. Thus, such two-way interactions are anticipated on rather specific, memory-based measures, such as judgments of specific product characteristics, which more forcefully encourage all people to engage in effortful retrieval of specific information included in an ad.

However, other tasks, such as rendering overall affective judgments, can be performed in simple, relatively uneffortful ways that do not require consideration or retrieval of detailed information. For these tasks, individuals' chronic inclination to engage in effortful cognition may determine whether specific information is retrieved from memory and considered. Therefore, we predict that three-way interactions of individuals' Need for Cognition (NFC), regulatory focus and the complexity of ad visuals should emerge on ad recipients' overall affective product judgments. Specifically, an effect of regulatory focus and the complexity of ad visuals should emerge on overall affective product judgments when individuals are high but not low in NFC. High NFC individuals who adopt a promotion focus are expected to report more favorable overall affective product judgments when the ad presents many related pictures that imply an abstract theme rather than a simpler, unitary image that relates directly to the target product. However, high NFC individuals who adopt a prevention focus are expected to report more favorable overall affective judgments when the ad displays a simple, unitary image that relates directly to the target product as opposed to many related pictures that imply an abstract theme.

A study was designed to test these hypotheses as well as several other more specific ones. Four versions of a target ad were developed, with each version varying on two dimensions. One dimension was the complexity of the pictorial images contained in an ad. The ads featured either many related pictures that imply a fairly abstract theme or a simpler, unitary image that relates quite directly to the product. The second manipulated dimension was the regulatory focus encouraged by the ad. Specifically, the ad headline expressed and encouraged either a promotion focus or a prevention focus.

Participants' judgments of specific characteristics of the target product revealed the anticipated two-way interaction of regulatory focus and complexity of ad pictures. Specifically, when participants were encouraged to adopt a promotion focus, they reported more favorable judgments of the target product's specific characteristics when the ad displayed many related pictures that implied a rather abstract theme as opposed to a simpler, unitary picture that pertained directly to the product. However, when participants were encouraged to adopt a prevention focus, they reported more favorable judgments of the target product's specific characteristics when the ad contained a simpler, unitary image as opposed to many related pictures.

Participants' overall affective judgments of the target product, however, revealed a three-way interaction of NFC, regulatory focus, and complexity of ad pictures. Consistent with our theorizing, the interaction of regulatory focus and complexity of ad pictures was significant on the overall affective judgments produced by high but not low NFC individuals. This resulted in the same sort of two-way interaction on high NFC individuals' affective judgments as that which was observed on all respondents' specific product judgments.

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When Gains Exceed Losses: Attribute Trade-Offs and Prospect Theory

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ABSTRACT

One of the central tenets of Prospect Theory is the concept of loss aversion— the psychological impact of loss is bigger than that of an equivalent gain. However, empirical support for loss aversion has been mixed in the literature. In this paper we extend Prospect Theory by introducing two variables that moderate the occurrence of loss aversion— quality-tiers and confidence in price information. We demonstrate that loss aversion for price occurs for low-tier brands only. We also show that the effect of price-tiers on loss aversion is moderated by the confidence consumers have in their price information. More confident consumers react more strongly to price changes than the less confident ones.

INTRODUCTION

Since the introduction of Prospect Theory by Kahneman and Tversky in 1979, asymmetric responses to deviations of actual price from a reference point have been researched extensively by marketing scholars. Prospect Theory originally focused on decision making with a single attribute. One of the central tenets of Prospect Theory is the concept of loss aversion— the psychological impact of loss is bigger than that of an equivalent gain. In other words, consumers react more strongly to losses than they do to gains.

Most purchase situations however, are not single attribute choices. Typically, customers have to make trade-offs. A loss in one attribute allows a gain in another. There are several such simultaneous gains and losses accompanying a purchase. Restricting our analysis to just one attribute may actually produce evidence that apparently contradicts Prospect Theory. For example, if we look exclusively at price, it is possible to find cases where a buyer is averse to gains rather than to losses. This could happen when a buyer is making a purchase based on quality and not price. A loss in quality is generally a gain in price. Thus loss aversion for quality could actually be observed as a gain aversion to price in the uni-attribute model.

In this paper we extend Prospect Theory by introducing two moderating variables that reconcile some extant contradictions in the uni-attribute Prospect Theory literature. We first propose that loss aversion for price depends on the *quality-tier* of the brand under consideration. Loss aversion for price will hold for low-tier brands but may not hold for top-tier brands where quality is a major purchase criterion. We then introduce a second moderator- *confidence* in price information. We propose that the effect of price-tiers on loss aversion will be moderated by the confidence consumers have in their price information. The rest of the paper is organized as follows. We first present a brief overview of Prospect Theory and empirical evidence in support of the theory as well as evidence inconsistent with it. We next develop a framework to reconcile the differences. The hypotheses developed in this section are empirically tested next. Lastly, we discuss the significance of our findings.

PROSPECT THEORY AND DECISION-MAKING

Under the single attribute Prospect Theory, the value function of the outcomes of prospects has three characteristics (Kahneman and Tversky 1979, Tversky and Kahneman 1991). The first is the 'reference dependence,' which implies that the choice alternatives are evaluated by deviations from some reference point (i.e., in terms of gains or losses) and not by the absolute levels of the outcomes. Second is the concept of 'loss aversion'. The value function is

steeper for losses than gains. It means that the psychological impact of any given loss is bigger than that of an equivalent amount of gain. Finally, 'diminishing sensitivity' implies that the marginal value of both losses and gains decreases with their sizes. Reflecting these properties, the value function is an asymmetric S-shaped curve that is concave for gains and convex for losses.

Empirical support for loss aversion in a single attribute context is largely focused on price in marketing literature. For example, Kalwani et al (1990) tested the asymmetric responses to positive deviations (gains) and negative deviations (losses) from a given reference price. Using the scanner-panel data for ground coffee, they found that the consumers react more strongly to price losses than to equivalent price gains. Similar loss aversion has been demonstrated for the purchase of other consumer goods by Kalyanaram and Little (1994) and Putler (1992).

Loss aversion research in marketing in the context of multiple attributes has dealt mainly with price and quality. Hardie, Johnson, and Fader (1993) show a clear evidence of loss aversion following Tversky and Kahneman's (1991) reference dependence model. They assume one reference point for each attribute and report loss aversion in the multi-attribute space in the orange juice market. On a somewhat different note, Tversky and Simonson (1993) and Simonson and Tversky (1992) find 'extremes aversion' in the case of consumer durables. They found that consumers prefer an intermediate alternative because it has only small disadvantage in relation to the other options. For example, consider the case of a consumer comparing three color TVs on two attributes, say, price and quality. If one of the options has an intermediate level of price and quality, the consumer is more likely to prefer that option because it has small disadvantages on both attributes. Simonson and Tversky (1992) conclude that this is a natural extension of loss aversion because disadvantages loom larger than advantages. Based on existing evidence in literature, Kalyanaraman and Winer (1995) proposed loss aversion as an empirical generalization: "Consumers react more strongly to price increases than to price decreases" (p. G165).

Although loss aversion has been supported in a number of research studies, evidence contradicting it does show up in some of them. Even Kalyanaraman and Winer (1995) added a word of caution before making the empirical generalization about loss aversion. They acknowledged that there are some counter-examples to loss aversion and suggested the need for more research on the contingency of loss aversion based on various market segments. Similarly, Wicker et al (1995) concluded that "the generality of the loss aversion function has not yet been established" (p.76), and Kopalle, Rao, and Assuncao(1996) proposed the possibility of non-loss aversion. Krishnamurthi, Mazumdar, and Raj (1992) found market segments that were more sensitive to gains than to losses in brand choice decisions. Similarly, using panel data on margarine, Mazumdar and Papatla (1995) found consumers to be more responsive to gains than to losses. Greenleaf (1995) showed gains having a clearly stronger impact over losses on market demand for peanut butter. More recently, Sivakumar and Raj (1997) examined the asymmetric influence of price changes on quality tier competition in the context of ketchup and soup purchases, and found the coefficient of gain in their model to be bigger than that of loss.

Thus, the empirical support for loss aversion is mixed. We next propose a multi-attribute trade-off extension of the Prospect Theory

by introducing quality-tier as a moderating variable to reconcile some of these contradictory findings. Specifically, we argue that the absence of loss aversion should be *expected* in certain situations. Under a two-attribute price-quality trade-off scenario, the buyers of top-quality tier should demonstrate lack of loss aversion for price because they are engaged in loss aversion for another (more important) attribute, quality.

QUALITY TIERS, ATTRIBUTE TRADE-OFFS AND PROSPECT THEORY

Most consumer choice problems involve multiple brands with multiple attributes. Thus, no matter which alternative a consumer picks, there are inevitable trade-offs that s/he must accept. For instance, even the best quality product that does not compromise on any attribute is usually more expensive. A buyer of that product has to settle for a higher than average price. Thus, trade-offs are inevitable no matter which product or brand a consumer chooses. In order to make purchase decisions, consumers have to prioritize available attributes to determine utility or disutility of such trade-offs.

Quality Tiers

Researchers have frequently divided brands into low and high quality tiers (Blattberg and Wisniewski (1989); Hoch 1996; Sivakumar 1996; Sivakumar and Raj 1997). Brands in the high quality tier are perceived as offering "comfort, security, and value" to their customers (Quelch and Harding 1996), whereas brands in the low quality tier offer better prices but lower quality too. Several researchers have classified private-label brands in the low-quality tier (e.g., Sivakumar 1996; Hoch 1996). Research has also shown that buyers in different tiers may have different purchase objectives. For example, Hoch (1996) demonstrated that there is a negative relationship between income and low-tier purchasing, indicating thereby that the purchase focus of low-tier buyers is price instead of quality. Thus, how buyers value quality (and price) would influence how they react to any changes in it.

Attribute Trade-Offs

Let us consider a trade-off scenario involving two attributes—quality and price. Quality here refers to the overall summary evaluation of a product's non-price features. Typically, there exists an inverse relationship between quality and price. A gain in quality implies a loss in price (a higher price). As has been the tradition in empirical research on Prospect Theory, if we examine price in isolation of other attributes, a loss (an increase) in price would loom larger than a gain (a reduction) in price. However, in a two-attribute scenario, a gain in price also implies a loss in quality and vice versa. And again, using the single-attribute prospect theory, the loss in quality should loom larger than an equivalent gain in quality.

Assume a two-products market, with product A being low price/low quality, and product B, high price/high quality. If we focus on price, movement from high price to low price (B to A) would be easier, whereas if quality is the focus, movement from low quality to high quality (A to B) would be easier, given loss aversion of Prospect Theory. Thus, if we apply the single attribute theory to price-quality trade-off, we get contradictory predictions, depending on the variable chosen. How would customers actually react to this commonly encountered price-quality trade-off? Will the prospect theory hold under two-attribute scenario? How would a customer resolve the obvious conflict?

Tversky and Kahneman expanded the single attribute Prospect Theory to multiple attributes "Reference-Dependent Model" in 1991. This extension accommodated the more realistic assumption that there are multiple brands in the market with multiple attributes. They argued that preferences depend on the reference point chosen by a customer. They empirically demonstrated that those who have a product high on attribute x, value that attribute more than other attributes. Thus, a customer who buys a high quality product, values quality more than other attributes and is reluctant to incur losses on that attribute. Using this line of logic, one can argue that those who value quality will measure the trade-off in terms of quality and would be loss-averse to decline in quality. On the other hand, those who are price-sensitive would assess a trade-off in terms of price and would be loss-averse to increase in price.

According to Yamagishi (1996), consumers assign higher weights to attributes important to them, thereby choosing the alternative that performs better on the more important features. Wicker et al (1991, 1993) use the term 'goal necessity' instead of importance weights. A more "necessary goal" (a desirable attribute which is weighted more heavily) has a higher priority than a "freely chosen goal" (i.e. less necessary goal) in the goal hierarchy. Thus, a buyer preferring a more expensive but higher quality product considers quality as a "necessary goal," whereas a private-label buyer would consider quality a "freely chosen goal." Similarly, price-sensitive buyers who prefer low-price products place a premium on price, their "necessary goal."

Thus, in case of multiple attribute trade-offs, we can resolve the conflicting predictions of Prospect Theory by determining the goal necessity of a given buyer. If quality is the necessary goal, then loss in quality will loom larger than an equivalent quality gain (irrespective of what happens on the price dimension), and if price is the necessary goal, then a price increase will have a greater impact than a price decline. Thus, if we were to arrange all the brands in a product category in descending order of perceived quality, then buyers of top-tier brands will exhibit loss aversion for quality and buyers of low-tier brands would exhibit loss aversion for price. An interesting outcome of this prediction is that loss aversion of quality for top-tier will manifest as "gain aversion" for price. As the loss in quality is usually associated with a gain in price, the loss aversion of quality implicitly implies a gain aversion for price. In other words, the loss aversion of quality in top-tier would manifest itself as gain in price having a higher impact than an equivalent loss in price. We explain this unusual and apparent reversal of Prospect Theory in mathematical terms below.

$$\begin{array}{ccccc} A & \xrightarrow{1} & B & \xrightarrow{2} & C \\ \$700 & & \$800 & & \$900 \end{array}$$
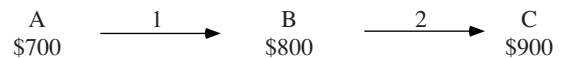
Consider first the top-quality tier. For purpose of illustration, assume there are three top-tier brands— A, B, and C, priced at $700, $800, and $900 respectively. Also assume that a buyer prefers brand B over A and C. Also, assume a positive price-quality relationship (otherwise, brand A will be bought 100% of the time). Thus, in moving from brand A to B (move 1), or from B to C (move 2), a buyer gains in quality and loses in price (in the sense that s/he has to pay a higher price). Let us represent gains in quality by G_q and losses in price as L_p. We will add subscripts 1 and 2 to represent moves 1 and 2, respectively. As discussed earlier, the necessary goal of a buyer in top-tier is quality. In moving from A to B, the buyer values the gain in quality more than the loss in price. Thus $G_{q1} > L_{p1}$. The buyer's reluctance to move from B to C indicates that the gain in quality associated with the move is less than the loss in price, or, $G_{q2} < L_{p2}$. Also, the law of diminishing effects in Prospect Theory suggests that $L_{p1} > L_{p2}$. Therefore, for a buyer in the top-tier,

$$G_{q1} > L_{p1} > L_{p2} > G_{q2} \tag{1}$$

Now, consider a $100 price discount for brand B. Recall that the necessary goal of a buyer in this tier is quality. A customer determines the value of a product in terms of its quality (the necessary goal) instead of price (the freely chosen goal). In other words, the currency of evaluation of a deal is quality, not price. A $100 discount is like buying brand A (priced at $700), but with the (higher) quality of brand B. Thus, the quality equivalent of this $100 discount is G_{q1}. Next, consider a $100 price increase for brand B. A buyer in low-tier would simply consider it as a price loss, L_{p2}. However, for a top-tier buyer, this is the equivalent of buying C (priced at $900) without the (higher) quality of C. Thus, this price increase is the equivalent of missed opportunity of gaining better quality, G_{q2}. To summarize, in quality currency, a $100 discount for brand B is valued at G_{q1} and a $100 price increase is valued at G_{q2}. But, as noted in (1) above, $G_{q1} < G_{q2}$. Thus, for top-tier brands, a $100 price gain would have a higher value than a $100 price loss. This leads us to our first hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1a: For top-tier brands, price gains will be valued more than equivalent price losses.
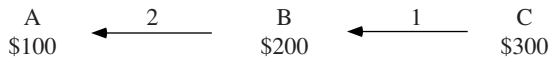
Consider now the low-quality tier. For purpose of illustration, again assume there are three low-tier brands— A, B, and C, priced at $100, $200, and $300 respectively. Also assume that a buyer prefers brand B over A and C. The necessary goal of a buyer in this tier is price. Thus, the gains and losses are measured in terms of price, instead of quality. Thus, by preferring B to C, the buyer values gains in price more than the loss in quality. Thus, $G_{p1} > L_{q1}$. The buyer's reluctance to go further down to A indicates that the gain in price is not worth the loss in quality. Thus, $G_{p2} < L_{q2}$. Also, the law of diminishing effects in prospect theory suggests that $L_{q1} > L_{q2}$. Therefore, for a buyer in the low-tier,

$$G_{p1} > L_{q1} > L_{q2} > G_{p2} \qquad (2)$$

Now, consider a $100 price discount for brand B. Recall that the necessary goal of a buyer in this tier is price. The currency of evaluation of a deal is price, not quality. A $100 discount will be valued in monetary terms only, i.e., G_{p2}. Next, consider a $100 price increase for brand B. Let us denote this by L_{p1}. However, according to Prospect Theory, $L_{p1} > G_{p1}$ (losses loom larger than gains). But, as noted in (2) above, $G_{p1} > G_{p2}$. Thus, $L_{p1} > G_{p2}$. Thus, for low-tier brands, a $100 price loss would have a bigger impact than a $100 price gain. In other words, we would observe the loss aversion for price in low-tiered brands. This leads us to our second hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1b: For low-tier brands, price losses will be valued more than equivalent price gains.

CONFIDENCE IN PRICE EXPECTATIONS AND PROSPECT THEORY

As noted earlier, one of the three tenets of Prospect Theory is "reference dependence." Gains and losses are assessed from a reference point. However, consumers may not have well-developed reference points. Or even when they do, their confidence in that reference may vary. Biswas and Blair (1991) demonstrate that such differences in confidence exist and that the more confident consumers are less likely to change their reference prices in face of higher/lower observed (market) prices. Thus, the less confident

consumer tends to assimilate the new price by moving his/her reference point whereas the more confident consumer tends to contrast such differences. This is consistent with Monroe's (1990) adaptation of the Assimilation-Contrast Theory. Consumers who are not confident of their price expectations, move such expectations to make them consistent with the market reality.

For Prospect Theory to work, it is important that the consumer contrasts the difference between observed price and reference price. To the extent that the reference price is assimilated with the observed price, gains and losses will not appear. Given that the less confident consumers move their reference price in the direction of observed price (Biswas and Blair 1991), gains and losses will diminish by the magnitude of such movement. Thus, the moderating effect of quality-tiers on loss aversion will be more pronounced in case of more confident consumers as compared to the less confident ones. This leads us to the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 2: The effects noted in H1a and H1b will be more pronounced for consumers with high confidence as compared to those with low confidence in their price expectations.

METHODOLOGY

Based on a pilot study, we first identified a product category in which brand hierarchy would be clear and consistent across subjects. The chosen product category was VCRs and the two brands representing the low and high end of the brand hierarchy were Emerson and Sony, respectively. The assumption of a single reference point for a given attribute across a multitude of brands has been questioned in the reference price literature (Monroe 1990). For instance, Klein and Ogelthorpe (1987) provide the example of sunglasses purchase. A consumer looking at a pair of $60 sunglasses may initially classify it as designer or high performance sunglasses due to the price or brand name, which elicits the reference price for that type of sunglasses. On the other hand, a $7 pair of sunglasses could elicit the much lower reference price for drugstore sunglasses. Intuitively, one would expect to observe a higher reference price for a premium quality brand as against a discount brand. Given the possibility of existence of multiple reference prices for a product category, we adopted a 2x2 within subject design where the reference prices for low and high tier brands were provided in a written scenario. Thus, four different scenarios (two brand tiers: low and high, two price variations: loss and gain) were presented to subjects in a random order. The two brands had exactly the same features except their advertised prices. Subjects were 172 students at a major U.S. university.

Each scenario first described the brand and its features, including the regular price information. It then introduced the price decrease (gain) or an equivalent increase (loss). The subjects were then asked to indicate their perceptions of gains and losses on two 1 to 10 scales. Following Wicker et al (1993), we used separate scales for gains and losses. For price decrease scenario, the scale asked subjects *how good they felt about the price decrease* (1=not at all good, 10=very good) and for the price increase scenario, the scale asked them *how bad they felt about the price increase* (1=not at all bad, 10=very bad).

Finally, subjects' confidence levels were measured using a five-item scale developed following Biswas and Blair (1991) and Park, Gardner, and Thukral (1988). Cronbach's alpha for the five items was .83, indicating a reasonable inter-item reliability.

RESULTS

We proposed that the occurrence of loss aversion is dependent on a brand's position in the brand hierarchy. The brands low in the

TABLE 1A
Mean Impact of Gains and Losses

	Loss	Gain
Emerson	5.93 (2.24)	5.30 (2.45)
Sony	6.27 (1.82)	7.98 (1.65)

* Standard deviation in parentheses.

FIGURE 1
Mean Impact of Gains and Losses
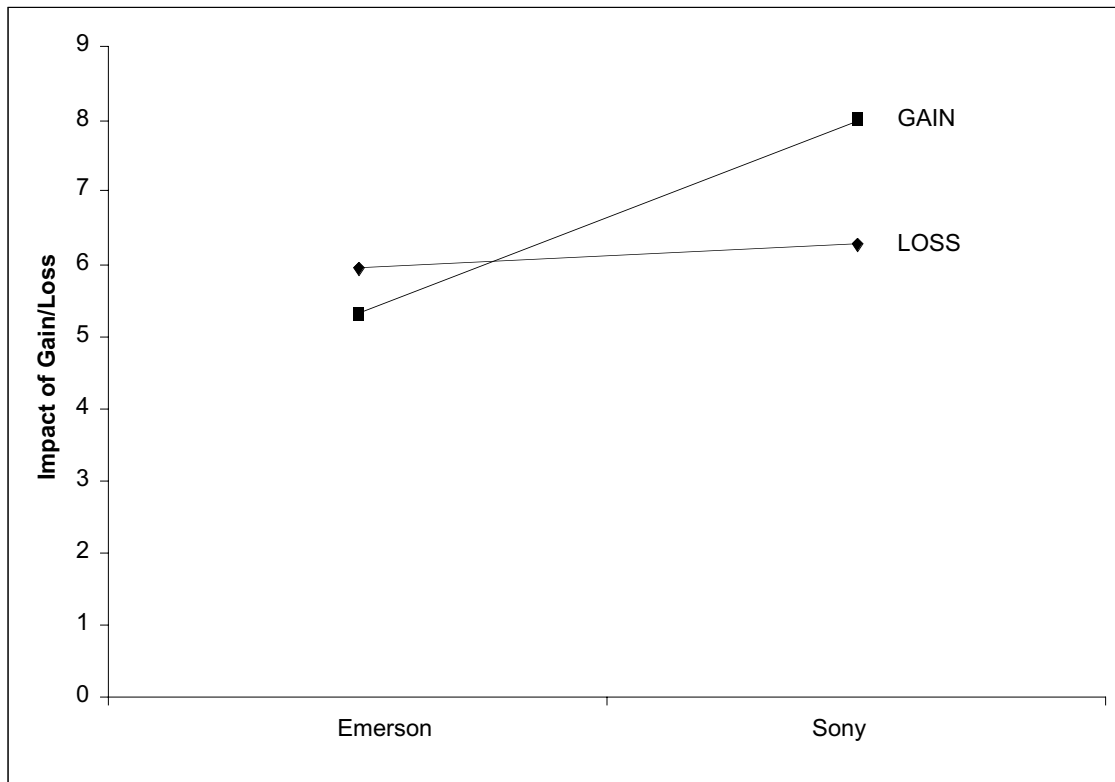
hierarchy will show loss aversion for price whereas for the brands high in the hierarchy such an aversion will not exist. The means for all four scenarios are reported in Table 1a.

The impact of loss is greater than the impact of gain for Emerson (5.93 vs. 5.30, p<0.05), thereby supporting loss aversion hypothesis (H1b) for low-tier brands. On the other hand, however, the impact of loss is *lower* than that of gain for Sony (6.72 vs. 7.98, p<0.05), thereby supporting H1a.

Following Kahneman and Tversky (1979), we also compared responses at individual level. For Emerson, the perception of loss was bigger than that of gain for 63% of subjects. For Sony, however, only 6% of subjects showed loss aversion whereas 94% indicated gain aversion (see Table 1b).

The goodness-of-fit test for this frequency table also shows a strong support for H1a and H1b (chi-square=122.91, p=.001). We also performed a pairwise t-tests for both brands. The results of this

test also support the hypotheses (for Sony, t=12.05 and p=.0001; for Emerson, t=3.98 and p=.0001). Finally, the results of Repeated Measure ANOVA show significant main effects (brand tiers and loss/gain situation) as well as interaction effect (brand tier x loss/gain situation). Thus, we may conclude that loss aversion for price is observed only for low-tier brands. For top-tier brands, where quality is more likely to be a necessary goal than price, we do not observe loss aversion for price. Instead, we observe gain aversion for price for top-tier brand.

Hypothesis 2 proposed a positive relationship between confidence and magnitude of impact of losses and gains. The subjects were categorized into low and high confidence groups using a median split of the confidence scale (median=4.9 on a 1 -10 scale). The descriptive statistics for the four scenarios are reported in Table 2.

TABLE 1B
Comparison of Gains and Losses (Individual Responses)

	Loss<=Gain (Non-Loss Aversion)	Loss>Gain (Loss Aversion)
Emerson	63 (36.63%)	109 (63.37%)
Sony	161 (93.6%)	11 (6.4%)

TABLE 2
Mean Impact of Gains and Losses: Low vs. High Confidence

	Emerson-Loss	Emerson-Gain	Sony-Loss	Sony-Gain
Low Confidence	4.79 (0.17)	3.83 (0.20)	5.42 (0.17)	7.30 (0.16)
High Confidence	7.07 (0.24)	6.78 (0.22)	7.13 (0.18)	8.65 (0.16)

* Standard deviation in parentheses.

FIGURE 2
Influence of Consumer Confidence
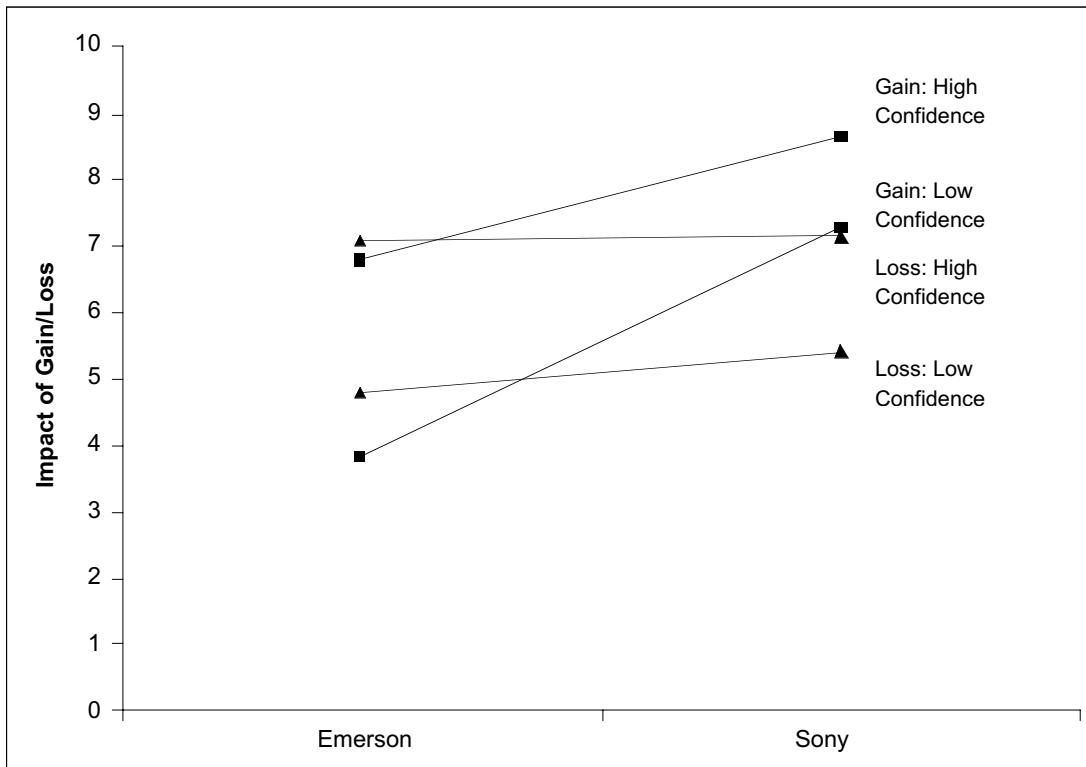
The impact of gains and losses was significantly higher for the high confidence subjects compared to the low-confidence subjects. A MANOVA analysis confirmed the statistical significance of these differences (Wilks' Lambda=.51, F=40.96, p=.0001).

Thus, consumers who are confident of their knowledge experience a bigger impact of any change in attribute levels, whereas the less confident consumers appear to shift their reference points in the direction of change thereby diluting the impact of any equivalent change (see Figure 2 above).

DISCUSSION

We found empirical evidence supporting the moderating role of quality-tiers in loss aversion. In a multi-attribute situation involving trade-offs between attributes, the effect of losses and gains as dictated by the Prospect Theory may not be observed at an aggregate level. Loss aversion for one attribute may dominate loss aversion for some other attribute. In this study, we observed that the aversion for loss of quality takes precedence over loss in price for high quality products. Thus, we do not observe loss aversion for price for top-tiered brands. This finding is consistent with those reported in the literature on asymmetric price competition. The asymmetry surfaces when national and store brands engage in price promotions. National brands steal significant share from store brands when they reduce prices whereas the gains of price promotions for store brands are rather insignificant (Blatterberg and Wisnewski 1989). As discussed earlier, low price is a top priority goal for low-tier brands while it is a low priority goal for top-tier brands. As a result, loss aversion for price would happen for store brands whereas 'gain seeking' for price will occur for national brands (i.e., price gains would have bigger impact than price losses). Thus price gains of store brands are likely to have a smaller impact than national brands' gains of similar amount.

This study suggests that consumers set priorities for multiple goals when there is a trade-off between these goals. In the case of usual purchase decisions involving a trade-off between price and quality, consumers set their priorities based on a brand's position in the brand hierarchy. For example, when a low-tier brand is of interest, consumers' top priority is to achieve a low price. Quality is secondary to price for such decisions. On the other hand, quality takes precedence over price for high-tiered brands. Loss aversion is likely to be observed for those attributes for which consumers attach higher priorities in the buying decision process.

For the freely chosen goal (price, in case of high-tier brands), any gain would come as a surprise. For example, a consumer expects to pay a high price for Sony, and any significant price reduction would come as a surprise. Unexpected outcomes are more surprising and more surprising outcomes are more meaningful as well (Slovic and Fischhoff 1977). Thus, price gains may have a bigger impact than equivalent losses for top-tiered brands, as consumers do not expect to pay lower prices for these brands.

We also find that confidence can influence the impact of price changes, although it does not alter the main relationship. Results show that consumers with higher confidence react more strongly to both gains and losses while lack of confidence leads to a milder response. Thus, a price reduction by a top-tier brand will have a bigger impact on confident buyers than on less confident buyers. Knowledgeable buyers who keep a sharp eye on market prices will react to price promotions more strongly. This effect will be more pronounced for top-tier buyers than for low-tier buyers. Similarly, the impact of a price increase will be maximum for low-tier buyers who are confident of their price knowledge. This finding indicates that the impact of price promotions (or price increases) will be milder for new products as consumers may not have well-formed price schemas for such products (and would therefore be low in confidence). Thus, the practice of adopting a price-skimming strategy for innovative products seems consistent with the findings of our study.

This finding also has an important managerial implication for service goods. In general, service attributes are more difficult to assess and rank. Thus consumers may have difficulty developing clear brand hierarchies for service goods, which in turn would lead to milder effects of gains and losses. As a result, service providers will have a wider margin within which they can increase/decrease their quality as their customers are less likely to perceive the exact magnitude of change (and the associated sense of loss/gain).

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

The hypotheses developed in this study were tested in the context of purchase of a durable product (VCR) using student subjects. Replication of the results of this study for other product categories as well as using different population samples would add to the generalizability of these results. Also, a within-subjects design was used. A replication using between-subjects design where subjects' assignment is done on the basis of their preference for low or high tier brands could be done in a future replication. Although this study examined the impact of price-quality trade-offs on the impact of gains and losses, all the hypotheses were tested for price attribute only. It would be interesting to design a study where a direct trade-off between quality and price is experimentally manipulated and hypotheses tested both for price and quality gains and losses.

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Self-Regulation and Impulsive Spending Patterns

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ABSTRACT

The current research relates self-control and purchasing decisions. This research was derived from a model that states that all self-regulatory abilities, such as overriding impulses and inhibiting emotions, are governed by a common —but limited —pool of resources. Accordingly, engaging in self-control renders a person weaker in subsequent self-control. In two laboratory experiments, we manipulated self-regulatory resource availability and then assessed spending choices. We found that participants lower in self-regulatory resources endorsed a more impulsive buying style (Experiment 1) and said they would pay more for high-priced products (Experiment 2), relative to participants with more regulatory resources.

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The current research investigates the association between people's self-regulatory capacities and personal spending decisions, especially in relation to impulsive purchasing behaviors. Theoretical writings have linked self-regulatory processes with consumer choices (Baumeister 2002) and past empirical research has found a clear and significant relationship between compulsive spending patterns and binge eating behaviors, which are two indicators of low self-control (Faber, Christenson, De Zwaan, and Mitchell 1995), but prior to the current research the underlying processes of self-regulation have not been directly related to personal spending decisions.

The current research uses a self-regulatory resource model to test the influence of self-control processes on consumer behaviors. Self-regulatory resources are theorized to govern self-regulatory abilities. Making sound, rational, spending decisions requires that a person call upon self-regulation abilities. Exhausting self-regulatory resources should then result in poor personal spending choices. The words "self-regulation" and "self-control" are used interchangeably here, with both terms meaning the influence of the self over one's own emotions, cognitions, motivations, and behaviors, usually manifesting itself as a desirable response being inserted in place of an undesirable response.

Behavioral scientists have long conceptualized the process of self-regulation as occurring within a cybernetic model in which people work to close discrepancies between perceived current state and the ultimate goal state (Carver and Scheier 1981). People set standards or goals for themselves and subsequently engage in responses designed to move the self from its current state to the goal state. The resource model considers self-regulation as critical in enabling people to progress from current to desired states. The resource model further states that self-regulatory abilities are governed by a common—but limited—pool of resources on which people draw to manage a variety of responses, such as emotions, cognitions, or behaviors. Because these responses pull from a general bank of resources, each act of self-control depletes some of these resources and consequently renders a person temporarily less able to engage in further acts of self-control. Empirical research using the resource model has supported its assertions: Using a dual-task paradigm, participants who have been asked to engage in a task that uses self-control are subsequently less able to accomplish a second regulatory task. For instance, research has shown that after dieters have had to resist the temptation of an nearby bowl of candies, relative to when there are no attractive temptations, they are later less able to persist in trying to solve a difficult puzzle (Vohs and Heatherton 2000). Thus, exerting self-control by having to resist the temptation of the candies rendered the dieters less able to exert self-control on the persistence task.

In this tradition, the current research used a dual-task paradigm in two experiments to test whether exerting self-regulatory resources lessens people's ability to make sound consumer choices. In both experiments, we manipulated self-regulatory resource availability using an attention-control task. Specifically, participants were asked watch a video of a woman being interviewed that, at the same time, also contained a series of irrelevant words appearing at the bottom of the screen. For half of the participants (*no-control condition* participants), no information was given regarding the words that were to appear on the screen. The other half (*attentional-control condition* participants), were told that it was very important to watch only the woman in the video and to keep their eyes away from the words. This task has been shown in prior research to deplete self control resources.

After the manipulation of self-regulatory resource availability, Experiment 1 participants were subsequently asked to indicate their agreement with items from a version of the Impulsive Buying Scale (Rook and Fisher 1995). The scale asked participants to report how they would respond on the eight Impulsive Buying Scale items if they were in a buying situation at the moment. We found that participants in the attention-control condition, relative to those in the no-control condition, were significantly more likely to say they would be impulsive buyers, with less careful consideration given before making purchases.

After the manipulation of self-regulatory resource availability, participants in Experiment 2 were asked to indicate the price they would pay for 18 products (e.g., refrigerator; watch). This simulated buying method has been used in past studies of social influences on purchasing patterns (Feinberg 1986) and here it is used to assess the propensity to make expensive purchases. We found that participants who had expended regulatory resources in the earlier task (i.e., who were in the attention-control condition) indicated that they would pay significantly more money for the products compared to participants who had not expended regulatory resources (i.e., who were in the no-control condition).

The results of two laboratory experiments indicate that being depleted of self-regulatory resources leads people to buy impulsively and to be willing to spend more money on a variety of products. In sum, self-regulatory processes are implicated in consumer decisions, such that when self-control capacities are impaired, people are more likely to engage in ill-considered and unwise spending behaviors.

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Preference for Control and Its Effect on the Evaluation of Consumption Experiences

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The objective of the present research is to explore the relationship between perceived control over a consumption experience and level of satisfaction with that experience to understand whether being in control always leads to greater satisfaction. Control is here defined as the freedom of choosing an alternative from a choice set, instead of being assigned to the same alternative from the same set.

Early literature on control and choice agrees on the idea that people like choosing because of its association with self-determination and sense of mastery (Averill 1973; deCharms 1968; Langer 1975). Empirical evidence also suggests that people are more satisfied with free-choice than with imposed-choice outcomes (Brehm 1966; Deci and Ryan 1987; Zuckerman et al. 1978) both because choosers can match personal preferences with available options (Chernev, forthcoming; Iyengar and Lepper 2000) and because people bolster the value of choices to which they have committed (Beattie et al. 1994; Festinger 1975; Gilbert et al. 1998; Shafir, Simonson, and Tversky 1993; Tetlock, Skitka, and Boettger 1989). Recent findings, however, suggest that choosers may end up *less* satisfied than non-choosers (Benartzi and Thaler 2002; Brown and Feinberg 2001).

This research explores circumstances in which people may prefer choosing to not-choosing and yet end up worse-off for having done so. It is here proposed that people want to choose because they believe that personal choice leads to satisfaction. Instead, satisfaction depends on the affect experienced during the decision-process, which carries over to the evaluation of the choice outcome (Iyengar and Lepper 2000; Loewenstein et al. 2001; Luce, Bettman, and Payne 2001; Slovic et al. 2001). As suggested by previous research (Busemeyer and Townsend 1993; Anand-Keller and McGill 1994; Shiv and Huber 2000), during the decision process people anticipate the outcome of a given course of action. If this outcome is anticipated to be positive, both choosers and non-choosers experience positive affect. However, choosers' affect is more positive than non-choosers' because choosers feel responsible for improving their own future well-being (Beattie et al. 1994; Burger 1989). On the contrary, if the outcome is anticipated to be negative, choosers' affect will be less positive than non-choosers' because choosers feel responsible for hampering, rather than improving, their own well-being (Dhar 1997; Gilovich and Medvec 1995; Luce et al. 2001). It is here hypothesized that, because of the affect carryover, when it is easier to anticipate a positive choice outcome choosers experience higher positive affect and higher satisfaction than non-choosers, while when it is more difficult to anticipate a positive choice outcome the difference between choosers and non-choosers' affect and satisfaction is attenuated and can even reverse.

These predictions were tested in two experiments. In the first experiment, control was manipulated by freedom of choice, while choice-task conflict manipulated ease of anticipating a positive choice outcome. The intuition is that in low-conflict choice tasks—in which there is a clearly superior alternative (Luce et al. 2001)—it is easier to anticipate a positive outcome than in high-conflict choice tasks—in which none of the alternatives is clearly superior to the others. This experiment involved the selection and tasting of a coffee blend. Choosers selected the blend to taste out of four alternatives, while non-choosers were yoked to choosers so that they were given the blend that was selected by their choice counterpart. This choice was illusory, though, because all participants eventually tasted the same blend. Before the selection, participants saw a description of the attributes of the four coffee blends. Low-conflict participants saw a description in which the ratings of the attributes identified one dominating option, while high-conflict participants saw a description in which the ratings of the attributes did not identify any dominating options.

Results of the first experiment supported the hypotheses: In the low-conflict condition, choosers experienced higher positive task-related affect and higher satisfaction with the outcome than non-choosers. In the high-conflict condition, on the contrary, there was no difference between choosers' and non-choosers' affect and satisfaction. A mediation analysis showed that affect mediated the effect of choice and conflict on satisfaction. As expected, however, people preferred choosing to not choosing across conflict conditions.

Results of the first study were consistent with the theory but did not show a reversal in affect and satisfaction between choosers and non-choosers. Hence, a stronger manipulation of ease of anticipating a positive choice outcome was used in the second study. This study involved selection and tasting of seasoned yogurts. Ease of anticipating a positive choice outcome was manipulated by the desirability of the choice options. In the desirable choice condition, participants chose among all appealing yogurt flavors (e.g. plain yogurt with cinnamon, cocoa, mint, or brown sugar) while in the aversive condition participants chose among all aversive yogurt flavors (e.g. plain yogurt with tarragon, ground sage, chili powder, or celery seeds) under the assumption that it is easier to anticipate a positive choice outcome when choosing among desirable than aversive options. Results of this study showed the expected reversal: Choosers experienced more positive affect and higher satisfaction than non choosers in the desirable condition, while in the aversive condition choosers experienced less positive affect and lower satisfaction than non-choosers. Choosers even consumed a lower amount of yogurt than non-choosers in the aversive choice condition. Consistent with previous results, though, participants preferred choosing to not choosing regardless of the desirability of the choice options.

In conclusion, this research suggests that in many cases people prefer choosing to not choosing because they believe choosing leads to higher satisfaction. However, choosers are indeed more satisfied than non-choosers only when they can easily anticipate higher happiness as a result of their own choices. These results have important implications for marketers who have been incurring the costs of shifting control to customers (e.g. providing flexible offers) under the assumption that empowered customers are also happier customers. The two studies presented in this paper suggest instead that these costs may not always been justified by an increase in customer satisfaction.

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Functional Foods: A Health Simulacrum

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ABSTRACT

The paper addresses the issue of so-called functional foods, i.e. a specific type of health foods. The basic idea is that the claims made in the framing of these products have the character of modern myths. The myth structure discursively obscures the ideologically loaded scientific/medical premises on which the claims are resting. Rather than being healthy in an absolute sense, these products are mimicking an abstract idea of healthiness—they are a health simulacrum.

Consumers today are faced with an unprecedented plethora of expert claims of how, what, and when to consume food in order to make sure that the body is taken care of in the best possible manner. There is also an ever-increasing variety of products available on the market *supposedly* following along in the paths cleared by the expert claims. In essence, there is both a large pool of information and a large pool of products for consumers to draw from in order to consume foods in a healthy manner. The epitome of this development is the so-called functional foods, described as "any modified food or food ingredient that may provide health benefit beyond the traditional nutrients it contains" (The American Dietetic Association, 1995). In this paper I will argue that many so-called healthy food products, and functional foods in particular, build on a false ontology. The healthiness of the products is portrayed as being detached from the consumption of the products, hence the meaning is seen as inherent in the products rather than in the subject-object relationship.

If the products were as functional as they are portrayed to be, why is it then that we have reached a situation where the curve depicting the number of food related diseases look so strikingly similar to the curve depicting sales of so-called healthy foods (Heasman & Mellentin, 2001)? Shocking as it may appear, the answer might lie in the fact that we have encountered a problem that cannot be solved with increased consumption. Inherent in the modern project, and the consumer society so closely intertwined with it, has been the improvement of the quality of life by expanding consumption possibilities (Firat & Dholakia, 1998). In the realm of food, this has been apparent as convenient, un-expensive food is available at an arms-length distance at virtually all hours of the day–in the modern world no one should have to go hungry! But it seems like we have finally encountered the first serious ricochet of our abundant consumption practices. We have long heard horror stories about the ozone-layer, the pollution of the oceans, global warming, et cetera, but they have all been distant enough for us to let them bounce off the protective cocoons we build around us to ensure a basic sense of being in control (cf. Giddens, 1991). But now, however, with the food related diseases affecting our own bodies[1] we can look away no more. The solutions offered by our consumer society, i.e. ones of increasing consumption of so-called healthy foods to battle the symptoms of the problems can no longer hold sway–there seems to be something more fundamentally wrong at the core of the problem.

In this paper, some features of what is today called healthy food is discussed from a Baudrillardian perspective where I propose that what today is being presented as the salvation to many of our problems–functional foods–is merely a third order simulation of

functionality, or in other words–a simulacrum of healthiness (Baudrillard, 1983). This argument is built on (poststructural) semiotics, a theoretical field that has previously been applied to consumer research (Levy, 1959; Mick, 1986). Levy (1981) discusses food from a structuralist standpoint using Lévi-Strauss' mythology framework. This paper is more inspired by Roland Barthes poststructuralist notions of mythology (Barthes, 1973). While both Lèvi-Strauss and Barthes where inspired by Ferdinand de Saussure's linguistics, Barthes stresses the ideological aspects of the myth as the dominating forces in society have the power to discursively define the myths. A myth, according to Barthes, is made up of two semiotic systems. The first is a traditional system with a sign made up of a signifier and a signified.[2] This system is the linguistic system built on the conventions of ordinary language. The connections between sign, signifier, and signified are completely arbitrary but shared among people speaking the same language. The second system uses the sign from the first system as the signifier in the second system. While the first system rests on the conventions of language the second system is politicized in that it is defined by its intentions rather that by its literary meaning, therefore it is imbued with value. What the myth does is to mask that the relationship between the signifier and the signified stems from historical conventions as defined by the dominating forces and instead gives this relationship a sense of being natural.(Barthes, 1973) What Baudrillard does is to take this argument a step further and argue that there are no longer any signifieds but merely endless chains of signifiers (cf. Baudrillard, 1983, 1996).

MULTIPLE DISCOURSES ON FOOD AND HEALTH

As a part of the modern project, the food industry, just like most industries, has been rationalized in various ways (cf. Ritzer, 1996). This development has been going on since the enlightenment where traditional practices gradually have been replaced by practices justified by scientific reasoning (Firat & Venkatesh, 1995). In the food area we have seen a breakdown of traditional food systems, such as the meat and potato-regiment in northern Europe and the Midwestern US. Furthermore, the family meal has been replaced to the sphere of nostalgia as a quaint happening unfit for the modern tempo of life. As the old meaning system breaks down, a vacuum is created where consumers are fed with a panoply of discourses of how to care for themselves with regards to food. Over the last decade there has been a change in the meaning structure given to food. Pasi Falk (Falk, 1996) divides messages about food into four dimensions: fuel, poison, medicine, and pleasurable, and asserts that there has been a shift in the meaning of food giving an ever more emphasized role to the duality of medicine/poison (p. 183). As a result, one of the most dominant discourses today is the scientific/medical discourse that proposes consumption of various healthy products as being the prime choice.

There are multiple actors involved in the creation of the available discourses on food and health. They range from spokespersons from the natural sciences on one end of a continuum to persons giving more holistically based, new-age inspired accounts on the other end. These messages are usually filtered through

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[1] Food related diseases are portrayed as being one of the main threats to the well-being of the western world (IASO 1999)

[2] An introduction to basic semiotic terminology is given in Mick's 1986 JCR article "Consumer Research and Semiotics: Exploring the Morphology of Signs, Symbols, and Significance"

media, who, in the interest of "creating news", tend to focus on various fads either regarding the latest fatal risks or the latest elixir of life (cf. Falk, 1996). Consumers are therefore constantly bombarded with do's and don'ts in a form that resembles what Giddens refers to as contrasting expert systems (1991). Within the coherent groups of experts the concepts of healthy and unhealthy are almost always dealt with in a taken-for-granted manner as if the dichotomy of the healthy and the unhealthy with regards to food is a God-given one with clear natural boundaries. This might very well be the case from a natural science standpoint, even though the natural scientists themselves so far have not been able to reach consensus–as a matter of fact the history of nutritional and medical research has been marked by many reversals and changes in received opinion (Giddens, 1991; Thompson & Hirschman, 1995, p. 146).

One least common denominator for the various available discourses is that it is important to care for oneself and that food consumption is a critical part of doing this. Under the conditions of late modernity there is an increased tendency to feel obliged to engage in various self-care-regimes to take care of oneself (Bauman, 1992; Beck, 1992; Falk, 1994; Giddens, 1991; Shilling, 1993). Individuals have become reflexive and are expected to engage in building a coherent life-narrative where the different parts should fit together. In this life narrative the body is increasingly seen as an unfinished entity that requires constant care and thought in order to be developed in the right direction or at least halted in its deterioration (Shilling, 1993). Bauman (1992) even argues that the loss of meta-narratives in the form of religion has left us without tools to deal with our future decay and death. The result is a fragmentation of the body where a more holistic view is lost to the advantage of a view of the body as a number of isolated problems that all have their particular solution. The medical sciences are fueling these fragmenting tendencies, as their scientific method is one of isolating problems and finding solutions for them in isolation. When meta-analyses are conducted the individual is the unit of analysis and all potential factors influencing an individual's health are looked at. The results of these studies are much less clear-cut and many of the old "truths" are questioned such as the role of unsaturated and polyunsaturated fatty acids in cardiovascular disease (Ravnskov, 1998). Studies of this kind have been widely criticized, as individuals with their idiosyncratic lifestyles are seen as "too fuzzy" for scientific investigation. Hence, the fragmented view is dominating with the result that the symptom-cure logic is ruling the discourses on food and health.

THE MYTH OF HEALTHY FOODS

When food is discussed in scholarly work it is usually done with references to its function as producer and reproducer of culture (e.g. Counihan & van Esterik, 1997; Fischler, 1988; Mennell, Murcott, & van Otterloo, 1992; Rozin, 1998). This is one very important function and the structure in which it is presented usually follows what Baudrillard, in his 1968 book (1996), calls the *traditional* system of objects. One of the key ideas is that objects were once closely tied to rituals and the ceremonial, and ultimately to the entire ideology which used to make our surroundings into an opaque mirror of reified human structure (Baudrillard, 1996, p. 18). The function of objects in the traditional system was to, in essence, personify human relationships. These tendencies can be traced in many of the more traditional accounts of food and culture. Over the last decade or so, in the light of how the dominant discourses on food and health have changed and are constructed today, it seems like food has increasingly been moved into the realm of the functional, or to be more precise–the simulacrum of the functional. A simulacrum is a sign, image, model, pretense, or shadowy

likeness of something else. Baudrillard (1996) draws a genealogy of the historical transformations of the signs to referent relationships from feudal times to the present condition of hyperreality. Hyperreality refers to the current condition of postmodernity where simulacra are no longer associated with any real referent and where signs, images and models circulate detached from any real material objects or romantic ideals. In today's social order more and more areas of life are dominated by reproductions of models into a system of signs which function according to the codes of poststructural semiotics. Under these conditions, consumers are constantly bombarded with images rich in information and copes by accepting them only as signifiers without signifieds. As a result, the difference between the real and the illusion has vanished and we live in a world of "free floating signifiers".

The trend to only ascribe foods functional qualities can be noticed by studying how food and health issues are treated in advertising and magazine articles (cf. Warde, 1997), governmental policies (cf. National Food Administration, 2000), and accounts from medical personnel (www.doktoronline.se, 2000). Looking at the way these discourses are structured it becomes clear that they transcend and disavow the three components of the traditional system and more resemble what Baudrillard calls the functional system. The objects in the functional system no longer have any value of their own, but merely a universal value as signs. The materiality of objects no longer directly confronts the materiality of needs, these two inconsistent primary and antagonistic systems having been suppressed by the insertion between them of the new, abstract system of manipulable signs–by the insertion of the abstract idea of functionality (p. 64); their logic has become purely functional in a technical sense. In Barthes' terminology the idea of foods as functional in a technical sense is a modern myth in which the dominating natural science/medical discourse has the power to define the relationships between a certain food product and its alleged function on the body.

RATIONALIZATION OF FOOD PRODUCTION
(AND CONSUMPTION)?

In the realm of food consumption we have seen some rather drastic changes over the last decades. Fischler (Fischler, 1990) calls for attention to the direct relationship between anomy in the food culture, so-called gastro-anomy, and consumers' increasing inability to govern their dietary regimes in a way that balances out nutritional and gastronomical aspects of human eating behavior. Food has in many ways been moved to the realm of the functional where a logic of "fuel for the engine" is dominating. When food first was moved into the realm of the functional the focus was on the preparation and serving of food rather than on the food itself. In postwar America, during the "Golden Age of American Food Processing" (Levenstein, 1993), the focus was clearly on the efficient processing of food and when Ray Kroc acquired the first McDonald's restaurant in 1954 it was not long before the entire restaurant business was undergoing far-reaching changes in the name of rationality and functionality (Gladwell, 2001; Ritzer, 1996; Schlosser, 2001). The result of the automatization and rationalization of the food industry was extraordinary in two ways. On the first hand, the new production methods were highly functional in the ways they made fairly priced and convenient food available to the masses. On the other hand, they were extraordinary in their dysfunctionality. To be able to produce food in the new, fast and convenient way and still make them tasty the products have to be high in fat, sugar, and salt (Ritzer, 1996; Schlosser, 2001). Anyone with a rudimentary knowledge of the nutrition information regularly reported in various media will recognize that these three

ingredients are the same one's that public policy makers repeatedly tell us to stay away from. So, while the fast food industry changed our eating habits radically and perhaps have some traits that could be dubbed functional[3] they also have a large part to play in the rapid deterioration of the public health (Gardner & Halweil, 2000).

The last few years the functionality of food products has reached the actual food rather than just its production and serving and the dysfunctionality of fast food has been put in the spotlight, as illustrated by the subtitle of Malcolm Gladwell's recent New Yorker article *Fast food is killing us. Can it be fixed?* (2001). This shift is largely due to the increased focus on the connections between food consumption and health. This is not exactly something new; Dr. Kellogg, the inventor of Corn Flakes, preached this wisdom back in the 19th century, during both the world wars the issue was high on the public agenda, and the cry for a return to natural foods resonated far outside its origins among the hippies during the late sixties (Levenstein, 1993). But it was not until the last two decades of the 20th century that this wisdom was widely spread in magazines and cooking books and truly reached the masses (Warde, 1997, p. 80). During the last decade more and more food companies have jumped on the health bandwagon and started launching either new healthy products or re-launching old products re-positioned as being healthy. The trend is for these products to become more and more specialized in the sense that they are targeting a specific problem that they promise to solve. Products having a more vague positioning, such as being wholesome in some more abstract sense, are giving way to these more specialized products. What is a common denominator for these products is that they all promise to be functional, i.e. if consumed they will solve a certain problem. The term "functional foods" has been coined to describe " any modified food or food ingredient that may provide health benefit beyond the traditional nutrients it contains" (The American Dietetic Association, 1995). Many countries are in the process of legislating about what types of products can be labeled as functional foods and what kinds of claims can be made about these products. It is beyond the scope and intent of this paper to dwell into the various definitions available and what kind of claims can be made. Regardless of the exact definition of functional foods they all have something rather problematic built in to them, they disregard the relational aspects of healthiness.

THE RELATIONAL ASPECTS OF HEALTHINESS

When health qualities in food are discussed, the point of departure is predominately the natural sciences. The fact that we need some basic nutritional substances to stay alive tends to obscure the fact that what is deemed "necessary", "healthy" and "unhealthy" in a diet is far from self-evident. An underlying assumption is that there are some basic nutritional needs. I am not denying that there are some levels of certain substances that must be consumed and certain substances that should not be consumed in order for an individual to stay healthy. Neither am I denying that natural scientists are able to quite accurately describe and prescribe what these substances are and in what kind of products they might be found. It should be added, though, as was pointed out in the introduction, that there is not one scientific voice but rather multiple contrasting expert systems (Giddens, 1991). What is problematic is when the natural scientific knowledge of these substances is first transferred to food products and these products are treated as standing in some clear relationships to something called consumers

true needs. Again, what we see is the dominating natural scientific discourse constructing a myth of these relationships as being natural (cf. Barthes, 1973). A clear distinction cannot be drawn between true and false needs in this (or other) case(s). Baudrillard states that a theory of needs is in itself nonsensical; there can be only a theory of the ideological concepts of need, i.e. of need as an expression of a specific social system (Baudrillard, 1981). Furthermore, there is little anthropological evidence for the existence of a vital minimum, therefore *"the concept of need represents a 'vulgar metaphysics' by which we commit the fundamental mistake of naturalizing social processes of exchange and signification"* (Baudrillard, 1981). In a similar vein, there is nothing inherent in a certain food product that makes it naturally healthy.

The scientific definitions of healthiness in various products are of a social, cultural, and political character. Furthermore, as a consequence of the medico-scientific methods, the "healthy" and "unhealthy" are held at an average level and moves exclusively within statistical probability statements. This is the only way in which the traits can be stably placed in the products. But investigations that start from an individual product can never determine the concentration in an individual consumer. What may seem insignificant for a single product is perhaps extremely significant when collected in the "consumer reservoir" (Beck, 1992, p. 26). Many times it seems like a unit of analysis error is made when we forget that the relevant domain for a single consumer is not the average but the particular consumer. What is "on average" is of limited interest to the victimized subject. The licorice-loving girl from Stockholm provides an illustrative example of how an ordinary "harmless" product deemed safe "on average" could be far from safe for an individual consumer. Two doctors report in Läkartidningen[4] (Lehtihet & Nygren, 2000) that a 24-year-old woman came in to the emergency room unable to walk and suffering severe pain in her legs. She reported that she had had similar problems over the last two years but nothing as severe as presently. The usual tests were taken and it was discovered that the woman was suffering from hypokalaemia, i.e. a lack of potassium. The doctors searched in vain for an explanation and finally figured out that the patient had been eating 100 grams of "salta grodor", a Swedish licorice candy, every single day for several years. This abnormal consumption behavior had transformed a seemingly "safe" product to a "dangerous" one. Of course I am not arguing for a ban on licorice, I merely want to illustrate the point that for a single consumer the "average" is perhaps of no interest. The relational aspect of both harmful and healthy products is essential. It is absurd to claim that these qualities reside in the products as they clearly only exist in the power of moving a consumer from one point to the other–it is the particular subject-object relationship that is of interest rather than the mythological beneficial characteristics given to a particular object. The same products can have quite different meanings for different people according to age, gender, eating habits, type of work, information, education, and so on (cf. Beck, 1992). Furthermore, it is known that taking of several medications can nullify or amplify the effects of each individual one. People do not (yet) live by medications alone–even though the producers of functional foods want to go there–but the various products that compose a diet might have the same effect. The kinds of meta-analyses needed to determine that are beyond the scope of traditional medico-scientific investigation (cf. Ravnskov, 1998).

The specific health-traits ascribed to products are not of a definitive kind. Rather, health is relational in that it bridges a persons existing state with a favorably looked upon future state.

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[3]This is far from uncontroversial, see organization Slow Food www.slowfood.com "Slow Food Home Page", who actively try to preserve the world from every aspect of the fast food plaque.

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[4]The official publication of Swedish Medical Doctors

What can be said to be healthy is therefore dependant on the difference between the present and the dreamed of future state (Even though the future state might be status quo, e.g. many people seem to nurture a dream of being forever young (cf. Bauman, 1992; Shilling, 1993)). It is this trait of providing a link with a future state that is perceived as being the health-attribute of the actual product. It is thus not something constant and inherent in the particular object but rather a relation, a means of building a bridge. The knowledge about these relationships is many times so widespread that they are taken-for-granted by virtually everyone including dieticians, medical professionals, and consumers, and these relational traits are magically transferred to be residing within the products rather than in the subject-object relationship–they become modern myths.

Human beings do not desire to consume certain substances deemed essential by natural scientists because of some biological need to do so. The needs themselves are valorized by our consciousness of them. The ability to fulfill some need is not inherent in the object per se but rather in the meaning ascribed to the objects by the help of natural science. Consumers desire these products not because of their immediate gratification but rather because of the possibility of a certain potential satisfaction that might appear in the future.[5] There is thus no *direct* link between the healthiness of a product and a consumer's choice of that product–humans cannot "meet their needs" in a direct fashion but biological or bodily origins might influence what is expressed as a purely cognitive "want".

There is no direct link between the "scientific facts" of what is healthy and consumer's choice of these products. Rather, these "scientific facts" are one part in a larger system, a system that is not fueled so much by "need satisfaction" as by the roles different ideas play as signs in an arbitrary relation to more or less abstract ideas about healthiness (cf. Baudrillard, 1996). Many of the "healthy" products have become objects in Baudrillard's sense as they are released from their psychic determinations as symbols; from their functional determinations as instruments; from their commercial determinations as products; and are thus liberated as a signs to be recaptured by the logic of differentiation (p. 16).

THE FUNCTIONAL SYSTEM OF HEALTHINESS

The new functional ideal of food can be easily detected in advertising. For foods with a healthy profile it is rare to se anything else than advertisements that speak about food in terms of problems and solutions. It should be granted, however, that just like with Baudrillard's interior design, food's technical need for design is always accompanied by the cultural need for atmosphere. This is quite evident in commercials using tag lines such as "homemade", "authentic", and "traditional" to connect even the highly rationalized fast foods to these values. The long-lost traditional values reappear as signs to connote a kind of atmosphere in the food (cf. Baudrillard, 1996, p. 62) and seem to sometimes be reaching out for the non-functional values–such as witness, memory, or nostalgia (p. 82). But they merely mimic an abstract idea of these values–it is a simulacrum–they do no longer correspond directly to anything but only exist as difference. Analogous is the relationship with the actual taste of the food. It has been a long time since even the most naïve consumer actually thought that a cherry gum was flavored with real cherries. Furthermore, a gum flavored with real cherries would probably taste far too little to appeal to most consumers, and

coloring would definitely have to be used to get that "authentic" purple cherry gum color. It is evident that what is strived for is not the real flavor and color of the cherry but merely the abstract idea of the perfect cherry–again a simulacrum. Baudrillard touches upon a similar argument and asserts that the distinction usually made between natural and synthetic substances is strictly a value judgment. Objectively, substances are just what they are; we cannot distinguish between a true or a false, a natural or artificial substance. (1996, p. 38). This fits nicely with the area of food since the inherited nobility of a given food product or ingredient can exist only for a cultural ideology analogous to that of the aristocratic myth itself in the social world.

In the realm of healthy foods this tendency to ascribe traits to products and claim their direct correspondence to some healing power is easily detectable. Many times their framing is so cunning that one could probably talk about an aesthetic promise of use-value, created to trigger the sale (cf. Haug, 2000). Especially in the case of the frequent re-launching of products where nothing has been changed in the new version but the positioning this appears to be true. The above reasoning of the relational aspect of healthiness was aimed to show that there is no such thing as an unambiguous health trait. Consequently, products claiming to stand in a clear relationship to healthiness are merely standing in a relationship to the abstract idea of healthiness. Similarly, products claiming to be "natural" and thus healthier[6] are merely signaling that they are in relation to the abstract idea of naturalness, which in this system means that they are devoid of certain substances deemed "artificial"–their *raison d'être* is purely differential.

One type of food product where these arbitrary relationships between the product features and some abstract idea about health are particularly evident is the so-called functional foods (Heasman & Mellentin, 2001; Poulsen, 1999). These products resemble what Baudrillard calls metafunctional objects or gadgets and gizmos (Baudrillard, 1996). They are characterized as being pseudo-functional–they answer to no other need than the need to function (p. 112). The real referent of these products is not their healthiness but nature in its entirety reinvented in accordance with the technical reality principle: a total simulacrum of the automated nature (p. 116). A good example of a functional food is Benecol margarine, a Finnish product released in 1995. Benecol is seen as *"the perfect functional food–a proprietary, patent-protected technology, scientifically validated to reduce a near-universally[7] recognized biomarker for the risk of heart disease, all packaged as an everyday food to be consumed as part of a normal diet."* (Heasman & Mellentin, 2001, p. 34) What Benecol does is to lower cholesterol levels. High cholesterol is one of the most common problems in the western world and one of the main reasons for high levels is over-consumption of the kind of fat common in fast food products. A problem that arose largely from the early rationalization of food processing is hence being solved by the fruits of the continuing rationalization processes in late modernity. The possibility that cutting down on consumption could solve this problem is (of course) out of question as there should be no problems in our highly evolved society that could not be solved by increased consumption.

What we see here is the wish for everything to work by itself, for every object to perform this miracle of minimum effort in

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[5]The immediate satisfaction that consumers might feel from consuming products they believe to be healthy should not be understated but that has nothing to do with an inherent healthiness in the products.

[6]The relationship between naturalness and healthiness is one of the most commonly promoted (Bratman & Knight 2001)

[7]Notice the use of the term *"near-universally"*; this is attributable to the contrasting expert system described by Giddens (1991). The danger of high cholesterol level has been debated in a cyclical fashion over the years.

carrying out its assign function (Baudrillard, 1996, p. 111). Benecol is even so functional that it is "*packaged as an everyday food to be consumed as part of a normal diet*" –you will not even notice that you are eating medications for your heart problems. Not that there is anything wrong with lowering peoples cholesterol levels, just like there is nothing wrong with improving people's dental hygiene as is the case with the fluoride enriched chocolate-bars on the market in Japan (Rudérus, 1991). But these products are merely gizmos giving the illusion of being functional; they are the epitome of the trend towards development of healthier products. In an isolated instance they can appear to keep their promises but in consumers' everyday-life they become and illusion of functionality or pseudo-functional. The question is where we are heading, how are we to keep track of all these more and more specialized food products whose function is that they should be part of the ordinary diet so we do not have to worry about them? Are we not likely to get lost in an endless maze of finding the perfect combination of functional foods so that we can continue to live our unproblematic lives? Furthermore, it is ironic that Baudrillard comments on the metafunctional objects anthropomorphic qualities, how it mimics the most functional of all machines. It is precisely to the desire to uphold this image of Man as ultimately functional and indestructible (Bauman, 1992) that functional foods cater.

DISCUSSION: ARE CONSUMERS RATIONAL ENOUGH FOR RATIONALIZED PRODUCTS?

The notion that every problem in our consumer society is a consumption problem, or rather, a problem that can be solved with increased consumption needs to be problemized. Public policy makers and legislators in many countries are trying to decide what kind of claims they should allow companies to make about their products and how to legally define what products can be called functional foods (e.g. Swedish Nutrition Foundation, 2001). There is nothing inherently bad about these efforts, just like there is nothing bad about companies trying to develop products that they think will help consumers live better lives, or consumers who choose to rather spread Benecol on their toasts than to radically alter their eating habits. However, the functional food products are built on a false ontology wherein their magical power (cf. Bauman, 1992; Falk, 1996) is placed within the products. In the semiotic system in which they gain their magical powers there is no doubt that they stand in a relationship with a healthier future for their consumers. But this obscures the fact that they do not necessarily have the power to alter consumers' bodies and thus to come to grips with the increasing health problems we are allegedly grappling with in large parts of the western world.

Even more alarming is the premise on which the whole idea of public policy makers and legislators seem to rest with regards to food consumption. The logic is once again that of consumers as rational decision makers. As a consequence the problems described regarding the state of their health are reduced to being information problems. As has been shown in this paper the ontological status of so-called healthy products, and especially functional foods, is problematic in itself. Furthermore, the idea that consumers, given effective communication, would choose the alternative suggested by the medico/scientific complex finds no empirical evidence. It is unlikely that even the powerful functional food products, no matter how intriguing their framing may be, will be able to change consumers any more than previous health campaigns. What we are dealing with here are not uninformed consumers fumbling around for lack of better knowledge or suitable consumption opportunities. Instead it is highly knowledgeable and even at times motivated consumers being aware of what they should be doing and the

consequences for not doing so. It seems clear that the logic of functional foods only works as long as they are consumed in a highly controlled manner as the promises they are making only exist in a sterile world of controlled eating behavior. But that is not the context in which food consumption takes place and therefore the promises of the functionality of the products are even more peculiar. Food consumption must be re-contextualized to the situations in which it occurs, i.e. in situations where consumers are overcome by uncontrollable urges. It seems like the crux of the matter is that the potential long-term gratification of consuming what various expert groups deem healthy does not stand a chance against the assured short-term gratification of polishing off yet another Big Mac.

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A Preliminary Look at the Globalization of the Tortilla in Mexico

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ABSTRACT

This exploratory inquiry qualitatively examines both the cultural significance of the tortilla to Mexican consumers and the manner in which the forces of *globalization* have altered tortilla production, acquisition, and consumption. Data suggest, overall, that: 1) the sacred Mexican tortilla has been changed significantly by *globalization*, and 2) that perhaps no product (nor thing), regardless of its cultural significance, is immune to the powerful, transformational forces of the *globalization* process.

The Mayans believed man was created from corn dough, or *masa*. The Aztecs worshipped corn gods... Although corn is no longer worshipped, it is still considered bad form to throw away a *tortilla* (Hansen 1988, p. 70).

... wheat and corn have been chosen as two of the indices of development: the eating of wheat bread is among the signs that one has crossed the line between the underdeveloped and the developed; the eating of corn tortillas indicates that one has not... the intended meaning is that in all ways, including even diet and cuisine, Western civilization is superior to the others and that, within it, the North American version is the most nearly perfect... (Paz [1972] 1985, p. 285).

The tortilla is, along with tequila, the most *Mexican* of all products in Mexico. This exploratory inquiry, drawn from a larger ethnographic and historical study undertaken with a view toward better understanding *globalization* from a (heretofore lacking) marketing and consumption perspective, examines both: 1) the cultural significance of the tortilla, and 2) the manner in which the powerful forces of *globalization* have impacted tortilla production, acquisition, and consumption. We begin by discussing the cultural importance of the tortilla in Mexico.

THE CULTURAL IMPORTANCE OF THE TORTILLA IN MEXICO

The tortilla is of immeasurable practical and symbolic importance to Mexican consumers. From a practical standpoint, tortilla production is a US$3 billion industry, with Mexico's nearly 100 million people eating approximately 1 billion tortillas—about 11 per person—each day1.[1] Tortillas are of particular practical importance to Mexico's poor masses, which can often afford to eat little else than tortillas, beans, and rice. From a symbolic perspective, tortillas, especially corn tortillas, are pride-inspiring symbols of the nation and its people. Moreover, tortillas and the corn they are made of are sacred to indigenous Mexicans (see Wall 1996) and serve as a connection between modern-day Mexicans and their ancestors.[2]

[1] These consumption figures come from triangulation of several undocumented sources—mainly radio and television news stories—encountered by one member of the research team while living in Guadalajara, Jalisco (Mexico).

[2] Tortillas were invented, according to Mayan legend, around 10,000 BC when a peasant created the first tortilla and presented it to his hungry king as a gift (http://www.tortilla-info.com/talk.htm [accessed 3/10/00]).

GLOBALIZATION

Globalization, however defined (see: Sklair 1999; Smith 2001), is arguably the most important social phenomenon of our time. The process is most typically viewed as involving increasing *borderlessness* and compression of life (see: Chase-Dunn, Kawano, and Brewer 1999; Lubbers 1996). This borderlessness and compression results most significantly from: 1) the increasingly global diffusion of economic innovations (e.g., new products, technologies, organizational forms [e.g., transnational corporations {TNCs}], and systems of exchange [e.g., TNC Wal-Mart's brand of large-scale discount retailing], and 2) the ongoing integration of relatively self-supporting geopolitical regions and their peoples and other resources into a global economic system run by a relatively few increasingly powerful persons (i.e., major TNC executives, large TNC stockholders, and major investment fund managers) whose identities and loyalties are increasingly less associated with any one nation (see: Chase-Dunn 1999; Jones and Venkatesh 1996; Sklair 1999).

Globalization, as viewed from a marketing and consumption perspective, is most typically seen as a naturally occurring, universally beneficial process driven by consumer desire for new products and technologies and higher standards of consumption and living (see: Levitt 1983; Lewis and Harris 1992; Mullen 1993; Mullen, Doney, and Becker 1996). In this widely accepted (i.e., received) vision, TNCs and other marketing entities profit and survive only to the extent that they continually satisfy the dynamic needs and preferences of increasingly knowledgeable, affluent, and demanding consumers on an evermore global scale. The role of political officials is seen as having been reduced to that of a *bystanding facilitator* whose primary responsibility is to monitor marketplace activity from a safe distance and then intervene only when necessary to serve the best interests of consumers (see Ohmae 1990).

Although agreement exists as to what *globalization* generally entails, the inner workings of the process remain largely misunderstood. This unfortunate situation has arisen due to: 1) few serious (empirical) attempts being made to understand the macro-level nature and consequences of the process (Lubbers 1998; Nason 1994), and 2) lacking methodological diversity. With regard to the latter shortcoming, researchers in both marketing and consumer research (i.e., Joy and Wallendorf 1996) and sociology (i.e., Dixon and Boswell 1996a, 1996b) call for the conduct of ethnographic and others forms of qualitative inquiry aimed at understanding *globalization* as manifest at the level of the lived human experience of persons being impacted by the process. The present inquiry heeds this interdisciplinary call for greater methodological diversity by ethnographically and historically examining the manner in which the forces of *globalization* have impacted the production, acquisition, and, consumption of the tortilla in Mexico. We now turn to a brief discussion of our methodological approach.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Data were collected—as part of a larger, cross-cultural study of the nature and consequences of *globalization* in both Mexico and the United States—in and around the Southwestern Mexican city of Guadalajara, Jalisco between late 1995 and early 2000. Guadalajara is one of the Mexican Republic's three major regional centers of business, governmental, industrial, religious, and agricultural activity. The *hub of Western Mexico*, as Guadalajara is often called,

is the nation's second largest metropolitan area with a population of between six and eight million persons. Culturally, it has been described as "the most Mexican of all cities in the republic" due to its being the home of such distinctive cultural phenomena as tequila, *mariachi* music, and the *jarabe tapatio* (i.e., the Mexican hat dance) (Logan 1984, p. 16). Data was collected via a combination of ethnographic and historical techniques. Each approach is discussed below.

The Ethnographic Method

The essence of ethnography is researcher immersion "in the midst of whatever it is they study" (Hill and Stamey 1990, p. 305 [see also: Atkinson and Hammersley 1994]). This immersion results, ideally, in the elucidation of experience as lived in the inquiry's particular physical and historical context. Also central to ethnographic inquiry is the notion that research activities are guided by an *emergent design* wherein the researcher's focus is determined by a real-time understanding of the focal phenomenon as it exists in its natural environment.

One member of the research team spent 12 months ethnographically immersed in Guadalajara. Ten of the 12 months were spent working and living in (as opposed to merely visiting) the area. The vast majority of this period of time was spent living with a lifelong Guadalajara resident—Alejandra (hf, early 30s)[3]—as a member of a local family (via marriage in the early stages of data collection). Primary means of ethnographic data collection include: 1) interviewing and/or talking informally with 34 Mexican consumers and small business owners being impacted by the forces of *globalization*[4], 2) participant and non-participant observation of *globalization*-related phenomena, and 3) photography of *globalization*-related phenomena.

The Historical Method

The historical method is based upon "an intense and all-pervading awareness of change over time" (Fullerton 1986, p. 431). The importance of this awareness and the resultant time- and context-bound nature of reality is embodied in claims that all "social phenomenon must be understood in its historical context" (Tuchman 1994, p. 306). It is held, for example, that although quantitative analysis may effectively demonstrate the existence of otherwise indiscernible patterns/change over time, historical insight, particularly when ethnographically informed, is required to attribute meaning to these patterns (Tuchman 1994).[5]

Historical data collection in the present inquiry occurs while ethnographically immersed in the Guadalajara research setting. The majority of historical data was collected via extensive daily readings of local and national Mexican newspapers and magazines (which often provides subject matter for [ethnographic] interviews and informal discussion with informants).[6] Finally, we employ the historical method to understand relationships between corporate and political actors (central to understanding the spread of *globalization* in Mexico).

Data Set

Data collection efforts (for the larger study from which the present inquiry is drawn) resulted in the accumulation of over 1,400 pages of fieldnotes, diary text, and translated interview and speech text, as well as 250 local newspapers, more than 400 photographs, and several dozen material artifacts. Data analysis followed the guidelines of Spiggle (1994). The primary analytical operation employed was categorization, a labeling or coding process wherein units of data (e.g., passages of text) are identified as belonging to or being exemplary of some more general phenomenon. One of several categories emerging from our data is the *Globalization of Food & Farming*. Contained within this category, as its primary component, is what we here term the *Globalization of the Tortilla*. This phenomenon is discussed below.

DATA: THE CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE AND *GLOBALIZATION* OF THE TORTILLA IN MEXICO

We entered Guadalajara thinking that we understood well the cultural significance of the tortilla. We soon learned, at the level of the lived human experience of Mexican consumers, that we were grossly mistaken. We also learned that an intimate understanding of the tortilla's significance to Mexican consumers is necessary to fully appreciate the manner in and extent to which the forces of *globalization* have affected the tortilla and those who consume it. We thus first discuss below what was learned about the cultural importance of the tortilla to Mexican consumers. We then present data on the *globalization*-driven transformation of tortilla production, acquisition, and consumption.

Ethnographic Insight Into the Cultural Significance of the Tortilla

Numerous data incidents exemplify the extent to which tortilla is sacred to the Mexican people. Two incidents, however, stand out as most exemplary. The first (and most exemplary) incident involves the serving of the tortilla to family members. The second involves the making of the tortilla. Both incidents are discussed below.

Serving Tortillas To Family Members. In April of 1997 the immersed researcher and Alejandra traveled to Ciudad Juarez, Chihuahua to spend several days with the (relatively impoverished/ working class) family of Alejandra's aunt (Rose, hf, 60s) and uncle (Pancho, hm, 60s). Rose on several occasions went to extraordinary lengths to make sure that the tortillas being consumed by the guests, relative strangers to her, were both fresh and of the highest possible quality (i.e., either handmade, personally, or made from raw corn at a local *tortilleria*). She seemed to be truly ashamed that mass-produced tortillas made from processed corn flour even once touched the lips of her guests. Our data suggest that it is as if the tortillas and their presentation were both (symbolically) a part of herself and a mechanism through which she was showing respect and love for her relatives. Consider, in this regard, the following two verbatim excerpts from researcher fieldnotes.

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[3]Parenthetical statements following informant name indicate informant ethnicity, gender, and age—in that order. Alejandra is thus a Hispanic female in her early 30s. All informant names are pseudonyms.

[4]The most consequential of our interviews were two sessions conducted with Nancy (hf, 50s), an owner and operator of a local tortilla bakery and retail store (*tortilleria*) with more than 30 years of industry experience (also as [a former] grain mill owner and operator).

[5]It should be noted that historical analysis need not be confined to the study of social phenomena of the distant past. Tuchman (1994, p. 313), in this regard, contends that "we all live history" and suggests that researchers should pay greater attention to the historical significance of their own *epoques* (see also Atkinson and Hammersley 1994).

[6]These newspapers and magazines are not readily accessible outside Mexico and concern Mexican social, political, and economic issues seldom if ever reported on in mainstream U.S. (or other non-Mexican) media.

(11 April 1997): **ONLY FRESH TORTILLAS WILL DO FOR THE GUESTS:** We were eating breakfast this morning when [Rose] came in and saw us making quesadillas with the tortillas left in the refrigerator. She left the house and returned several minutes later with a fresh batch (kilo) saying the new ones were "hot and fresh." A short conversation then ensued, mainly between Alejandra and Rose. **The latter said at one point that the new tortillas were "corn" and that the old ones were "Maseca".**[7]. She went on to say that the corn ones were better because they were made of fresh corn at a local tortilleria and that the others were made from "harina Maseca" (Maseca's processed corn flour)... SEEMS SHE WANTED HER GUESTS TO HAVE THE BEST—THE "MASECA" TORTILLAS JUST WOULD NOT DO!!!!! (original parenthetical statements and emphasis [bracketed text added])

(12 April 1997): **MORE ON PRIDE IN SERVING FRESH FOOD AND SHUNNING "MASECA" TORTILLAS:** Last night we sat down to eat and were confronted with a steaming pile (3 kilos?) of large, handmade wheat tortillas. The house mother had made them for us. **APPEARS THAT TORTILLAS MADE FROM MASECA'S FLOUR SIMPLY AREN'T GOOD ENOUGH TO SERVE GUESTS... The only wheat flour tortillas suitable are those** *MADE BY HAND.* Saw a sack of flour on the table from which I must assume the tortillas were made—*not Maseca*... **Note that [Rose]... always stands and watches us eat, ready to serve our every need. She is very proud of her cooking. It is very important to her to please us with fresh food.** These people don't have much but are very proud of what little they do have and of what is "of themselves" (hand or locally made) and in being able to please family members. (original parenthetical statements and emphasis [bracketed text added])

Tortilla Production. Our data suggest that the cultural importance of the tortilla can be seen also with respect to their production—at least as produced in *tortillerias* (i.e., small, neighborhood-based, owner-operated tortilla bakeries). As we learned in our interviews of Nancy, it is not just a matter of what the tortilla is made from but how it is made—the latter, according to Nancy, is what sets the *tortilleria* tortilla apart from the mass-produced commercial tortilla. Consider, in this regard, the following passages from transcribed interview text wherein Nancy, without being asked to do so, describes in great detail how tortillas are (lovingly) made at her *tortilleria* as well as her vision of the production process at Maseca and large Guadalajara-area food retailers such as Wal-Mart and Gigante.

The process is better with hybrid corn. White. Dry... The corn has to be cooked with boiling water and lime... You have to let it rest... the more rest the better the nixtamal [raw, granular

[7]Rose here uses the term *Maseca* to refer to mass/commercially produced tortillas in general. Maseca is a Mexico-based TNC which manufactures both tortillas and the—mainly corn—flour from which they are made (and is the world's largest producer of such products [see DePalma 1996]). Maseca is one of the best known of all firms in Mexico but became significantly less *Mexican* in August of 1996 when more than 20 percent of its parent company, politically connected industrial conglomerate Grupo Gruma, was purchased by U.S.-based global agricultural products TNC Archer Daniels Midland (ADM) (see: *Milling and Baking News* 1996; *PR Newswire* 1996).

corn] is... When it is cooked, the color changes from white into yellow, just a little yellow. When it is cooked... you don't call it "corn," you call it "nixtamal." Nixtamal is the result of cooking the corn. You call it "nixtamal." (pause 5.0)... The water is thrown away. Like you strain the nixtamal, you strain it, understand? This water you call "nijayote," the leftover water is a yellow water. The water that stays... You strain the nixtamal, that means that the corn is going to be dry, or rinse the pure dry corn, you rinse it very well, with a lot of water... As soon as you have done that you are going to put it in the grain mill and grind it... then the nixtamal goes there when the stones are turning and they are making the final corn/tortilla dough. But with a little water, not on the nixtamal. But you have to add water. So there is a little key that is constantly turning water and from the hopper of the mill this turning the spiral is bringing down corn. Water and corn are ground with the stones... What you receive from the stones is the dough. You make a ball of the dough... It is a person that knows how to make balls of the tortilla dough because you must know how to pick it up and make balls of it. The worker regulates the water because you don't want it too dry or watery. That means that the dough has to be malleable... It is a very perishable product, understand? It is very difficult to—how do you say— "to keep in good condition"... Then the dough can last 6 hours. After this time possibly it's no good anymore... apparently (they [Maseca, Wal-Mart, etc.] think) it is easy to make. They say: "making tortillas is easy." No, no, it is not easy. It is very delicate...

... have you tried one (tortilla) of Wal-Mart?... Or of Gigante?... I bought some once, just once or twice, in Gigante. I no sooner bought them that I had thrown them away (laughing)... I don't know, maybe it's the way they make the dough. They get the same flour (that I do). The processing involves pouring the flour into the mixer—put it in there and add water and roll it out (with hands or rolling pin). It is very simple (for them)... They put the dough in the machine—they say 20 liters of water and 20 kilos of Maseca (corn flour) and that's it. Sometimes no, sometimes you need more water. The same flour or sometimes less, a little less. You have to try (taste) it. You have to look at it. You have to teach the worker that the dough has to have a certain consistency. Then you can make the tortilla. Also, when you cook it it has to be well done and then you have a very pretty tortilla (laughing)... And it is the same Maseca (flour). And the people ask me: "how do you make them?" (and I say) "The same as Gigante." (the people say) "No, they don't come out the same"... They think nothing more than of the mechanical (process of making tortillas), understand? (She now speaks as if she is thinking like a Gigante worker as they make tortillas in mass) The sack of flour, 20 liters of water, I mix them and that's all. Then I put it in the machine and they take what they get. No! (this is not right) because you have to look at the dough and see how it is... because the machine is always of the same temperature, understand? If it has too much water you cannot get the same tortilla. And if it does not have enough water the tortilla is dry... The gas, you regulate the level of heat in order to cook the tortilla. The tortilla has to inflate, inflate well, and be well done. I think they take them off raw, half raw. (original parenthetical statements and emphasis [bracketed text added])

Summary. These two examples suggest that the tortilla is, in Mexico, far more than a thin, round disc made from corn or wheat flour. It is something of and reflective of the person serving or

producing it. It is a pride-inspiring mechanism through which Mexican consumers show respect and love for one another and their ancestors—a tradition dating back perhaps 12,000 years.

The *Globalization*-Driven Transformation of Tortilla Production, Acquisition, and Consumption[8]

We discuss the *globalization of the tortilla* in three sections below. We first address consumer preference-based (and sacred) tradition with respect to where tortillas are made and purchased as well as what they are made of. We then discuss the manner in which our data suggest that the powerful forces of *globalization* have transformed (and profaned) the Mexican tortilla production, acquisition, and consumption landscape. Finally, we address what the future might hold for tortillas and their Mexican consumers.

Preference-Based Tradition. As suggested above, the tortilla industry has traditionally been dominated by small, neighborhood-based *tortillerias*. These establishments are often connected to the home of the owner/operator and consist of little more than one small room (barely large enough to house the tortilla-making machine) and a counter over which the tortillas are sold. Tortillas are typically made by well-used, low-tech machines which take raw corn or, increasingly, processed corn flour and mix it into a paste, press it out and cut the resultant mixture into the proper size for baking. When finished, the tortillas are wrapped in paper—usually white butcher-like paper—and sold by the steaming kilo to neighborhood residents. The shopping experience at the *tortilleria* is often highly social in character, with neighbors visiting with one another as they wait in the usually slow-moving line.

The best tortillas are those made from raw white corn eaten as soon as possible after production. This type of tortilla not only tastes better than those made from processed yellow and/or white corn or wheat flour but also holds up far better in a wide variety of traditional Mexican dishes which require that the tortilla be bent, cooked, or served in a moist environment. Consider, in this regard, the following excerpt from fieldnotes documenting a conversation between informants Alejandra and Sandra (hf, 50s).

The maid ("Sandra") was in cleaning the apartment early this evening and Alejandra was making sopa azteca (tortilla soup). I heard the two of them talking and heard the maid say something to the effect of "the Maseca tortillas are not consistent." We had bought a half kilo of Maseca flour tortillas last week at Atemayac [a large, open-air market] and they had gone hard and dry by Wednesday so I had an idea they were saying negative things about the flour tortillas. I asked Alejandra what was said later and she said the maid was telling her that Maseca flour tortillas are no good for sopa azteca (a very traditional Mexican soup) because they get soft/soggy (as they did in ours). *She told Alejandra that the real corn tortillas are much stronger and will remain crisp in the dish. She said she could get us some good tortillas—made from raw corn—that we could use.* (original parenthetical statements and emphasis [bracketed text added])

Globalization-Driven Change. Things have changed in recent years. As one article in a local paper states in its title: "All is Not Well with the Humble Tortilla" (Miller 1996). The bastion of Mexican tradition, culture, and customer preference that is the *tortilleria* has fallen upon hard times in recent years. According to

Nancy, tens of thousands of *tortillerias*, including two of hers, have been forced out of business in just the last five to ten years (see also http://www.american.edu/projects/mandala/TED/tortilla.htm [accessed 3/10/00]). At the same time, more and more tortillas—of lower and lower quality—are being mass-produced by TNCs (e.g., Maseca/ADM) and sold at large chain retail outlets (e.g., Wal-Mart, Gigante, Aurrera, Superama, and Bodega [the last three of which are owned by Cifra, Wal-Mart's Mexican joint venture partner]). Our data suggest that this change in the tortilla (production and sales) landscape has very little to do with consumer preference and much to do with governmental regulation which favors the interests of foreign commodities marketers (e.g., ADM), TNC corn-flour and tortilla producers (e.g., Maseca/ADM), and elite stockholders heavily invested in these (heavily traded) firms. Our data suggest, specifically, that the Mexican government, in an effort to better integrate Mexico into the global economic system, has both: 1) restricted the ability of tortilla makers to produce the types of tortillas preferred by most customers and 2) influenced the content and nature of the tortilla retailing landscape. Each issue is addressed below.

Nancy explained to us that she now has no choice but to produce tortillas made almost exclusively from (relatively inferior) Maseca corn flour. This situation has evolved over the course of the last 25 or so years and involves both governmental mandate as well as the (government-influenced) high cost of raw, white corn. With regard to the former, Nancy explained to us that the tortilla industry first began to move in the direction of its current, transformed state in 1970s under the presidency of Luis Echeverria. Grain mills such as the one she then ran were required, for the first time, to buy all their corn from Conasupo, a governmental agency involved in distributing and regulating the price of agricultural products. In the beginning, Conasupo sold the mills a relatively inconsistent, unreliable mixture of white and yellow corn of both Mexican and U.S. origin. Mill owners who refused to deal with the inferior raw material were shut down and/or had their supplies of white corn confiscated.[9] Due to government-imposed price ceilings, the tortilla producers had no choice but to use the lower-priced but inferior mixture of ground white and yellow corn (that the mills were forced to produce).

Tortilleria owners such as Nancy face much the same situation today, with the main difference being that they are now virtually forced to purchase Maseca corn flour in order not only to turn a profit but survive. Nancy explains the situation as follows.

Now I use Maseca (flour)... Yes, right now the dough of the nixtamal [raw corn]... is more expensive than the dough obtained from the flour. One ton of Maseca gives you two tons of dough. The ton is costing 1,350 pesos (approx. US$ 171). The ton comes with transportation and everything. Then, if it gives you 2 tons of the dough, the dough costs you about 70 Mexican cents (8.8 US cents) per kilo of dough and the kilo of dough of the mill costs 1 peso (12 US cents) or 1 peso and 10 Mexican cents (14 US cents), 40 Mexican cents more expensive or 30—it depends on what they want to sell it to you for. But the mills continue to get subsidies, till now they are subsidized. They have their allotment and now the allotments have been reduced since [former Mexican President] Salinas de Gortari began to reduce the allotments to the mills. Now when Salinas de Gortari came in he reduced (the subsidized

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[8]Data in this section is, unless otherwise noted, based on either the immersed researcher's observations and personal experience or, most predominantly, our two interviews of Nancy.

[9]Nancy's (former) mill was once shut down by the government for 15 days. At the same time the government confiscated a large quantity of corn she and her husband were holding in their mill.

allotment) almost 50% or 60%... then the mills began to get to more Maseca (corn flour). (original parenthetical statements [bracketed text added]).

Nancy further explained that Maseca has manipulated the quality of the flour it sells the *tortillerias* so that they must buy a higher, more costly grade of flour in order to produce tortillas of acceptable quality. According to Nancy:

I began to work with Maseca 4 years ago. They had 3 classes of flour, the extra fine, the normal, and another of lesser quality, the regular. The normal was acceptable, it was very good, white and everything. They didn't make the price higher... So then the regular flour begins to be of a lower quality. So we were obligated to buy a better quality at a higher price. But we didn't make the price higher for the tortillas. They... made the quality of the corn less so we had to buy a higher quality (flour) at a higher price for the same flour that we were buying like normal. Now they say this is better, but the price is higher. We were forced to change from one flour to another because the flour that they were selling us at one price doesn't have the same quality. We must buy another quality in order to produce the tortilla... The price [I sell at] cannot be raised... But Maseca can make changes in the production of the flour, understand?... They put yellow corn, more yellow corn and the flour is not good for working and making the tortillas. (original parenthetical statements [bracketed text added]).

The current situation appears to have been put—forced—into place in 1990 when the Mexican government of then President Salinas signed an agreement with Maseca Chairman (and longtime friend of the Salinas family) Roberto Gonzalez Barreda in which the amount of raw corn that would be given by the government to *tortillerias* was frozen. The agreement also stipulated that all growth in market demand (above the set allotment) would be filled by using corn flour, then produced only by Maseca and the government (see DePalma 1996).

The situation as it now stands is that essentially the only tortillas which *tortillerias* can produce at a profit, given the government's (selectively enforced) price ceiling of 1.7 pesos per kilo[10] are those made from corn or wheat flour produced by Maseca (and, to a much lesser extent, several other companies). The higher-quality and preferred tortillas made from raw white corn are now seldom produced. Further, as *tortillerias* have closed their doors by the thousands more and more tortillas are being manufactured by Maseca and several other agribusiness and food retailing TNCs. These inferior tortillas are sold in all types of retail outlets but in the largest volume in large food retailers such as Wal-Mart, Gigante, and Aurerra. Our data suggests, however, that it is at times hard to find a corn tortilla in these establishments. Consider here the following incident documented in researcher fieldnotes.

WENT TO WAL-MART FOR GROCERY SHOPPING WITH ALEJANDRA... Noticed when we were walking up that there was a big Mision (Maseca/ADM) tortilla display and a delivery truck set up right outside the store's main entry... We passed by the display with the intention of buying tortillas

inside the store... **THERE WERE NO CORN TORTILLAS EITHER INSIDE OR OUTSIDE THE STORE--ONLY WHEAT... THERE WERE HUNDREDS OF PACKAGES OF WHEAT FLOUR TORTILLAS, MOST OF THEM--THE MASECA/ADM BRANDS--**FOR 2 FOR 1 (250 grams for 1.95 pesos). (original parenthetical statements)[11]

Many of our informants feel that the quality of these mass-produced, plastic-packaged, flour-based tortillas at best pales in comparison with those made in *tortillerias* (from either raw corn or, more commonly now, corn flour). According to Lourdes (hf, early 50s):

... in recent years we have tortillas sold in an envelope [plastic bag]... [they] last days [and] are cold and old... They are not good quality... [They are] sold in plastic bags, [are] days old and taste like the plastic bag they are in. These tortillas are getting a lot of advertisement, particularly on TV. It takes only a couple of times to realize how bad they are... (bracketed text added for clarity)

Consistent with the views of informants is the perspective of a Mexico City *tortilleria* owner who contends that his customers tell him that Maseca corn flour "tastes like dirt" (DePalma 1996). On top of bad taste and texture, the store-bought, massed-produced flour tortillas are typically priced far higher than their better-quality counterparts made in *tortillerias*. Quoting from fieldnotes:

MASECA TORTILLAS IN WAL-MART COST 3 TIMES WHAT FRESH TORTILLAS DO AT THE TORTILLERIAS (4.5 pesos vs. 1.5 pesos [20 US cents vs. 60 US cents] for a kilo)... This may sound like "bickering over pennies" but it makes a big difference when you consume a lot—it is THE main food for many—and your annual income is the equivalent of US$ 2,000 or 3,000 and you have a family to feed. (original parenthetical statements and bracketed text)

The Possible Future. Our data suggest that the Mexican tortilla industry is again changing. This second metamorphosis regards most significantly the reintroduction into the marketplace of higher-quality tortillas and, with them, a higher level of consumer choice. This apparent transformation, however, like the previous one, appears to favor the interests of large food TNCs and their major investors. Our data also suggest that this change will benefit mainly (the relatively few) consumers of relatively high socioeconomic status.

Data from our discussions with Nancy and our extensive (in situ) reading of Mexican newspapers indicate that Maseca/ADM and other firms (of lesser significance) are in the process of making available to the public tortillas made from higher quality materials which have a longer shelf life and, in some instances, will be

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[10]This price ceiling is selectively enforced in that it, according to Nancy and as supported by several well-publicized *tortilleria* closures, is enforced almost exclusively with respect to the operations of *tortillerias*—and not at large retail chain outlets.

[11]One possible explanation for the unavailability of corn-based tortillas and the abundance of wheat-based tortillas is that Maseca/ADM is attempting to force Mexican consumers to at least *try* its wheat tortillas. This assertion is based on claims that one of ADM's primary motivations for entering into partnership with Maseca was to find a new market for products made from (abundantly held) wheat (see: *Milling and Baking News* 1996; *PR Newswire* 1996).

enriched with vitamins and minerals.[12] These "super" or "luxury" tortillas are to be sold, at least initially, in relatively small markets and boutiques to a decidedly upscale clientele (see: Carrillo 1996; Miller 1996; *The News* 1996). Ironically, if this vision of the industry's future plays itself out, what will have happened is that the same TNCs which were instrumental in restricting consumer choice (and running many small competitors out of business) to their advantage will profit (again) by reintroducing the same (obsolete but preferred) products and a higher level of choice back into the marketplace. These firms, most notably Maseca/ADM, will have taken over—recreated—the high-quality product domain once specialized in by those same firms that have been squeezed out of the industry picture.

DISCUSSION

Our data suggest a three-phase, *globalization*-driven evolution of the Mexican tortilla industry. Phase one is characterized by high-quality, preferred products being available at the preferred type of retail outlet. Phase two, beginning in the 1970s and still in operation today, involves: 1) increased governmental intervention, 2) the expanded presence of large agricultural and retailing TNCs, 3) competitive shakeout (of smaller, lesser efficient producers and retailers), and 4) restricted consumer choice. Phase three, presently in development, is characterized by large TNC dominance and increased levels of consumer choice (for consumers in upscale market segments). Results of this *globalization* of the tortilla industry include: 1) greater profit potential for large agribusiness TNCs, 2) higher potential return on investment for major shareholders in these TNCs, and 3) restriction of consumer choice (for the majority of Mexicans) with respect to type of product/tortilla and, to a lesser extent, retail outlet.[13]

Suggested, overall, is the notion that no product nor industry, however culturally important to a group of consumers, is immune to change at the hands of the powerful forces of *globalization*. The sacred Mexican tortilla has been changed—*globalized*—with regard to: 1) the manner in which (and from what materials) it is produced, 2) from whom it is acquired, and 3) the manner in which it is consumed (as mass-produced flour tortillas cannot, in some instances, be used for the same purposes as can raw corn-based tortillas).

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[12]Nancy informs us that she feels it would be extremely difficult to incorporate soy proteins and various talked-about vitamins and minerals into tortillas. She expressed the opinion that it could be done but that the resulting tortillas will likely be even less desirable in texture and durability when compared to those currently mass produced by Maseca/ADM and other large manufacturers.

[13]This assertion, particularly with regard to the restriction of consumer choice in the context of type of product/tortilla, is supported by the recent discovery that transgenic (i.e., genetically modified) corn has mysteriously introgressed into and contaminated Mexico's corn supply in key growing areas of the country (see: Quist and Chapela 2001; Ruiz-Marrero 2002; Zarembo 2002). This introgression and contamination, manifest in the presence of Starlink corn—a product of biotech TNC Aventis, which was recently purchased by chemical and pharmaceutical giant Bayer—threatens to both sicken persons consuming products made from Mexican corn (i.e., tortillas) and kill off some indigenous types of corn unique to Mexican growing regions (see: Ruiz-Marrero 2002; Zarembo 2002).

In conclusion, our data, collected at the level of the lived human experience of persons being impacted by the forces of *globalization*, stands in diametric opposition to the foundational tenets of *globalization* in marketing and consumer research. Our data suggest, in this regard, that *globalization* is not a naturally occurring, universally beneficial process driven by consumer desire for new products and technologies and higher standards of consumption and living. The *globalization* that emerges from our data is, instead, a process by which consumer choice is increasingly limited to a set of alternatives best allowing (agribusiness) TNC executives and major stockholders to maximize their personal and collective wealth. This radical divergence between the received disciplinary view and our data, is a result, in our opinion, of the received view of *globalization* being: 1) significantly removed from reality as lived by the vast majority of Mexican consumers, and 2) based on highly aggregated, average-based data which averages away critical place- and person-specific detail. Future research is required to assess the veracity of this assertion. It should do this by facilitating better understanding of both the cultural importance of the tortilla to Mexican consumers and the manner in which the forces of *globalization* will inevitably continue to alter tortilla production, acquisition, and consumption throughout the Mexico Republic. Future research should also address the consequences of this alteration for Mexican consumers.

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Consumer Response to Changing Food Systems in Urban China

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Urban areas of the People's Republic of China have experienced a dramatic transformation in food systems during the past two decades. Greater efficiencies in agriculture, improved transportation and distribution systems, liberalization of trade, and the increasing privatization of the retail sector have led to a much improved selection of food options year-round in Chinese cities. Furthermore, the increased spending power of urban residents has allowed many consumers the opportunity to take advantage of the abundance of choices in both food retail venues and food selections.

This research explores how food consumption patterns are being restructured in urban areas of China in response to the new availability of food choice. The study has its roots in the theory of the prominent French sociologist, Claude Fischler (1980, 1988), who has described what he calls a modern crisis in food choice in the West. Fischler claims that an excess of options in food in modern western society has created anxiety and obsession related to food consumption. Given that the proliferation of food choice in China has occurred at an even faster pace than in the West, one might predict that consumers would experience similar, or even greater, anxiety in response to the new food options. As such, this study has two main goals: 1) to determine if the new abundance of food in urban areas of China are, in fact, creating anxiety and confusion in consumers in relation to food choice, and 2) to identify the strategies that food shoppers use to generate confidence in their choices.

Based on data from a 2001 study in Shijiazhuang, Hebei Province, this investigation analyzes attitudes towards food choice in light of recent changes in the food system. The study analyzes the results from three focus groups involving a total of twenty consumers who are the primary food shoppers for their families. The focus group participants discussed a number of topics related to food shopping, including food shopping behavior, attitudes towards new food options, perceptions of food safety, strategies of food choices, and trusted sources of food-related information. The focus groups were recorded, transcribed, and translated, and then systematically analyzed.

The findings indicate that, as Fischler would predict, the respondents do experience anxiety and stress related to making safe and nutritious food choices for themselves and family members. The most commonly cited concerns, include 1) poisonous pesticides on vegetables, 2) dangerous levels of preservatives in processed foods, 3) unsanitary handling practices, 4) vegetables poisoned by pollutants, and 5) diseased animals. Predictably, all five of these concerns have direct ties to new options in the food supply, paralleling findings from food theorists studying consumers' reactions to new food choice in the West. That is, the anxiety of consumers towards the food supply increases as they become further removed from the growing and processing of their food sources, and, thus, lose control over what they put into their mouths.

In response to the anxiety related to food choice, the Chinese consumers have developed "coping strategies" (Sellerberg 1991) to guide their food shopping. Three main "coping strategies" were identified in this study. The first strategy, "relying on one's own judgment," emphasizes the importance of food shoppers being educated and vigilant to ensure they are providing safe choices for the family. This "buyer beware" philosophy stresses the need to mobilize most of the senses and be on constant alert in the process of identifying the freshest and most sanitary food. This philosophy is shown in the quote by this 58-year-old male:

You have to mainly depend on your own knowledge and experience that you have accumulated from life. Of course, you need use your eyes, nose. Sometimes you can even taste it. If the food tastes good, then basically, it's safe. If it tastes abnormal, then it's not safe. When you buy cooked food and you can't eat it that day, then you need to reheat it thoroughly before you use it.

The second strategy, "finding trusted providers," involves seeking out responsible retailers and manufacturers and patronizing them regularly to reduce insecurity related to unsafe food. For example, some of the respondents seek out food vendors with more direct ties to farms; other respondents placed their trust in certain food stores that they felt pursued sanitary practices and exercised integrity. The following quote from a 30-year-old woman exemplifies this strategy:

As I mentioned before, I never buy food from those small outdoor stands…I go to tofu stores, where I can see their processing procedures. Second, I go to stores that belong to a state-owned organization. Third, I will shop at stores that have gained my trust due to my own experiences.

The final strategy, "unite for change," calls for governmental organizations and consumer groups to exercise greater authority in developing and enforcing rules that would ensure a safer food supply. Many of the respondents feel that the government could and should do more to mandate food safety. In addition, almost all of the respondents feel that it is the responsibility of all food shoppers to organize collectively to boycott dishonest and dangerous farmers, wholesalers, manufacturers, and retailers. This strategy is shown in the following quote of a 59-year-old female:

The citizens should unite to resist dangerous food products. We must not give them a chance to sell counterfeit or spoiled foods.

As outlined in the paper, each of these coping strategies has different public policy implications. Furthermore, it can be expected that, as privatization and deregulation continues to transform the economy, Chinese citizens will increasingly face new questions about health and safety, product reliability, and environmental threats that can lead to private and public anxieties. To respond to these anxieties, a future challenge for consumer groups and governmental agencies in China, as in the West, will be to create a climate of strong consumerism and effective regulation that encourages healthy activism while minimizing mistrust and passive cynicism.

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Perspectives in Time: How Consumers Think About the Future
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Consumers' purchase decisions are frequently made based on judgments about what the future might hold. Even when preferences seem to be clear, recent empirical evidence from the consumer literature suggests that people demonstrate inconsistencies about their prospective choices or intent to buy. Findings in the psychology literature also suggest that thinking about the future is error-prone in a variety of contexts. This session combined diverse theoretical approaches in an effort to understand how consumers think about the future from different angles using experiments that manipulate temporal frame, valence of the decision context, and temporal distance.

Because people may approach decisions that involve the future by drawing on inferences based on past experience, the first paper, by Jung Grant and Tybout, examined how past and future thinking elicit differences in processing. These authors found that reflection on a past event differs from consideration of the same event in the future, all else held constant, because temporal frame prompts a shift in the focus of attention. Two experiments showed support for the view that when a new brand extension is introduced as an event that has happened in the past (three weeks ago), attention is narrowly focused on dispositional information (about the launching brand). However, when a new brand extension is introduced as an event that will happen in the future (in three weeks), people attend broadly to situational as well as dispositional information. A third experiment demonstrates that processing a future event not only involves breadth in the consideration of types of information, it also fosters a systematic integration of the cues when approach and avoidance goals are manipulated.

The next two papers, by Patrick and MacInnis and by Ebert and Gilbert, investigated how people gauge their affective reactions when they focus on an upcoming event, also known as affective forecasting. In consumer behavior, the study of affective forecasting has important implications for understanding how the anticipation of satisfaction or regret drives purchase decisions. These papers discussed how a future focus affects the quality and accuracy of people's forecasts.

In their investigation, Patrick and MacInnis conducted a longitudinal study in which subjects described their expectations regarding a specific future hedonic consumption experience and made predictions about their affective states after the consumption experience. These predictions were later compared to the actual feelings reported after consumption. Results revealed that consumers were able to accurately forecast their positive affective states after consumption of a hedonic experience but fail to accurately forecast their negative affective states. The role of anticipation-related emotions prior to consumption and contextual factors after consumption were examined to explain the positivity bias consumers exhibit in making affective predictions.

The third paper, by Ebert and Gilbert, investigated the process underlying affective forecasting. Their work suggests that when people are trying to predict how they will feel at a future date following an affective event, the sequence in which the timing and the event are considered will influence the nature of the forecast. If people think first about the future date and add in the event occurring, they will give different predictions than if they think about the event first and add in the future date. This seems to be due to actual processing differences both in what information is used

and how it is incorporated. Evidence from five experiments show that considering the event and then the timing may invoke an adjustment method. Considering the timing and then the event, on the other hand, seems to involve an integration method, and incorporates information additional about the nature of the future into the forecast. Interestingly, these participants, who are incorporating the most information into their predictions, are likely to be less accurate.

"The Effects of Temporal Framing on New Product Evaluation"
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How we think about the future is often shaped by how we think of the past. Our causal inferences about a past experience, for example, might lead us to take a course of action implicated by the lessons we have gleaned. This research suggests, however, that how we view the past may be quite different from how we view the future. We explore how temporal frame–a past or future context–affects information processing and judgment.

Although there are reports in the literature that suggest that a past or future frame may elicit differences in judgment (Strickland, Lewicki, & Katz 1966; Bavelas 1973; Fischhoff 1975; Webb & Watzke, as reported in Weick 1979; Morris, Sim, & Girotto 1998), the process by which temporal frame may affect processing is not understood. We theorize that temporal framing influences the type of information that is considered. Temporal frame is varied by asking consumers to evaluate a new product that is described as having recently been launched in the marketplace or one that is scheduled for launch in the near future. When considering a product launch set in the past, consumers are expected to ponder the event that has occurred, focusing narrowly and on dispositional information (e.g., the brand company launching the product) in an effort to understand the outcome. By contrast, when considering an event set in the future, consumers are expected to consider what might be, thus broadening their focus to include situational factors such as marketplace conditions that may moderate the effectiveness of what the actor proposes to do.

An initial experiment examined the hypothesis that the past perspective narrows the information considered to cues about the agent and that the future fosters broader consideration of more diverse circumstances. Participants were asked to list their thoughts after reading about a new product launch, a brand extension from the Coca-Cola Company, that was set in the past (three weeks ago) or in the future (in three weeks), while controlling for uncertainty. When the product launch was described as a past event, participants' thoughts were concentrated on the actor, a known brand company in this case, whereas when the product launch was described as a future event, thoughts reflected a consideration of both the actor and the situation (e.g. Coca-Cola's reasons to launch a new product, competitive response, market conditions, consumer taste).

A follow-up study in which the favorableness of information about the actor and the situation was manipulated provided convergent evidence for this view. When the new product launch was set in the past, product evaluation was affected by the favorableness of information about the actor, but not by the favorableness of infor-

mation about the situation. However, when the new product launch was set in the future, evaluations were affected by the favorableness of information about both the actor and the situation.

A third study, in which we sought to test more explicitly ways a future frame might affect processing, was conducted to determine how cues about the actor and the situation might be integrated in the future. By manipulating respondents' focus on an approach goal or an avoidance goal, we found that a future frame fostered a positivity bias, in which positive cues were overweighted when an approach goal was activated, and a negativity bias, in which negative cues were overweighted when an avoidance goal was activated. The operation of such a "bias" suggests that when people think about the future, they are strategic in how they integrate cues because they are sensitive to a particular goal orientation.

Taken together, these studies offer support for the view that a past perspective leads consumers to focus their attention on the actor and any dispositional information, whereas a future perspective prompts consumers to broaden the focus of their attention and consider both the actor and the situation.

In addition to contributing to a theoretical understanding of temporal framing, this research has notable practical implications. If a past frame encourages consumers to focus on dispositional attributes, then this perspective may be beneficial when strong, well-established brands are extended into new categories. The focus on the brand may lead to the inference that the extension must be a wise move because otherwise the company would not have undertaken it. In contrast, if a future frame fosters broader consideration of more cues, consumers, depending on their orientation, are likely to increase their contemplation of positive and negative information. Therefore, a well-known brand company, when launching an extension in the future, may be served by pointing to the past and the brand's longstanding reputation rather than invoking thoughts about the wide-ranging future. Whereas, a start-up company would be advised to frame its message in the future and changing times, thereby encouraging consumers to consider possibilities beyond the standard set.

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"Strategies for Affective Forecasting: Differences in Bias, Use of Information, and Cognitive Effort"

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In many decisions consumers face, their expectations of the enduring emotional impact of their decision can play a central role. For example, in deciding whether to buy concert tickets, go to a restaurant, or get a haircut, consumers are likely to consider how much they will enjoy the event, and how this enjoyment might extend into the future. How happy and attractive will the haircut make them feel and how long will those feelings last? Of course, outcomes may also be negative. Concerts, restaurant meals, and haircuts can all be positive or negative experiences whose emotional impact can extend over time.

How do consumers form expectations, or forecasts, of the emotional impact of events? While we know that people typically overestimate the emotional impact of events (e.g. Gilbert, Pinel, Wilson, Blumberg & Wheatley 1998), we have less understanding of how these forecasts are made. In addressing this question, let us take a particular example. Imagine a consumer deciding whether to get a haircut. To forecast her feelings 2 days following the haircut, she might include several sources of information such as: how she expects the haircut to make her feel initially ("great"); how that feeling might change over time ("my excitement will probably wear off gradually"); and how she expects to feel in general 2 days after the haircut ("I never like Mondays").

Some methods of forecasting may emphasize one source of information more than others, or may combine different sources of information in different ways, so the forecasts themselves may vary. For example, in deciding whether to get a haircut, the consumer may forecast how she will feel about it by first focusing on the excitement of the new haircut, then simply considering how that feeling will change over time. Alternatively she may start by considering how she will feel on Monday at work, and then consider how she might feel at work if she had a new haircut on Saturday. In a series of 4 experiments, we demonstrate: 1) that these two alternative strategies for considering the emotional impact of an event produce different emotion forecasts; and 2) that these strategies differ in the information they utilize.

In experiments 1 and 2 we manipulated the way undergraduates made emotion forecasts for how they would feel on a target day two weeks following a future event, for both negative and positive events (doing extremely well or poorly on an exam). One group, later called "adjustors," were asked to first predict their response to the emotional event before making the test forecast for the target day, while another group, later called "integrators," first considered how they expected to feel in general on the target day before making the test forecast. A third group, the control group, simply made the test forecast.

Surprisingly, the adjustors, who first anchored on the emotional event, showed less impact bias for the event than did integrators, i.e., their forecasts were closer to their baseline happiness levels than were those of integrators. Also, a comparison of the two experiments, in which the target day was either Thanksgiving (experiment 1) or an ordinary day (experiment 2), suggested that integrators are considering the nature of the target date more when making their affective forecasts. These results suggest that the adjustors may view time to the target day simply as a period during which the affective impact of the event abates. In contrast, integrators appear to be simulating their responses to both the event and to the target day, to some degree, and combining those responses in their forecasts. The control group falls between these two groups, suggesting some controls may use each strategy. Experiment 3 replicates the original effect with a real event.

In experiment 4, in addition to the "adjustor" and "integrator" forecast manipulations of experiments 1 and 2, we manipulated the nature of the target day (i.e. it was a Monday or a Saturday) and the temporal distance to the target day (i.e. the day occurred 3 or 10 days following the emotional event). We found that, while both adjustors and integrators consider temporal distance in their forecasts, only the integrators consider the nature of the target day. These results support the proposed processes for each group, and show that

integrators are considering the target day more. It is notable that the group that shows more impact bias is also the one that is taking more information into account in making their forecasts. Those using less information, the adjustors, show less bias.

In the current studies, we used a particular emotional event (i.e. good or bad outcomes of an exam). However, overestimation biases in emotion forecasts, such as those shown for this event have been demonstrated in a broad range of emotional events, including receiving gifts, winning prizes, household relocations, romantic breakups, personal insults, electoral defeats and football victories (see Gilbert, Lieberman & Wilson 2002). Therefore, we believe the effects observed for these two forecasting strategies may generalize to a wide range of good and negative outcomes in consumers' lives.

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"How Will I Feel About It? Affective Misforecasting In Consumer Behavior"

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A vast array of consumption activity is based on a consumer's prediction of how they are likely to feel after consumption. However, consumers are often unable to accurately predict their future feelings, resulting in *affective misforecasting*. Affective misforecasting may be defined as the deviation between predicted and experienced affective states.

In this paper we (1) introduce the notion of affective misforecasting to the consumer behavior literature, (2) examine affective misforecasting for a specific future hedonic consumption experience, (3) explore potential factors that influence affective misforecasting in a consumer context and (4) examine the relationship between affective misforecasting and consumer satisfaction and well-being.

In this study we develop a conceptualization of affective misforecasting, that goes beyond the existing research to look at the magnitude (the degree to which emotions are misforecast) and direction (the under-prediction or over-prediction of emotions) of the misforecasting gap for *specific* central or goal-relevant affective states versus peripheral affective states.

A longitudinal study was conducted which examined the magnitude and direction of affective misforecasting, the factors that increase or decrease the misforecast and the effect of affective misforecasting on consumer satisfaction and well-being. In this study subjects described their expectations regarding a specific future hedonic consumption experience and made predictions about their future affective states. These predictions were then compared to the actual feelings experienced after consumption.

The results revealed that subjects appear to experience considerable misforecasting of emotions, particularly for those emotions central or relevant to the consumption goal.

We find evidence for the focalism bias for these goal-relevant affective states. Specifically, we find that the misforecasting gap for goal-relevant emotions was greater for subjects who focused on the vacation alone and neglected to consider the consequences than for subjects who focused on both the vacation and its consequences.

We also find evidence for a positivity bias, in which subjects consistently over-predicted positive goal relevant emotions and under-predicted negative goal relevant emotions.

Last, we examine the impact of the affective misforecasting gap on consumer happiness/well being and overall satisfaction. Satisfaction in marketing has largely been conceptualized as cognitive expectancy disconfirmation and restricted to product performance alone. Interestingly, however, we find no evidence that the misforecasting of goal relevant emotions has an impact on overall satisfaction. The fact that the magnitude of affective misforecasting has no effect on post-consumption satisfaction is interesting, particularly in light of prior research, which suggests that deviations from expectations can in fact influence satisfaction. We do find, however, some preliminary evidence for the operation of the psychological immune system that may explain why affective misforecasting, may under certain circumstances, have a limited or no impact on overall satisfaction.

In sum, this study reveals some very provocative results that lead the way for future research in this rich, relatively unexplored area of consumer research.

Understanding Consumers' Need to Personally Inspect Products Prior to Purchase

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

A primary difference between in-store and in-home shopping (i.e., internet, catalog, telephone, direct mail, television, etc.) is consumers' ability/inability to personally inspect products prior to purchase. The inability to personally inspect merchandise is an important deterrent to in-home shopping. Despite the importance of this topic, a lack of research exists that specifically examines consumers' need to personally inspect products prior to purchase (NPIPPP). The goal of this paper is to provide insight into understanding the factors that influence consumers' NPIPPP.

The author defines consumers' NPIPPP as consumers' desire to physically experience merchandise before making a purchase. This direct experience can take the form of seeing, hearing, touching, tasting or smelling the product; therefore, to fulfill the NPIPPP, the consumer must have some type of physical interaction with the product. This need has a tremendous potential impact on in-home retailers.

Personally inspecting products prior to purchase can best be viewed as a specific form of external information search. Much research has been conducted on variables that influence external search (c.f.e., Srinivasan and Ratchford 1991; Beatty and Smith 1987; Punj and Staelin 1987; Moore and Lehmann 1980). However, this research does not adequately differentiate between personal inspection and other sources of search (i.e., mass media, interpersonal search, etc.). Personal inspection differs from other forms of external search because, by definition, the consumer has to have a direct interaction with the product. Therefore, the need to conduct personal inspection likely differs from consumers' general need to search.

Two exploratory methods were employed to examine consumers' NPIPPP: personal narratives and in-depth interviewing. Purposive sampling was utilized. Participants were asked to, "Describe a recent experience in which you felt a need to physically experience (see/touch/feel/hear/taste) a product prior to purchase. Describe the experience in as many details as possible including your thoughts/feelings about the product prior to purchase, during the purchase and after the purchase." Twenty personal narratives were obtained. Additionally, 20 in-depth interviews were conducted resulting 50,225 words with over 185 pages of transcribed text. A hermeneutic interpretation was utilized to analyze the data.

Perceived risk has previously been identified as a primary influence on consumers' willingness to purchase products through in-home mediums (Lumpkin and Hawes 1985; Reynolds 1974; Gillett 1970; Cox and Rich 1964). Perceived risk is defined as the probability of any loss that can occur. As the importance of the loss increases so does perceived risk (Srinivasan and Ratchford 1991; Jacoby and Kaplan 1972; Peter and Ryan 1976). The results of this study indicate that perceived risk is a primary theme underlying consumers' NPIPPP. Various forms of loss, including financial, time, cognitive and emotional loss, were identified as influencing consumers' NPIPPP.

Consumers' NPIPPP can best be explained using an interaction framework (Punj and Stewart 1987; Srinivasan and Ratchford 1991) because both product and individual attributes are proposed to influence perceived risk and thus consumers' NPIPPP. Product attributes that were identified as influences on consumers' NPIPPP include the following: product's level of experiential attributes, product price, product variation, and product brand name. In addition to the product attributes, several individual attributes were also identified. The individual attributes include the following: prior experience with product, prior experience with not inspecting products, prior experience with out-of-stock conditions, knowledge of return policy, trust/distrust for retailers, and personal meaning of the product.

Information economics suggests that a trade-off exists between the costs of searching for information and the expected benefits of the information (Klein 1998; Stigler 1961). The costs to fulfill the NPIPPP include time, thinking and possibly monetary costs; whereas, the primary benefit to fulfilling this need is a reduction in perceived risk. The actual fulfillment of the NPIPPP is not straightforward. Having the need does not mean that the consumer will forgo the costs necessary to fulfill the need (Bettman 1979; Newman 1977). The study suggests that two primary variables moderate the relationship between the NPIPPP and the actual inspection of the product. These variables include the following: consumer's enjoyment of inspecting and time availability.

The proposed model differs from general external search models because it examines a specific form of external search, personal inspection. This is an important distinction because this form of search has some unique antecedents when compared to general external search. Therefore, alternative external search sources (i.e., interpersonal, media, etc.) may not adequately fulfill consumers' NPIPPP. In fact, personal inspection may be the only source of external search that satisfies the consumer in some situations.

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Exploring Subjective Emotion Intensity: Antecedents and Postconsumption Consequences

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Emotion is a fundamental component of people's lives. We experience a wide array of emotions, ranging from the mild annoyance of waiting in line at a grocery store to the joy of purchasing a first home. Emotions vary not only in type, but also in intensity. For example, people may not only feel happy or sad, they can also feel each along a continuum ranging from slightly happy or sad to extremely happy or sad. Moreover, within a general category of emotions (e.g., fear), different emotion words reflect varying levels of intensity (e.g., apprehensive vs. petrified). Yet, in spite of this wide range of emotional experience, little systematic work has been done on the topic of subjective emotion intensity. Frijda et al. (1992) suggest that emotion intensity is multifaceted and have defined it as "the total emotional impact of a given event, of which the magnitude of various objective and subjective parameters are aspects or manifestations" (p. 64). Multiple underlying emotional intensity dimensions have been identified in past research (Frijda et al. 1992; Sonnemans and Frijda 1994).

The current paper examined the role of subjective emotion intensity in the context of a negative consumer experience with a product or service. Data were included from 177 college-aged students in exchange for course credit in a laboratory setting. Respondents were randomly assigned to one of two negative emotion intensity groups (mild or extreme). They were asked to recall a purchase situation in which they experienced a mildly (or an extremely) negative emotional reaction to a product or service. They then wrote a brief description of the incident, indicating what had happened and describing their subjective experience. Subsequent to the written narrative, all respondents completed the same scale items.

The questionnaire collected data pertaining to the dimensionality of emotion intensity, antecedents of emotion intensity, and consequences of emotion intensity. Dimensions of emotion intensity included here were felt intensity, peak amplitude, physical symptoms of the emotional reaction, duration of the emotion episode, and event recollection. Five antecedents of emotion intensity were included: unexpectedness of the event, temporal proximity of the event, relevance of the event to the individual, and attribution of responsibility for the negative event. The fifth antecedent was within-category *emotion word type*. The latter variable considered the implicit intensity attributed to various words used to describe anger by counterbalancing on bipolar scales emotions thought to possess less intensity (i.e., annoyed, bothered, irritated) with those possessing greater intensity (i.e., frustrated, irate, outraged). Thus, the scale required respondents to clearly delineate how they felt along a semantic-differential continuum represented on either end by emotion words contrasted on the basis of intensity. Three behavioral consequences were considered, each measured on a yes/no dichotomous scale that assessed whether the incident had led the respondent to (1) complain to the responsible party (source complaint); (2) complain to a supervisor or manager (supervisor complaint); and (3) give a negative recommendation about the product/service to friends (negative WOM). Also included was an affective consequence that asked respondents to indicate their current feelings about the situation.

The results support the prediction that subjective emotion intensity is multidimensional. A number of different measures, shown here to be independent, may be used to assess intensity. Consistent with past research, the items comprising two of the posited five dimensions (peak amplitude and felt intensity) loaded on the same factor and, collectively, represented a measure of *global intensity*. Although multifaceted in nature, the results of this study indicate that *global intensity* is much more predictive of postconsumption actions and feelings than the other factors underlying emotion intensity. However, only a limited number of postpurchase consequences were considered in this study. A wider array of consequences (e.g., attitude change, purchase intentions) should be considered in future research.

The results also offer support for the idea that different *emotion word types* are characterized by varying levels of intensity. For eight of the nine emotion word pairings, respondents describing an extremely negative consumer event scored significantly higher scores on a continuum depicting greater levels of anger than did those describing a mildly negative event. Also noteworthy are the results of a factor analysis indicating that a factor comprised of within-category emotion word pairings is empirically distinguishable from each of the emotion intensity factors considered in this study.

Frijda et al. (1992) argued that emotion intensity should be predictive of overt action because it represents the total emotional impact of an event on an individual. That reasoning is extended here to suggest that emotion intensity should be more proximal to postconsumption behaviors and feelings than the emotions themselves. In short, emotions contribute to subjective emotion intensity. The results of a series of mediated regressions lend support to this proposition. The direct effect of *emotion word type* on complaint behaviors and current feelings of a recalled event were partially mediated by *global intensity*. The direct effect of *emotion word type* on *negative WOM* was wholly mediated by *global intensity*.

The current study represents a first step in investigating how emotion intensity affects consumer behavior. The manipulations used here were fairly weak and future research should consider the issue using more rigorous experimental methods. Moreover, the use of a student sample may be limiting. It may be that the effects associated with subjective emotion intensity differ for older consumers. Finally, this study considered only emotions related to anger in a context of a negative consumer experience with a product or service. Future research should explore the antecedents and consequences of emotion intensity using a greater array of emotions and/or in the context of a positive consumer experience.

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Possible Selves? Identifying Dimensions for Exploring the Dialectic between Positive and Negative Selves in Consumer Behavior

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to identify dimensions to use in exploring a range of 'possible selves' and thus contribute to our understanding of the dialectic between positive and negative selves in consumer behavior. We report the development and testing of a set of scale items for measuring three aspects of the self-concept: actual, ideal and worst. Principal components analysis with varimax orthogonal rotation was used to identify five factors: energetic; orthodox; contemporary; disordered; masculinity-femininity. We use correlation analysis to explore the dialectic between actual, ideal and worst selves; and to examine the contribution of the negative self to identity formation.

Literature

The role of different negative (or unwelcome) aspects of identity and their relationship with consumption (and the associated rejection of products) have received scant attention compared with the extensive research into positive aspects of the self (e.g. actual, ideal). This relative neglect of negative selves represents a significant gap in our understanding of consumers' self-concepts. This research draws upon notions of the self-concept and congruency. Traditionally, self-congruency (see for instance Sirgy 1982) has been central to theorizing about symbolic consumption. It has provided a means to understand how consumers seek to achieve self-consistency, by matching their self-concept (actual or ideal) to social prototypes (Niedenthal et al 1985) and product user stereotypes (Grubb and Grathwohl 1967; Sirgy et al 1997; Erickson 1996; Hyatt 1992). However, before we can extend this theorizing, using self-congruency, into the sphere of negative symbolic consumption, we need to establish the key features of possible selves, notably the worst self, in addition to actual and ideal selves.

An individual's undesired or worst self is of particular relevance because negative symbolic consumption is about what a person is afraid of becoming. Consumers often imbue rejected products (and product user imagery stereotypes) with negative meanings. Various negative selves, and specifically the undesired or worst self, can be considered to be important reference points or 'implicit standards' which individuals will use to assess how close they are to or distant from being like their most negative images of themselves (Ogilvie 1987). These negative self-images can be linked to negative product and brand imagery and constitute different aspects of negative symbolic consumption (i.e. distastes). The 'refusal of tastes', may therefore say as much about us personally and socially as that which we opt to consume. It is significant that tastes are predominantly asserted in negative terms through the "refusal" of other tastes (Bourdieu 1984:56).

Research context

The product category of fashion and clothing provides a suitable research context because consumers use clothing in the constant negotiation of *who* they are, including the communication of group membership (McCracken and Roth 1989). The negotiation of appearance is a significant aspect of the development of the self. Consumers can thus use both the positive and negative meanings associated with their consumption choices in this product category to create and maintain their social and cultural identities.

Scale development

The research focused on the development of an instrument to explore the relationship between positive and negative aspects of the self concept. We report the development and testing of a set of 21 scale items for exploring three aspects of the self-concept: actual, ideal and worst. Principal components analysis with varimax orthogonal rotation was used for data analysis; followed by correlation analysis. Participants rated themselves on the scale in three different ways: their 'actual self', their 'ideal self' and their 'undesired self'.

Data collection, analysis and findings

Data was collected via the World Wide Web and Factor analysis was undertaken using principal components analysis with varimax orthogonal rotation. Five factors were found to potentially represent the dimensions of the self: energetic; orthodox; contemporary; disordered; masculinity-femininity. Exploratory data analysis was conducted using un-weighted factor sums, including t-tests and calculations to ascertain the discrepancies between the selves. The statistical analysis demonstrated that it was possible to identify dimensions that provide a consistent way in which to examine consumers' different views of themselves. We established that the actual, ideal and worst self, although, by definition, very different, can be assessed via a number of common concepts.

Discussion and conclusion

This empirical study represents an important first step in the development of an instrument for exploring three different aspects of the self concept: actual, ideal and worst; and the potential interrelationships between different parts of the possible self, that is, the dialectic between positive and negative selves. Limited work exists on the interrelationships amongst different possible selves within the context of symbolic consumption. The instrument has the potential to contribute to our understanding of the relationship between 'worst self' and product/brand imagery in symbolic product categories. This scale development could therefore represent a substantial advance in trying to extend theory building in symbolic consumption, which has traditionally drawn on the image congruency hypothesis, into areas of negative symbolic consumption. Finally, this study provides the basis for further examination of the role of the negative self in identify formation and identification.

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Influence Attempts Beyond People's Awareness

C. Miguel Brendl, INSEAD

Amitava Chattopadhyay, INSEAD

The session consisted of three papers followed by a discussion led by Professor Robert S. Wyer, Jr. The three papers built on the session theme as follows: "Are brands containing name letters preferred?" builds on the phenomenon that people like their first initials more than other letters. We present evidence that when choice objects contain first initials, the positive affect associated with these initials can transfer to the choice object. We show that choices can be influenced by this name letter effect without decision makers being aware of this influence. This renders the influence via name letter difficult to control for a perceiver.

In "Subliminal priming and choice" we present evidence that under certain conditions subliminal priming affects choices. Here it is very clear that perceivers are not aware of the subliminal prime and hence of this source of influence on their choice. Thus, the influence of a subliminal prime is completely out of the control of a perceiver.

"Implicit and explicit evaluations: A declaration of independence" introduces a response time procedure that can measure the uncontrollable evaluative component of an overall evaluation. The measure allows us to investigate the attributes of uncontrollable evaluative responses. Specifically, we ask whether such uncontrollable evaluative responses are or are not independent of explicit attitudes; that is, attitudes that have controllable components. While research on implicit attitudes currently assumes that these two types of attitudes are independent, we find evidence that they are reasonably correlated and hence in some relation of dependency. We discuss the implications of this finding for understanding the processes underlying phenomena such as the name letter effect or subliminal priming.

We present below abstracts of each of the three papers.

"Are Brands Containing Name Letters Preferred?"

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Research on name-letter preference, on the mere ownership effect, and on self-regulation and self-enhancement all converge to suggest that most people possess positive unconscious associations about themselves. For this reason, people prefer things that are associated with the self (e.g., the letters in one's name, the numbers in one's birthday) to things that are not. We refer to such preferences as *implicit egotism*. This talk will summarize a recent program of research that examines whether making brand names similar to consumers' names increases the likelihood that consumers will choose the brand. In essence we ask whether the affect that is derived, for instance, from a name letter, spills over to the brand.

One straightforward prediction is that people will prefer and be more likely to choose products or services whose names prominently feature the letters in their own first or last names. We tested this hypothesis in two studies. In a first study we asked American subjects to rate and rank order a set of candy bars that were widely available in the US market. Color images of the candy bars were shown on a single screen projected in front of the classroom. Subjects filled out their ranking and rating of the candy bars on an identical sheet in black and white, in front of them. The results

showed that subjects' preference rankings and evaluations of name letter matching brands were higher than those of non-name letter matching brands. In a second experimental study, subjects, run in yoked pairs, were given a choice between two teas. The teas were marked with brand names composed of the first three alphabets of the subjects' names and a random three-letter ending. A yoked pair of subjects saw the same pair of names, but for each subject one brand name had a three-letter overlap with their name and the other did not. Subjects were allowed to taste the two teas and asked to make a choice of which tea they would like as a gift to take home. They were given a 30-gram bag of the tea brand they chose to take home with them. The results showed that subjects were significantly more likely to choose the tea branded with the name letter overlap to that branded without this overlap. Further, these subjects were unaware of the influence of the name letter on their decision. Even when the subjects were probed whether the name of the tea could have affected their decision, most subjects dismissed this possibility. The results are the same when the analyses are conducted only with the latter group of subjects.

While these studies show that implicit egotism can affect choices, they do not speak to the potential influences of implicit egotism in real life decision. A number of studies using archival, real life data show that important real life decisions are also influenced by the name letter effect. For example, a series of archival studies showed that people are disproportionately likely to live in cities or states whose names resemble their own first or last names. An additional archival study extended this finding to birthday number preferences. People were disproportionately likely to live in cities whose names began with their birthday numbers (e.g. Two Harbors, MN). A second series of studies suggested that people disproportionately choose careers whose labels resemble their names (e.g., people named Dennis or Denise are over represented among dentists, people named Cheryl or Charlotte are disproportionately likely to work in businesses or sell products whose names begin with the letter C (e.g., cookies, candles, cakes, etc.). A third series of archival studies employed exhaustive sampling procedures to show that people were more likely to marry other people whose last names began with the same letters as their own. This name-letter matching effect held within specific ethnic groups (e.g., Latinos, Korean Americans), indicating that the effect cannot be attributed to ethnic matching. Along similar lines, people contributed more money to the 2000 Presidential election campaign funds of candidates if their last names began with the same letters as the last names of these two candidates.

Taken together, the combination of experiments and archival studies, spanning a wide range of choices that are both important life decisions and more mundane consumer choices, provides substantial evidence that choices are influenced by the name letter effect. This evidence further suggests that unconscious influences of product features on choices go far beyond physical cues (e.g., color) and atmospherics. Brands should be more preferred, the better they establish an association to consumer's selves, *even if this association is established along features that consumers would regard as completely irrelevant, if they were aware of their influence*. They suggest that the positive associations people have about themselves have an unconscious influence on people's daily judgments and decisions. This perspective stands in sharp contrast to

many models of rational choice and attests to the importance of understanding implicit social cognition and implicit self-esteem.

"Subliminal Priming and Choice"
Steven J. Spencer, University of Waterloo
Erin J. Strahan, University of Waterloo
Mark P. Zanna, University of Waterloo

Ironically, many people have both hopes *and* fears that subliminal persuasion might work. For example, millions buy subliminal self-help tapes to lose weight or to increase their self-esteem. Such tapes are appealing because they promise a low-effort way to improve your life. Just press 'play' on the tape recorder, go to sleep, and let your subconscious do all the work. On the other hand, to many people, subliminal persuasion is frightening. Imagine you are at the movies and, just before the feature is about to start, you are overcome with an urge to drink a Coke. You run to the concession stand, buy a Coke, and drink it. A couple of weeks later, you read in the newspaper that the owner of the theatre is being sued for flashing the subliminal message, "Drink Coke," on the screen throughout a series of ads that precedes the movie. How would you feel? Well, if you're like me, the thought that you might have been influenced by a subliminal message would make you feel angry— and, if not afraid, at least nervous.

Although there remains a widespread belief in the general public that subliminal persuasion can and does work, over the past several years psychological research has strongly suggested that it doesn't and can't. For example, Elliot Aronson and Anthony Pratkanis reviewed more than 150 articles from the mass media and over 200 academic papers on subliminal processes and found no evidence that subliminal messages influence behaviour. While we do not question this 'received wisdom,' we do think there is another way that subliminal information might affect persuasion. Put simply, we think that it might be possible to use subliminal *priming techniques* to improve or enhance the effectiveness of conventional, supraliminal persuasive appeals. That is, we think it might be possible to use subliminal priming (which the literature suggests is possible) to activate a concept (or to create a psychological state) that a persuasive communicator could take advantage of.

To examine this idea, we present two experiments: In the first experiment, in a 2 x 2 between subjects design, we first manipulated participants' level of thirst and then subliminally presented them with either thirst-related words or control words. While the manipulations had no effect on participants' self-reported, conscious ratings of thirst, there was a significant interactive effect of the two factors on how much of the drink provided in the taste test was consumed by the participants. In the thirsty/thirst prime condition, participants drank on average 203 ml of the drink compared to 162ml (not thirsty/thirst-related prime), 148 ml (not thirsty/neutral prime), and 136 ml (thirsty/neutral prime), in the other three conditions.

In a second, follow up experiment, thirsty participants were subliminally presented with either thirst-related words or control words—as in the first study, this was a between-participant factor—after which they viewed advertisements for two new sports beverages, this was a within-participant factor. One advertisement was designed to convey the message that one of the two fictitious brands is the best thirst-quenching sports drink on the market. The advertisement for the other fictitious brand was designed to convey the message that it was the best electrolyte-replacing beverage on the market. Our main hypothesis was that participants who were subliminally presented with thirst-related words would prefer the brand positioned as thirst quenching. In the absence of the thirst prime, participants would be equally likely to choose either brand. Both the preference and the choice data were consistent with this

prediction. Thus, experiment two replicates and extends the findings of the first experiment.

In conclusion, this research demonstrates that, under certain conditions, subliminal priming techniques can enhance persuasion. It has not escaped our attention that these findings could be exploited and, possibly, used for immoral purposes. Certainly, this possibility gives us pause. However, upon reflection, we believe that one way to control such techniques is to fully understand how subliminal priming works. For example, one important (and encouraging) finding from our research is that subliminal priming appears to only (or, perhaps, primarily) have an effect when the subliminal prime taps into people's acute or chronic motivational states. Thus, although our findings do have the potential to be exploited, they also suggest, that as we learn more about subliminal priming, we may have less to fear than we might have thought. In any case, we believe that the wide dissemination of scientific knowledge on this topic is ultimately the best protection against exploitation.

"Implicit and Explicit Evaluations: A Declaration of Dependence"[1]
C. Miguel Brendl, INSEAD
Arthur B. Markman, University of Texas at Austin
Claude Messner, University of Heidelberg

In the previous two presentations perceivers were not aware of the source of an attitude, neither for the fact that their preference for a certain tea stemmed partly from name letter liking, nor that their preference for a drink was exacerbated by a subliminal prime. Recent research in social psychology considers the possibility that perceivers might not even be aware of the attitude itself. Hence, this type of attitude is called an implicit attitude. This assumption stems from findings that correlations between the Implicit Association Test (IAT) and self-report measures of attitudes are often very low (e.g., Greenwald, McGhee, and Schwartz 1998; Karpinksi and Hilton 2001), which some investigators interpret as evidence in favor of the assumption that explicit and implicit attitudes are independent, even rooted in independent processing systems. We hypothesize that the lack of correlations between implicit and explicit evaluations is due to measurement error. We have collected data showing that when this error is reduced, correlations emerge. We believe that attitudes measured by response time methods are uncontrollable evaluative responses and are in that respect automatic. However, in our view there is currently no evidence to show that these attitudes are unconscious, nor that they are part of an independent processing system.

We introduce the Evaluative Movement Assessment (EMA), a response time measure that we have developed capable of tapping spontaneous evaluations. The respondent's task is to evaluate repeatedly a "target word" (e.g., the brand name Coke) or a series of different stimuli (e.g., different pictures representing one brand) that appear on a computer screen one by one. Next to each target word/picture the respondent's first name appears on the screen. For example, a respondent named Arthur would see in one trial:

| Arthur | Coke |

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[1]Our apologies to Larry Jacoby for modifying the title from his chapter: Jacoby, Larry L., Andrew P. Yonelinas, and Janine M. Jennings (1997), "The relation between conscious and unconscious (automatic) influences: A declaration of independence," in *Scientific approaches to consciousness*, Jonathan d. Cohen and Jonathan W. Schooler, Eds. Mahwah, New Jersey.

Respondents are instructed to indicate whether a word is positive or negative by moving it on the monitor with the help of a joystick either toward their name or away from their name. In Study 1 respondents were faster to move positive words (e.g., flower) toward than away from their first name, and vice versa for negative words (e.g., Hitler). In Study 2 in one set of trials EMA forces respondents to move, for example, "Coke" as quickly as possible away from their name, while in another set of trials it forces the same respondent to move it toward their name. Although respondents consciously try to respond as fast as possible in each set of trials, respondents with a positive uncontrollable evaluation of Coke execute toward movements faster than away movements. Response time differences between toward and away movements are interpreted as attitude scores (EMA-scores) that reflect an uncontrollable component of an evaluative response.

The mentioned zero correlations of "implicit" and explicit attitudes are based on using the Implicit Association Test (Greenwald, McGhee, and Schwartz 1998), which always measures preferences of one attitude object to the other. In Study 2 we measured attitudes toward 5 attitude objects using both EMA and rating scales. When analyzing attitudes toward just two objects we also show zero correlations between EMA-scores and ratings. However, when correlating EMA-scores with ratings for all 5 attitude objects we show sizeable correlations.

We conclude that attitudes measured via response times tap uncontrollable evaluative responses. Current evidence does not support an independent-systems view. To the contrary, a dependence is observable. We suspect that these uncontrollable responses contribute to explicit attitudes. While it is conceivable that there are independent attitude systems that typically work in synchrony, we currently lack evidence in support of that hypothesis.

Towards a Critique of Brand Relationships

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ABSTRACT

With the introduction of relationship thinking in the context of consumers and brands, the anthropomorphization of brands has been taken to its logical conclusion. While the idea of brand relationships has enriched our understanding for the role of brands in the life of the consumer, there is a considerable concern regarding the parallelism to human relationship theory. This paper examines the limitations with the relationship metaphor and interpersonal relationship theory in the context of consumers and brands.

In research on consumers and brands, considerable efforts have been made to demonstrate the anthropomorphous characteristics such as personality (Aaker 1997; Batra, Lehmann, and Singh 1993; Durgee 1988) and charisma (Smothers 1993) that consumers credit to brands. A similar way of anthropomorphizing brands is found in the brand management literature, where issues of identity have been given considerable attention in recent years (Aaker 1996; Aaker and Joachimsthaler 2000; de Chernatony 1999; Kapferer 1997). This personification of brands has now reached a new phase with the introduction of a discourse based on relationships (Apéria 2001; Blackston 1993; Fournier 1998; Palmer 1996). In her seminal article, Fournier (1998) introduced relationship theory to consumer research and demonstrated its usefulness for understanding the roles brands have in the life of the consumer. The article has already been characterized as a modern classic (Østergaard 2002), and subsequent research on consumers and brands that builds on the relationship idea is emerging (Ji 2002; Kates 2000; Olsen 1999). While brand relationship is a promising new way of thinking about consumer brand behavior (e.g. Fournier and Yao 1997), there has been a lack of reflection regarding its feasibility to accurately represent the way consumers interact with brands. By arguing that the concept of brand relationship is a readily understandable analogue (Blackston 1993), it appears that relationship thinking in the context of consumers and brands sometimes is taken for granted without thoroughly discussing its applicability. With regard to Fournier's (1998) brand relationship framework, however, there is an extensive discussion that seeks to qualify brands as a relationship partner. But although consumers may attribute anthropomorphous characteristics to brands, this does not necessarily imply that sociopsychological theories of interpersonal relationships are adequate to represent consumers' relation to their brands. The objective here is to critically analyze relational thinking in the context of consumers and brands and discuss some of the limitations with the application of interpersonal relationship theory to consumer brand relationships. The analysis is based on a conceptual examination complemented by illustrations of consumers' interpretations of relationship constructs. These empirical illustrations are not presented in order to show the invalidity of current conceptualizations but are included to show that there may be a discursive problem with the current terminology. The empirical data was gathered as part of a larger study on the role of brands in the life of the consumer and involved in depth interviews with consumers living in a large city in the Western United States. In the next section follows a conceptual discussion regarding a brand's ability to serve as an active relationship partner. This discussion points to the need to examine the brand relationship quality constructs that were proposed by Fournier (1998). In the final section of the article, the feasibility of adequately representing consumers through relationship constructs is discussed.

LEGITIMIZING THE BRAND AS RELATIONSHIP PARTNER

A cornerstone in Fournier's argument that seeks to legitimize the brand as a relationship partner is the conceptual acceptance of the behavioral significance of marketing actions. Through the marketer's everyday marketing mix decisions, the consumer perceives the brand as a behavioral entity. The central premise on which the framework of consumer brand relationships is founded is the assumption that consumers translate a brand's behavior into trait language from which the brand's personality is construed. By accepting this translation of brand behavior to trait language, Fournier argues that the brand passes the personification qualification and can therefore become an active partner in a relationship dyad. However, Fournier's acceptance of the behavioral significance of marketing activities needs a closer examination; the personification of brands does not necessarily imply that the brand can become an active partner with the consumer. A brand is an inanimate object and cannot think or feel; thus it is likely to respond to consumers in a highly standardized manner. With reference to Levy (1985) among others, Fournier argues that consumers have no problem with thinking about brands as if they were human characters. The words *as if* are very important here because they assume a hypothetical condition that will never occur in reality. The construction of a brand as a person is just a metaphor for having consumers think about brands in terms of human characteristics. But to think of brands in terms of personalities is something different from having human-like relationships with them. Fournier acknowledges that the analogy to interpersonal relationships lacks parallelism with the issue of reciprocity but dismisses the significance this matter has for the possibility of understanding a brand relationship. However, according to Giddens (1991, p. 93), a "pure relationship cannot exist without substantial elements of reciprocity." And as Fournier, Dobscha, and Mick (1998) argue, the notion of reciprocity is of fundamental importance in order to make the relationship discourse trustworthy. In Giddens' terms, a pure relationship is not anchored in external conditions of social or economic life but is sought after because of the benefits the relationship can bring to the partners involved (Giddens 1991, p. 89-90). This definition of pure human relationships appears to be consistent with Fournier's characterization of brand relationships which "are qualified not along symbolic versus functional product category lines […] but by the perceived ego significance of the chosen brands" (Fournier 1998, p. 366). Thus, according to Fournier, consumers seek and maintain those relationships that add meanings to their lives. Thus it is reasonable to argue that brand relationships, by the way she characterizes them, should be understood as *pure* relationships. Even though consumer brand relationships may have limited elements of reciprocity, it is still possible to characterize the bonds between consumers and their brands as relationships, even if these relationships lack the important element of parallelism with interpersonal relationships. But the question is then how relevant interpersonal relationship theory is to the brand relationship framework.

A question that is important to consider here concerns the consumers: Do consumers themselves think that their relationships with brands are reminiscent of interpersonal relationships? At first this might appear as an irrelevant question since the emotion-laden, interpersonally appropriate language of interpersonal relations is

an etic concept that should be descriptive of the meanings consumers attribute to brands. It could therefore be argued that what consumers think about brand relationships as a concept is not a relevant question. However, if it is true that consumers easily give brands human like characters and by that attribute similar feelings to the brands they know and use as to their close friends, then there should most likely be a widespread acceptance of the human relationship analogy. So by confronting consumers with the brand relationship constructs, it is possible to get an indication whether there are some problematic issues with current conceptualizations. By considering the following two statements, it is apparent that the relational discourse as an extension of brand anthropomorphization is not always accepted as readily by consumers as it has sometimes been by consumer researchers:

> I wouldn't, I don't know if I call it a relationship. You know, like I said, this is something I have a hard time with. Inanimate objects really can't do much for you, but they are there, they are dependable, they taste good, they are recognizable, easily recognizable. (Woman, 59)

> I can't even imagine using the word relationship because it has a motive function and a, or a sense of mutuality or reciprocity, uh, even loyalty or affinity, consumer uses, uh. But I mean, this is a very interesting conversation, but conceptually I'm completely out of it. It doesn't make any sense. (Man, 51)

It is obvious that these two consumers are unwilling to accept that they would have relationship with their brands. The statements illustrate that the term 'relationship' is primarily understood as a term that belongs to the interpersonal context and is therefore not a suitable concept that should be applied for inanimate objects such as brands. Even though the two consumers express a reluctance to accept the relational discourse, this does not mean that conceptually, consumers cannot have brand relationships. Yet the fact that there are consumers who discursively reject relationship thinking with regard to brands is interesting enough and should be taken into consideration. Although Fournier (1998) spent considerable effort trying to legitimize brands as a relationship partner, it appears that absence of reciprocity is potentially a basis for a reformulation of the relationship construct. I will argue that the relationships consumers have with brands are different in several ways from relationships that they initiate with other people. People are human beings that think and interact with each other while brands only can "behave" on behalf of the manager. For instance, a brand cannot respond in an individual manner to a request from a consumer and therefore lacks an important attribute that characterizes human relationships. It is of course possible that consumers can e-mail or call the brand's customer service and receive personalized responses but that is an activity where consumers are likely to understand that they are interacting with humans instead of with the idea of the brand *per se*. Sine in some instances a brand relationship can be understood as different from a human relationship, it is worthwhile to examine what possible consequences this difference may have for concepts of brand relationship quality.

BRAND RELATIONSHIP QUALITY

Fournier's (1998) conceptualization of brand relationship quality is an explicit analogue to concepts of relationship quality in the interpersonal field and implies that the relationships consumers have with brands have similar qualities as human relationships. Although one can choose to refer the bonds between consumers and brands as relationships, I contend that the anthropomorphization

metaphor in some instances appears to be unfortunate with regard to some of the brand relationship quality constructs. Just as commercial friendships are different kinds of relationship compared to relationships to close friends (Price and Arnould 1999), there is potentially the same kind of difference between human relationships and consumers' brand relationships. The vocabulary that is used to describe brand relationship quality is therefore not necessarily compatible with the vocabulary that is used to describe human relationship quality. I do not suggest that the brand relationship quality constructs should be replaced with other constructs. The issue here is to *supplement* the vocabulary so that the constructs also account for consumers who do discursively not consider their brands as active relationship partners.

From consumers' stories of strong brand relationships, Fournier (1998) derived the six facets of brand relationship quality. A strong brand relationship is ideally characterized by love and passion, a connection between the brand and self, a high degree of interdependence, a high level of commitment, intimacy in the relationship, and an overall positive evaluation of brand partner quality. With regard to these concepts, it appears that the lack of mutuality in the brand relationship makes them somewhat problematic. According to Fournier (1998), strong brand relationships have affective grounding which is similar to *love* and *passion* in the interpersonal domain. At first, these concepts pretend to be easily transferable to the brand relationship domain since a common sense understanding prescribes that love and passion are not confined only to people. However, as Ahuvia (1993) suggests, interpersonal love and love for objects such as brands are in most cases at best considered by people as *similar* rather than *identical*. The reason for this, according to Ahuvia, is the difference in culturally constructed meanings that people attach to human beings and objects. A second reason why there are likely to be at least two sorts of love is the unilateral nature of object love, which is less complex and responsive than interpersonal love. So it is likely that love for brands is at best understood as something that is similar to love for a person. However, Ahuvia also points out that love is possibly understood as a concept that *only* can exist between people. An example of the ambiguousness of love with regard to brands is illustrated by the following passage:

> Okay, uh, well Häagen-Dazs ice cream, uh, they would be different from how I feel about my husband because I wouldn't trust it (laughter) as much or I couldn't have, I would feel like, I don't really, well I would feel like it's only suited for certain occasions, uh. I wouldn't, you know have it to access, and I certainly wouldn't feel that about my husband. Uh, do I love Häagen-Dazs ice cream? Uh, I don't, I guess I don't love it like I do with something else. (Woman, 44)

While this woman has a fairly strong relationship to Häagen-Dazs ice cream, her statement indicates that the love-feelings she credit to this brand is qualitatively different from how she love people. So there is indeed a possibility that loving a brand can be understood as something different from loving, for instance, a husband. Even though consumers may not love or show feelings of passion for brands in the way they can do for human beings, it does not imply that the prerequisite of a strong brand relationship is absent. So in order to make the brand relationship quality constructs applicable to a wider group of consumers who understand love as a concept that only can exist between human beings, it might be feasible to also include a term such as fondness, representing feelings that can be described with the act of liking:

Not love (laughter). Not love, like I said I don't think of inanimate objects, being an object of my love. Like it very much, yes, uh… You know I'm not good at comparing things with people (laughter). But I like it very much, and I know I have said I love it but you know, candy is candy, chocolate (laughter) is wonderful. (Woman, 59)

To say that one loves objects, activities, and ideas is relatively widespread in the American society and is distinct from the way the word 'love' is used in many other cultures where the concept has a more restricted applicability. This phenomenon buttresses the idea that redefining love as a feeling that is similar to but different from interpersonal love can be productive to research. In so doing, brand relationship quality constructs can represent relationships to brands in other cultural settings, where the concept of love has a more restricted usage. The ambiguousness of the concept of love is also found in Fournier's own empirical material where one of her informants mentions "I don't want to bring the "L" word into things" (Fournier 1998, p. 364). This statement illustrates that the feelings consumers assign to their favorite brands can be different from the feelings they have for human beings.

With regard to *commitment,* another facet of brand relationship quality, it appears that the lack of reciprocity makes the construct somewhat problematic. As Giddens (1992, p. 137) points out, commitment is generated as an individual gives of herself to another. Unlike human relationships, brand relationships are primarily unilateral and make shared commitment more difficult. A person who commits to another person does so because the other partner in the relationship is committed to the same goal. The problem with commitment in the context of brand relationships is that consumers do not necessarily feel that a brand can be committed to a relationship with the individual consumer.

Yeah I don't feel commitment or loyalty to Häagen-Dazs ice cream. Uh, and I wouldn't think that Häagen-Dazs ice cream would to me, uh. You know, I can, I could take it or leave it, uh, so there is that. I don't feel like that's a brand I should buy, as opposed to another. There is not, you know, it's not going out of business or it's not a small business or, you know, those sort of, have a loyalty that way. And I, same thing, I don't think it has a loyalty or commitment towards me, as a consumer. It doesn't need me, so. (Woman, 44)

The unwillingness to accept commitment as a concept related to brands may have something do with the absence of a relationship to a human being who represents the brand. The personal encounter in a commercial friendship (Price and Arnould 1999) generates the notion of a relationship in which commitment is given a different kind of meaning than in the context of brand relationships. So even though consumers may ascribe personality-like characteristics for a brand, this does not in itself necessarily imply that commitment is accepted as a term that relates to inanimate objects such as brands:

You know, if were having to go to farmer Jones, and buy eggs and butter, and I knew Mrs. Jones and knew their kids, you know, that's, that's different, because I know those people behind. With the corporate structure that we have in the food industry, you separate them, you know, you have really no commitment to the people who are behind the products you are buying. (Man, 52)

As the statement illustrates, commitment may be a concept that is exclusively considered to belong to the interpersonal domain and is therefore considered as inapplicable in the context of brands. While one indeed can argue that the farmer Jones who the consumer refers to can be considered as a brand too, it is apparent that his interpretation of the encounter with the farmer differs from his interaction with mass-produced brands. Although mass-produced brands use celebrity endorsers to personify their brands, there is possibly a greater distance between the consumer and the brand than is the case for local brands like "Farmer Jones." According to the brand relationship framework, commitment is an adequate concept when referring to behavior that seeks to support the longevity of a brand *relationship*. But when consumers show a skepticism towards the idea of having relationships with brands, concepts such as commitment are likely to be dismissed because of the limited elements of reciprocity.

Another facet of the brand relationship quality construct is *interdependence*. While this concept has an important meaning in a human relationship, its applicability is less obvious in the context of brands. While frequent brand interactions can make consumers dependent on their brands, it is difficult to see why consumers would think that their brands would be dependent upon them as an individual consumer. On a macro level, a brand is of course dependent on consumers, because without their fondness, the brand's *raison d'être* is jeopardized. So consumers are indeed likely to understand that companies try to offer brands that satisfy the market. And while consumers may realize the potential power the market has, there is a possibility that their personal role in keeping the brand dependent is considered to be of marginal importance. So if a mass produced brand loses one relationship with a consumer, there is likely an understanding among consumers that the brand has millions of other relationships to explore.

To my wife or to a family member, to me that's totally different relationship because of the feelings. I mean, and the Kraft food has no feeling. It doesn't care if I go, you know if I buy it this week or if I buy Best Foods. It doesn't really care. (Man 52)

Although many companies seek to anthropomorphize their brands, consumers may still consider them as relatively anonymous. Therefore it might be difficult for individual consumers to see that it would make much of a difference to the company if they bought the brand or not. The concept of interdependence appears to have a more suitable applicability for relationships with brands that represent local businesses, such as community brand relationships reported by Kates (2000). Such relationships explicitly involve the people behind the brand and may provide a significantly different meaning for the notion of interdependence. To use the term 'interdependence' for brand relationships where the brand is not understood to be dependent on the individual *per se,* seems to be problematic because the sense of mutuality is not present. Hence, in addition to interdependence, it is worthwhile to consider if the term 'dependence' should also be included as a supplementary concept for interdependence.

When consumers reject the suggested brand relationship discourse, it is also likely that the concept of *intimacy* is rejected. Fournier (1998) contends that intimacy in a brand relationship is generated by elaborate knowledge structures of the brand with rich layers of meanings. But similar to concepts of love, it is possible that some consumers are unwilling to equate intimacy in the brand relationship domain with intimacy in the interpersonal domain. Intimacy in an interpersonal relationship concerns the most personal matters, and it is the exclusive right of sharing the personal information with the other part of the relationship that creates intimacy. A consumer cannot share his/her life story with a brand

since the brand is an inanimate object. While I agree with Fournier that consumers can develop rich layers of brand meanings, it is difficult to see how this in itself can create an intimate relationship with the brand. To make intimacy a viable concept, it might be appropriate to consider that relationships with objects are never two-way (person-thing) but always three-way (person-thing-person), as Belk (1988) suggests. By including the social dimension of brand consumption, concepts such as intimacy obtain a new meaning. Brands can become the messenger that generates intimacy in a human relationship, thereby strengthening the consumers' relationship to the brand.

While it is possible that consumers may reject or at least find the relational discourse unsuitable for their brand relationships, it is apparent that some of the brand relationship quality constructs are less capable of representing the way consumers relate to their brands. Fournier (1998) illustrated the usefulness of relationship thinking by relating three women's brand stories to the concept of relationship quality. But when consumers are confronted with the constructs, it appears that there is a reluctance to accept the discourse. The fact that there are consumers who discursively reject concepts related to relationship theory points to the need for discussing its significance in the context of consumer research.

WHY RELATIONSHIPS AND CONSUMER RESEARCH?

Relationship marketing was introduced as an alternative to the exchange paradigm and sought initially to explain inter-organizational behavior and service situations (O'Malley and Tynan 2000). In the last few years, however, relationship marketing has been extended to also include mass consumer markets (Sheth and Parvatiyar 1995), and with Fournier's (1998) conceptualization, relationship thinking has reached its logical conclusion. While relationships between companies can often be described as mutual, where both buyers and sellers are active and where interaction and relationships are important, it has been questioned whether there exist relationships between businesses and consumers at all (O'Malley and Tynan 2000). While questioning whether relationships can exist in the consumer market, we have to keep in mind that relationship constructs have not emerged at random but are the result of a cultural development (Østergaard 2002). As such, relationship marketing exists primarily as a discourse (Fitchett and McDonagh 2000), and it is through this discourse we understand interactions between actors in the marketing system. So there is nothing "real" in relationships beyond the metaphor that seeks to create an understanding for interactions in the marketplace. But as O'Malley and Tynan (2000, p. 807) suggest, "it may be that the metaphor of interpersonal relationships has been so successful that the academy has forgotten that it is a metaphor which is being used." Thus, researchers sometimes consider relationships as if they were real and use social exchange theory in a way that tends to over-emphasize the role of trust, commitment, communication, and mutuality (O'Malley and Tynan 2000). So the question is whether relationship thinking accurately represents consumers and their behavior in the marketing system. Fitchett and McDonagh (2000) have critiqued relationship marketing for not being able to rebalance the inequalities and underrepresentation of consumers in market exchanges. They contend that current conceptualizations reduce consumers to prisoners under the hegemony of organizations. In this way, relationship marketing becomes more rhetorical than real because the kind of relationships consumers have with companies and their brands are likely to be imposed on them rather than initiated by mutual interest.

As a consumer I am unable to demand that my bank or airline service provider negotiate the terms of our relationship to serve my own interests, whereas the organization can impose such terms without any recall to the consumer. […] The market relations between organizations and consumers form a very unusual type of relationship, and one that we as individuals would be unwilling to consider in any other relational context. The bias in such relations is such that one could legitimately argue that there is no mutual relationship, only imposed relations (Fitchett and McDonagh 2000, p. 217-218).

It is common practice for companies to assert that they have relationships with their customers, but it is less known whether consumers really want them or believe that they have relationships with companies and brands whose products and services they consume. There is generally a lack of reciprocity in the relationships between companies and consumers and one can question whether the term 'relationship' is the best term to use when describing the interactions that take place between consumers, companies, and brands. One can of course redefine the term 'relationship' so that it does take account of the current conditions reflecting its lack of reciprocity. But then we must question what we have achieved by redefining the relationship construct so that its meaning becomes significantly distant from its theoretical roots.

One of the benefits of relational discourse in the context of consumers and brands is the emphasis on the consumers' active role in keeping the relationship going. In Fournier's (1998) conceptualization, the consumer and the brand (and implicitly also the manager who administers the brand) are both considered to influence how the relationship evolves over time. In this way, there is not a top-down hierarchy in which consumers are reduced to passive receivers of marketing stimuli. Instead, consumers are considered as active co-producers of brand meanings (Ligas and Cotte 1999; Ritson 1999). But the question is whether the relationships consumers have with brands can credibly be characterized as equal relationships. Although consumers are free to choose which relationships to nourish and maintain, there is always a managerially preferred way of interacting with brands which limits the consumers' freedom. Consumers' unauthorized ways of using brands as reported by Ritson (1999), can be subject to brand management intervention, where the consumer ultimately runs the risk of getting sued (Klein 1999, p. 177). So while it is the case that brands are always managed by their legal owners, it appears that relationships consumers have with their brands are likely to be equal only within a narrowly defined context. It might therefore be that relationship discourse creates a false belief in consumer freedom when, in fact, the relationship is largely managed by the marketers (cf. Fitchett and McDonagh 2000)

Relationship discourse should be understood in the light of a broader movement where companies seek to personify themselves. Through concepts such as corporate identity and brand identity, marketing research has given companies a human dimension by pointing at the similarities these concepts have with human identity. Although it might be appealing to humanize companies in this way, concepts of corporate identity has been criticized for its questionable parallels to human identity (Balmer 2001). It is without doubt that the relational discourse fits well with managerial goals, where maintaining long-term relationships with existing customers is considered more profitable than short-term exchanges. Whether the relationship discourse is equally valuable to serve in the interest of consumers needs further analysis. It is now a readily accepted fact that consumers think of brands in terms of personalities, and it appears that the relationship thinking has been received positively

by consumer researchers as well. However, we have to be aware that the acceptance among consumers to think of brand in terms of personalities did not emerged randomly. It is the result of a marketing discourse that saturates the market with ideas built on relationship principles. Perhaps consumers do not think they have relationships with their brands, but if we as researchers supported by the marketing discourse, continue to argue it is so, consumers are sooner or later likely to accept the relationship discourse.

CONCLUSION

This paper has highlighted some of the critical issues with relationship thinking in the context of consumers and brands. While Fournier's (1998) work is a valuable contribution that has enriched our understanding of consumers and brands beyond cognitive utilitarian models of decision-making, there is a need for further research that can qualify the relational discourse in the context of consumer research. This paper has identified some of the possible limitations of using interpersonal relationship theory in the context of brand relationships. Before the relationship discourse becomes a taken-for-granted concept in consumer research, we need to further critically examine its feasibility of representing consumers.

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The Collective Consumer-Brand Relationship

Steven M. Kates, Simon Fraser University

ABSTRACT

This article theorizes about the collective consumer-brand relationship: a shared connection between a brand and a social collectivity (or interpretive community). Differential cultural competency among consumers allows them to inscribe brands with particularistic meanings and form collective relationships with them. Collective action frames, a type of interpretive strategy negotiated in social interaction, provide the means of connection among a collectivity of consumers to a brand. Frames inscribe brands with the collective beliefs, values, and social identities of an associated interpretive community. An ethnographic study of gay men was performed, discovering the cultural meanings associated with brands used by men in the gay community of a large North American city. A theoretical framework is advanced that links consumers' brand interactions applying frames to brands, social processes that change collective consumption frames, and the collective brand relationships that result from application of the frames and occurrence of these social processes. Discussion includes implications for our understanding of realized positioning and the strategic space of brands.

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WORKING PAPER ABSTRACTS

"Pre-Purchase, External Information-Search Behavior of an Assimilating Hispanic-American Population"

Denver D'Rozario, Howard University
Jerome D. Williams, Howard University

Puerto-Rican-Americans are the second-largest Hispanic population and yet are one of the least investigated Hispanic-American groups in the marketing literature. Using an established measure of assimilation (i.e., D'Rozario and Douglas 1999), we investigate how assimilational-differences in this population affect how these individuals search for information prior to the purchases of a public luxury, a public necessity, a private luxury and a private necessity. What we found is that cultural- and structural-assimilation, each have distinct, significant effects on the search behavior of these individuals for each of these products depending on whether they are luxuries/necessities and whether they are consumed publicly/privately.

"Product Form Bundling and Its Implications"

Nevena T. Koukova, University of Maryland

The present study integrates the literature on bundling and usage situations, develops a model of product form bundling and proposes a methodology to empirically test it. The focus is on investigating the effects of product form bundling (different forms of the same product) on consumer preferences and consumption behavior. Specifically, I theorize that the product form attributes influence the perceived bundle complimentarity/ substitutability and this relationship is moderated by the specific usage situations. Additionally, I argue that the perceived bundle complementarity/substitutability affects the likelihood of purchasing the bundle and its components. The study has important theoretical and academic implications.

"Are Metaperceptions a Viable Explanation for Low Coupon Redemption Rates?"

Kelley J. Main, University of Manitoba
Jennifer J. Argo, University of Manitoba

Redemption rates for coupons are less than 10% (Bawa, Srinivasan and Srivastava, 1997), and one potential explanation for these low rates is that individuals are concerned about how they believe they are being viewed by others, or metaperceptions (Kenny and DePaulo, 1993). To understand the potential role of metaperceptions influencing coupon redemption rates, three studies were conducted. Study 1 established the metaperceptions associated with coupon redemption and Study 2 illustrated the influence of coupon value and product familiarity on metaperceptions. Study 3 demonstrated that in an actual purchase situation the use of a coupon did influence participants' metaperceptions, however, the value of the coupon did not appear to matter.

"Young Consumers and the Formation of Tastes and Distastes"

Emma N. Banister, UMIST
Gayle J. Booth, UMIST

This study explores how children learn to attach negative meanings to products and brands through the socialisation process. The overall aim of the research is to help bridge the current gap in the literature in this area and to link this with children's relational development (Klein (1987). A limited number of authors have begun to explore the negative aspects of consumption (e.g. Wilk 1994; 1995; 1997; Hogg 1998; Hogg and Banister 2001; Banister and Hogg 2001), the associated emotion of disgust (Rozin and Fallon 1987) and negative views of the self (Ogilvie 1987; Oyserman and Markus 1990a; 1990b; Banister and Hogg 2001), yet little research has considered the developments of dislikes and distastes in children.

"Promiscuous or Confident?: Attitudinal Ambivalence Towards Condom Purchase"

Darren W. Dahl, University of British Columbia
Peter R. Darke, University of British Columbia
Gerald J. Gorn, Hong Kong University of Science & Technology
Charles B. Weinberg, University of British Columbia

Recent evidence concerning the overall valence of attitudes towards condoms is somewhat mixed. While some studies show attitudes have become more positive, other studies suggest that negative attitudes still dominate. Our own research examined the possibility that such attitudes may be *ambivalent*. In study 1, both objective and subjective measures of attitudinal ambivalence were greater for consumers who purchased condoms than for those who did not. Study 2 showed that condom purchase evoked a combination of both negative beliefs about lifestyles, and positive beliefs concerning the personal confidence of the consumer. These beliefs had competing effects on more global attitudes. Overall, these results suggest that attitudes towards condom purchase are relatively ambivalent, rather than uniformly positive, negative, or simply neutral.

"High-Intensity Comparative Advertising: Differences Between Hedonic and Utilitarian Appeals"

Debora A. Viana, University of Maryland
Rebecca Hamilton, University of Maryland

This paper focuses on examining how the nature of the products (hedonic vs. utilitarian) influences the effectiveness of high-intensity comparative advertising strategies. We hypothesize that high-intensity comparative ads help the sponsor brand when the product has a predominantly utilitarian nature and hurt the sponsor brand when the product has a predominantly hedonic nature. The main mechanism that may account for these differences in consumers' responses is the mode of information processing and elaboration (objective processing vs. imagery processing). Consumers' responses are analyzed in terms of ad cognitions, attitude towards the ad and attitude towards the brand.

"Adolescent and Adult Responses to Communications Perceived as Fear Arousing or Fear Neutral"

Kristina D. Frankenberger, Western Oregon University

This paper compares adolescent and adult responses to two anti-smoking PSAs: one that arouses fear, and one that is fear neutral. Results indicate that adolescents and adults, though they vary on invulnerability and sensation seeking, have equivalent emotional reactions to the messages. Attitudes and behavioral intentions, however, showed no effect by level of emotional arousal. Overall, adolescents had less favorable attitudes, but greater intentions to take appropriate actions. This result is explained in the context of a third-person effect for adults, who find it difficult to change their own behaviors, but hope others can benefit from anti-smoking messages.

"Consumer Behavior Among the Melungeons; Reconstructing a Lost Heritage"

Elizabeth C. Hirschman, Rutgers University

The Melungeons are a people-of-color ethnic group dwelling in the Southern Appalachian Mountains at the borders of Kentucky, Virginia, West Virginia, Tennessee, and North Carolina. After centuries of confusion as to their origins, they have now been confirmed by genealogical, historic and biogenetic research as the descendants of Sephardic Jews and Moors who fled the Spanish Inquisition. Because of their liminal and minority status, few efforts were made to document or preserve their culture. As a result, few if any records exist of their consumer behaviors in the past and very few artifacts have been recovered and cataloged. A questionnaire was sent to 143 Melungeon subscribers to the Melungeon Newsletter, *Under One Sky* requesting information on time aspects of their behavior as conservers. Their responses were interpreted through the existing literature on this subculture.

"Consumers' Experience of Lipophobia: A Swedish Study"

Søren Askegaard, SDU Odense University
Jacob Östberg, Lund University

Modern societies are lipophobic: they express a deep anxiety of fat and fatness. One the other hand, the public discourses about health and well-being, though biased towards lipophobia, are far from unanimous. How do consumers' experience and negotiate contradictory messages of hedonism and ascetism from commercial and governmental agents? This is investigated through an adapted use of the ZMET approach. The results provide a culturally rooted image of consumers' fat intake and dietary practices as well as an attempt to de-stigmatize consumers' body imagery, informing future food policies and the food industry's satisfaction of public and private interests in consumers' dietary patterns.

"Understanding Consumers' Collective Action on the Internet–A Definition and Discussion of Relevant Concepts for Research"

Andrea Hemetsberger, Innsbruck University

This paper offers a new approach for understanding online collaboration and collective action of 'prosumers'. It is proposed here that theories of collective action and social representations theory, in particular, provide a theoretical framework for studying the structural and social context of online collaboration of consumers, the social actors involved, and how public discourse contributes to shared meaning creation and dissemination in online communities. Processes of naming, classifying, personalizing and institutionalization give their actions ontological reality and contribute to the sustainability of the common effort. An overview and definition of these processes and relevant influencing factors is given and possible indicators of these concepts in online communities are highlighted.

"The Influence of Self-Regulatory Focus on Consumers' Information Search Behaviors"

Alice Jing Wang, Northwestern University

Consumers' information search behaviors, which are crucial for their final choice decisions, could be influenced by various factors. This paper examines the impact of consumers' self-regulatory focus on their information search behaviors. Specifically, consumers with different self-regulatory focus differ in their information search behaviors in terms of the amount of information searched, the effort engaged in information search, and the strategies adopted for searching. The motivational differences in the self-regulatory focuses are proposed to account for the differences in information search behaviors.

"Effects of Gender and Prior Knowledge on Offer Evaluation and Channel Transition in Retail and E-Tail Environments"
Rajesh Chandrashekaran, Fairleigh Dickinson University
Rajneesh Suri, Drexel University

This research suggests that retail and e-tail environments provide different contexts that interact with personal differences like gender and prior knowledge to influence how consumers evaluate offers in these environments. Female subjects prefer a brick and mortar environment and are likely to seek information at such retailers even when products are available online. On the other hand, males evaluate online offers better than identical store offers, and are less inclined to search across retail channels. Furthermore, evaluations of online offers are positively related to prior knowledge, whereas a reverse pattern of results is obtained for retail offers.

"Does Imagining Make It So? The Role of Ease of Imagining and Affect Intensity"
Petia K. Petrova, Arizona State University
Robert B. Cialdini, Arizona State University

The present study uncovered two sources of subjective experience that can reverse the generally observed positive effect of imagery appeals on persuasion: (1) the perceived ease of creating a mental image of experiencing the product, and (2) the intensity of the affective reactions to the invited imagery. The results revealed that imagery appeals enhanced the persuasiveness of the ad for individuals high in dispositional imagery vividness or in dispositional affect intensity. However, when participants were low in dispositional imagery vividness or in dispositional affect intensity, including imagery appeals in the ad hampered its persuasiveness.

"Cultural Values Reflected in Chinese and U.S. Advertisements: Examining the Moderating Role of Media Type and Product Characteristics"
Jing Zhang, University of Illinois
Sharon Shavitt, University of Illinois

A content of analysis of 915 ads examined the cultural values (individualism, collectivism, modernity and tradition) promoted in Chinese advertising. Interestingly, both modernity and individualism values predominated in current Chinese advertising. These values were more pervasive in magazine ads (targeting the Chinese X-Generation, aged 18-35 with high education and income) than TV commercials (aimed at the mass market), whereas collectivism and tradition values were more pervasive on TV than in magazine ads. These findings reveal the role of advertising in helping to shape new values among the X-Generation as well as reflecting existing values among the mainstream Chinese market. Comparison to ads in the U.S. revealed important similarities in overall advertising values and in the role of media type in moderating their prevalence.

"Unnecessary Purchases: Creating Artificial Buying Pressure through the Use of Coupons"
Rebecca E. Walker, University of Texas at Austin
Rajagopal Raghunathan, University of Texas at Austin

Research has shown that consumers make decisions about purchasing unnecessary products (e.g., stockpiling) based on the availability of future discounts. Our research shows that consumers do not necessarily take this information into account. Instead, the artificial buying pressure induced by coupons forces consumers to superficially evaluate the utility of a discounted purchase as positive—without considering other decision factors. Our studies show that discounted products are purchased regardless of a consumer's need for the product or familiarity with the brand. Artificial buying pressure effects vanish when consumers are fully informed of the consequences of purchasing the unnecessary product.

"Can Variation of Advertisements Hinder Brand Name Recall?"
Sara L. Appleton-Knapp, San Diego State University
Robert A. Bjork, University of California, Los Angeles
Thomas D. Wickens, University of California, Los Angeles

Although variation of advertisements has been posed as a solution to wearout, varied ads do not necessarily improve consumer's memory for brand names. One experiment provides evidence that under certain circumstances two variations of an ad offer no improvement in brand name recall over two repetitions of the same ad. A second experiment explores situations in which variation could actually hurt brand name recall as compared to exact repetition. These results suggest that under certain conditions repeating varied advertisements provides no benefit to brand recall over repeating the same advertisement. Based on these results advertisers could save money by repeating the same ad rather than creating variations.

"Social Identification Effects in Incidental Processing of Advertisements by Young Adults"
Rachel Maldonado, Eastern Washington University
Patriya Tansuhaj, Washington University
Darrel D. Muehling, Washington State University

This study integrates the theories of social identity and unconscious processing to investigate the potential influence of unattended ads. Recent advances in research on unconscious processing have found that unconscious processing can include a semantic analysis of ads that includes the development of deeper meanings and associations related to cues in the ad. This study capitalizes on such an analysis by investigating if activating a social identity in an ad encourages unconscious elaborations and associations, resulting in favorable cognitive, conative, and affective determinations for brands paired with that activation.

"The Structure of Emotions of Elderly Consumers and Its Impact on Intensity of Service Experience and Satisfaction: An Intra-Individual Analysis"
Catherine Paquet, McGill University
Laurette Dubé, McGill University

This paper explores emotions self-reported on repeated service episodes by elderly consumers. P-technique factor analyses revealed an emotional structure finely differentiated on the basis of cognitive processes, while being at first defined in terms of general affects, primarily positive emotions. Participants with a first positive-emotion-only factor reported more intense and variable emotional experience, which was more likely to influence their satisfaction judgments. Follow-up P-Chain factor analysis revealed, at the inter-individual level, an overall emotional structure comprising four dimensions: positive emotions, anger, anxiety and depressed feelings. Those dimensions were significantly and uniquely associated in a valence-congruent manner with aspects of the service experience, such as perceived quality, satisfaction and consumption.

"The Intricacies of Advertising Intimacy: Maneuvering the Nuances along a Communications Continuum"
Andrea Scott, University of South Florida

As an exploratory exercise into the operationalizing of advertising intimacy (Stern 1997), a sample of 40 students submitted 360 print advertisements that they deemed "intimate advertising." These ads and verbatim comments for the rationale behind their selection were content analysed to provide fodder for future research regarding the composition of ads that could achieve advertising intimacy. The ads collected reflected various themes including the prevalence of two models, touching between the models, limited copy, and personal products. These findings and comments concerning the importance of shared "moments" grant insight into the creative nuances that exemplify intimacy within a consumption context.

"Retail Redlining—An Initial Formulation"
Denver D'Rozario, Howard University
Jerome D. Williams, Howard University

"Retail Redlining" is a discriminatory practice among retailers of not serving certain neighborhoods based on ethnic criteria (such as race) rather than on purely business criteria (such as profitability of the neighborhood). This practice is not widely known in the marketing literature. In this paper we do the following. First, we define the basic practice and eight different commonly-used variations of it. Second, we look at both sides of the argument on this controversial practice. Finally, we suggest a model of how this practice can be empirically verified for its presence in a given retailing area.

"Changing Health-Related Behaviors with Self-Prophecy: Review and New Evidence for the Effect of Self-Prediction on Normative Behavior"
Ronn J. Smith, Washington State University
David E. Sprott, Washington State University
Eric R. Spangenberg, Washington State University
Timothy S. Freson, Washington State University

The modification of health-related behaviors is important to society as a whole. A strategy useful for achieving such behavior change can be found in self-prophecy—a simple technique requiring individuals merely to predict their future behavior, which in turn yields an increased probability of performing the behavior in a socially desirable manner (Spangenberg 1997; Spangenberg and Greenwald 1999; Sprott et al. 1999). Through two experimental studies, we test the effectiveness of self-prophecy regarding persons' commitments to participate in a health and fitness assessment. In addition, we explore an under-researched, theoretically relevant issue regarding the self-prophecy technique—namely, does the level of specificity of the prediction request impact effectiveness of self-prophecy?

"Affective Product Categorization and Knowledge Transfer from Multiple Affective Categories"

Chris Houliez, Arizona State University
Naomi Mandel, Arizona State University
Stephen Nowlis, Arizona State University

According to recent research, when an individual has to categorize a new product, the first category presented to the individual has a disproportionate influence on the categorization task. That is, a primacy effect is observed. We investigate whether a categorization task of a more affective nature would result in a similar effect. It is posited that the nature of the affect at work in the categorization task (i.e., sensory-motor programs/Type I affect, acquired schematic structures/Type II affect, or protocognitive appraisals/Type III affect) moderates the nature of the effect (primacy or recency) that will be observed.

"The Influence of Character Structure on Persuasion in Print Advertising"

Anindya Chatterjee, Slippery Rock University
Jerome B. Kernan, George Mason University
James M. Hunt, Temple University

The persuasive effect of character structure (Riesman 1950) was assessed in the context of print advertising in a 2 x 2 x 2 randomized block design. Subjects were blocked in an a priori assignment, and then exposed to one of two levels of argument strength (strong vs. weak) and one of two levels of message spokesperson (celebrity vs. noncelebrity) in a print-advertising task. Results (consistent with Riesman) indicated that subjects classified as other-directed were persuaded by the test ad more than were those classified as inner-directed. Also in line with Riesman, other-directed subjects' post-message attitude and intention scores were more responsive to the message source cue than were the comparable scores of inner-directed subjects. Results regarding argument strength were equivocal.

"Factors Influencing Impulse Buying Behaviors in a Transitional Economy: An Exploratory Study of Urban Consumers in Vietnam"

Nguyen Thi Tuyet Mai, National Economics University
Kwon Jung, KDI
Garold Lantz, Monmouth University
Sandra G. Loeb, Independent Scholar

This paper examines the impulse buying behavior of urban Vietnamese consumers. A survey was conducted to 358 consumers from two major cities of Vietnam. The results support the hypotheses that buying impulsiveness, shopping enjoyment tendency, and level of modern-self are positively related to impulse buying. However, the level of traditional-self perception is not found to be significantly related to impulse buying behavior. Additionally, the results show that personal-use products remain the most common impulse purchase item, despite the collectivist nature of Vietnamese consumer. Other findings regarding the impact of demographic variables, and the observations discovered from the qualitative study are also discussed.

"Illuminance Effects on Approach Responses to Environments: An Experiential Processing Perspective"

Sylvie Morin, McGill University
Laurette Dubé, McGill University

Over the course of everyday life, consumers acquire experiential information about the parameters of the physical environment in which various activities of service consumption occur. We propose that the degree of conformity between this experiential information and the conditions created in actual service episodes determine the degree of approach consumer will manifest. These predictions are tested in an experiment reproducing a sequence of episodes typical of many service transactions (e.g., entry-level form filling and social interaction). Participants engaged in this sequence under one of two illuminance conditions (1100 lx-typically associated with form filling-in; 300 lx-typically associated with social interaction). Approach measures were duration (leisurely pace reflects more approach) and affiliative choice (more affiliation reflects more approach). Results confirmed expectations that more approach was manifested in a service episode when the illuminance conditions matched experiential information. Theoretical and managerial information are discussed.

"Consuming 'By' Taste or Consuming Taste: A Revisit to Bourdieu's Distinction"

Zeynep Arsel, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Pierre Bourdieu's work has been a fundamental theoretical piece in understanding consumption and its role in establishing and reproducing social class boundaries. However, in this tradition the class system is deemed stable and the class boundaries impermeable. Along this line, relatively little is known about upward mobility within the theorized social space. In. this paper, a conceptual framework on a more permeable class structure is proposed and the role of marketers on this process is discussed. As a conclusion, three areas of exploration are suggested.

"Collectors in Their Social World: A Subculture (or Culture?) of Consumption–Towards a Research Agenda"
Nia Hughes, Staffordshire University

The aim of this paper is to conduct a literature review of the co-operative and competitive consumption behaviours of collectors in their social world. We also consider whether the social world of collecting can be classified as a 'subculture of consumption', and whether the subcultural concept is worthy of further investigation in this context. Supporting and dissenting arguments to this proposition are considered before a research agenda is outlined in order to explore the issues further.

"Effects of Motivation and Attribute Strengths on Evaluation of Fixed and Discounted Prices"
Rajneesh Suri, Drexel University
Mary Long, Pace University
Rajesh V. Manchanda, Univeristy of Manitoba

This study examined the effects of motivation and strength of an offer on perceptions of value using a 2 (Motivation: high vs. low) X 2 (Strength of offer: strong vs. weak) X 2 (Price format: fixed vs. discount) between subjects design. The results suggest that irrespective of the quality of the offering, less motivated subjects perceive discounted price offers as more valuable than fixed price offers. However, when consumers are motivated, fixed price offers receive superior evaluations from consumers but only when the attributes also suggest a superior offering.

"A Cross-Cultural Research on Price Ending"
Xiang Fang, University of Kansas
Zhilin Yang, City University of Hong Kong

Use of the digits 0 and 9 as price endings is a common practice in the US marketplace. However, in China, many people believe in lucky numbers mostly based on the pronunciation of the number itself. For example, the number 8, pronounced "ba" in Chinese, is considered desirable because it rhymes with the word for prosperity. People generally like the numbers ended with the digit 8. In this paper, we examine this unique phenomenon in Hong Kong online stores. Specifically, we collected prices from both US and Hong Kong online shopping malls to examine their price-ending patterns. Preliminary results indicate that the digits of 9 and 0 are overrepresented in US online prices, which follows the same pattern as those in brick-and-mortar stores. However, in Hong Kong online stores, we find that the digit 8 is also overrepresented. This research has important implications for global firms to set up appropriate pricing strategies in Chinese market.

Personalization and Decision Support Tools: Effects on Search and Consumer Decision Making

Kristin Diehl, University of South Carolina

SESSION SUMMARY

With the emergence of the Internet, the number of products available to users at low search costs has increased dramatically. Without sophisticated search and decision support tools, however, "the contents of the Internet might be likened to the contents of the Library of Congress, without call numbers, and dumped out on the floor." (Burk 1999). In his discussion of this ACR session, Eric Johnson pointed out that contrary to computer processors, for which processing capabilities per square inch double every 18 months (Moore's Law), the capacity of the human brain does not expand. In the face of large amounts of information, human processing capacity remains limited, creating the need for sophisticated decision support tools. All three papers presented in this session investigated the effects that different types of decision support tools can have on consumer decision making. The research presented by Diehl and the paper by Häubl and Dellaert investigated the effects of personalized screening and ordering tools, while the paper by Fasolo and McClelland looked at the effects of information display boards and tools supporting EBA decision rules.

The paper by Diehl demonstrates that, when options have previously been screened by an ordering tool, reducing search costs can lead to lower quality choices. Her research shows that consumers make worse choices because lower search costs cause them to consider inferior options. Similar to what Hauser (1978) has shown, considering inferior options in the first place has much stronger effects on the final decision than selectivity among these considered options. She also shows that trying to be more accurate can exacerbate this effect. When search costs are low, a strong accuracy goal can motivate consumers to consider a wider array of alternatives and further decrease choice quality.

Häubl and Dellaert examine how electronic recommendation agents affect the micro-level decisions consumers make at each stage of a sequential search process. Expanding on normative predictions about sequential search, the authors' model features several behavioral extensions. In addition to rational cost-benefit considerations, their framework incorporates consumers' use of perceptual cues as well as local comparison referents. Results from a large-scale experiment find support for the influence of these behavioral factors on the duration and extent of search as well as on decision quality.

Fasolo and McClelland demonstrate how negative interattribute correlations affect information acquisition, and consumer satisfaction for choices made from web-based comparison tables, opinion portals, and decision–facilitating sites. They show that when attributes are negatively related consumers search comparison tables more by product, than when attributes are positively related, but find choice more difficult and dissatisfactory. Negative correlations make choice more difficult also on opinion portals, where options are accompanied by summary star ratings, and on decision web sites that facilitate an attribute-wise elimination-by-aspect strategy. When attributes are negatively related, choice is easier and more satisfying when decision sites facilitate a simple compensatory process like MAU. Their research shows the importance of online decision tools robust to the frequent and unpleasant cases where attributes are negatively related.

The discussion lead by Eric Johnson focused on the implications of this research for market competition, consumer welfare and policy advice. Participants agreed that understanding the net benefits from different types of decision tools will be crucial to making informed policy recommendations.

"Tempted by the Cheap and Easy: The Negative Effects of Low Search Costs in Ordered Environments"
Kristin Diehl, University of South Carolina

Alba et al. (1997), argue that the most important benefit of online shopping to consumers are electronic screening tools. Screening tools can order all available options according to their predicted fit with the consumer's utility function. Although these tools only provide a good but not a perfect ordering, they allow consumers to find options that better fit consumers' preferences with less effort (e.g. Häubl and Trifts 1999). Findings from the research presented in the following, however, suggest that lowering search costs in such ordered environments decreases the benefits of screening tools and can actually lead to lower quality decisions.

The benefits of lower search costs depend on the degree of ordering in the environment. If the ordering is good, additional search should yield little benefit in finding better fitting options. Rather, any additional search decreases the average quality of considered options, since lower ranked options are, in expectation, worse alternatives. Following Hauser (1978), I argue that consumers' selectivity *into* the consideration set will be more important for the quality of their choices than selectivity *among* considered options and that considering inferior options will lead to worse choices.

This argument does not take into account that consumers can be selective when deciding between options. However, such selectivity may be unlikely in the environment studied here. For example, more search may increase time pressure and limit cognitive resources consumers can devote to any given option, leading to more superficial, heuristic processing (e.g. Payne, Bettman and Johnson 1993). Furthermore, Martin, Seta and Crelia (1990) have shown that ignoring irrelevant information requires significant cognitive resources. If cognitive resources are limited due to increased search, ignoring irrelevant information will be difficult and poor options may not get screened out. Therefore consumers are expected to choose worse options with lower search costs because they consider inferior options and do not have the cognitive resources to be selective. These predictions are tested in two computerized laboratory experiments using principal-agent tasks.

In the first experiment, participants searched for and selected electronic birthday cards to send to a target consumer described on several dimensions (i.e. relationship to the sender, likes and dislikes, age, etc.). Independent judges rated all cards on their appropriateness for the recipient and showed high interjudge agreement (Chronbach alpha > 0.85). The average of these ratings was used to assess choice quality. Everybody saw an ordered list of 50 options. Cards were ordered using a regression model that provided a good but imperfect prediction of the judges' ratings. Participants received a monetary reward for picking a card that fit the recipient well minus the search costs incurred. The first time a new card was inspected, participants were charged either 20 cents (high search cost condition) or 1 cent (low search cost).

As predicted, lower search costs decreased the quality of consumers' decisions. Also, lower search costs caused consumers

to consider worse options. A mediation analysis showed that the negative effect of lower search costs on decision quality was completely mediated by the quality of options considered.

These results show that more search initiated by lower search costs actually leads to worse decisions in an ordered environment. In principle, *any* factor that causes consumers to search too much from an ordered environment and to consider inferior options can have these effects. In experiment 2 that causal factor investigated is a consumer's goal to be accurate.

Research on accuracy goals shows that such goals can stimulate more systematic processing and decrease consumers' susceptibility to biases (Payne, Bettman and Johnson 1993, Tetlock 2002). This suggests that high accuracy goals could partially undo the negative effects of lower search costs by putting decision makers in a more careful mind set. However, depending on the decision environment, trying to be accurate paradoxically can lead to negative outcomes. Tetlock and Boettger (1989) show that under high accuracy motivation people tend to take a wider array of information into account. This behavior introduces non-diagnostic information into the decision process and leads worse decisions.

This prior research suggests that the effect of accuracy will strongly depend on the favorability of the decision environment. Under high search costs, consumers only consider a few good options. This constitutes a favorable environment where greater accuracy motivation may lead to better decisions. However, since options are already ordered, there is little room for improving decision quality. Under low search costs, however, consumers inspect more inferior options. This represents an unfavorable environment where high accuracy motivation may cause consumers to include a wider range of inferior options in their decision process, leading to lower quality decisions. Therefore a high accuracy motivation should worsen the negative effect of lower search on decision quality.

Experiment 2 tests these predictions using a principal-agent task in a different domain (MP3 players). Participants were rewarded based on the utility of the chosen option for the target consumer minus the search costs incurred. In addition, the five best performers received $10 (high accuracy condition) or $1.

As predicted, when search costs were low, greater accuracy goals led to significantly worse choices, whereas with high search costs greater accuracy goals marginally improved choices. A similar pattern of results emerges for the quality of the consideration set. When search costs were low, high accuracy goals led to marginally lower quality consideration sets. A mediation analysis indicates that the negative effect of search cost and accuracy on decision quality is mediated by consumers considering lower quality options.

These studies demonstrate the importance of consideration set formation in ordered decision environments. Any factor that decreases the quality of consideration sets dilutes the benefits of personalized ordering mechanisms. This also suggests that merely making personalized orderings available may not be enough for consumers to actually benefit from such tools. Marketers need to foster effective use of these tools for consumers to take advantage of this new technology. Factors that encourage too much search (e.g. lack of trust in the marketer) need to be taken into account carefully should consumers truly benefit from ordering tools.

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"Consumer Search and Decision Making in Personalized Information Environments"

Gerald Häubl, University of Alberta
Benedict G. C. Dellaert, Maastricht University

Electronic information environments (e.g., web sites) are both an important source of product information for consumers and an increasingly common setting in which shoppers make purchase decisions. A defining property of such digital environments is that they allow a high level of personalization, i.e., the adaptation to individual consumer preferences. A common form of personalization is the implementation of electronic search or recommendation agents designed to assist consumers in making their purchase decisions (Diehl, Kornish and Lynch 2003; Häubl and Trifts 2000). While such technologies play an increasingly important role in aiding consumers' information search and product selection, little is known about the manner in which they affect or transform human behavior.

The objective of this paper is to obtain a deeper understanding of how consumers search for product information and make purchase decisions in information environments that are personalized via electronic recommendation agents. The latter are software tools that generate personalized product recommendations in the form of a list in which alternatives are sorted by their predicted attractiveness to an individual shopper, thus allowing the latter to screen a large set of alternatives in a systematic and efficient manner (see, e.g., Häubl and Murray 2002). This personalization is based upon the agent's understanding of the consumer's multiattribute preference in connection with a given product category, which the agent has obtained through prior interaction with the consumer.

The present study examined how consumer information search and purchase decision making are influenced by (1) the presence vs. absence of personalized product recommendations, (2) the accuracy of the personalization technology in determining a consumer's preferences, (3) the level of consumer search cost, (4) the extent of product differentiation in the market, and (5) the amount of price variability in the market. The effects of these factors are investigated both at the level of overall decision outcomes and with respect to the sequence of micro-level decisions that a consumer makes in the course of his/her pre-purchase search.

A number of specific research questions were addressed in this study. A subset of these questions is as follows: How does the presence or absence of personalized product recommendations affect the extent of consumer information search and decision quality? How can the product selection process in personalized information environments be explained by a combination of theoretical notions from standard search and choice theory? How do consumers choose the next alternative to be viewed from a person-

alized list? What types of comparisons among products do consumers make in sequential search? Which product, the most recently viewed or the most attractive one viewed so far, tends to serve as the primary comparison referent for the currently inspected alternative? When are product comparisons more based on subjective utility and when are they more attribute-based? What causes consumers to terminate their search process to complete their purchase in a personalized information environment? Do consumers tend to stop searching after encountering a particularly attractive or a particularly unattractive product? Under what types of market conditions are personalized product recommendations of greatest value to consumers?

A rich set of empirical findings pertaining directly to these questions was obtained in a large-scale web-based experiment. A total of 776 members of a consumer panel participated in this study. The primary experimental task was to engage in pre-purchase information search of a set of available products, and ultimately make a simulated purchase, in one of two product categories, compact stereo systems and vacation packages. The total number of available products in each category was 500. All stereo systems and vacation packages were described in terms of price and six quality attributes.

The task was one of sequential search with recall (Weitzman 1979) in a web-based shopping environment. Subjects sampled products one at a time, in whichever order they chose. Every time a new alternative was inspected, participants viewed all attributes of that product at once. Subjects were able to flag any product as their current favorite, which resulted in the capability to recall that alternative at any time, i.e., to purchase it instantly. Products were listed in the information environment either in random order (i.e., no personalization) or in descending order of expected subjective utility to the subject (i.e., personalized recommendation). In the latter case, this order either reflected the subject's multiattribute preference very closely (high accuracy), or it was contaminated with substantial random error (low accuracy). Search cost was manipulated by either allowing direct click-throughs from the list of available products to an alternative's detailed description (low cost) or by requiring subjects to type a short product ID number in order to request this description (high cost). The extent of product differentiation in the market was manipulated by varying the ranges of the attribute levels of the available products and, similarly, the amount of price variability in the market was manipulated by varying the range of prices. All of these experimental factors were manipulated independently between subjects.

The results of this study are presented in terms of effects on (1) overall decision outcomes and (2) micro-level outcomes. At the overall level, the results show that, consistent with recent findings by Häubl and Trifts (2000), personalized recommendations improved consumers' decision quality significantly and reduced the number of products inspected. However, this form of personalization had no effect on the average deliberation time per alternative. Interestingly, the joint impact of product differentiation and price variability in the market was moderated by the presence or absence of personalized recommendations. High degrees of product differentiation and price variability led to higher decision quality when the shopping interface was personalized, but to lower decision quality in the absence of such personalization. At the micro level, we find that differences among products in terms of both their subjective utility and their attribute profiles are important factors in consumers' decisions to flag an alternative as the current favorite and/or to purchase a given alternative. Overall, differences in subjective utility tend to be more important determinants of consumers' micro-level decisions than attribute profile differences. Finally, while price considerations appear not to influence consum-

ers' decisions to flag an alternative as their current favorite, they do have a strong effect on whether or not a given product is selected for purchase.

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"Interattribute Correlations Affect Information Processing and Decision Making on Online Comparison Tables, Opinion Portals and Decision-facilitating Websites"
Barbara Fasolo, University of Colorado at Boulder
Gary McClelland, University of Colorado at Boulder

According to the Pew Internet and American Life Project Survey (Feb.-Mar. 2001), nearly 9 millions Americans go online on an average day to "research a product or service before buying it". An increasing amount of decision facilitating websites (e.g., www.activebuyersguide.com, or www.netscape.com/decisionguides) and opinion portals (e.g. www.epinions.com) have appeared on the World Wide Web to assist users formulate judgments and to make choices for a large number of consumer decisions. The goal of decision sites is to display the information necessary for users to make a good decision. To prevent the risk of information overload, decision sites guide users through an interactive process that allows consumers to reduce the number of options to a manageable size (winnowing), and to compare a few surviving options side-by-side (comparison). Our research investigates how people make decisions online both on side-by-side comparison tables and with winnowing features.

Most comparison tables are simple and static attributes-by-options matrices containing information about a handful of options, on dozens of attributes. We observe decision processes on web-based comparison tables by means of WebIDB (http://samiam.colorado.edu/~mcclella/webIDB/), an original WWW-based version of the traditional Mouselab paradigm developed in the 90's by Johnson, Payne, and Bettman (e.g., Johnson, Payne, Schkade and Bettman, 1991; Payne, Bettman and Johnson, 1993). On WebIDBs we studied how people process information on web-based product comparison tables. When these tables display options that require trade-offs among conflicting attributes, we found that users find the decision difficult, attempt to cope with the trade-offs despite their difficulty, but are unable to deal with them in the fully optimal ways prescribed by optimal rules of decision making (Fasolo, McClelland and Lange, 2001). Moreover, with conflicting attributes, users are dissatisfied with the choice made.

These results raised the question as to whether interattribute correlations would also affect online decision making at the winnowing stage. The WWW makes available to users two kinds of winnowing decision support, varying in ease of use, transparency and optimality of the choice process. The first support is through websites that induce users to follow easy but sub-optimal information processing strategies (e.g., www.point.com, using the Elimina-

tion-by-Aspect strategy). This process is "non-compensatory" because it does not entail compensations among conflicting attributes. The second support is through websites that help users be consistent and thorough in their information search and integration, following a difficult but optimal information processing strategy (e.g., www.activebuyersguide.com, using the weighted additive strategy). This process is "compensatory," because it entails compensations among conflicting attributes, and at times even faces users with explicit trade-offs among hypothetical options. In our first test of the effect of correlation on online winnowing, we asked users to make different choices using both a compensatory (i.e., the complex and optimal) decision site, and a non-compensatory (i.e., the easy but potentially sub-optimal) decision site (Fasolo, McClelland and Lange, in press). We found users' choice behavior and perceptions to depend on the kind of website used as well as on the structure of the attribute information (conflicting or not). When attributes were conflicting, a choice required more "clicks," was rated as more difficult to reach, and left users feeling less confident and less satisfied with the final outcome.

This talk describes three studies that provide further evidence for the effect of negative interattribute correlations on online consumer decision making. The first study tests whether the users' tendency to become more compensatory (option based and systematic) in the presence of conflicting attributes is related to individual differences in judgment and decision making. Individual differences in search strategy are found to be robust and consistent, but only mildy related to a specific person correlate. Openness to experience is positively related to increased option-based search, and performance in the Wason Selection Task is related to more extensive search.

The second study tests whether interattribute correlation affects use of, and choices off, opinion portals. Opinion portals, like epinions.com, allow users to compare products along subjective ratings offered second-hand by other users, rather than along objective attributes. Trusting other users' ratings is fast and efficient, but risky. The first obvious risk is that the users contributing the rating have different subjective preferences than the decision makers'. The most sophisticated websites try to overcome this problem relying on "collaborative filtering" techniques able to filter ratings from like-minded users. However, even if used by "like minded users," we find that negative interattribute correlations interfere with the efficiency of opinion portals. Products with negative interattribute correlations are given more variable overall ratings than products with positive interattribute correlations by users sharing the same preference profile. Yet, it is with negative correlations that users report a higher tendency to rely on ratings of experts or of like-minded customers, because less confident in their own judgments.

The third study tests the conditions under which it is advisable to assist decision making with a compensatory or non-compensatory aid. Factors considered are the structure of the attributes (conflicting or not), the choosers' preferences over the attributes (equal or unequal weight on the attributes), and the aid's ability to show or hide trade-offs from the decision makers' sight. We show that negative interattribute correlations make choice more difficult also on decision web sites that facilitate an attribute-wise elimination-by-aspect strategy. When attributes are negatively related, choice is easier and more satisfying when decision sites facilitate a simple compensatory process like MAU.

Overall, these studies show the importance of making available to online consumers decision tools that are robust to the frequent and unpleasant cases where attributes are negatively related.

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Where Art and Commerce Collide: A Funnel Approach to Embedding Messages in Non-Traditional Media

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Hybrid communications refer to instances of sponsored brand inclusion in popular media under the guise of entertainment. Though evidence for hybrid communications in its most established form (i.e., in movies) spans most part of the last century, inclusion within all entertainment media has steadily increased over the past two decades. This popularity and sophistication in marketing practice is however largely unmatched by concomitant academic scrutiny. It is only within the last decade or so that studies on product placements have appeared in academic literature. The entwined nature of joint promotional campaigns makes it difficult to assess the independent impact of product placements in field settings. At the same time research into underlying psychological processes is lacking as well. This session has been an effort to investigate whether such non-traditional branded inclusion within media content is processed differently depending on the nature of these inclusions and the sophistication of audiences.

A top-down approach was adopted and topics within the session were broadly organized such that they funneled down from macro to micro level issues. A broad theoretical overview followed by a macro-level cross-cultural content analysis of brands placed within movies was followed by examinations of placement efficacy given different consumer sub-segments, various message characteristics and different consumer characteristics.

The first paper dealt with issues of broad importance to the field and identified avenues for further research. Within this macro view of placements, results of a broad cross-cultural content analysis are presented for movies across a range of countries and genres, based upon differences in the nature of product placements (auditory, visual, audiovisual), prominence of placements (background, foreground, plot), and brand origins (domestic, international).

The second paper narrowed its focus to look at the worth of using conventional versus unconventional methods for communicating with specific consumer sub-segments (urban youth) for specific product categories (luxury goods) within a single country (the US). Traditional consumers of luxury goods were differentiated from the newly affluent and racially diverse "urban youth" segment and the impacts of materialism, reference groups and conspicuous consumption that makes this segment particularly vulnerable to messages embedded within non-traditional media (e.g., song lyrics and video games) were examined.

The third paper took a more refined, yet different perspective and explored the dual influence of placements in print media. Specifically, the impact of message characteristics (i.e., placement salience) and consumer characteristics (i.e., placement awareness) on memory for claims, attitudes towards brand claims and trust in brand sponsors and trust in the communication medium was examined. These were contrasted for both non-traditional (i.e., product placements) as well as traditional communications methods (i.e., advertisements). Taken as a whole, the three papers that were part of this special topics session offered insights that are of considerable interest to the consumer research community as well as to marketing practitioners, first at the holistic and then at specific levels. Details about each paper follow.

"Product Placements Go Global: An Examination of Brand Contacts Across Five Countries"

Narayan Devanathan, University of Wisconsin-Madison
Michelle R. Nelson, University of Wisconsin-Madison
John McCarty, The College of New Jersey
Sameer Deshpande, University of Wisconsin-Madison
Hye-Jin Paek, University of Wisconsin-Madison
Ratanasuda Punnahitanond, University of Wisconsin-Madison
Susan E. Stein, University of Wisconsin-Madison
Alexandra M. Vilela, University of Wisconsin-Madison
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Mercedes-Benz in *Dil Chahta Hai* (India); Pepsi in *Fah* (Thailand); Daewoo Matiz in *Chuyuso supgyuk sa keun* (*Gas Station Attack*, South Korea), Brahma beer in Brazilian *Bossa Nova*: brands are now shown and heard in films produced all around the world. Barring a select few (e.g. Gould, Gupta & Grabner-Krauter 2000), cross-cultural studies of product placement are rare in the scholarly literature. This study was the first content analysis of product placements within films from American and Asian countries and across a range of developed and developing economies.

Results from content analyses of top-grossing movies from 1996-2001 across five countries (Brazil, India, South Korea, Thailand, U.S.) were presented. A team of coders (at least one native from each of the five countries) examined a total of 54 movies (approximately 120 hours). The coding instrument included closed-ended and open-ended items compiled from previous studies in the U.S. (e.g. Sapolsky & Kinney 1994, Gupta & Gould 1997, Russell 1998). In keeping with the exploratory nature of the study, the following research questions were posed: What differences (or similarities) can be observed between countries in the: (a) use of brand contacts (b) type of products (high vs. low involvement) placed (c) country of origin of brand (domestic vs. international), and (d) nature of placement (prominent vs. background; audio vs. visual vs. audio-visual)? Note that a brand contact includes both paid and non-paid placements within a movie, and the term is used interchangeably with placement in this study.

A total of 687 brand contacts were observed in the 54 movies. The highest mean number of placements (17.2) occurred in U.S. movies (number of movies [n]=15). This is unsurprising since product placement is a sophisticated industry in the U.S. The next highest mean was India (M=14.4, n=10), which is also not surprising, considering that Bollywood (the Indian film industry) is also a developed film industry and the average Bollywood film offers an additional hour in which to place products. In descending order, Thailand (mean=11.4, n=5), Brazil (mean=10.7, n=14) and South Korea (mean=4.9, n=10) follow in mean number of brand contacts per movie.

With regard to product type, within the U.S., India, and Brazil the placements tended to be more high-involvement (e.g. cars, computers, cameras) (59.7%, 60.7%, and 53%, respectively) than low-involvement products (e.g., soda, beer). Within movies from Thailand and South Korea, however, products tended to more often be low-involvement than high-involvement placements (57.9% and 53.1%, respectively). Top product categories for all placements across countries included cars (16.9%), fashion (10.5%), soda

(10.2%) and alcoholic beverages (5.4%). The most common brands noted across all countries were Coca-cola, Mercedes, and Nike (except in Thailand); Pepsi and Volkswagen (except in South Korea and Thailand); and Sony (except South Korea).

In terms of country of origin of the brands placed, India, Brazil and Thailand clearly evidenced the entry of international brands. While 76.9% of the placements in Indian movies were of international brands, that equivalent figure for Brazil was 61.2% and 57.9% for Thailand. In South Korea, there were a higher percentage of domestic brands (54%), but the presence of international brands was nevertheless quite noticeable. The U.S. showed a predominance of domestic brands (78.7%), but this is because most international brands are of U.S. origin and hence are "domestic." The top five brands placed in India and Brazil included international brands (e.g. Clinique, Mercedes, Coke, Volkswagen) whereas those in South Korea and Thailand showed domestic brands (e.g. Daewoo, Hyundai, Samsung, Krong Thip).

When examining the prominence of placements, results showed that more products were placed prominently (e.g. in the foreground, used by an actor) versus as background placements in movies from Brazil (72%), Thailand (68.4%), the U.S. (66.8%) and India (52.9%), Korean movies featured more background (55.3%) than prominent placements. The relatively high percentage of background placements in Indian movies (47.1%) were likely due to the 6-7 minute 'song and dance' sequences that provide an attractive backdrop for brands as they are featured throughout the length of these sequences.

Across all countries we noted the greater use of visual over audio or audio-visual placements. While South Korea (90.7%), Thailand (89.5%), India (86%) and Brazil (85.9%) all featured high percentages of visual placements, the integration of placements within U.S. movies (in terms of audio-visual and audio placement) is visible in the relatively higher percentage (34.3%) of placements of audio and audio-visual placements combined.

Several implications from this exploratory study were discussed. First, the influence of commercial practices and global marketers like Coca-cola on the artistic processes is apparent in the widespread use of product placement across the range of countries studied. Second, product placement may well serve the goal of consumer socialization with regard to international brands in developing countries. Finally, product placement within local film industries may prove a viable brand glocalization strategy for global marketers. Future research might study effects and effectiveness given national and cultural differences between countries.

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"Classic 'and' Cool?: The Marketing of Luxury Goods to the Urban Market"

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Over the last 20 years, the market for luxury goods has experienced spectacular growth. Fifteen years ago, luxury was estimated to be a $20 billion industry (Moin, 2001). The sector grew from $47 billion in 1996 to $58 billion in 2000, according to statistics from Colbert and Traveler Retailer International (2000). Purchases of luxury goods and services are growing at a rate of about four times that of overall spending and while the assumption is that this spending is being done by the rich and near-rich, the 1990's have seen luxury spending moving down the income ladder (Pennar, 1998). Despite this rapid growth, the market for prestige products, or luxury goods, has not received a great deal of attention in the consumer behavior literature. As the "traditional" market segment for luxury goods–the Baby Boomer generation–matures and brands attempt to appeal to both this current, "young-minded" segment and to a younger population that will eventually become their primary market segment, luxury good marketers are faced with the challenges of repositioning their brands and reaching a new audience with their brand message. They must now appeal to the tastes and lifestyles of new, younger constituencies in addition to their traditional segment. The particular segment of interest in the current research is the Urban market, a subsegment of the popular "Generation X" and "Generation Y" segments. These segments are made up of approximately 18-34 year olds and 8-18 year olds, respectively. The Generation Y segment alone is the biggest since their parents–the Baby Boomers–and will soon rival their boomer predecessors in spending power.

A host of brands that have achieved success by predicting and shaping popular tastes since the baby boomers were young are not creating the same excitement with today's kids. This is attributed, in part, to a shift in values of the younger generation. "Having grown up in an even more media-saturated, brand-conscious world than their parents, they respond to ads differently, and they prefer to encounter those ads in different places" (Neuborne & Kerwin, 1999). According to Dubois & Paternault (1995), an understanding of the process by which consumers acquire and consume luxury items remains elusive. Adding to this enigma is the challenge of understanding and predicting the attitudes and behaviors of a new and elusive segment. The Urban segment, defined less by age than by lifestyle, is characterized by rapidly increasing spending power, and has characteristics that are very different from the Boomer population that they follow–including primary sources of information, influence and persuasion–making the marketer's job of reaching and influencing them with brand messages a new and formidable challenge. This is especially difficult when the brand being marketed is one that has been established as one of an "older" generation.

The current research examines efforts by luxury brands to target a younger segment of the population, specifically the "Urban" market. This includes the use of increasingly non-traditional

marketing venues, including various entertainment mediums. While some of this current exposure is incidental, increasingly it is a result of intentional marketing efforts. We believe that this trend has resulted in a rapidly growing awareness of and aspirations toward material (luxury) acquisitions within this younger, urban market segment. Our analysis seeks to examine the effectiveness of the use of non-traditional promotion vehicles (i.e. product placements, music videos, song lyrics, celebrity usage) compared with more traditional mechanisms to influence purchase behavior and build brand equity among the hard-to-reach Urban market due to differences in attitudes, motivations and influences. The analysis will also attempt to assess the potential effects, if any, of this brand "repositioning" on overall brand equity.

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"Efficacy of Brand Placements: The Impact of Consumer Awareness and Message Salience"

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While 'product placements' in academic literature refer to instances where commercial motives exist for the inclusion of branded products in movies or television programs (DeLorme, Reid and Zimmer 1994), we use the term inclusively to reflect branded information across all media types. The focus in past research has largely been on placements in movies (Custen 1980). This ignores a considerable amount of placement activity that occurs in media other than movies or television programs. Further, though evidence for the impact of placements on awareness measures (e.g., brand recall and recognition) has been positive, evidence related to persuasion, attitude change and actual purchase behavior is mixed. Based on theories of persuasion knowledge and skepticism (Calfee and Ringold 1988; Friestad and Wright 1994) there appears to be a general consensus that consumers are more skeptical of advertised claims (where persuasion is overt and easily perceived) than placed claims (where persuasion is harder to discern), thereby enhancing placements' desirability as marketing tools. These assertions and underlying assumptions however remain uninvestigated, especially given the rising levels of consumer awareness of placement activities. In this paper we examine: (a) the impact of consumer awareness of placement activities on memory for and trust in placed versus advertised claims as well as trust displayed towards participating media; and (b) the impact of the salience of placed messages on attitudes towards placed claims.

Building on the issues identified above, we extend the construct of message efficacy beyond memory measures examined in past research and include the constructs of skepticism and trust towards brands, towards brand claims and towards the medium where claims are placed. We hypothesize that the effect of placements might actually be a double-edged sword. While awareness and memory for placed claims may be enhanced via inclusion in naturalistic contexts, trust towards the claims and the media might at the same time get diminished as awareness of placements (viewed as covert attempts at persuasion) as marketing tools rises. Further, an inverted U-shaped relationship between placement salience and attitudes towards placed messages is hypothesized. As salience initially increases, awareness of placed messages is expected to rise but beyond a certain threshold, any further increase in salience is expected to dilute positive attitudes towards brand claims as consumers get suspicious that a covert persuasion attempt might be taking place. In summary, this paper compares the efficacy of product placements versus advertisements in print media (specifically magazines). The roles of message characteristics (i.e., salience), and consumer characteristics (i.e., awareness of placements) are examined in the context of memory, attitude change, perceptions of motive purity, skepticism, and trust towards the brand, the brand claim, and the communication medium.

Study 1, conducted at a major business school in Turkey, looks at the role of consumer awareness of persuasion in the efficacy of advertisements versus product placements for magazines. An unfamiliar brand of instant soup within Turkey (Progresso soup) was used as the product category in this study. Results indicate that product placements facilitate brand recognition. The findings also suggest that consumers that are not completely naïve about being targets of persuasive attempts tend to have lower trust in brand claims and lower perceptions of motive purity and trust for the magazine that carries the placement. Therefore, while memory for placed claims is higher, trust in these claims and towards the magazine declines as consumers become more aware of the commercial nature of branded information.

Study 2, also conducted in Turkey, examines the influence of message characteristics (message salience) on placement efficacy. An unfamiliar brand of instant soup (Progresso soup) within Turkey is used as the product category in order to explore whether it is more effective to introduce new brands in markets using highly salient or less salient placements. As expected, attitudes towards placed claims displayed a non-linear relationship with message salience. As message strength increased, attitudes towards the placed claim initially rose and then declined.

This research has intriguing implications for questions of critical importance to various groups such as:

public policy legislators: Are consumers largely unaware of the commercial nature of placements and do they perceive placed claims as implicit unbiased endorsements? If so, are placements a deceptive form of marketing communications? Are consumer that are aware of placements, able to protect themselves by adequately scrutinizing placed messages and thus obviating the need for government intervention? Our research would seem to suggest that the latter is indeed the case.

brand sponsors: Do consumers remember placed brands and claims made about them? If so, do they believe the claims? Findings indicate that though memory for placed information is stronger than memory for advertised information, it is also trusted less when consumers become aware of its commercial nature.

participating media that carry placements: How do consumers react towards participating media themselves when placements (that they perceive as covert) get detected within their content? Results of these studies suggest that a backlash at the grassroots level is possible when consumers suspect a lack of

editorial independence and question the purity of media motives.

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Visuals *Are* Information: How Meaning is Transferred to Consumers through Executional Elements in Advertising

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OVERVIEW

The session explored issues relating to the notion that visual elements are information. As such, they persuade, not merely by modifying, accentuating or interfering with words, but rather they are fully capable of conveying persuasive information in and of themselves. While historians have chronicled the steady erosion of the primacy of words in advertising, consumer research still tends to focus on them. When visuals are addressed, they are often portrayed as secondary or peripheral. When their impact is acknowledged, it is often in the context of how they impact the processing of the verbal information. In the rare case where their direct persuasive impact is acknowledged, this impact is derided by some as an illogical, emotional response on the part of the consumer.

But visual elements can and do convey information. The three papers in this session demonstrated that (1) ad creators demonstrate a reliable understanding about what specific visual elements mean, and (2) consumers are well adapted at decoding this visual information. From consumers' ability to quickly comprehend the message of a visual metaphor, to their reliable interpretation of what white space means in an ad to their understanding about what different typeface is trying to convey, consumers are, to a large extent, quite visually literate.

The first paper explicitly considered production and reception issues in visual communication. The striking correspondence between what ad creators think white space conveys, and what consumers interpret, argues even "empty space", when used as a visual element, can convey information. The second paper showed a similar correspondence in meaning between ad creators and consumers in terms of what is conveyed by the typeface. It appears, therefore, that even the way the words are written conveys additional information. The third paper went a step farther, to explicitly consider how effective visuals are at conveying information, relative to words.

"Nothing Is Something: The Production and Reception of Advertising Meaning Through the Use of White Space"

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Variables in the marketing mix are not static. They evolve. Research methods, however, may not always keep pace with this change. This is the case with advertising. Currently, and for quite some time, both practitioner and academic advertising research has tended to focus attention on a style of advertising (claims based ads) that has actually diminished significantly over the last hundred years. During the twentieth century, ads went from being copy-heavy arguments to become predominately visual devises with little, and sometimes no copy. However, existing research methods have not adequately considered the increasingly visual nature of advertising. Our content analysis of experimental, advertising-related articles in the *Journal of Consumer Research*, *Journal of Marketing,* and *Journal of Marketing Research* from 1990-1999 showed that 80.0% varied only the verbal information in the advertisement. We see this as indicative of the lack of attention to the study of how visual elements actually inform and persuade. We attempt to address this shortcoming in the literature by focussing on

a single visual element: white space. In a series of four studies we measure the correspondence in the understanding of this visual element between ad producers (agency creative directors) and consumers, and how this element impacts consumer perceptions of brands.

Study one surveys the creative directors at 31 North American advertising agencies. Results show that creative directors seem to have commonly shared beliefs about brand signals/meanings conveyed to consumers by the use of white space in ads. The most frequently mentioned were prestige, market power, trustworthiness, industry leadership, and the quality of the brand. To assess the degree to which consumers understood these same meanings/symbols, in study two we present 63 consumers with two ads for the same product, which are identical except for the amount of white space used (i.e. one low one high). We then ask them which ad better conveys prestige, market power, trustworthiness, industry leadership, and the quality of the brand. Prestige ($t_{59}=7.20$, $p<.001$), trustworthiness ($t_{59}=6.00$, $p<.001$), and brand quality($t_{59}=7.23$, $p<.001$) were all significantly conveyed by high amounts of white space. White space did not significantly impact market power or brand leadership measures.

In order to test whether consumers would get these meanings without explicitly pointing out the white space construct, study three reduced the salience of the white space. An additional 130 participants were exposing to a single ad which was either high or low in white space (i.e. between subjects). The white space construct was never explicitly pointed out to them.

As before, quality ($F_{1,126}=8.56$, $p<.01$), prestige ($F_{1,126}=9.04$, $p<.01$) and trust ($F_{1,126}=9.58$, $p<.01$) are all significantly impacted by white space, as is attitude toward the brand ($F_{1,126}=15.3$, $p<.001$) and purchase intention ($F_{1,126}=4.01$, $p<.05$). Again, though, market power and firm size meanings are not conveyed by white space. This might be due to the lack of an ad size context in studies 2 and 3. Therefore, study four manipulates both white space (2 levels) and ad size (three levels), by placing the ads into a mock newspaper (11"X14"). Here, as before, quality ($F_{1,173}=15.23$, $p<.001$) prestige ($F_{1,173}=20.45$, $p<.001$), trust ($F_{1,173}=18.97$, $p<.001$), attitude toward the brand ($F_{1,173}=15.58$, $p<.001$) and purchase intention ($F_{1,173}=4.67$, $p<.05$) are all significantly impacted by white space. In addition, market power ($F_{1,173}=12.5$, $p<.001$), and brand leadership ($F_{1,173}=10.76$, $p<.001$), are also positively conveyed by white space. None of these effects are moderated by ad size (i.e. there were no significant ad size by white space interactions). There was however a positive main effect of ad size on perceived company size, which is consistent with previous ad size studies.

In conclusion, we believe that we have at least opened a research path that is potentially very important to both practice and academic inquiry. We need to conceive of advertising as a complex, rhetorical, and socially situated phenomenon resulting in negotiated meaning between producers and receivers of paid communication. We need to think of information more broadly and more realistically. Better appreciation of the widely understood conventions of advertising's visual rhetorical system will inform a much deeper understanding of advertising than the heretofore too narrow focus on words, claims and arguments.

"Typeface Design and Meaning: The Three Faces of Typefaces"

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Companies communicate the majority of their messages through some form of written language. Very few media use only verbally presented messages (e.g., radio). While research in marketing and consumer research has focused on how such messages are processed, there is a strong belief among designers who create these corporate materials that the typefaces in which messages appear communicate their own meaning. While some academicians have recognized the possibility that the visual elements of typeface influence consumer responses (Hutton 1987; Tantillo, Di Lorenzo-Aiss, and Mathisen 1995), there is relatively little research to support such an effect or guide managers in their decisions of how to use typeface design to achieve their strategic objectives. The purpose of the present research was to determine the dimensions of design that differentiate typefaces, the meaning evoked by typefaces, and the extent to which those meanings can be predicted by the design dimensions.

Research Design

First, the graphic design literature was used to identify characteristics of typefaces and the kinds of meanings they are thought to evoke. In addition, five graphic designers provided lists of the characteristics that differentiate typefaces and the meanings they believed were evoked by typefaces. Twenty-two characteristics (e.g., serif/sans serif; symmetry/asymmetry; heavy/light; uniform/not uniform) and 12 meanings (e.g., formal/informal; warm/cold) resulted from this process.

Second, 82 designers rated subsets of 210 typefaces on the 22 characteristics. These ratings were evaluated to determine the extent to which designers agreed in their assessments of type. The ratings were then factor analyzed to identify the underlying dimensions of typeface.

Third, 336 non-designers rated subsets of the 210 typefaces on the 12 impressions/meanings thought to be created by type. These ratings were factor analyzed to identify the underlying dimensions of meaning. Finally, the design dimensions were used as predictors of the meaning dimensions in a series of regression analyses.

Findings

First, graphic designers and the graphic design literature agreed in their descriptions of the primary characteristics that differentiate type and the primary responses and meanings that type is thought to evoke. Second, designers agreed, to a large extent, in their ratings of typeface characteristics. This finding is critical because in order for managers and advertisers to successfully manipulate the use of type, they must be assured that guidance given to designers will be understood. A factor analysis of the design characteristics identified three major underlying factors of typeface design, as well as several other individual characteristics. The three factors include their elaborateness, naturalness, and harmony. Other characteristics that did not load on these factors include serif/sans serif, proportion, height, and degree to which ascenders and descenders are pronounced.

Third, non-designers exhibited clear perceptions of meanings associated with and impressions created by typefaces. This finding supports the intuition of designers that typefaces vary in their meanings and consumer responses. In addition, factor analysis of these ratings indicated three dimensions of responses to typeface design–trustworthy/risky, affect (positive/negative), and power (strong/delicate).

Finally, the design dimensions (e.g., elaborateness, naturalness, harmony, serif/sans serif, etc.) were used as predictors in three regression analyses–one for each of the response factors (trustworthy/risky, positive/negative affect, powerful/delicate). The design dimensions were very strong predictors of the meaning/impression factors. The relationship between design characteristics and trustworthiness was quite strong (R^2=.767). Typefaces that were simpler, exhibited harmony and had serifs created impressions of trustworthiness (honesty, familiarity, mainstream, etc.).

Design characteristics were also significant predictors of affect (R^2=.526). Typefaces were perceived as attractive, warm and liked when they were simpler, more natural and had serifs. In addition, there was a curvilinear effect of harmony such that moderate to high levels of harmony evoked very positive affect. There was an inverted-U shaped relationship between condensed (which creates an impression of proportion) and affect such that moderate levels of condensed created the highest level of affect. Finally, typefaces created impressions of being strong and masculine, as opposed to delicate and feminine when they were less natural (looked typed, straight and angular rather than handwritten, slanted, and curved), had pronounced serifs, and were constructed with thick rather than thin lines.

Implications

Based on this research, it appears that typeface design communicates meanings independent of the verbal content being displayed. The meanings created are meanings that are important to advertisers and managers–namely meanings or impressions of trustworthiness, affect, and power. In addition, this research should be helpful to managers and advertisers in directing graphic designers in the impressions they wish to create and the design characteristics that will be most successful in creating these impressions.

"Do Pictures Sneak In? An Investigation of the Persuasive Force of Advertising Pictures"

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Almost since the beginning of advertising scholarship, pictures have been held in special esteem on the assumption that they could be more persuasive than mere words. The historian, Roland Marchand (1985, p. 236), writing of advertising in the 1920s, remarked, "The potential superiority of the visual statement became evident in cases where the advertiser's message would have sounded exaggerated or presumptuous if put into words." The power of pictures has continued in advertising folk wisdom up until the present day; the copywriter Luke Sullivan (1998, p. 45) explains, "There's a reason they say a picture is worth a thousand words. The point is, you should try to solve the problem visually if you can. Visual solutions are so universal, they work even after years in the deep freeze." In fact, pictures have been viewed as so persuasive that their messages have been considered ipso facto deceptive. "Nowadays, examples of visual claims that would be unacceptable in verbal form can be found in most kinds of advertising" (Messaris, 1997, p. 225; cf. Stern 1992).

A moment's reflection, however, will show that the truth of this venerable chestnut–that pictures in ads are more persuasive than words–is far from obvious. Indeed, empirical evidence with respect to the peculiarly persuasive character of pictures is lacking. Although a picture superiority effect was established many years ago in consumer research (Childers and Houston 1984; Edell and Staelin 1983), this superiority concerns recall, not persuasion. Similarly, although it is well-established that manipulations of pictorial elements within an ad can have a measurable effect on consumer response (e.g., McQuarrie and Mick 1999; Peracchio and

Meyers-Levy 1994), the ability of different pictures to differentially affect consumer response in no way establishes that pictures are more persuasive than words.

This presentation will unpack the assumption that pictures in ads tend to be more persuasive than words by asking how this could be true and empirically examining the extent to which it is true. We will suggest that the folk wisdom may be vacuous because the advertising claims that can be said to reside in the picture itself (e.g., this cleaner comes in a red plastic bottle) are irrelevant to the interests of consumers and hence to persuasion. The claims that are relevant to persuasion cannot be found in the picture, but must be inferred by consumers based on cultural knowledge and past experience (e.g., this cleaner can handle tough stains on bathroom tile). Thus, our approach to studying the superior persuasiveness of pictures in ads reconfigures the question to focus on the inference process by which consumers construct meaning from ad pictures. We will argue that the persuasive power of pictures, to the extent that it exists, must arise because the inference processes evoked by pictures differ in some way, quantitatively or qualitatively, from the processes by which consumers construct meaning from the verbal statements in ads.

To understand advertising persuasion in terms of inference, we draw on the work of researchers in pragmatic linguistics who study what an audience does in response to a communication (Sperber and Wilson 1986). These researchers state that any utterance gives rise to a set of implicatures (or interpretations of that utterance). An utterance will give rise to a strong implicature when it provides one, similar, "obvious" interpretation across most of the listening audience (see Phillips 1997 for examples). However, an utterance will give rise to weak implicatures to the extent that different audience members tend to develop different interpretations. We will suggest that the power of advertising pictures lies in their ability to generate weak implicatures, and that weak implicatures may be particularly effective in certain advertising settings. Specifically, we argue that weak implicatures lead to more elaboration and less counterarguing, even under low involvement conditions (cf. Kardes 1993).

We will describe the development of six sets of matched ads to test the superiority of pictures in generating weak implicatures and in enhancing persuasiveness. One ad in each set presents the product attribute in pictorial metaphor form and one ad presents the product attribute in literal words. To rule out the possibility that the metaphor, rather than the picture, is enhancing persuasiveness, the third ad in the set presents the product attribute in verbal metaphor form. We compare the three ads in terms of their ability to elicit strong, weak, and irrelevant attributes from consumers. In addition, we compare the ads on their ability to elicit deceptive interpretations, with an eye to the contention in the literature that pictures are prone to misleading interpretations.

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How Processing Modes Influence Consumers' Cognitive Representations of Product Perceptions formed from Similarity Judgements

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The mental representation of objects, and the judgment of similarity among them, is an important area of inquiry in the marketing and consumer psychology literature. There is a rich stream of research that examines consumers' similarity judgments to draw inferences regarding how objects may be represented in consumers' minds (Glazer and Nakamoto 1991, Tversky 1977).

Though consumers are known to adopt experiential as well as rational information processing modes (Hirschman and Holbrook 1982; Holbrook and Hirschman 1982), the importance of the mode in which consumers process information to generate these similarity judgments has been left generally unexamined. In the information processing literature, marketers assume consumer operate under "bounded rationality" (Bettman, Luce and Payne 1998) and limited processing capacity and implicitly assume that consumers process information and make decisions according to a rule-based system that interacts with features of the decision-making environment to produce decisions.

However, considerable research in the cognitive psychology literature suggests that there are actually two distinct ways in which consumers process information: the associative (or "experiential") system, in which reasoning is based on principles of similarity and contiguity and the rule-based (or "rational") system, where reasoning is based upon the application of learned rules. These two systems may work independently but in conjunction, or may compete with each other to generate responses (see Sloman 1996 and Epstein 1994 for summaries). Since the rule-based system has some capacity to "overrule," although not completely repress, the associative system, it is not surprising that most research on consumer decision-making and information processing tends to assume some form of a rule-based system as the basis for the decision-making process.

Nevertheless, research in psychology suggests that these two systems of reasoning differ according to the nature and extent of the information they use in processing and the responses they produce. In fact, even when consumers are explicitly primed to use a rule-based system, the associative system actually "intrudes" upon the response, even "neutralizing" it. This suggests that it makes sense to try and examine more fully the impact of these two modes of processing on consumer response. Of course, marketers recognize that different types of consumer information processing exist, but usually examine these differences in the context of outcomes (Shiv and Fedorikhin 1999).

Importantly, some consumer behavior researchers (e.g., Holbrook and Hirschman 1982, Hirschman and Holbrook 1982, Epstein, Donovan and Denes-Raj 1999) argue that the particular information processing model a consumer adopts, experiential versus rational, could impact her mental representation of object or events. This suggests, as one example, that consumers' cognitive structure formed from perceptions among individual stimuli, say from similarity judgments, might also different depending on the particular information processing mode adopted.

Yet, studies of consumers' cognitive representations of structure implicitly assume that consumers perceive similarity among products according to a rule-based, rational processing system. These studies have examined derived structures among products and found that the derived structures may vary by factors such as the type of product being judged, and how the judgments were made. Glazer and Nakamoto's (1991) results on compensatory versus noncompensatory processing makes sense in the context of goal-directed information processing, but the question immediately arises: what happens if consumers are in an experiential mode? Thus, it remains unanswered whether the same pattern of results will be observed when an associative, experiential processing mode is in effect. Such answers have implications for research in information processing and market structure.

Therefore, we examine in this paper how these two processing modes (rule-based/rational versus associative/experiential) affect consumers' cognitive structures underlying similarity judgments. The central premise of this investigation is that the processing mode influences the information processing system that is invoked, which in turn influences the processing effort and the manner in which objects under evaluation are mentally represented relative to each other.

Specifically, we hypothesize that under an experiential processing mode, the associative system of processing is invoked and the resulting cognitive representation of a set of objects will generate a similarity matrix relatively more consistent with a dimensional, spatial representation. On the other hand, when the same set of objects is evaluated under a rational processing mode, then some form of a rule-based system is invoked, and the cognitive representation will generate a similarity matrix relatively more consistent with a hierarchical, tree representation. More generally, we propose that the mental representation of objects is the result of an interaction between the true structure of objects and the processing mode adopted to evaluate them.

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Category Information Transfer: Implications for Consumer Search

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

With over 13,000 mutual funds to choose from, it is easy for visitors to Quicken's web site to be overwhelmed with information. Unlike brick-and-mortar retailers, virtual sellers face few constraints on the number of products they carry. At the same time, there are very real constraints on consumers' cognitive capacities and time. To help consumers, information providers often organize information into categories. An important question for Quicken is: Which categorization is better for a given consumer goal? In particular, which categorization is most helpful to consumers in terms of increasing the efficiency of their search and ensuring that they choose the best alternative?

One way to think of categorization is as a set of messages about attributes of category members. For example, one way to categorize mutual funds is to organize them into stocks, bonds, and money market funds. The attributes of the funds (e.g., risk, return,) may be thought of as another message set. Given these two message sets, it is possible to determine the *information transmission* between categories and attributes. For example, the amount of information provided by a particular categorization about funds' risk level can be calculated. By comparing multiple categorizations in this way, it is possible to determine which category structure transfers the most information about a given set of attributes.

At the same time, category structures that transfer more information may not always be preferable for consumers. Using a particular category structure may involve a tradeoff between search and thinking costs. Alternative category structures have implications for the extent to which search must occur across multiple categories (i.e., the number of categories that must be examined) and the number of alternatives that must be examined *within* a given category. The extent to which decision quality is improved by minimizing "between" versus "within" costs of category usage may, in turn, depend on the decision goal. If the cost of considering each alternative is low (for example, alternatives are being compared on a single attribute), then broader categories, that provide less information; yet contain more alternatives, may increase the chance of finding the "best" alternative in a given category. On the other hand, if the costs of considering each alternative are high, for example if tradeoffs need to be made between multiple attributes, then one would expect a preference for specific categories that allow one to eliminate alternatives from consideration and thus consider fewer alternatives.

This paper attempts to provide empirical evidence about the relationship between the amount of information provided by alternative category structures, information search and decision making. Three experiments use formal measures of information structure to assess the amount of information that alternative category structures provide. These measures are then used to predict search efficiency (search time and number of alternatives searched), perceived usefulness, attribute importance, and the probability of choosing a dominant alternative.

Experiment 1 used an agent task to examine how alternative categorizations of the same data, which are seen in pretests as "equivalent," and yet transfer different amounts of attribute information according to information measures lead to differences in search efficiency and perceived informativeness. In particular, when information transfer was higher, participants spent less time searching and searched fewer alternatives when information transfer was greater.

Experiment 2 extends these results by varying the amount of information transfer while keeping the correlation between category and attribute levels perfect and manipulating the distribution of alternatives across categories. In experiment 2, participants choose their own criteria for choosing a fund. In experiment 2, information transfer predicted search efficiency, perceived difficulty in using an information environment, perceived time and perceived usefulness of the category structure.

Experiment 3 looked at the tradeoff between information transfer and cognitive load offered by alternative levels of category specificity and decision tasks. Results from this study suggest that measures of information structure, such as those of information theory, can be used to both identify and predict the level of categorization that leads to better decision making as a function of decision processes. Specifically, experiment 3 found support for the hypothesis that when evaluating individual alternatives is cognitively difficult (for example, if tradeoffs are being made between multiple attributes), decision-making will be enhanced by providing decision makers with categories that transfer more information. At the same time, when evaluating individual alternatives is relatively easy (for example, when decisions are being made largely on the basis of a single attribute), decision making can, in fact, be enhanced by providing decision makers with categories that transfer *less* information. These results suggest that consumers' decision processes should be accounted for when determining how to structure information environments.

This paper suggests that measures of "information transfer" can be used to organize information for individuals. If one knows the relative importance of different attributes to a given consumer, then one can create custom information structures (i.e., categories) that effectively transfer information on attributes relevant to that consumer and account for the extent to which that consumer is trading off multiple attributes in her choices. In this way, measures of information structure are useful tools for mass-customizing consumers' information environments. Given that the organization of information in electronic environments can potentially be adapted to decision maker needs in real-time, determining which information structures are optimal for a particular decision maker will prove particularly fruitful.

Determinants of the Accessibility of Regional-Product Information

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ABSTRACT

In an era being characterized by globalization, the importance of product differentiation grows. Marketing products based on the region-of-origin (within-country area) is one of the strategies applied (i.e., Washington apples). Most place-of-origin research focuses on the effect of the place-of-origin cue on product evaluation. In this study, it is shown that the region-of-origin cue also affects other stages of the purchase-decision process. More specifically, it is shown that consumers' sense of belonging to the *region of origin* influences the *accessibility* of *regional-product* information. With accessibility, the probability that the regional product is identified during the prepurchase search for information increases.

INTRODUCTION

In an era being characterized by globalization, the importance of product differentiation grows. Marketing products based on their region-of-origin (within-country area) is one of the strategies applied (i.e., Washington apples). Most research on place-of-origin effects focuses on the effect of this cue on product evaluation. In this study, we investigate the role of the region-of-origin cue during the prepurchase search for information, a crucial stage in the purchase-decision process. The likelihood that a regional product enters the purchase-decision process largely depends on whether it is identified during the *prepurchase* search for information.

The *availability* and *accessibility* of regional-product information play an essential role during the prepurchase search for information and largely determine whether the regional product is identified and enters the purchase-decision process (cf., Alba et al. 1991; Nedungadi 1990; Ratneshwar et al. 1997). As regional products are marketed using the name of the region of origin as (part of) the name of the product, the name provides consumers with two stimuli, a region-of-origin cue and a product-category cue. The latter cue states what product category the regional product belongs to, while the former cue signals its region of origin. Consequently, regional products may benefit from both consumers' sense of belonging to the product's region of origin *and* their involvement with the product category the product belongs to. We propose that both positively influence the availability and accessibility of regional-product information.

The contributions of our research are twofold. First, instead of examining the country-of-origin effect, we focus on the effect of the region of origin. Second, most research, taking an information processing approach to study the effect of place of origin, examines the effect of consumers' perception of the favorability of a product's place of origin on product *evaluation* (Hadjimarcou and Hu 1999; Hong and Wyer 1989, 1990; Li and Wyer 1994; Van der Lans et al. 2001; Van Ittersum et al. 2003). No research is identified that examines the effect of consumers' personal interest in and involvement with the place-of-origin on product-information accessibility. Understanding the effect of the region of origin on information accessibility may increase the effectiveness of the use of this cue. It further extends our insights into the role of place-of-origin cues in general.

DETERMINANTS OF REGIONAL-PRODUCT INFORMATION ACCESSIBILITY

In the remainder of this research, we focus on *accessibility* of regional-product information. The reason for this is that the effect of regional-product information *availability* on the likelihood that the regional product is identified during the prepurchase search for information is mediated by the *accessibility* of the information. If regional-product information is unavailable in memory, the regional product will not be identified. If information is available, its accessibility determines whether the regional product is identified during the prepurchase search for information.

Regional-product information is considered accessible when it has a certain likelihood of being retrieved from memory when the product-category cue is triggered. Spreading activation theory states that the accessibility of regional-product information depends on the *strength of the association between the regional-product information and the product category label* (cf., Collins and Loftus 1975). With the strength of the association, the accessibility of the regional-product information increases when the product category is cued. A second factor influencing accessibility concerns the *number of associations related to each piece of regional-product information*. The more associations related to a piece of regional-product information, the more accessible it becomes (e.g., Alba and Hutchinson 1987). A third factor affecting accessibility has to do with *the uniqueness of the associations related to each piece of regional-product information*. The more unique the associations and the larger the number of (unique) associations related to each piece of regional-product information, the more accessible that information becomes (cf., Alba and Hutchinson 1987; Krishnan 1996).

Figure 1 shows a conceptual model enabling us to examine the role of the region-of-origin cue in determining the accessibility of regional-product information. The central dependent variable is the accessibility of regional-product information. The model states that the *accessibility of regional-product information* is influenced by the *frequency of encountering* that information. The frequency of encountering regional-product information is determined by the extent of consumer's *ongoing search for regional* and *product category information*. Consumer's ongoing search for regional and product category information is affected by their *sense of belonging to the region of origin* and their *involvement with the product category* the regional product belongs to. These latter two consumer characteristics further have a *direct* influence on the accessibility of regional-product information.

Frequency of Encountering

The regional-product information accessibility is largely determined during past encounters with the information (cf., Loken and Ward 1990). The more frequently consumers have encountered a specific piece of regional-product information, the stronger the association between that piece of information and the product-category cue, and hence its accessibility, becomes. (cf., Alba and Hutchinson 1987). Each time consumers encounter the piece of regional-product information in a product-category setting, the association between that piece of information and the product-category cue is processed, memorized and consequently strengthened (Alba et al. 1991). In time, the association becomes so strong that, when the product-category cue is triggered, the piece of regional-product information is 'automatically' retrieved from memory (Anderson 1983).

FIGURE 1
Determinants of the accessibility of regional-product information in memory

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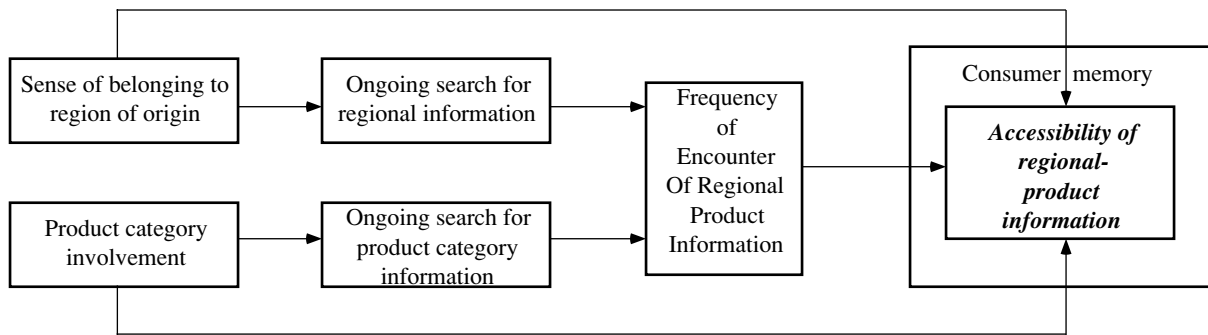
H1 The accessibility of regional-product information in memory is positively influenced by the frequency of encountering that information.

With frequency of encountering being one of the key determinants of the accessibility of regional-product information, gaining insights into its determinants allows us to obtain a better understanding of the role the region-of-origin cue plays in this process.

Ongoing Search for Information

Our specification on the determinants of the frequency of encountering regional-product information in Figure 1 is based on the following premise; consumers who search more actively and persistently for *regional* (e.g., Parma) and for *product category* information (e.g., ham), are more likely to encounter *regional-product* information (e.g., Parma ham) and encounter it more often (cf., Mittal and Lee 1989). This active and persistent search is referred to as consumers' *ongoing search for information* (Bloch et al. 1986). The ongoing search for information refers to 'search activities that are *independent* of specific purchase needs or decisions' (p. 120). It is an important source for information for consumers (Bloch 1981; Bloch and Richins 1983).

With the names of regional products referring to both their region of origin and the product category they belong to, these products may profit from both consumers' ongoing search for regional information and their search for product category information. Consequently, the effectiveness of marketing communications related to regional products might be higher compared to brands and anonymous products.

H2a The frequency of encountering a regional product is positively influenced by consumers' ongoing search for information on a product's region of origin.

H2b The frequency of encountering a regional product is positively influenced by consumers' ongoing search for information on the product category a regional product belongs to.

Consumers' Sense of Belonging and Product Category Involvement

Different motives for conducting an ongoing search for regional and product category information can be identified. With respect to the ongoing search for regional information, we expect that consumers' sense of belonging to the region of origin plays an important role. Consumers' sense of belonging to a region depends on the degree to which consumers identify with the region of origin and consumers' general desire for belonging (e.g., Kleine et al. 1993; Maslow 1970). With consumers' desire for belonging and the degree to which they identify with the region, consumers' sense of belonging to a region strengthens. Consumers start feeling related to the region and its inhabitants. Consumers' sense of belonging to the regional group drives them to act in line with the values shared by the group (Kleine et al. 1993). Regional information helps them accomplish this. The stronger consumers' sense of belonging to the region, the more they will try to stay informed about what goes on in the region (by searching for and gathering regional information). With this ongoing search for *regional* information, the likelihood and *frequency* of encountering *regional-product* information increases. With respect to the ongoing search for product category information, a strong general interest in the product category forms an important drive (Bloch et al. 1986).

H3a Consumers' sense of belonging to a region positively influences the ongoing search for information on that region.

H3b Consumers' involvement with a product category positively influences the ongoing search for information on that product category.

Consumers' sense of belonging to a region not only affects their motivation to *gather* regional information, it also affects their motivation to *process* the regional information encountered. We propose that consumers with a stronger sense of belonging to a region are more motivated to process regional-product information than consumers with a weaker sense of belonging to that region. (cf., Park and Mittal 1985; Petty et al. 1983). The more motivated consumers are to process regional-product information, the more accessible that information becomes (Alba and Hutchinson 1987; Schmitt and Dubé 1992). No research examining similar processes with respect to the effect of country or other places of origin have been identified.

Consumers' involvement with the product category also affects their motivation to process regional-product information. Like consumers' sense of belonging to the region, consumers' involvement with a product category influences regional-product information accessibility.

The accessibility of regional-product information thus not only depends on consumers' involvement with the product category the regional product belongs to, it also depends on consumers' sense of belonging to its region of origin. Consumers, who are not involved with the product category a regional product belongs to, may still be motivated to process the regional-product information based on their sense of belonging.

H4a   The accessibility of regional-product information in consumers' memory is directly and positively influenced by consumers' sense of belonging to the region of origin of that regional product.

H4b   The accessibility of regional-product information in consumers' memory is directly and positively influenced by consumers' involvement with the product category the regional product belongs to.

METHOD

To test the hypotheses, three studies were conducted. First, two studies, involving respectively 159 and 96 consumers, were executed to develop and validate scales required for testing the hypotheses (Due to space limitations, these studies are not discussed here). The validated scales were used to test the hypotheses. All studies were conducted in the Netherlands.

Product and Sample Selection

Our hypotheses on the determinants of regional-product information accessibility were tested for cheese. Most consumers are familiar with this product category and buy cheese on a regular basis. Further, cheeses often are marketed referring to the product's region of origin. Next to studying specific regional products, data were gathered on *generic regional products and brands*. Regional products are produced only within the area referred to by the name. Generic regional products are products marketed with a regional reference although they are produced both within *and* outside that specific region. Brands are products marketed without referring to any region of origin. The results of the analyses of the data for the generic regional products and brands will be used as a benchmark for the results of the specific regional products. Due to their generic nature, generic regional products will not be considered a strong part of the culture and 'inheritance' of the region. Consequently, it is expected that the total effect of consumers' sense of belonging on information accessibility will be less profound for generic than for specific regional products. Since no regional influence is present for cheese brands, only the effect of product category involvement on information accessibility was studied.

Data were acquired through a computerized panel composed of a representative sample of Dutch households. 761 Dutch consumers who are primarily responsible for the purchases of food in their household were included in the research.

Measures

Accessibility of regional-product information was measured by means of *aided* recall (Alba and Hutchinson 1987). Consumers were asked whether they had ever heard of the name of the (generic) regional products and brands under consideration. The products of which a consumer was aware were coded 1. The products of which a consumer was unaware were coded 0.

Frequency of encounter was measured by asking consumers how often they encounter the name of an alternative. The frequency of encounter was measured on a 7-point scale with the end poles labeled 'hardly ever'–'very often.' For those products of which

consumers were unaware, frequency of encounter was set to zero. This way of measuring accessibility and frequency of encounter implies that the frequency-of-encounter measure 'embraces' the accessibility measure.

Consumers' sense of belonging to the regions of origin of all the regional products examined was measured using a three-item scale (see Table 1), which was developed and validated in two pre-studies. The items were identified through qualitative consumer interviews and a literature review (e.g., Kasarda and Janowitz 1974). *Product category involvement* (cheese) was measured with a three-item scale (Mittal and Lee 1989). The *ongoing search for information* on the product's region of origin and the product category was measured using the two multi-item scales, developed and validated in two pre-studies. All scales were measured on 7-point Likert scales with the end poles labeled 'totally disagree'–'totally agree' (see Table 1).

Scale Analyses

A measurement model, including consumers' sense of belonging to a product's region, consumers' product category involvement and both scales measuring the ongoing search for regional and product category information, was estimated using LISREL. The correlations between all constructs as tapped by these scales were set free. Given the large sample size, we conclude that the model for regional products fitted the data reasonably well ($\chi^2(38)=379.06$, $p<.001$, RMSEA=.055, GFI=.98, CFI=.98, TLI=.98). Identical results were found for the generic regional products and the cheese brands (excluding the ongoing search for regional information and sense of belonging). The reliability of the scales was satisfactory (see Table 1).

Setting the correlation to unity for each pair of constructs separately yielded significant chi-square increases for all products ($p<.01$). The same held for loading the items of each combination of constructs on one dimension. This provided support for the discriminant validity of the scales used. Since all factor loadings exceeded .7, convergent validity was supported as well (Steenkamp and Van Trijp 1991).

ANALYSES AND RESULTS

First, hypotheses *H2a* (β_{12}) and *H2b* (β_{23}) and *H3a* (γ_{12}) and *H3b* (γ_{23}) were tested. To test these hypotheses, the entire model was estimated (see Figure 2) both across regional products and for each regional product individually (see Table 2).

As stated by *hypothesis H2a*, it was found that consumers' ongoing search for regional information positively influences the frequency with which consumers encounter regional-product information (standardized effect: $\beta_{12}=.17$, $p<.01$). Second, in line with *hypothesis H2b*, it was found that consumers' ongoing search for product category information positively influences the frequency of encountering regional-product information (standardized effect: $\beta_{13}=.04$, $p<.05$). Note that the effect is limited and only marginally significant. The effect is not replicated for each of the individual regional products; only for Veenweide cheese, the effect is found to be significant. *Hypothesis H2b* is thus partly confirmed.

Consistent with *hypothesis H3a*, it was found that consumers' sense of belonging to a region positively influences the amount of ongoing search for regional information (standardized effect: $\gamma_{12}=.47$, $p<.01$). The effect is found both across the regional products, and for each product separately. In line with *hypothesis H3b*, it was further found that consumers' involvement with a product category positively affects the amount of ongoing search for product category information for regional products (standardized effect: $\gamma_{23}=.63$, $p<.01$). Since product category involvement

TABLE 1

Scales and Composite Reliabilities[a]

Scales	Composite Reliabilities
Consumers' Sense of Belonging to a Region	.93
I love [region].	
My heart belongs to [region].	
I feel especially attached to [region].	
Product Category Involvement	.96
[Product category] is very important to me.	
I have a strong interest in [product category].	
For me, [product category] does not matter. [Reversed scale item]	
Ongoing Search for Regional Information	.77
I am always searching for information about [region].	
I always try to read as much as possible about [region].	
Ongoing Search for Product Category Information	.78
I am always searching for information about [product category].	
I always read the articles and ads on [product category].	
Often, I read the ads on [product category] just out of curiosity.	

[a] Since we studied four specific and three generic regional products, consumers' sense of belonging and ongoing search for regional information were measured for each of seven regions. Product category involvement and the ongoing search for product category information were only measured with respect to the cheese.

FIGURE 2

Effect of Consumers' Sense of Belonging and Product Category Involvement on Frequency of Encounter
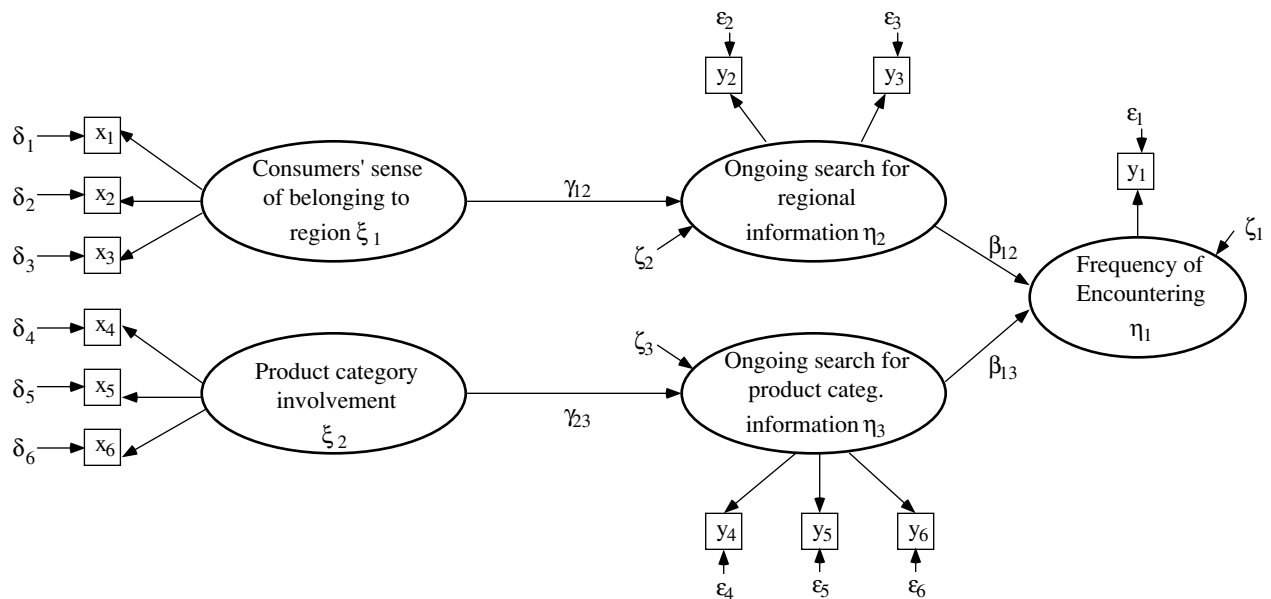
and consumers' ongoing search for product category information do not vary between regional products, the path estimates are about the same for each regional product.

Since our measure for accessibility is nested in our measure of frequency of encounter, we cannot directly determine the effect of frequency of encounter on the accessibility of information (*Hypothesis H1*). Therefore, information accessibility is directly regressed on the consumers' ongoing search for regional and product category information (see Figure 3).

As our dependent variable is dichotomous, logistic regression analyses were used to test our hypotheses. Using the factor loadings from the structural equation analyses, for each construct, the

TABLE 2

Effect of Sense of Belonging and Product Category Involvement on the Frequency of Encountering Regional-product Information

Regional Products	Path Estimates				Fit Indices				
	γ_{12}	γ_{23}	$\beta 12$	$\beta 13$	χ^2 (50)	RMSEA	GFI	CFI	TLI
Boeren-Leidse cheese	.42 (11.23)	.64 (13.09)	.25 (6.87)	.04 (1.12)	173.56	.057	.96	.98	.97
Veenweide cheese	.31 (8.54)	.64 (13.01)	.15 (4.05)	.07 (1.68)	167.05	.054	.97	.98	.97
Wadden cheese	.48 (12.78)	.63 (12.96)	.13 (3.64)	.03 (0.72)	151.57	.051	.97	.98	.97
Kempische cheese	.47 (12.89)	.63 (12.95)	.11 (2.99)	.02 (0.52)	147.28	.050	.97	.98	.98
	.47 (25.32)	.63 (25.99)	.17 (9.13)	.04 (1.88)	498.06	.054	.97	.98	.97
Generic Regional Products									
Gouda cheese	.40 (10.61)	.65 (13.25)	.05 (1.36)	.12 (2.89)	216.71	.067	.95	.97	.96
Leidse cumin cheese	.42 (11.23)	.64 (13.20)	.10 (2.72)	.20 (5.66)	174.96	.058	.96	.97	.97
Edam cheese	.33 (8.85)	.64 (13.06)	.15 (4.13)	.01 (0.33)	202.45	.063	.96	.97	.96
	.39 (17.78)	.64 (22.89)	.08 (3.94)	.10 (4.44)	506.68	.064	.96	.97	.96
Cheese Brands									
Milner		.63 (12.91)		.16 (3.94)	75.59	.080	.97	.96	.93
Maaslander		.64 (12.96)		.19 (4.61)	79.03	.084	.97	.96	.93
Cantenaar		.63 (12.90)		.20 (4.93)	70.46	.078	.97	.96	.94
		.63 (22.48)		.17 (7.18)	216.89	.015	.97	.95	.93

$t_{crit\ \alpha=.01}=2.33$, $t_{crit\ \alpha=.05}=1.64$, *The t-values are shown in parentheses*

weighted average was calculated. These weighted averages, next, were used as input for analyzing the model.[1] The results are presented in Table 3. As β_5 and β_6 have already been analyzed and discussed in the previous section, these will not be discussed again.

Consistent with hypotheses *H4a* and *H4b*, it was found that consumers' sense of belonging and product category involvement have a direct positive influence on the accessibility of regional-product information. However, for each individual regional product, the effects were less profound; consumers' sense of belonging primarily exerts an indirect effect on accessibility, through the ongoing search for regional information.

[1]Tests were conducted to examine whether the ongoing search for regional and product category information mediates the relationship between consumers' sense of belonging and product category involvement and accessibility. Following the procedure as proposed by Baron and Kenny (1986), it was found that the effect of consumers' sense of belonging on regional-product information accessibility is *partly* mediated by the ongoing search for regional information. However, a significant direct effect of both consumer's sense of belonging and product category involvement on regional-product information accessibility remained.

Further, consumers' ongoing search for regional information positively influenced the accessibility of regional-product information. The effect of the ongoing search for product category information on the accessibility of regional-product information was not significant.

GENERIC REGIONAL PRODUCTS AND BRANDED CHEESES

As mentioned, next to studying specific regional products, data were gathered on *generic regional products and branded cheese*. The results are shown in Tables 2 and 3.

Because of their generic character, consumers will not perceive the generic regional product to be a strong part of the culture and 'inheritance' of the region. Consequently, the effect of consumers' sense of belonging on generic regional product information accessibility was expected to be less profound. As can be seen in Table 2, although significant, the effect of consumers' sense of belonging on the ongoing search for regional information is lower for the generic regional products than for specific regional products (*z*=2.63, *p*<.05). Further, the effect of consumers' ongoing search for regional information on the frequency of encountering that information is lower (*z*=2.46, *p*<.05). As shown in Table 3, consumers' sense of belonging and the ongoing search for regional infor-

FIGURE 3

Effect of Consumer Sense of Belonging and Product Category Involvement on Regional-product Information
Accessibility

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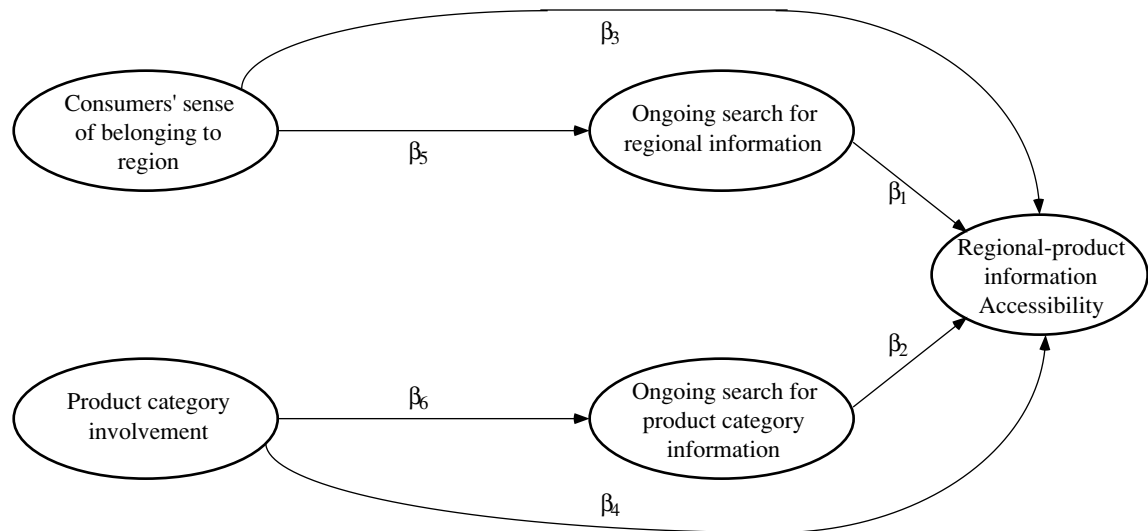
mation have no significant effect on generic regional product information accessibility. These results suggest that, due their generic nature, the effect of consumers' sense of belonging on information accessibility is lower for generic regional products than for specific regional products.

Since branded cheeses do not refer to a region, these products merely depend on consumers' involvement with the product category. As shown in Table 2, the effect of consumers' ongoing search for product category information on frequency of encountering information is larger for branded cheeses than for regional products ($z=3.53, p<.05$). Likewise, Table 3 shows that the effect of consumers' ongoing search for product category information on information accessibility is larger for branded cheeses than for regional products ($z=5.70, p<.05$). Further, the difference in effect-size is less profound when comparing the generic regional products and branded cheeses ($z=1.19, p>.05$). The smaller effect of consumers' ongoing search for product category information found for regional products is expected to be due to a less extensive promotion strategy for the regional products, which results in a lower availability of regional-product information in a product-category context.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Discussion of Results

The results suggest that the accessibility of regional-product information is enhanced by consumers' sense of belonging to the product's region of origin and product category involvement. Consumers' sense of belonging influences regional-product information accessibility both directly and indirectly through the ongoing search for regional information and frequency of encountering regional-product information. The information encountered relates to the region and as such satisfies consumers' interest in the region. However, the results also suggest that if the perceived link between the regional product and the region is weak, consumers will be less interested to process the regional-product information.

Consumers' product category involvement increases regional-product information accessibility as well. Product category involvement merely influences regional-product information accessibility directly as a result of consumers' increased motivation to process the information. No indirect effect of product category involvement, through the ongoing search for product category information and frequency of encountering regional-product information was found. A possible explanation for this finding may be that the amount of promotion on regional products is limited. Consequently, the frequency of encountering regional-product information will be limited, and the accessibility of that information thus will remain small.

Contributions

While most place-of-origin research focuses on the effect of the place-of-origin cue on product evaluation, our research has shown that the region-of-origin cue also affects other stages of the purchase-decision process (cf., Van Ittersum et al. 2002). More specifically, it is shown that consumers' sense of belonging to the *region of origin* may influence the prepurchase search for information by influencing regional-product information accessibility. Understanding the effect of the region of origin on information accessibility increases the effectiveness of the use of this cue, and it allows us to extend our insights into the role of place-of-origin cues in general.

Our research also helps generalizing research focusing on the role of the brand-name cue in decision-making. Most research on information processing focuses on the product categories and brand names (e.g., Alba and Hutchinson 1987; Bloch et al. 1986; Mittal and Lee 1989; Park and Mittal 1985; Petty et al. 1983, 1991). Building on these studies, we show how the underlying processes also hold for the region-of-origin cue.

Likewise, we show the effect of social identities and processes in purchase decision-making processes related to products marketed based on their place of origin (Kleine et al. 1993). We show that the stronger consumers' sense of belonging to the region, the

TABLE 3

Effect of Sense of Belonging and Product Category Involvement on Regional-product Information Accessibility (odds ratios)[a]

Regional Products	Regional Search (β_1)	Cheese Search (β_2)	Sense of belonging (β_3)	Cheese involvement (β_4)	Chi-square	R2 Nagel-kerke
Boeren-Leidse cheese	1.44*** (22.22)	1.00 ns (.00)	1.04ns (.27)	1.24**(5.22)	42.61	.091
Veenweide cheese	1.63*** (9.62)	1.07ns (.01)	1.11ns (.43)	1.39ns (2.48)	18.82	.095
Wadden cheese	1.12* (2.62)	.98ns (.05)	1.45*** (17.29)	1.11ns (1.04)	42.17	.102
Kempische cheese	1.11ns (1.22)	1.17ns (1.93)	1.04ns (.20)	1.09ns (.44)	8.13ns	.024
	1.28*** (33.33)	1.03 ns (.39)	1.12** (6.89)	1.18**(7.91)	96.99	.031
Generic Regional Products						
Gouda cheese	0.92ns (.02)	1.06ns (.01)	1.14ns (.09)	1.30ns (.30)	.67ns	.018
Leidse cumin cheese	1.13ns (1.50)	1.25** (6.02)	0.96ns (.24)	1.38***(14.4)	41.81	.090
Edam cheese	1.02ns (.01)	1.40 ns (6.17)	1.26ns (.10)	0.55ns (.37)	1.27ns	.084
	1.08 ns (.75)	1.22** (5.67)	0.98ns (.10)	1.30***(12.2)	35.84	.044
Cheese Brands						
Milner		1.19* (2.66)		1.06ns (.31)	4.90ns	.014
Maaslander		2.10ns (1.56)		0.43ns (1.39)	2.44ns	.089
Cantenaar		1.37** (7.48)		1.08ns (.52)	12.63	.038
		1.27*** (9.9)		1.05ns (.51)	16.10	.019

* p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001, The corresponding Wald statistics are shown in parentheses
[a] Interaction effects were tested but were not found to be significant

more they will try to stay informed about what goes on in the region (by searching for and gathering regional information).

Marketing Implications

Overall, the results suggest that it may be worthwhile to market products based on their region of origin. There are some important considerations though. First, the results suggest that if the perceived link between the regional product and the region is weak, consumers will be less interested to process the regional-product information. Marketers thus must prevent the name of the regional product from becoming a generic brand name with no apparent link to the region of origin. If consumers perceive the regional-product name as a generic brand name, they will no longer consider it part of the culture and 'inheritance' of the region. Consequently, they will 'ignore' information on the product when encountering it. If marketers, however, are able to preserve the perceived link between the product and the region, they can profit from consumers' interest in the region and their motivation to process regional-product information.

Second, by providing consumers with regional-product information in a product-category context (the regional cheese as a cheese), and at places that are deemed appropriate for obtaining information on the product category, the effect of product category involvement on information accessibility can be heightened.

Research Limitations and Future Research

One limitation of our study concerns the fact that our accessibility measure was perfectly nested in the frequency-of-encounter measure. We assumed that consumers, who are unaware of a regional product, never have encountered the product before. In reality, this assumption does not need to hold. Consumers may have encountered the regional product before, but just do not remember that. Additional experimental setups may provide more insights into the relationship between frequency of encounter and information accessibility. In such experiments, one can manipulate the frequency of encounter and test its effect on information accessibility.

Further, more explicit measures of information accessibility, such as spontaneous recall and number of associations retrieved

from memory, may be used as dependent variables in future research. Stronger effects are expected to be found when using more explicit measures of accessibility (cf., Alba and Hutchinson 1987).

CONCLUSIONS

The likelihood that a regional product enters the purchase process during the prepurchase search for information largely depends on the accessibility of regional-product information in consumers' memory. This research has shown that the accessibility of regional-product information is enhanced by consumers' sense of belonging to the product's region of origin and product category involvement. It is concluded as long as marketers are able to preserve the perceived link between the product and the region, they can benefit from consumers' interest in the region and their motivation to process regional-product information.

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Fairness Considerations in Business Interactions

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SESSION OVERVIEW

Although standard economic theories do not account for fairness considerations in business interactions, there is a burgeoning literature in economics and psychology that explores the notion of fairness in a variety contexts including economic transactions (e.g., Kahneman, Knetsch, and Thaler 1986), consumer reactions to prices (e.g., Campbell 1999), and bargaining (e.g., Srivastava, Chakravarti, and Rapoport 2000). One of the most important findings to emerge from this literature is that potential economic agents may resist transactions that are perceived to be unfair. In fact, there is evidence that this resistance is often backed up by a willingness to incur a cost to avoid unfair transactions and unfair economic agents (e.g., Kahneman et al. 1986).

Work by Kahneman et al. (1986) shows that perceived fairness is a critical psychological factor that exerts considerable influence on people's reactions to price and wage changes. Kahneman et al. (1986) proposed the dual entitlement principle that suggests that perceptions of fairness are reference dependent. Consumers are entitled to their reference price whereas firms are entitled to their reference profits, and a price increase is perceived to be unfair unless it is necessary to maintain reference profits. Campbell (1999) showed that inferred motive of a firm to increase its prices plays an important role in influencing perceptions of fairness.

Work by Roth (1995) in a bargaining context shows that participants resist unfair transactions and are even willing to punish unfair agents by incurring a loss or foregoing a gain. An example comes from the ultimatum game where an agent, A, is asked to propose a division of a sum of money (say $10) between himself or herself and another agent B. Agent B can either accept A's proposal or reject it, in which case both agents receive nothing. Individuals in the role of agent B often reject offers that are not equal (say $3) despite the fact that they will gain $3 from the transaction. By rejecting offers that are perceived to be unfair, players punish the unfair agent.

Although the recent literature has begun to explore the factors that influence perceptions of fairness, it is still not clear what constitutes a fair transaction and what factors affect perceptions of fairness. The three papers in this session are a step forward in that direction. All three papers explore how fairness considerations influence transactions and identify factors that affect perceptions of fairness. In domains ranging from willingness to pay, reactions to change in posted prices, to determining price via bargaining, the papers highlight several factors that influence perceptions of fairness in systematic ways in the presence and absence of reference points. The three papers, although quite diverse, are complimentary and share a common focus on examining how fairness considerations impact consumer decision-making.

In the first paper, Nunes, Hsee, and Weber show that consumers' intentions to pay vary as a function of the cost structure of the firm. Although previous research has documented the cost-plus pricing rule, this paper shows that it is important to differentiate between fixed cost and variable cost. They find that consumers perceive it fair to compensate the seller in proportion to what they have personally taken and thus willingness to pay was higher for products/services that have a high variable-fixed cost ratio relative to a low variable-fixed cost ratio.

In the second paper, Campbell and Pacheco examine the effect of source of the price change on perceptions of fairness of a posted price. Drawing on the literature on sensitivity bias, they predict that a price increase was perceived to be relatively unfair when the source of the change was a salesperson than when it was a sign. In particular, they find that perceptions of fairness of a price change were mediated by inferred motives.

In the third paper, Srivastava and Valenzuela examine how people form perceptions of fairness in a price determination setting where there are no objective prior reference points. Using the context of ultimatum bargaining, they show that opponents' social identity plays a significant role in influencing people's perceptions of fairness and their subsequent behavior. Interestingly, offers by outgroup members are attributed to their personality traits such as their level of competitiveness but offers by ingroup members are attributed to situational constraints such as the total sum to be divided.

Together, these three papers highlight the notion of fairness and factors that influence perceptions of fairness in different contexts. Professor Kent Monroe provided the impetus for the discussion by not only summarizing the work but also highlighting areas of future research. He noted that transparency of price procedures and motivations is a key driver of fairness perceptions. He called for more research on the underlying psychology of fairness and for future research to depart from scenario based studies.

INDIVIDUAL PAPER ABSTRACTS

"The Effect of Products' Cost Structure on Consumer Payment and Purchase Intentions"

Joseph C. Nunes, University of Southern California
Christopher K. Hsee, University of Chicago
Elke U. Weber, Columbia University

"And best of all, it's **FREE**. If you feel the site is useful, then pay me what **YOU** think the advice and service is worth!"
Robert Woodhead, Creator of the Web Site SelfPromotion.com

SelfPromotion.com is one of a number of online services that helps people learn **how to create search-engine-friendly web pages, and submit their URLs to all of the major search engines, all** for whatever the consumer think if fair to pay. It is what has come to be known among Internet aficionados as a ShareService™. The way in which the growing number of online services and shareware providers do business is unconventional. First, the user is not obligated to pay for what he or she has acquired or consumed. Second, if a payment does occur, it is the consumer and not the seller who sets the price in a way that s/he considers fair. A problem with such products is that most people do not pay. According to the Association of Shareware Professionals, more than 50% of shareware users never register (i.e., pay anything) for the software they download and continue using.

The main tenet of this research is that the impetus to pay for certain types of goods is greater than for other types of goods, and that what often distinguishes these two types of goods is the cost

structure. We use the term "cost structure" to describe the ratio of a product or service's variable cost to its fixed cost. The fixed cost (FC) changes little regardless of how many units of the products are produced. The variable cost (VC) is the cost ascribed to producing a single unit of the product over and beyond the FC. Software is an example of a product with an extremely low VC-to-FC ratio. The VC of allowing one more person the use of a program like SelfPromotion is virtually nothing, as almost all of the costs are accrued in the initial investment (e.g., writing the program).

In this research, we demonstrate how consumers are typically much less willing to pay for products with a low VC-to-FC ratio, such as information products, than products with a high VC-to-FC ratio, such as conventional tangible products. This is primarily because they feel that it is fair to compensate the seller in proportion to what they feel they personally have taken (i.e., the perceived deprivation).

Study 1 demonstrates the effect of cost structure on consumers' payment intention and reveals the effects of several mediating variables—perceived consequence to the seller (loss versus foregone gain), and perceived harm to the seller. The scenario-based survey stated that the respondent was in need of the product (software) and could take it without paying for it. Respondents were told that they were learning Russian and need a word processing program that includes the Cyrillic alphabet called RussianStar. In one condition, the software vendor paid the programmers an initial royalty of $10,000 and $60 for every copy of the program downloaded. In the second condition, the vendor paid $600,000 upfront and $1 per copy downloaded. Participants were told that the vendor expected 10,000 copies to be downloaded.

When the primary cost was described as its initial investment (FC), most of the respondents perceived a failure to pay as a foregone gain to the vendor. When the primary cost of the software was described as the variable cost (VC), majority of respondents perceived a failure to pay as a loss to the vendor. Further, majority of the people believed their behavior would do a greater harm to the vendor in the high-VC scenario than in the high-FC scenario. Accordingly, most of the respondents reported that they would more likely to download the software without paying in the high-FC scenario than in the high-VC scenario.

Study 2 was a replication of Study 1 within a different context and utilizing a different way of arriving at variable and fixed costs. Studies 3 replicates the results in a between subjects design with a subtle cost framing manipulation while studies 4 and 5 examine the effects of cost structure on the perceived fairness of a given price and purchase intention. The final study looks at the effect of "perceived deprivation" in which respondents either downloaded software (a game) from a web site, or were simply handed a disk with the software already on it. When respondents downloaded the game, they were more likely to believe the supply was endless and they did not really deprive the programmer of anything, especially the ability to sell the software to another. Conversely, those who were simply handed a disk were more likely to feel that they were "taking" something from the programmer and it was only fair to pay for it. The number of people willing to pay something, and the amount paid, was significantly greater in the condition where the respondents were handed the disk. A number of process measures confirmed respondents sense of depriving the creator of something was stronger when they were simply handed the disk.

This research also has important implications for what influences people's perceptions of fairness and wrongdoing. Our findings suggest people's perceptions of the seriousness of a wrongdoing may depend on the degree to which they feel they have deprived the victim of something.

"Who Says? How Source Influences Consumers' Inferences & Perceptions of Price Fairness"
Margaret C. Campbell, University of Colorado
Barney Pacheco, University of Colorado

Perception of fairness is an important factor in consumers' responses to prices (Monroe 1990). In a highly influential paper, Kahneman, Knetsch and Thaler (1986) propose the principle of dual entitlement. They suggest that perceptions of price fairness are based on a reference transaction: the transactor (e.g., the customer, employee, etc.) is entitled to the reference price but the firm (e.g., merchant, employer, etc.) is likewise entitled to the reference profit. Violations of the reference price are considered unfair unless the price increase is necessary to maintain reference profits. The principle of dual entitlement has captured important aspects of perceptions of price unfairness. However, it appears that other factors exist that influence perceived price unfairness. For example, recent research has shown that price increases are perceived as fair or unfair in part depending upon whether the consumer infers that the firm is intending to take advantage of consumers (Campbell 1999).

We propose that an additional factor that influences perceptions of the fairness or unfairness of a price is the source of the price change. That is, the perceived unfairness of a price is likely to be influenced by whether a person (e.g., a salesperson) or an object (e.g., a price tag) is the source of price change information. This is supported by work on the person sensitivity bias, a bias in evaluation of performance such that a person is evaluated more *positively* than an object when there is a good outcome, but a person is evaluated more *negatively* than an object when there is a negative outcome (Moon and Conlon 2002).

The research on the person sensitivity bias has not yet pinpointed the underlying process. There is some evidence to suggest that the bias may arise from underlying attributions. That is, people may be more attuned to attributional explanations with people than objects (Moon and Conlon 2002). Combining this and the work that shows that inferred motive is an important factor driving perceptions of fair prices (Campbell 1999) suggests that consumers are more likely to make inferences of the reasons for a price increase when the source of the price change is a person than when it is a store. When there is a price decrease, consumers are less likely to engage in attributional thinking such that they are less likely to make attributions for the price change.

Drawing on this, we propose that there will be an interaction between the source of a price change and the direction of a price change on the perceived fairness of the price. When a price is increased, the consumer will perceive the new price as more unfair when a salesperson presents the price than when a price tag presents the price. When a price is decreased, however, perceived unfairness will not be affected by whether the price decrease is presented by a salesperson rather than a price tag.

It follows that inferences of motives are likely to mediate the effects of source and price change on perceived fairness. In addition, research on fairness and justice has determined that there are two types of fairness: distributive and procedural. Distributive fairness is based on the outcome while procedural fairness is based on the way in which the outcome was reached (Thibaut and Walker 1975). We propose that a different pattern will appear for perceptions of the fairness of the way in which the price was set than for the perceived fairness of the price itself. When asked to evaluate the way in which a price was set, people are more likely to consider the reasons for the price change for both the price tag and the salesperson. Because persuasion knowledge is likely to be more accessible for a salesperson than for a tag, the consumer is more likely to infer

ulterior motive, both for a price increase and decrease (Campbell and Kirmani 2000). Thus, procedural fairness will be lower for the salesperson than the price tag regardless of whether the price is increased or decreased.

A 2 (price change: increase or decrease) x 2 (source: salesperson or price tag) study was conducted. Perceptions of price fairness show the predicted interaction effect; when there was a price increase, the price was perceived to be more unfair when it was stated by the salesperson (mean=2.86) than by a price tag (mean=4.00). However, there was no difference in perceived fairness when a price decrease was given by the salesperson (mean=5.31) or the price tag (mean=5.33). This provides support for the predicted person "negativity" bias in perceptions of price fairness.

Perceptions of procedural fairness showed main effects of price change and source. However, there was no evidence of an interaction effect (F<1). As expected, the price increase was seen as more unfair than the price decrease, and the procedure was seen as less fair when the price change was given by the salesperson rather than the price tag. Mediation analyses showed that the effects on both perceptions of fair price and procedural fairness were at least partially mediated by the inferred motives. A second study replicated these results within a different product category and with different manipulations of the source and the price change.

"Fairness Perceptions in Bargaining with One-Sided Incomplete Information"

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Business negotiations are not just an economic interaction, but also a social interaction where the different parties intend to maximize group utility (Loewenstein, Thompson and Bazerman 1989). In this context, fairness perceptions become especially important. Consequently, this research examines how people form perceptions of fairness in a bargaining context and the subsequent effect of these perceptions on bargaining behavior.

In a complete information bargaining context, it is relatively trivial for people to determine what constitutes a fair offer. However, in a one-sided incomplete information bargaining scenario, it is not clear how uninformed bargainers' perceptions of fairness are formed. Past research has shown that motive inferences should play an important role (Srivastava 2001). This research examines the role of opponent's social identity in the formation of fairness perceptions and the attributions that people make based on the opponent's behavior. Social identity is defined by membership to a group. In incomplete information bargaining situations, wrong inferences of offer fairness can be made when the negotiating party does not have the same group identity. In this case, behavior is motivated by beliefs about the out-group member's personality. This is a form of "out-group derogation" (Kramer, Shah, and Woerner 1978). Systematic processing may eliminate this type of inferences.

Using the context of an ultimatum bargaining game, we conduct two experiments to examine how varying levels of offers affect fairness perceptions, attributions, and behavior of the responder (the second player in the ultimatum game) as a function of the proposer's social identity. Using the context of an ultimatum game has several advantages. First, it has been extensively studied in the literature (e.g., Roth 1995). Second, it represents a situation where behavioral anomalies in experimental economics have been found based on reactions to unfair offers. Finally, the ultimatum game represents the end game of any continuous negotiation and provides a sterile environment in which to study fairness issues.

The first experiment shows that in complete information settings, fairness perceptions and responders' likelihood of acceptance is determined by the proposer's offer level. However, in the case of incomplete information, the social identity of the proposer significantly affects responders' perceptions of fairness and thereby their behavior. In particular, responders' perceptions of fairness and likelihood of acceptance increase with the offer level when the offer comes from an in-group proposer. In contrast, the likelihood of acceptance does not change with offer level when the offer comes from an out-group proposer. In fact, perceptions of fairness are lower in the fair offer condition relative to the unfair offer condition. The second experiment shows that in the incomplete information scenario, responders give the benefit of the doubt to in-group proposers but not to out-group proposers. In that case, they attribute the offers to proposers' personality traits such as their level of competitiveness rather than attributing the offers to the total surplus available. However, when attention is drawn to the fact that the offer level may reflect the total surplus, the fundamental attribution error (attributing the offers to personality traits rather than situational constraints) is reduced and responders' acceptance rates increase with offer level.

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Come Together, Right Now, Virtually: An Examination into Online Communities

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Online communities have distinct characteristics from offline communities. For instance, consumers can broadcast messages to multiple audiences or can unobtrusively observe the unfolding discussion. Online communities also allow for dispersed consumers with unique product tastes to gain strength in numbers that would otherwise be impossible. In addition, online communities make it possible for marketers to unobtrusively observe and record group behavior in a naturalistic environment. With such benefits come risks, however. Anonymity can cause people to ignore social norms of conversation, resulting in an exchange of insults known as "flame wars."

The objective of this session is to examine in depth these unique characteristics of online communities. The first presentation examines the opportunity to post and read product ratings and reviews in a one-to-many context (Schlosser). Contrary to cognitive tuning theory (Zajonc 1960) and social contingency theory (Tetlock, Skitka and Boettger 1989), knowing another's opinion did not lead to polarization and the organization of a unified cognitive structure. Instead, a negativity bias occurred: those who read a negative review rated the product less favorably than those who received no review, even when their personal experiences with the product were favorable. In addition, their cognitive structures were more differentiated than unified. The second presentation examines consumer resistance using a netnographic approach (Muniz and Dodds). Their results reveal that an online brand community organized around the discontinuation of a product causes such collectivist behavior as adopting the responsibilities traditionally belonging to the firm (e.g., providing customer service, promotion and software development). The final presentation examines the downside of online communities (Bruckman and Dodds). Firms are confronted with managing online communities in order to reduce member conflict and avoid brand dilution. An analysis of firms' tactics for tackling this problem reveal that their tactics resemble the management of American "company towns" of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Each paper approaches the substantive domain of online communities from different methodological and theoretical perspectives. The methodologies employed include controlled experiments (Schlosser), netnography (Muniz and Jensen Schau) and one-on-one interviews and observations (Bruckman and Dodds; Muniz and Jensen Schau). The theoretical perspectives applied include those in the areas of social interaction and persuasion (Schlosser), and consumer resistance (Muniz and Jensen Schau). Each paper examines a different function of online communities: online communities as a venue for transmitting marketing information (e.g., posting a rating and review of a book or CD at Amazon.com; Schlosser), as a gathering place for likeminded individuals to resuscitate the life of a discontinued brand (i.e., the Apple Newton PDA; Muniz and Jensen Schau) and as a forum where conflict is managed as "electronic towns" (Bruckman and Dodds).

"Posting Versus Lurking: Cognitive Tuning for One-to-Multiple Audiences Communication"

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The transmission of product information is an important aspect of market operations, especially when those who are informed are weakly tied to those who are uninformed (Frenzen and Nakamoto, 1993; Johnson Brown and Reingen, 1987). Weak ties,

such as casual relationships and acquaintances, are common at Internet sites such as Amazon, Citysearch, and Atomfilms, where individuals post their product ratings and reviews, presumably to inform strangers who are at the pre-purchase deliberation stage of their product satisfaction or dissatisfaction. Previous research has examined what influences individual's decision to transmit or withhold such information (Frenzen and Nakamoto, 1993). In online communities, such individuals who do versus do not transmit information are called *posters* and *lurkers*, respectively. The present research examines how the product attitudes and cognitions of those who post their product experiences might differ from those who read others' postings (i.e., lurk).

Research in the area of cognitive tuning has compared the attitudes and cognitive structures of those who expect to transmit versus receive information (Zajonc 1960; see Guerin and Innes 1989 for a review). According to cognitive tuning theory, those transmitting information should unify arguments, be resistant to incongruent information and receptive to congruent information, and polarize more in their attitudes. Receivers, on the other hand, are flexible in their thinking and consider incoming information.

There are several critical differences between communicating in face-to-face dyads (i.e., prior experiments on cognitive tuning) and posting versus lurking on the Internet. One difference is that posting messages on the Internet is more akin to broadcasting a message (i.e., one-to-many) than a dialogue (one-to-one). Unlike a dialogue, even if individuals have information about others' opinions, this does not necessarily reflect the opinions of their entire audience. In fact, with the Internet, there is the likelihood of not a single audience (i.e., an audience with a single opinion) but multiple audiences. Thus, instead of adopting another's position (as proposed by cognitive tuning theory as well as social contingency theory, Tetlock, Skitka and Boettger 1989), posters likely will shift to another's position only when that position is diagnostic. Prior research indicates that negative product information is more diagnostic than positive product information (Herr, Kardes and Kim 1991). If this is the case, then a negativity bias should occur rather than an extremity bias (i.e., polarization).

In addition to affecting attitudes, multiple audiences likely also impacts individuals' transmitted reasons for their attitudes. Prior research using a forced compliance paradigm suggests that when people have multiple audiences, they transmit overt and covert mixed messages (Fleming, Darley, Hilton, and Kojetin 1990). On the Internet, an individual's audience is likely comprised of those with a wide range of tastes and preferences. Thus, in order to appeal to this multiple audience, individuals will likely post messages that recognize diverse perspectives. That is, in addition to explaining their own opinion, posters will acknowledge that other perspectives are equally likely.

One criticism of prior cognitive tuning experiments is that in face-to-face dyads, people are really transmitters *and* receivers–the only difference being who begins the conversation (Guerin and Innes 1989). Because receivers do not know how the conversation will begin, they need to have flexible cognitive structures as well as be receptive to incoming information in preparation for eventually being a transmitter in the dialogue. Indeed, research has demonstrated that receivers have similar cognitive structures as transmitters if they anticipate hearing from someone who holds a different opinion (Zajonc 1960). On the Internet, however, lurkers represent

a "purer" form of receiving. Because the message is broadcasted, the social pressures to respond are minimal. It has been argued that messages that are broadcasted have less impact on individuals' attitudes than messages coming from dialogues because during a dialogue (1) social norms dictate that receivers restrain from disagreeing with their face-to-face partner, (2) there is the opportunity to be rewarded by showing agreement, and (3) more activity is involved in face-to-face discussion as the receiver digests what is said and formulates responses (McGuire, 1969). Without these requirements to formulate questions or indicate agreement, individuals may be less likely to "suspend judgment," to process incoming information and to formulate less organized cognitive structures. Instead, their thinking may be complete and organized. Thus, for lurkers, they should be relatively unaffected by knowing another's reaction to the product. Furthermore, they should have an organized cognitive structure.

Two experiments were conducted to test these hypotheses. In both experiments, people were randomly assigned to either post or lurk. Participants watched a short animated film before recording their attitudes and cognitive responses to the film. In the first experiment, participants then received a negative review, a positive review, or no review. Those assigned to post then recorded their ratings and reviews to put on the Internet. Those assigned to lurk rated and reviewed the film without the expectation that this information would be posted. One difference between the experiments is that in the first experiment, the film was generally disliked, whereas in the second experiment, the film was generally liked. Furthermore, in the second experiment, for those who received a review, it was presented either before people recorded their initial attitudes or afterwards. Two differences from prior experiments are notable: (1) participants actually experienced the attitude object rather than received second-hand information about it, and (2) what was transmitted was directly measured rather than inferred from pre-communication measures.

Across the experiments, both posters and lurkers held similar initial attitudes and cognitive responses. As hypothesized, posters' ratings (which would be publicly available) were significantly less favorable after they read a negative review than when they read a positive review or no review, regardless of whether their own initial attitude toward the film was negative (experiment 1) or positive (experiment 2). Across the experiments, posters' ratings were similar if they received a positive review or no review. Lurkers were unaffected by the review manipulation. Furthermore, more posters recognized diverse perspectives in their review than lurkers did, whose reviews were internally consistent.

These results are inconsistent with the predictions of cognitive tuning theory and social contingency theory, thereby suggesting that prior theories focusing on dialogues and single audiences do not apply to one-to-multiple-audiences communications. Furthermore, the findings that posters reduced their movie ratings after reading a negative review of the film–even when their personal experience with the film was favorable–suggests that negative word-of-mouth communication may snowball in a downward spiral on the Internet. Furthermore, these findings suggest that marketers will not enjoy the same effect for positive word-of-mouth communication.

"Power and Resistance in the Brand Community for a Discontinued Product"

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It has been noted that "there are many, many forms of consumer resistance" (Penaloza and Price 1993, p. 123). Increasingly, consumer researchers recognize and depict consumers taking matters into their own hands in order to compensate for the shortcomings of marketers and the marketing process (cf., Handleman 2001, Fischer 2001, Holt 2001). Sometimes this resistance is a function of necessity, as when consumers form buying co-ops or credit unions (Herrmann 1993). Other times this resistance is a manifestation of personal values and beliefs, as when consumers create their own products to resist a system they perceive as destroying the environment (Dobscha 1998). This paper examines consumer resistance within the context of a brand community (Muniz and O'Guinn 2001), in this case a community that has resisted market and social forces to abandon a discontinued technological product, the Apple Newton PDA.

The Apple Newton was one of the earliest entrants into the Personal Digital Assistants (PDAs) product category. Introduced in 1993, the Newton never achieved critical mass. Despite a fiercely loyal user base (close to 200,000 were estimated to have been using the product at the height of its popularity), the Newton lost its lead in the emerging PDA category to the Palm Pilot when it was introduced in 1996. The Newton was officially abandoned by Apple in February of 1998. Since then, Apple has largely stopped providing technological assistance for the product. Despite these limitations, a community of users still interacts online. Utilizing Usenet newsgroups, listservs, and organized personal webspace, members of this brand community interact, exchange assistance, share advice and encouragement, and create new software and hardware for their Newtons. Over one-thousand messages are posted to the listserv and newsgroup each month, there are over 200 websites listed as members of the Apple Newton webring, and a search on Internet auction site eBay yielded several Newtons for sale, some fetching upwards of $600.00 each. Internet media appear to be the most popular forum by which members of this community interact. Consequently, a netnographic approach (Kozinets 2002, Kozinets and Handleman 1998; Paccagnella 1997) was used.

The netnographic data come from several sources. First, community forums were observed, archived and analyzed. These forums included a newsgroup, a listserv, as well as several user-created webpages. The content from these forums provided insight into the way the community operated and how resistance manifested itself in this context. Second, interviews were conducted with seventy members of the community. These interviews began as online endeavors, with several producing ongoing email exchanges, as well as telephone and face to face interviews.

The data reveal a variety of consumer resistance tactics. The actions of the Newton brand community are an example of resistance to market and social forces to adopt newer, more widely accepted and serviced products. Members of the community have become the primary means for ongoing product support, service, promotion and innovation. These behaviors represent an active and constructive approach to solving the problem presented by the discontinuation of the product, rather than passive acceptance of its discontinuation. These actions could be characterized as collective and reformist (Penaloza and Price 1993) in that they work as a group, seeking to keep the products usable and ultimately reintroduced into the market.

Utilizing Jensen's (1989) consumer resistance typology, three classes of behavior are evident, each representing three different focal points: structural behaviors, communal behaviors and functional behaviors. Structural behaviors are those directed at the market as a whole. They include the collective exploration, analysis and, ultimately, disparagement of newer alternatives to the Newton (iPaq, Palm, etc), actions to get users of current PDAs to switch to Newtons, as well as actions designed to get Apple to re-enter this market or license the Newton technology to another company that would. Communal behaviors refer to those acts designed to main-

tain the brand community and insure its persistence. These include, assisting fellow users in solving product problems or locating resources; promoting those suppliers who still repair and service the Newton, and promoting the strength and resourcefulness of the community. Functional behaviors are those directed to improve the functioning of the Newton as a device. These include creating new programs and product add-ons for the Newton as well as creating new markets for these products and services.

Most interesting is the fact that most members of the community do not see what they are doing as resistance. Rather, members take issue with a system that fosters planned obsolescence and discourages true innovation and work to overcome that system. Members recognize that their actions are a form of resistance, but it is not the primary motivation for their behavior. It is a utilitarian form of resistance. They construe their behavior as a logical reaction to such a system. From this, we propose that consumer resistance need not be limited to activities labeled as such, meaningful resistance can take many other forms.

"The New Electronic Company Towns"
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Priscilla Dodds, Georgia Perimeter College

The Internet makes new kinds of communication possible. Not only are corporations using this medium to communicate with consumers, but they are also facilitating the process of consumers talking with one another. This raises new management issues of an unprecedented level of complexity. Groups of people communicating online inevitably have conflicts. Consequently, a managing entity must form policy for acceptable conduct, and decide how to enforce it. Through participant observation and interviews with managers of thirteen online groups, we document both the value added by and the social cost of this management process, for both consumers and corporations.

On some Internet sites, communication may be the primary purpose in itself. For others, the communication may be affiliated with a product, service, or real-world activity. Regardless of a site's purpose, behavior problems are inevitable. Is foul language allowed? What words are defined as 'foul' and does context matter? Are ad hominem attacks allowed? Is criticism of the site itself allowed? Writing rules for acceptable conduct and enforcing those rules are both inherently subjective and value-laden processes.

For most electronic communities the principle means of communication is text-based chat or text-based discussion forums. Censorship becomes one of the primary means, therefore, for site managers to control behavior online.

In this study, our goal was to better understand the problems faced by managers—how rules of conduct are written, and how they are enforced. Towards this end, we interviewed managers of thirteen groups, using a clinical-style interview technique. Interview results were supplemented by participant observation on the sites.

The results of these interviews and observations reveal that in many ways, management of many online communities resembles the management of American "company towns" of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Aiming to provide affordable employee housing near factory sites, a number of companies built model communities for their workers. Company owners assumed a benevolent rulership, not only of company business, but of town and civic affairs as well. When corporate management reaches beyond the workplace and into the homes and communities of its employees, there can be a significant impact on individual freedom as well as family and community institutions. In some ways, company towns have more power over their residents than the government itself. For example, in the United States, the government can't ban someone from posting a sign because that would constitute a restriction on freedom of speech. The management of a company town or a residential subdivision, on the other hand, much like a private club, is not bound by such restrictions. Managers of company towns in practice gained unprecedented levels of control over the culture that emerged, and ultimately the values of the population as embodied in their way of life. Today, online discourse is becoming our new "public sphere," and corporate community managers are gaining this same broad control over the culture that emerges there.

It can be argued that companies have not only an opportunity to control social discourse, but an obligation to do so. A public corporation has an obligation to maximize shareholder value. If controversy risks lowering revenue by displeasing sponsors or sapping expensive staff time, then the corporation has a fiduciary responsibility to eliminate that controversy. There is an inherent conflict between the ideal of free public discourse and corporate control of the forums in which discourse takes place. In this paper, we document the nature of that conflict and examine broader implications.

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Putting Context Effects in Context: The Role of Information about the Choice Environment

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Past research on context effects has considered the consumer to be a cognitive miser prone to rely upon simple heuristics (e.g., Huber, Payne and Puto 1982; Simonson and Tversky 1992). However, we view the consumer as an active information processor who encodes and interprets information about the choice environment as well as the set of alternatives considered. Each of the three papers examines how information about the choice environment affects the consumer's pliability to context effects.

Understanding the *interaction* between the consumer and the choice environment is crucial to explaining and predicting the consumer's reactions to rapidly changing retail settings. For example, retailers are experimenting with various product displays: some are focusing on variety–the width of the choice set–while others are offering fewer varieties but a greater quantity of each product. Manufacturers and retailers may include inferior products, or "strategically dominated alternatives" in the choice set. What is the effect on choice when the choice set is widened, and is the effect the same for all attributes? How do consumers react when they are told that an alternative is unavailable, and does the timing of this information matter? Does it matter if consumers are aware that the choice context may have been manipulated to influence their choices?

The first paper, by Yeung and Soman, explored how the consumer's familiarity with the product attributes influences choice when the range of product alternatives in the choice set is widened. It shows that widening the range of encountered options increases the choice of the cheaper (lower quality) product relative to the expensive (higher quality) product. Yeung and Soman show that the asymmetric range effect accounts for this finding–a harder-to-evaluate attribute (e.g., quality) is more susceptible to the range effect than an easier-to-evaluate attribute (e.g., price).

The second paper, by Min and West, examined how the timing of the consumer's receiving information regarding a product's availability affects consumer decision making. Min and West show that consumers switch a product type when they experience psychological reactance. In particular, they find that consumer response depends on when consumers are notified regarding unavailability and whether the unavailable product alternative is their favorite. Consistent with reactance theory, they show detrimental impacts of psychological reactance on choice and satisfaction.

The third paper, by Hamilton, investigated how the consumer's knowledge about the selection of alternatives in the choice context affects susceptibility to context effects. While context effects have been repeatedly demonstrated to influence choice, product displays in experimental settings are not usually perceived to be persuasion attempts (Friestad and Wright 1994). Hamilton shows that the perceived motives of the person creating the choice context and whether this person is a friend or stranger affect the chooser's perceptions of the alternatives, and that reactions to these factors differ systematically for attraction effects and compromise effects.

Itamar Simonson provided a summary of the research, brought together the theoretical, methodological, and practical issues addressed, and led the audience in a discussion.

"The Impact of Asymmetric Range Effects on Preference Reversals"

Catherine Wing-man Yeung, The Hong Kong University of Science & Technology
Dilip Soman, The Hong Kong University of Science & Technology

In a choice between two products, we show that widening the range of encountered options at the time of choice increases the choice of the cheaper (lower quality) product relative to the expensive (higher quality) product. We propose an asymmetric range effects account for this finding. Literature on the range effects suggests that people use the range of encountered stimuli to set a lower and upper bound of stimuli, and that a given difference between two stimuli along this range appears perceptually smaller as this range increases. We argue that this effect would be greater for a harder-to-evaluate attribute than for an easier-to-evaluate attribute. Therefore, when we make tradeoff between a harder-to-evaluate and an easier-to-evaluate attribute, varying the two attribute ranges concurrently would induce range effects along the two attributes asymmetrically.

We first study the asymmetric range effects by considering price-quality tradeoffs where quality has lower evaluability (i.e., is harder to evaluate independently) than price. For instance, it is difficult for consumers to evaluate a speaker based on the attribute that "it has a power output of 300W", because they may not know how to interpret the meaning of "300W". However, it is easier for them to judge whether a $300 stereo speaker is cheap or expensive, since they know how much does "$300" worth to them.

To illustrate how the asymmetric range effect influences price-quality tradeoffs, let us consider a consumer who is choosing between a more expensive option, x, and a cheaper option, y. The perceived tradeoff between price and quality can be conceptualized as the following:

$$perceived\ price\text{–}quality\ tradeoff = \frac{perceived\ quality\ difference\ (between\ x\ and\ y)}{perceived\ price\ difference\ (between\ x\ and\ y)}$$

Suppose the tradeoff is made in the context of other products that differ in price and quality. We propose that widening the range of the context products (and therefore, the ranges of price and quality concurrently) would reduce the size of perceived quality difference to a greater extent than the size of perceived price difference. Consequently, the perceived price-quality tradeoff would become less favorable, shifting preference towards the cheaper option. Stated formally,

H1: Widening the context range would result in a shift of preference from the more expensive option to the cheaper option.

More generally, we suggest that the shift of preferences towards the cheaper option as ranges increase can be reversed by making price more difficult to evaluate and quality easier to evaluate.

H2: In a tradeoff between a more evaluable and a less evaluable attribute, widening the context range would result in a shift of preference towards the option that having a greater quantity of the more evaluable attribute.

We ran a series of four experiments to examine the two hypotheses. In all experiments, we examine two scenarios: one in which consumers encounter a wide range context and one in which consumers encounter a narrow range context. Context range (wide vs. narrow) was manipulated by the range of assortment that participants were given information about. A wide range assortment included products that varied greatly in *both* price and quality, whereas a narrow range assortment included products that are relatively similar to each other in *both* price and quality.

In the first two experiments, we asked participants to judge between a more expensive option and a cheaper option. Participants in the "wide range condition" received price and quality information on six products, which belonged to five different varieties of breakfast food (experiment 1) or beverages (experiment 2). Participants in the "narrow range condition" also received price and quality information on six products, but all of them belong to the same variety–cereal (experiment 1) or coffee (experiment 2). The result shows that, participants' preferences shifted towards the cheaper option when the width of context range increased. Thus, hypothesis 1 was supported.

In the third experiment, we kept product variety constant across range contexts, and manipulated only price and quality ranges. We employed PDA as the domain of the experiment. The wide (vs. narrow) range assortment contained PDAs that varied more extensively in price and quality. We asked participants to consider a more expensive and a cheaper PDA, and measured their relative preferences, perceptions of price difference, and perceptions of quality difference between the two options. The result shows that, participants' preferences shifted towards the cheaper option as the width of context range increased. Moreover, the perceived quality difference (rather than perceived price difference) mediates the effects of assortment range on preference shifts.

We tested hypothesis 2 using a fourth experiment, which had a 2 (*price evaluability*: high vs. low) x 2 (*quality evaluability*: high vs. low) x 2 (*range*: wide vs. narrow) design. We gave participants information about the price and quality of six PDAs. This information was made complicated so that participants would find it hard to evaluate. However, participants in the "high price evaluability" conditions received aids to evaluate the price information. Similarly, participants in the "high quality evaluability" conditions received aids to evaluate the quality information. The result shows that, when price and quality differed in evaluability, widening the context range shifted preferences towards the option that having a greater quantity of the more evaluable attribute. However, when price and quality did not differ in evaluability, participants' preferences did not change as a function of assortment range.

"Consumer Response to Product Unavailability"

Kyeong Sam Min, The Ohio State University
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As retailers and e-tailers strive to woo consumers by offering a vast assortment of products, individuals have been increasingly faced with choice constraints when their preferred product is sold out, or temporarily unavailable. How does the timing of information regarding product unavailability influence consumer decision making? Does it matter whether the unavailable product is the consumer's favorite product or not?

Prior research examining consumer response to product unavailability has focused on the point in time that individuals are informed of product unavailability before they make their choice (e.g., Pettibone and Wedell 2000; Simonson and Tversky 1992). Research to date suggests that when consumers are notified about unavailability prior to making a choice, the likelihood of their selecting the product most similar to the unavailable alternative is increased, relative to a control group for whom the unavailable product has been removed altogether.

However, restricting the consumer's freedom of choice is likely to have adverse effects, including lowered choice consistency accompanied by feelings of frustration, which cause consumers to assert their freedom of choice by taking an action in the opposite direction than the choice the store had expected them to make (e.g., Brehm 1966; Clee and Wicklund 1980). When the consumer is informed about product unavailability after she has already made a choice, and thus experiences a larger amount of psychological reactance, she may be more likely to select a product that is slightly different from her initial choice. The detrimental effect of psychological reactance on consumer decision making can occur only when the unavailable product is the consumer's favorite due to its salience (e.g., Broniarczyk, Hoyer, and McAlister 1998; Fitzsimons 2000). Thus, we predict that the choice share of the alternative most similar to the unavailable product will decrease when the consumer is notified about product unavailability after versus before making a choice, only when the unavailable product is the consumer's preferred product. Similarly, we also expect that decision satisfaction will be qualified by the timing of information and preference for the unavailable product.

To test these predictions, we ran an experiment (N=384) with a 2 (timing of information) x 2 (preference for the unavailable product) x 4 (product category) between-subjects design. The timing of information was manipulated by notifying participants of the presence of an unavailable product either before or after they made a choice. Preference for an unavailable product was determined by whether it was the consumer's preferred product type. The four product categories tested included restaurants, movies, soft drinks, and cookies.

Subjects' preference ratings for each product type (e.g., movie genre, restaurant cuisine) were collected one week prior to their participation in the study. In the "before" condition, participants were presented with three alternatives for consideration, including a high quality but unavailable product, and asked to choose between the two remaining moderate quality products. In contrast, in the "after" condition, participants were given the opportunity to select among all three available alternatives. Participants who selected one of the two moderate quality products as their initial choice were never exposed to a choice constraint. Those who selected the high quality product were informed that the product was unavailable. These individuals were then required to choose again from the remaining two moderate quality products. After making each choice, participants were asked to evaluate their decision satisfaction as well as their feelings toward product unavailability.

Consistent with our prediction, we observed that under the high preference condition, the choice share of a similar alternative was lower when the consumer was informed about product unavailability after (M=59.5%) versus before (M=89.2%) making a choice (χ^2=8.49, p<.02). In contrast, under the low preference condition, the choice share of a similar alternative did not change when the timing of information was varied (p>.1).

In terms of decision satisfaction, we did not find any significant change in decision satisfaction between "before" and "after" conditions, regardless of preference for the unavailable product (p>.1). Rather, we observed a marginally significant overall main effect of the timing of information on decision satisfaction (t=-1.68, p<.10). Decision satisfaction was lower when participants were in the "after" (M=3.63) rather than "before" condition (M=4.08). In the follow up analysis, we found that decision satisfaction was higher when participants never encountered a choice constraint (M=4.79) than when they were notified of a choice constraint prior to choice (M=4.08; t=2.16, p<.08) or when they were notified of a

choice constraint after making a choice (M=3.63, t=3.45, p<.002). These findings indicate that decision satisfaction is influenced not only by whether the consumer is faced with a choice constraint, but also by whether the notification of product unavailability is made before or after a product is selected.

Our empirical results strongly support the predicted role of psychological reactance in consumer decision making. We show that psychological reactance is an important explanatory mechanism for a constrained consumer choice. In addition, our findings offer direct managerial implications for retailers faced with the decision dilemma of how to communicate with their customers about product unavailability. When a preferred product is unavailable, it is best to notify customers of the choice constraint in advance of their making a selection. However, when a less preferred product is unavailable, it is best not to notify the customers of the choice constraint and wait to see if they express an interest in the unavailable product. The late notification strategy has the advantage of offering the customer a wider assortment to choose from, which increases customer satisfaction and consistent choice, while eliminating any frustration or anger associated with having one's freedom of choice constrained.

"Reactions to Context Effect in Interpersonal Interactions"
Rebecca W. Hamilton, University of Maryland

Although they systematically influence people's choices, displays of information about products in experimental settings are not usually perceived as persuasion attempts (Friestad and Wright 1994). In fact, if people believed these displays of information were constructed to influence their choices, it might be more difficult to obtain effects like the compromise effect or the attraction effect. Persuasion research has shown that in many cases, people who are aware that persuasion tactics are being used to influence them are more resistant to persuasion. For example, forewarning people of the persuasive intent of a message typically results in higher resistance to persuasion (Petty and Wegener 1998) because people don't like to be told what to think or how to feel (Hass and Grady 1975; Petty and Cacioppo 1979). Thus, a fundamental question is whether context effects will lose their effectiveness if people are aware of them.

Recent research suggests that people respond flexibly to persuasion attempts (Campbell and Kirmani 2000; Wegener and Petty 1997). People may react negatively when they believe a salesperson has an ulterior motive for persuasion (Campbell and Kirmani 2000), yet yield to a recognized persuasion attempt by a friend suggesting restaurants for a shared dinner. Based on this flexibility, we hypothesized that two factors would influence people's reactions to context effects if they recognized that the choice context was being manipulated: the perceived motives of the person creating the choice context and the relationship between the person creating the choice context and the person making the choice.

To examine these factors, we ran a study with 65 dyads comprised of friends who had signed up for our session together. Each dyad made two choices together and each member of the dyad made two choices with a stranger. Subjects were randomly assigned to the role of menu creator, in which they created the choice context for another person, or chooser, in which they made choices from sets of three alternatives. Dyads were assigned to either the Ulterior Motive condition, in which the menu creator was individually rewarded for influencing the chooser, or the Group Motive condition, in which the goal was to make the best choice for the group.

Subjects were led through a scenario in which they purchased appliances for a hypothetical shared apartment with another person. To increase experimental control, choosers were given experimentally manipulated menus rather than the menus that had been created for them by the menu creators. Each chooser was given two attraction effect menus and two compromise effect menus. These effects were chosen because the attraction effect constrains the chooser more than the compromise effect, making it a more aggressive influence tactic (Barry and Shapiro 1992). Choosers selected one alternative from each of two menus that they believed had been created by their friend, and one alternative from each of two menus that they believed had been created by a stranger. After making their choices, choosers were asked to describe why the menu creator had constructed the menu as she or he had, reconstruct the set of alternatives that had been available to the menu creator, rate their own preferences and the menu creator's preferences for each of the alternatives, and rate their satisfaction with their choices.

Susceptibility to context effects varied by relationship and by menu type. When subjects received attraction effect menus, they were significantly more likely than chance to choose the dominant alternative (M=68% vs. 33%; Z=5.66, p<.01), especially when they believed the menu had been created by a friend (M=75%) rather than by a stranger (M=61%; Z=1.88, p<.10). In contrast, when subjects received compromise effect menus, they were marginally more likely to chose the compromise option when they believed the menu was from a stranger (M=61%) than when they believed the menu was from a friend (M=44%; Z=2.06, p<.05).

Subjects' willingness to choose as they believed the menu creator wanted them to choose also varied by menu type and motive. Subjects were marginally more likely to choose as they believed the menu creator wanted them to choose when they received attraction effect menus (M=93%) than when they received compromise effect menus (M=83%; Z=2.20, p<.05). This effect is particularly interesting because subjects perceived a stronger influence attempt when they received attraction effect menus than when they received compromise menus, F(1,60)=5.76, p<.05. When subjects received attraction effect menus, they were equally likely to choose as expected in both motive conditions, but when subjects received compromise effect menus, they were significantly more likely to choose as expected in the Ulterior Motive condition (M=93%) than in the Group Motive condition (M=75%; Z=2.15, p<.05).

While our results indicate that reactions to context effects are influenced by the relationship between the menu creator and chooser and the perceived motive of the menu creator, the effects of these variables differ systematically by menu type. While subjects were more willing to choose the dominant alternative from an attraction effect menu when they believed the menu had been created by a friend rather than a stranger, they were more willing to choose compromise alternatives when they believed the menus had been created by a stranger. While motive did not affect subjects' willingness to choose as expected from attraction effect menus, subjects were more willing to choose as expected from compromise effect menus when they thought the menu creator had an ulterior motive for persuading them. We discuss these findings and propose future research designed to help us understand the degree to which these findings generalize across context effects and across interpersonal interactions such as salesperson/ customer interactions and group decision making.

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Making Decisions About the Future: Psychological Drivers of Intertemporal Choice

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Consumer decision-making often requires individuals to make judgments about what they would like to experience at some point in the future. How do individuals make such decisions? Research on intertemporal choice has documented a wide variety of empirical phenomena that are inconsistent with the economic models typically used to represent such behavior (which assumes that decision makers rationally make decisions to maximize their future utility). Recently, researchers have attempted to go beyond cataloging irregularities by trying to understand the underlying psychology. The research presented in this session adopts that goal. We attempt to provide insight about the psychological mechanisms that underlie biases in consumer decisions about what will maximize their utility in the future. This session includes three papers that address this common theme. These papers challenge existing explanations of intertemporal choice phenomena that have attracted considerable intellectual attention among psychologists and economists. Specifically, these papers extend current knowledge in three ways: (1) by examining the implication of outcome bias for future decisions made by consumers; (2) by challenging the assumed relation between declining discount rates as an empirical regularity and hyperbolic discounting as a psychological phenomenon; and (3) by exploring the drivers of observed differential time preferences for different resources to be experienced in the near versus distant future.

The first paper (by Rebecca Ratner and Kenneth Herbst) pointed out that to understand intertemporal choices, one must recognize how consumers incorporate their affective reactions to the outcomes of prior decisions. The authors provided evidence that with repeated choices, consumers are overly focused on their affective reaction to past events and fail to adequately focus on the future probabilities of success of the different choice alternatives. Results indicate that because consumers feel regret when decisions lead to disappointing outcomes, consumers making decisions about what to consume in the future will avoid options that previously generated a unfavorable outcome, even when those options are more likely to produce a better outcome than are the alternatives.

The second paper (by Daniel Read and Shane Frederick) critically examined the standard interpretation of hyperbolic discounting and offered a new explanation that can account for previous findings typically attributed to hyperbolic discounting. First, the authors demonstrated that much of the evidence for declining impatience is attributable to the length of the intervals used in the elicitation procedures, rather than the temporal position of the intervals per se. Second, they provided evidence that decision makers reject declining impatience when making side-by-side evaluations of alternatives with different delays, though they actually endorse other anomalies in intertemporal choice, such as the magnitude effect and the sign effect.

The third paper in the session (by Gal Zauberman and John Lynch) continued to challenge standard explanations of time discounting behavior. The authors argued that apparent discount rates are a function of supplies of "slack" of different resources (e.g., time vs. money), which in turn influence whether an investment causes one to fail to attain "goals" associated with other uses of that resource. When considering events in the very near term, investments of incremental time will cause one to fail to attain other short-

term goals, but only if little slack exists. If decision makers cannot imagine the same level of competition for their time in the future, they will appear to "discount" steeply. This will not happen if consumers perceive no difference in resource slack between now and the future. The authors presented time and money as resources with deferential slack and showed how slack can explain different levels of discounting for time and money as well as a reversal of this effect.

Collectively, the three papers in this special session offered new insights about the psychological mechanisms underlying consumers' decisions about what they want to consume in the future. The discussant, Rick Larrick, provided an insightful integration of the three papers and outlined how they inform and qualify the findings of previous research. He also noted some of the ways in which the three papers offered diverging perspectives on the common theme of the session. The discussant also engaged the audience by inviting questions, comments and ideas for future research.

Consumer Understanding of Prices and Profits
John W. Pracejus, University of Alberta

OVERVIEW

Consumer knowledge of how business works is certainly an important substantive issue. While it has, for some time, received attention in terms of advertising (i.e. persuasion knowledge), only now are we beginning to ask questions about consumers understanding of prices and profits. What are consumers' implicit theories about how prices are derived, why they change and how they are related to each other (across brands and within sub-brands). Do consumers really understand commonly used concepts like gross, net, overhead, and profit? These questions have important implications for consumer decision making. The fundamental issue explored in the session was, therefore, the rapidly emerging area of consumer knowledge (or lack thereof) and it's importance for the field of consumer research. Specifically, it explored issues related to how consumer knowledge of prices and profits impacts important estimations, perceptions of fairness, and general understanding of "how the world works" in terms of ones consumption activities.

While the three papers are clearly substantively related, they each focused on a slightly different aspect of consumer knowledge of prices and profits. The first paper focused on issues of consumer confusion between price and profit. The second paper explored consumer lay theories about why prices are what they are. The third paper considered how giving consumers price information about one brand can impact their ability to accurately estimate the price of other products in the category. The three papers were also closely related methodologically, in that they all relied on assessment of the estimation methods employed by consumers.

"Consumer Knowledge about Prices and Profits: The Potential for Deception in Cause Related Marketing Campaigns"

G. Douglas Olsen, University of Alberta
John W. Pracejus, University of Alberta
Norman R. Brown, University of Alberta

Cause related marketing is the practice whereby a company donates money to a charity each time a consumer makes a purchase (Varandarajan and Menon 1988). While past research has shown that the amount of the CRM donation impacts consumer choices (Strahilevitz and Meyers 1998, Pracejus and Olsen in press), whether consumers understand how much is really being donated has not yet been investigated. Donation amounts are often stated as a percentage of profit. In these cases consumer knowledge about the profits are essential to their understanding of how much benefit the charity will receive as a result of their purchase.

Most notably, if they mistakenly replace profit with price, their estimate will be many times the actual donation. In other cases, no numerical information is presented to consumers at all. Phrases like "a portion of proceeds will be donated" require consumers to infer what a reasonable donation might be. Here again, consumer knowledge of profit will serve as an important factor in their assessment of how much benefit their purchase will provide. In order to assess these issues, we first surveyed CRM campaigns on the world wide web, so as to understand the types and prevalence of various donation description formats. We then examined, in a series of experimental studies, how consumers respond to each of these formats. Finally, where we found evidence of systematic estimation bias, we tested several potential legal remedies.

In study one, our search of CRM web sites, we find that 9.3% of the formats are estimable (e.g. x% of the profits will be donated)

10.7% are calculable (e.g. x% of the price will be donated) and the overwhelming majority (80%) are abstract (e.g. a portion of the proceeds will be donated). Given the prevalence of abstract formats, we next investigated consumer estimates based upon different abstract formats. In study two, 424 participants view one of 16 versions of ad copy for a CRM campaign (a 2x2x2x2, between-subjects design). The independent variables were: portion vs. substantial portion; net proceeds vs. gross proceeds; the purchase price of the product ($49.99 vs. $499.99); and the estimation method (percent estimate vs. dollar estimate). Results show higher estimates for "a substantial portion" (mean=$20.97, 9.8% of price), relative to simply "a portion" (mean=$11.44, 4.79% of price). The Purchase Price also affected estimation, with an average of $4.36 (8.7% of price) being estimated for the $49.98 product, and $28.97 for the $499.98 product (5.8% of price), indicating that higher priced items result in lower donation estimates, as a percentage of price. No other effects were significant.

Study 3, assesses consumer responses to estimable and calculable formats, and compares these assessments to estimates based on abstract formats. An additional 148 participants were randomly assigned to the cells of a one-way, five level design, manipulating the wording of the CRM offer. The phrases were "a portion of proceeds"; "a substantial portion of proceeds"; 5% of profits; 5% of the retail price; and a control condition with no CRM. Results show that the presence of a CRM offer results in perceptions that the company donates more to the community ($F_{1,146}=8.01$, $p<0.01$), is less risky ($F_{1,146}=5.95$, $p<0.05$), is more prestigious ($F_{1,146}=4.37$, $p<0.05$) and is more trustworthy ($F_{1,146}=3.57$, $p<0.10$).

Estimates of the amount being donated were found to differ among the formats. As in study 2, "substantial portion" resulted in higher estimates than "portion" ($t_{53}=2.38$, $p<0.05$). The most interesting finding of this study however, is that there was no significant difference in estimation between the "5% of price" and the "5% of profit" condition! Given that 5% of profits is, by definition, lower than 5% of sales price, it is very surprising to find that no estimation difference is observed between these conditions ($t_{60}=0.81$, n.s.).

To test the robustness of this finding, in study four we attempted to replicate it using some participants who had formal training in accounting, and all participants make their estimates immediately, rather than after a 2 minute delay as had been done in study three. Here, 142 additional participants took part. Once again, we find no significant difference between estimates in the price and profit groups ($F_{1,137}=1.40$, n.s.). Accounting Knowledge ($F_{1,137}=0.98$, n.s.) and the interaction between these variables ($F_{1,138}=0.19$, n.s.) also had no impact.

Clearly therefore, even with high accounting knowledge, most people mistakenly calculate a percentage of price rather than profit. It is quite possible that this could meet a legal definition of deceptiveness. One very non-intrusive legal remedy, is to require advertisers to define the term "profit" in the ad. A slightly more intrusive remedy is to force disclosure of profit level, either as either as a percent of price, or in absolute dollars. We test these three potential remedies (definition only, profit disclosure as percent, profit disclosure as dollar value) against a control condition where no remedy is present.

Mean donation estimate differed among the four conditions ($F_{3,133}=20.278$, $p<0.001$). The estimate in the base condition (mean=$7.83) was significantly higher than the definition condi-

tion (mean=$5.77, t_{70}=3.34, p<0.001), the profit=$60 condition (mean=$4.32, t_{67}=6.05, p<0.001), and the profit=40% condition (M=$3.52, t_{68}=11.23, p<0.001). All three remedies also result in a substantial reduction in the number of people who mistakenly calculate a percent of price when they are told a percent of profit will be donated.

Therefore, the five studies demonstrate that there are systematic effects of format on donation estimation, and that poor consumer knowledge about the distinction between price and profit results in overestimation of CRM donations. Simple, legally defensible remedies, however, can significantly improve estimation performance.

"Explorations in Price (Un)Fairness"
Lisa E. Bolton, University of Pennsylvania
Luk Warlop, KU Leuven
Joseph W. Alba, University of Florida

Fine restaurants gouge consumers, as evidenced by wine prices that are multiples of the going retail prices. Music on the Internet should be freely shared because the recording industry is rapacious in its pricing. Gasoline prices are exorbitant because they are determined more by industry collusion than market forces. Pharmaceutical prices should be regulated due to the obscenely high profits made on prescription drugs and the relatively low prices paid in other countries for the same products. Such beliefs are not narrowly held, yet their accuracy is an issue of great consequence because the profitability of firms may be constrained by justifiable fear of consumer backlash to perceived exploitation (Blinder 1991; Kahneman, Knetch, and Thaler 1986a; Piron and Fernandez 1995) and consumer price consciousness and satisfaction with competing vendors may be shaped by perceptions of price fairness (Sinha and Batra 1999).

Despite the apparent importance of perceived price fairness, research on the topic has been sparse. Relevant research that does exist has largely been inspired by the principle of dual entitlement (Kahneman, Knetch, and Thaler 1986b), which argues that fairness perceptions are governed by the belief that firms are entitled to a reference profit and customers are entitled to a reference price. In the scenarios used to study the principle of dual entitlement, reference transactions mostly involve recent past prices that are accompanied by an explanation (e.g., costs, demand) given for the price change. Such scenarios focus on a dynamic pricing environment and examine consumer responses to changes in pricing across transactions.

The goal of the present research is to explore a variety of factors that contribute to consumer perceptions of price fairness. We build on the provocative findings of Kahneman et al. (1986b) regarding the principle of dual entitlement but depart from their approach in four ways: (1) We broaden our treatment of reference points to include past prices, comparison prices, and vendor costs. (2) This broader treatment permits us to examine static as well as dynamic environments. For example, how do people judge price fairness in the absence of a price change? (3) We examine profits as well as prices and attempt to obtain greater access to consumer understanding of profitability. (4) In contrast to prior research that has emphasized the vendor's *motivation* for altering the status quo (e.g., Bies, Tripp, and Neale 1993; Campbell 1999; Martins and Monroe 1994), the present research focuses on *cognitive* determinants of fairness by investigating consumer understanding of markets, the environment, and the vendor's constraints. Specifically, we focus on three cognitive reference points that should affect fairness perceptions: past prices, comparison prices, and the firm's costs.

Given that consumer knowledge of explicit and unambiguous retail price information can be low and may be declining (Estelami, Lehmann, and Holden 2001), it seems reasonable to expect poor appreciation of closely guarded cost and profit information. Although knowledge of profits and costs has not been extensively investigated, consumers are not highly satisfied with the price-profit relationship they perceive to exist among large firms (*Business Week*, 2000). Thus, our guiding hypothesis is that consumer understanding of prices, costs, and profits does not exist at high levels across the population; moreover, we propose that such knowledge levels contribute to consumer perceptions of price *un*fairness.

The set of experiments that investigate this proposition are organized around three reference points that should affect fairness perceptions: past prices, comparison prices, and the firm's costs. We characterize these reference points as looking back (at past prices), looking across (at comparison prices), and looking inward (to costs). Evidence from 12+ completed experiments is summarized below (details omitted for brevity's sake):

When "looking back" and assessing prices over time, consumers systematically underestimated the effects of inflation. Potential corrective strategies (i.e., providing explicit inflation rates, current prices, or historical data) were insufficient to correct for underestimation. Indeed, the salience of recent price data appeared to exacerbate perceptions of unfairness arising from underestimation of inflation.

When "looking across" and comparing prices, consumers infer price *un*fairness. When comparing store prices, consumers tend to attribute differences to profit rather than costs. Even after controlling for profit levels, consumers take into account *how* profits are made when comparing prices. Corrective efforts that explain price differences as a consequence of marketing strategy may be insufficient to improve fairness perceptions. In fact, certain marketing strategies (e.g., margin versus volume strategies) may be judged unfair even when beyond the store's control. From a consumers' perspective, price differences appear fair(est) only if they can be attributed to quality differences.

However, when consumers "look inward" and assess costs, other cost categories besides cost of goods sold are likely to be ignored. Cueing other costs (e.g., more cost categories, more details about costs, and less obvious costs) may provide only limited relief to the vendor. Profit estimates appear to be sticky and high, and some costs (e.g., promotional costs) can stimulate feelings of unfairness.

The importance of understanding the reference points used by consumers to judge price fairness should be self-evident not only to marketers who develop pricing strategy but also to consumer researchers interested in purchase satisfaction and consumer welfare.

"The Structure of Consumer Knowledge for Automobile Prices: Estimating and Updating"
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The marketing literature provides strong empirical support for the theory that consumers use an internal reference price (IRP) as a standard against which observed prices are compared (Kalyanaram and Winer 1995). Specifically, a price is judged positively when the IRP is above the observed price and negatively when the observed price is greater than the IRP. As the internal reference price for a product increases relative to the observed price for that product, the demand curve for that product shifts outward and the probability of purchase increases (Putler 1992). In total, the evidence from pricing

research, argues persuasively for the fundamental role of internal reference prices in consumer judgement and decision making. Unfortunately, although the importance of IRPs has been well established, the process by which internal reference prices are formed and updated remains unclear.

This paper argues for a new perspective in investigations of internal reference prices. We contend that while IRPs have historically been experimentally operationalized as price estimates, researchers in marketing have failed to explicitly study internal reference prices as estimates. Instead, attention has been focused on issues of perception (Niedrich, Sharman and Wedell, 2001). We believe that focusing on internal reference prices as estimates provides a more coherent and grounded methodological and theoretical framework, which will ultimately prove to be a more fruitful approach to understanding the formation of IRPs. Building on the foundation provided by the literature in cognitive psychology on quantitative estimation (Brown and Siegler 1993), this paper investigates how consumers form and update internal reference price knowledge. We report the results of two experiments that examine consumers' internal reference prices for automobiles.

Our theory is relatively simple. In the absence of specific price knowledge, consumers will form an internal reference price by estimating a price for the product in question. Their estimate will be based on inferences drawn from their knowledge of other information, such as an automobile's brand name and product class membership, which in turn provides the consumer with the metric and mapping knowledge required to generate reasonable price estimates for specific products. It is our expectation that the categorical knowledge that is most accessible for automobiles is the product class and the brand name. We are not suggesting that consumers store specific brand and product class price information, but we do expect that they have strong brand ranking skills and general product class knowledge. Therefore, we expect that consumers' IRPs will be consistently grouped by product class, and that within each product class the brands will be consistently grouped into distinct price tiers.

In experiment 1, subjects were asked to make price estimates for a total of 18 automobiles from 3 classes and 6 brands. As predicted, the data from the first experiment illustrate a consistent pattern of price estimates based on inferences from more general knowledge about the relationships among brands and between product categories.

The robust nature of this general knowledge structure is evident in the second experiment, as subjects are asked to make price estimates for 21 automobiles (7 brands and 3 classes). Following the *seeding* methodology developed in the quantitative estimation literature (Brown and Siegler 1993), subjects are asked to make two sets of price estimates. The first set of estimates are completed in the same manner as in Experiment 1, and then subjects are exposed to an external reference price (for an automobile that was initially mis-estimated) while they make a second set of estimates for the same 21 vehicles. The results of this study provide strong evidence for a general knowledge structure that is built upon an understanding of the relationships among brands and between product categories. Specifically, we find that while subjects are willing to update their price estimates based on external reference price information, they do not adjust the general organization by product class and by price tier within brand. Even though the second set of estimates are often far less accurate as a result of their strict adherence to this structure.

These results provide preliminary support for the treatment of internal reference prices as another type of quantitative estimate. We find many of the key properties of real world estimation in our data. In addition, we find strong evidence for the central role of categorical knowledge in the estimation process, which in the case of automobiles is manifest in the brand name and the product class. Using this framework allows us to extend our understanding of the process of internal reference price formation, by focusing on the storage and retrieval of price information rather than on the perception of prices themselves.

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When Brands Are Stars–Exploring Consumer Response to Product Placements

Michelle R. Nelson, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Product placements and brand contacts have appeared in films since at least 1940 and are increasingly used across media including novels (e.g., *Bulgari Connection*), videogames, music (e.g., *My Adidas*) and television. Seeking to overcome budget constraints, fragmented media audiences, and technological advances which allow consumers to zip, zap and circumvent advertising, marketers are looking to product placement practices as a targeted and cost-effective way to reach consumers. Despite its popularity, only recently have academics studied this phenomenon. Research to date has focused on three areas: (1) descriptive/content analyses; (2) consumer attitudinal responses; and (3) consumer response to gauge effectiveness of brand placements through experimental research.

This session brought together leading researchers in product placement to further theoretical understanding of placement effectiveness, gain insight into consumer meanings derived from the practice, and explore diverse approaches and methodologies for product placement research. Each of these papers focused on the role of media context in product placement. Despite the obvious, no published research to date has systematically examined the role of media for product placement. Each paper in this session takes a different epistemological, ontological and methodological approach to examining media–yet they all consider how 'an active consumer' interacts with–or makes meaning of–brand placements and the medium.

Gould and Gupta reported results of their poststructuralist study in which 100 marketing students watched one game show and wrote an essay in which they discussed the products placed. They showed that the audience's relationship to the game show medium is crucial to understanding the meanings of products placed within this medium. Three major interlinked themes were identified: (1) consumer reflexivity, identification and fanship, (2) game shows as product-appropriate showcases, and (3) the intertextual linkages to marketing and game shows as a medium.

Russell and Stern discussed how the literary tradition offers insight for understanding how consumers 'read' media and the products placed within. In an experimental study, they investigated the moderating role of gender on consumer reactions to television programs and product placements within those programs. They showed that differences in the focus of male versus female respondents' thoughts were likely to occur because of gender differences in textual interpretation of television programs. In addition, they found significant gender differences in viewer responses: whereas women accepted the placed products as evidence of a show's realism, men suspected that the products were evidence of the sponsors' manipulative marketing tactics.

Finally, Lord and Gupta utilized psychological theories and methodologies to propose and test a conceptual framework for understanding product placement effectiveness. According to theories of context effects, they demonstrated a number of findings related to the impact of placement characteristics (prominence, valence), product involvement, and viewer response (cognitive and affective involvement in the movie) upon the 'movie-placement fit' (appropriateness, realism) and on dependent variables for measuring effectiveness (recall, brand attitudes, and purchase intention).

Shared themes across papers related to the impact of consumer empathy (empathic processing) and audience identification as related to the medium and products. The session also offered a number of 'firsts' in this area, including different types of audiences (men, women) and different media (game shows, TV sitcoms, movies). Each of these studies furthers our understanding of how consumers 'read', understand, or process products placed within varying forms of media.

Discussion among audience members and session presenters offered ideas for future research, including investigation of consumer response to product placement among different 'interpretive communities,' including age, socio-economic, and cultural groups. Further investigations might explore rich meanings derived from brand relationships –the intertextual meanings between media and brands–and expand investigation across additional types of media.

Making it Real: Antecedents and Consequences of Health Risk Perceptions

Nidhi Agrawal, New York University
Geeta Menon, New York University

Health risk perceptions play a major role in increasing people's awareness about diseases and willingness to take preventive or corrective action to avoid or cure a disease. The inherent tendency is for people to assume that they are invulnerable, and therefore, one of the greatest challenges in advertising health-related information is making the threat of the disease real and enhancing the target audience's perception of vulnerability to a disease. The literature has determined various factors and processes may influence health risk perceptions (Block and Williams 2001; Luce and Kahn 1999) ranging over memory factors (Raghubir and Menon 1998) and contextual factors that are used to frame the message (Block and Keller 1995; Menon, Block and Ramanathan 2002).

The three papers in this session added to the existing literature by examining internal factors such as a tendency to self-enhance, risk status and self-related constructs (e.g. self-construal), and external factors such as message characteristics and emotions. These papers demonstrated that the content of health-related messages and the way they are phrased can have a powerful impact on attitudes and behavior (Raghubir and Menon paper; Agrawal, Menon and Aaker paper). It was also shown that external factors such as the likelihood of someone else (e.g., a casual sex partner) engaging in a risky sexual behavior affect self-perceptions of risk of HIV (Sen, Bhattacharya and Johnson paper).

The first paper by Nidhi Agrawal, Geeta Menon and Jennifer Aaker examined the impact of internal factors such as self-construal and emotions on health risk perceptions, but moderated by an external factor, whether the ad asks people to think about themselves or their family. Existing literature suggests that people with a certain accessible self-construal are more likely to experience emotions related to that self-construal. The authors reported that messages that focus on self-construal compatible references (self versus family) are more effective in increasing self-risk perceptions, and that emotional states may make appeals with the compatible focus more effective. The second paper by Priya Raghubir and Geeta Menon studied the domain of depression, a physiological health problem that depends initially on self-diagnosis using self-reported psychological inventories (an external factor). Given that self-diagnosis is contingent on the measurement instrument, question construction and the nature and sequence of items are of critical importance. The authors demonstrated that risk perceptions and intentions to seek help are contingent on the interpretation of behaviors in the inventory, beliefs that behaviors are symptomatic of a disease and beliefs of how controllable a disease, which are further affected by the inclusion of extreme behaviors such as "thoughts of suicide/death", the order in which the behavioral symptoms are presented, and the range of response alternatives used. Finally, the third paper by Sankar Sen, C B Bhattacharya and Rose Johnson extended our session into the area of the consequences of proactive behaviors (like HIV testing) on subsequent health practices. They investigated the key prediction of an economic model of sexual behavior that widespread HIV testing can actually increase the willingness of those tested to engage in risky sexual practices.

Together, these papers underscored the importance of understanding how best to communicate health-risk issues to people who may have different response mechanisms in such a way as to affect their intentions to get tested and compliance behavior positively. In addition, Barbara Kahn's comments as discussant helped tie together the various issues raised in these papers.

"Should I Think About Me or You? Effects of Ad Focus on Judgments of Health Risk"

Nidhi Agrawal, New York University
Geeta Menon, New York University
Jennifer Aaker, Stanford University

This research seeks to identify self-construal related factors (emotions and advertising focus) that might affect the effectiveness of health-messages. It has been well documented across various domains that people's self-perceptions are in general self-enhancing, even in the face of (adverse) reality (Perloff and Fetzer 1986; Weinstein 1980). If people underestimate the likelihood of contracting a disease and feel impervious to a disease, they might avoid information that would actually help them prevent the disease. On the other hand, if we can make people feel vulnerable to a disease, they might process disease-related information and may also be more likely to take pro-active measures to prevent it. Several studies in the area of health risk suggest that message cues (e.g., Menon, Block and Ramanathan 2002) and accessibility of information (Raghubir and Menon 1998) may systematically affect people's self-risk perceptions. For example, it has been shown that messages that list frequently performed behaviors (that could lead to contraction of a target disease) are more effective than messages that list infrequent behaviors in increasing self-risk perceptions and concern about contracting the target disease. Prior research has shown that health risk perceptions are affected by the different emotions experienced by people (Salovey and Birnbaum 1989). For example, a message may increase self-risk perceptions by threatening positive emotions and/or eliciting negative emotions.

An increasing number of health related messages that ask the reader to think about the consequences of an unhealthy life for themselves or their close others underscore the importance of advertisement focus (self or family). The literature on self-construal suggests that people can see themselves as independent (i.e. unique and different from others) or interdependent (as part of a group). Consumers' response to advertising may be influenced by the self-construal that is accessible at the time of decision-making. Several studies have shown that people with a certain accessible self-construals (independent vs. interdependent) are more likely to experience and respond to certain emotions (happy vs. calm). We suggest that ad appeals with different focus (self or family) might systematically affect the self-risk judgments of people with different self-construals and people experiencing different emotions. In three experiments, we examine the factors that might influence the effectiveness of appeals that are focused on the individual themselves or their families.

Our results suggest that appeals with a focus that is compatible with the self-construal of or emotion experienced by the person are more effective in increasing self-risk estimates and concern about contracting a disease (in this case, Hepatitis C). In study 1, we examine the effect of people's self-construal on messages focused either on themselves or on their family. We find that people who had an independent (interdependent) self-construal were more responsive to messages with a self (family) focus. In subsequent studies, we extend these results by examining the effect of emotions

experienced at the time of exposure to the message on health-risk perceptions. We demonstrate that when the experienced emotion is congruent with the subject's self-construal, messages are processed more effectively, and perceptions of self-risk are higher. Additionally, people who were primed to feel happy (calm) were more responsive to self (family) focused appeals. By understanding the underlying process by which these mechanisms work, we are able to provide diagnostic theoretical and practical implications for health message communication.

"Depressed or Just Blue? The Persuasive Effects of a Self-Diagnosis Inventory"
Priya Raghubir, University of California, Berkeley
Geeta Menon, New York University

Depression is a common and sometimes serious disorder of mood that is pervasive, intense and attacks the mind and body at the same time. The *DSM* IV (2000, page 356) characterizes depression as a loss of interest or pleasure in activities a person enjoyed, and/or their feeling unusually sad or irritable over a two-week period. The presence of one or both of these symptoms, coexisting with 4 or more other symptoms (including sleep disturbances, decreased ability to concentrate, changes in appetite, feeling more tired than usual, feelings of guilt or worthlessness, restless or slowed activity, and thoughts about suicide or death), are the typical guidelines used to categorize a person as a depressive. Most depression inventories try to capture these symptoms. Depression belongs to the unique genre of physiological health problems that are initially diagnosed using self-reported psychological inventories. This context allowed us to examine the role of such inventories as survey method tools as well as persuasive devices leading to inferences that affect people's judgment of their own risk and their likelihood of seeking treatment. In both roles, validity of the behavioral response is key.

The thesis of this paper is that the manner in which this information is captured, i.e., the format and content of self-diagnosis inventories, plays an informative role in disambiguating behavioral symptoms, systematically and significantly affecting people's beliefs about whether or not they are at risk of being depressed, and whether or not their depressive symptoms are controllable, which in turn affects beliefs in their vulnerability to the risk of depression, and their likelihood of seeking treatment. The specific research questions investigated are:

- To what extent do people correctly report behaviors symptomatic of depression?
- To what extent do they believe that such behaviors are symptomatic of depression?
- To what extent do they believe that such behaviors can be controlled through treatment?
- Do these beliefs affect their intentions to seek medical assistance?

The results of five suggest that the manner of construction of the self-report inventory affects behavioral responses, risk estimates, beliefs in controllability, and intentions to seek help. Study 1 starts by showing that merely administering an inventory has a positive persuasive effect, and increases people's perception of their own risk. Studies 2-5 examine the effect of the inclusion/exclusion of a single extreme behavior symptomatic of depression (thoughts of suicide or death) along with an 8-item inventory. Given the ambiguity of the remaining 8 behavioral symptoms, Study 2 shows that the use of subjective frequency scales versus checklists in recording behavioral responses increases affirmative responses to behavioral symptoms and risk estimates. Studies 3 and 4 examine

the effect of the extreme behavior in the checklist: they demonstrate that its presence allows potential for reinterpreting the remaining behavioral symptoms, allowing respondents to self-select out of the "at-risk" category. While Study 3 shows that the extreme behavior reduces the diagnosticity of the behavioral responses of the 8 other behavioral symptoms in the list, Study 4 shows that the behavioral symptom, "thoughts of suicide or death," is a double-edged sword, with its presence persuading people that the symptoms of depression are more controllable. This positive effect on risk estimates conflicts with the negative effect on perceived controllability, leading to ambiguous effects on intentions to seek help. Study 5 introduces a contextual manipulation that overcomes the negative effect of retaining the extreme behavior on the self-diagnosis inventory and demonstrates the effect of response scales provided on intentions to seek assistance. Across the studies, there is strong evidence that the manner in which one asks a question affects the manner of use of a self-diagnosis inventory, and, further, affects the manner in which the inventory is used to make judgments about the risk of depression.

"The Behavioral Consequences of HIV Testing"
Sankar Sen, Boston University
C.B. Bhattacharya, Boston University
Rose Johnson, Strategic Business Research Inc.

In the absence of either a cure or a vaccine, behavior modification continues to be the primary means of harnessing the deadly AIDS epidemic. Since the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) is transmitted primarily through sexual contact, this has lead to an urgent, universal and sustained call for the adoption of safer sexual practices. Central to this preventive strategy is the issue of HIV testing. Spurred by the belief that HIV status awareness is a key motivator for the adoption of risk reduction measures, several public health agencies and policy makers have called for widespread, and even mandatory, testing for the antibodies to the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV testing) as a primary means of modifying high risk behavior.

However, there is considerable controversy regarding the beneficial effects of HIV testing on behavior modification, both at the empirical and theoretical levels. In this research, we investigate the key prediction of an economic model of sexual behavior (Philipson & Posner 1993) that widespread HIV testing can actually increase the willingness of those tested to engage in risky sexual practices. At the heart of this model is the widely adopted notion that every individual's incentive to engage in risky sex is articulated in terms of the benefits they receive from such behavior (e.g. increased pleasure for self or partner) minus the expected costs of such behavior (e.g. inconvenience of wearing a condom, contracting HIV). If the probability of contracting HIV from a sexual partner is high, the costs will clearly far outweigh the benefits. However, in situations where an individual's estimate of the probability that his/her prospective partner is infected is very low (e.g. 1/5000), the benefits may well outweigh the now discounted costs of risky sex with this partner. This model predicts that HIV testing increases the demand for potentially infective behavior whether or not a person tests negative or positive (see Philipson & Posner 1993 for details).

We investigate the ability of this model to accurately predict the behavioral consequences of HIV testing among undergraduate college students. In two experiments, we use projective scenarios to examine the effect of subjects' estimates of both their own risk for HIV infection as well as that of a potential casual sex partner on their likelihood of engaging in risky sexual behavior. In particular, we focus on predicted changes in the protagonist's likelihood of engaging risky sex caused by his knowledge of both his own HIV

risk status (i.e. HIV-positive or HIV-negative) as well as that of his prospective partner. The findings of the two studies together establish the notion that HIV-testing can, under certain circumstances, lead to an increase in risky sexual behavior. Specifically, not only are members of a high-risk group–young heterosexuals– more likely to engage in risky sex when they perceive themselves to have a low infection likelihood and their partner tests negative for HIV, but also their partners' likelihood of engaging in risky sex with them does not diminish due to their negative test status. Moreover, we find that this risky sex-enhancing dynamic is restricted primarily to those with more permissive attitudes toward casual sex. The second study also examines the moderating effect of HIV-testing communication on the HIV testing–risky sex relationship to find predictable reductions in risky sex intent upon exposure to specific HIV-testing and post-test behavior messages. This study also demonstrates that in making a risky sex decision, this population takes into consideration the costs of infection not only to themselves but also to their partners, even in a casual sex setting.

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Incorporating Consumer Perspectives in the Architectural Design of Servicescapes

Mark Peterson, University of Texas at Arlington

The presentations of this session offered consumer researchers supporting and complementary views of how to incorporate consumer perspectives in the design of servicescapes. This was done by applying consumer theory and research methods in probing the psyche of architects, and then by showing consumer research being employed at the front-end and the back-end of design projects. Specifically, the presentations gave treatment to 1) architects' concepts of work styles in their profession, 2) pre-design research with consumers, and 3) post-occupancy evaluations of architectural projects. Each of the presentations represented field research studies completed in 2001. Together, these presentations demonstrated how the field of consumer research is advancing in its ability to bring insights into the most abstract realms of servicescape development where art and building construction are jointly conceived.

The session proved to be interactive and lively. The presenters purposely compressed their presentations in order to hear from audience members, as well as from a specially-invited architect, Sean Slater, representing one of the US' leading architectural firms–Thompson, Ventulett, Stainback and Associates (offices in Chicago and Atlanta).

Three presentations comprised the formal part of the session. Extended abstracts of these presentations accompany this overview. Dilene Crockett proposed a typology of architects in her presentation. Krittinee Nuttavuthisit and Benét DeBerry-Spence explored retailing spaces with a dynamic aspect which can be changed readily–frequently with information provided by consumers. Finally, Mark Peterson presented an interpretive account of campus recreation facility usage focusing primarily upon the UT-Austin's Gregory Gym.

Discussant John Sherry noted the recurrence of the idea artists express of "creative destruction"–having to destroy part (or all) of their previous work to render a new creation. While noting that our culture has a visual bias, even though we apprehend in an embodied fashion, Sherry posed the question "In the body, we are there, but (paradoxically) not there. So where are we (psychically) when we are dwelling?"

Sherry then conducted an impromptu focus group with audience members using the conference hotel–the Marriott Marquis–as a focal point for discussion. Many audience members reported negative affect toward hotel features such as the glass elevators in the expansive hotel atrium ("dizzying"), the sameness in the cramped rooms for individual guests ("prison-like"), the labyrinth of glass walls ("I actually walked into one."), the escalators and corridors expeditiously funneling hotel guests ("like the LA freeway"), the noisy air ducts ("the sonic dimension"), and the starkness of exposed concrete within the hotel interior ("brutalism in concrete").

Architect Sean Slater disclosed that modernist public buildings (such as the Mariott Marquis) like many designed by developer-architect John Portman attempted to capture "the big idea" (or corporate experience). Today, the trend among architects is to design "difference" within public buildings, such as malls. Slater described such an effect as discernible in architects' use of different carpet patterns in various areas of a structure, or a unique fountain in one special spot. One intended outcome of designing such heterogeneity in public building interiors would be users' increased intimacy with parts of the building in which they would work or shop.

After the session, Slater disclosed that the architecture firm now working on the plans for renovating the very same Mariott Marquis hotel is his own–Thompson, Ventulett, Stainback and Associates. Slater reported taking extensive notes during the session's discussion time and indicated he will try to integrate these insights into the next version of the Mariott Marquis. Serendipitously then, this session might be the first academic conference session on record to directly influence the architectural redesign of the host facility for the conference. So in the end, the promise of the session was literally fulfilled, as consumer perspectives have now been incorporated in the architectural design of the Mariott Marquis servicescape.

"Finding Order in the Universe of Architects"

Dilene Crockett, University of Texas at Arlington

Consumers of public spaces represent just one constituency of many with which practicing architects must comply. In fact, recent research suggests there are 33 classes of consultants, 15 regulatory and approval bodies, 7 groups of interested parties, 6 types of informal consultants and 10 categories of people having incidental influence on a typical building project (Cuff, 1991). Invariably, each of these constituents has a different metric by which to measure the "effectiveness" of the space or success of the building project. Some may be concerned about budgets, others about timelines; some may be interested in functionality and others in safety; some may prefer to create an inspiring space while others seek to improve the lives of the people who must use, look at and maintain the building (Fisher, 2000). Recently there has been debate in both the academic and practicing universes of architecture as to the effects consumers and the other constituents *do* and *should* have on the quality of architectural design.

Some architects claim that the collaboration that is involved in the development of a public space improves design by keeping in check architects who claim creative license when in truth are indulging in an adolescent avant-garde. Others say that collaboration leads to mediocrity through necessary compromise which dilutes the strength and quality of design by creating numbing constraints. Most architects seem to agree that a designer's strength lies in his/her ability to turn constraints into assets focussed on exploring and discovering solutions to complex needs (Fisher, 2000).

This research sought to find deep meanings in the collaborative process of building design. A number of qualitative techniques were employed to elicit key words, images and concepts from practicing and teaching architects. The architects represented a cross section of the universe of architects based on their experience, gender, scope of work, size of firm and variety of portfolios. To address concerns about validity, data source triangulation was obtained by pursuing architects with differing orientations. These orientations fell into a simple typology: intellectuals, technicians, artisans and businessmen. These orientations seem to shape both the architect's sense of creativity and purpose, but also his/her ideas of collaboration and success.

All architects expressed excitement about creating exceptional public "spaces" with space being the place where architects work imaginatively. Overall, architects are attracted to creative problem solving and complex challenges, just as they share an interest in making safe buildings and working well with clients and

collaborators. However, the architects' approaches to collaboration and success differ according to their types.

Intellectuals are first interested in consumer happiness and productivity and second in improving the site with the building. Businessmen do not hold social aspirations for their work and are only concerned about consumers to the extent that the paying client is concerned about consumers. They are first and foremost interested in the client's opinion as client referrals bring in new and repeat business. Technicians' concern for the consumer is in the form of safety and functionality, while artisans hope to make an additional emotional impact on consumers, community and clients alike.

This research, then, advises that the effect of servicescapes on consumer behavior in practice would benefit from being filtered first through the typology of the developer.

"New Retail Design Development"
Krittinee Nuttavuthisit, Northwestern University
Benét DeBerry-Spence, Northwestern University

Previous research on retail settings has focused on consumers' interpretations and experiences, with little attention given to producer (e.g. developer, designer) influences. This paper focuses on producer intentions and more specifically, their development of a new retail design that recognizes the freedom of consumers' experiences.

From a historical perspective, Victor Gruen's design (Southdale shopping center), as discussed by Csaba and Askegaard (1999), was the first retail development to emphasize catering to consumers' desires for sociability rather than those directly related to making sales. His concept of mall failed, however, in its inability to accommodate social change (ibid). The mall was no longer "a place for people to bloom and grow and share" (Gruen–quoted in Coady, 1987, p.683). Subsequent retail-entertainment complex designs such as the West Edmonton Mall (Alberta, Canada) and the Mall of America, translate themed fantasies to the built environments (The Imagineers, 1996) by implementing practices of theming (Gottdiener 1997), or "imagineering". In doing so, these approaches incorporate aspects of flexibility that are requisite in today's image-driven, commodity-driven popular culture (Gottdiener 1998). Additionally, they position the producer in the role of codifying and assembling multi-layered symbolic motifs that purposively convey an underlying theme, as exemplified in the Mall of America, which ties a variety of decorative sign-vehicles to the unified theme of "America" (ibid). Questions remain, however, whether it is feasible within this dynamic epoch for producers to successfully encapsulate the essential and desirable themes of *different* consumers, whilst not conveying the oppressive structures of consumption often articulated in studies of political forms of resistance (Fiske 1987, Kellner 1995).

In this paper, phenomenological interviews with retail developers and designers reveal a new retail design development concept, that recognizes the freedom of consumers' experiences. Producers shift from invoking an overarching theme to providing consumers with tools to create their own retail presentations. As one developer remarked, *"We don't try to paint the [single] picture saying, this is what your experience is going to be, because we may be wrong."* Consumers are liberated as producers aim to invisibly facilitate rather than expressively dominate the way in which consumers experience retail environments. An architect in this research explained, "*You don't want to be obvious …leaving room for things to happen is really how things happen…because you don't have control of everything."* In this new role, producers begin by assuming consumers' perspectives. Rather than making a uni-

fied theme to encompass a variety of consumer experiences, efforts are made to multiply these experiences by the diversity of times, places, and people (e.g. multiplying an individual experience with sequence and interaction with other people, or changing environments when s/he walks.) Producers then intertwine the network of multiplied experiences yielding options of environments. *"We try to create these different spaces with the different images so that you can create your own fantasy, experiences"* (architect). Within the architectural field, this approach to retail development is referred to as 'neighborhoods' where retail surroundings are "*not just focused on one spectrum*" but spread throughout networks that encourage consumers to mix and match distinct experiences from different components in different districts. Overall, 'consumer tooling' ideology is dynamic and flexible, leaving room for consumers to explore an array of retail presentations contextually related to a dominant theme.

With its emphasis on producer motivations, this paper interrelates aspects of both production and consumption to enhance our understanding of retail experiences and thus provides new insight into studies of planned experiential production.

"What Does Qualitative Research Have to Offer Architectural Design?"
Mark Peterson, University of Texas at Arlington

In the 1960's, a movement began to incorporate user perspectives in the design of buildings. Based on the principles of survey research in the social sciences, this movement was brief in its duration and soon died out in the 1970's. Artistic freedom and architecture schools' emphasis on aesthetic elements in design are two reasons cited for architecture's lack of adopting and developing deliberate methods to integrate the perspectives of the eventual users of buildings and spaces into architectural designs (Wright, 2001).

Recently, architects have begun considering returning to designed environments to document "what worked, what didn't, and why?" (Fisher, 2000). This is in striking opposition to the rare discussion about clients and users in the practice of architecture. This indifference to consumer preferences has been cited as a legacy of modern architecture's roots in nineteenth-century French rationalism and the Ecolé des Beaux-Arts. As the Ecolé des Beaux-Arts produced architects primarily for the French bureaucracy, clients and users were not included in conceptualizing or evaluating designed spaces. Instead, the critic was given unquestioned authority. Today's design studio carries forward many of these 150-year-old traditions, including the long hours, and the focus on schematic solutions.

While the traditional role of the architectural critic is suited best to address the aesthetic dimension of a designed environment, the critic is limited in addressing the other two essential dimensions–safety (non-negotiable), and usability.

The emergence of post-occupancy evaluations suggests an opportunity for consumer research to provide architects and developers with insights on not just the usability dimension, but also on the aesthetic dimension, as well. Holbrook (1999) has investigated the nature of differences between popular appeal and expert judgment of cinematic art. His findings suggest ordinary consumers' opinions overlap with those of critics in many ways. While no research is extant about popular appeal and critics' judgments about architectural designs, Holbrook's findings suggest that consumer judgments could overlap those of experts in important ways.

Since the first attempts to integrate consumer research into architecture practice more than thirty years ago, the methods used in consumer research have matured. In particular, innovative meth-

ods of qualitative research have enabled marketers to understand and enhance the experiential dimension of their offerings (Sherry and Kozinets 2001). The experiential nature of designed environments implies the need for holistic perspectives on the complexity of designed spaces. Complexity, here, emerges from the boundless possibilities for the building exterior–the "skin of the building", as well as for building interiors–including the elements of lighting, wall and floor coverings, temperature control, color schemes, sound quality, and spatial arrangement. Qualitative methods could offer researchers the potential for such holistic insights on these experiential dimensions.

To explore the effectiveness of qualitative research methods in the context of post-occupancy evaluations, two parallel studies were undertaken to better understand the "deep meaning" consumers associate with recreational sports facilities. The first study focused upon users of a 30-year-old recreational facility at the University of Texas at Arlington (now being considered for renovation). The second study focused upon users of a five-year-old major renovation of the University of Texas at Austin's Gregory Gym. In both studies, researchers used a variety of qualitative research techniques including focus groups, participant observation, consumer biography and in-depth interviews. The in-depth interviews included projective tasks or photo-elicitation similar to the ZMET technique (Zaltman, 1996). Together, these studies included qualitative inputs from 61 respondents on the two campuses

A comparison of the interpretations of the deep meaning of the respective recreation facilities showed both the usability and aesthetic dimensions were addressed using these qualitative techniques. In addition, this comparison also disclosed patterns similar to the four dimensions proposed for the "millennial consumer" by Holbrook (2000)–1) experience, 2) entertainment, 3) exhibitionism, and 4) evangelizing. However, an achievement motivation also emerged in both studies.

Such findings suggest opportunities for applying consumer research theory and innovative qualitative research methods in order to provide valuable elements for discussion among all parties directly or indirectly involved in any architectural design–the architects, the developers, the users, and society.

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Processes Underlying Consumer Valuations and Behavior in Various Auction Mechanisms

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SESSION OVERVIEW

Interest in how consumer motivations and cognitions interact with the mechanistic aspects of common auction formats has grown as consumers participate in ever larger numbers in Internet auctions. Although there is extensive work on the economic theory of auctions (Klemperer 2000) and many empirical tests with laboratory experiments and field data (e.g., Kagel 1995; Laffont 1997) there is little work on auctions in marketing and consumer research.

While previous empirical tests in the experimental economic paradigm have documented revenue equivalence failures (e.g., Kagel 1995), the fictitious commodities and auction procedures used in these studies provide a limited understanding of motivational and cognitive influences on consumer behavior across these auction mechanisms. Moreover, apart from evidence of contextually labile and constructive values (e.g., Fischhoff 1991) prior studies assume surplus maximization goals induced via specific payoff structures (e.g., Cox et al 1982). The paradigm has also generally ignored alternative motivations and cognitive drivers that are differentially served by the various auction mechanisms. The session included three presentations addressing how consumer motivations and cognitions interacted with aspects of various auction mechanisms implemented in both traditional and on-line formats.

Greenleaf and Srivastava studied the effects of different auction formats on factors such as attribution, regret and perceived risk and linked these mediators to differences in bidder satisfaction and preferences. They explored the processes for open English, Dutch and sealed-bid auctions, all for common-value items. Because the auction mechanisms reveal different information about other bidders' behavior, they produce different patterns of results that then drive satisfaction and preference differences across the auction types.

The Ariely, Ockenfels and Roth paper investigated how and why different rules that govern auction closings influence bidding behavior. They motivated their research with the observation that two popular auction sites (eBay and Amazon) use "hard" and "soft" closing rules respectively, and that the former site experiences significantly greater late bidding. The authors replicated the field results in a controlled laboratory setting, and also demonstrated the moderating influence of factors such as expertise and learning on bidder behavior.

Cheema, Chakravarti and Sinha focused more on the antecedents and processes of bidder value formation under various auction mechanisms. They examined the separate and interactive influence of bidder motivations, prior price knowledge, and the time available at each auction step on value construction processes during ascending and descending auctions. These authors also examined how consumers experience regret contingent on auction win/loss outcomes, and how they manipulate their post auction values to manage regret. Their results showed that how consumer values are constructed during, and managed following, an auction depended on the primed goal, prior price knowledge and deliberation time available to the bidders in the specific auction format.

The three papers together demonstrated that consumer motivations and cognitions interact with aspects of various auction mechanisms both in traditional and on-line formats. Overall, consumers' behavior is contingent on various individual-specific and contextual factors. Further study of consumers' auction participation should also focus on the consumer experience and the specifics of the auction mechanism itself.

SHORT ABSTRACTS

"Bidders' Satisfaction and Valuation for Different Auction Mechanisms: The Impact of Attribution, Regret, and Perceived Risk"

Eric Greenleaf, New York University
Joydeep Srivastava, University of Maryland

This paper examines how three different auction types–open English, descending bid (Dutch), and sealed bid with first prices–affect the consumer auction experience. Specifically, given that the three auction formats differ in the information provided to bidders on other bidders' bids and also place different cognitive demands, we argue that the three auction types are perceived differentially in terms of bidders' attributions, regret, and risk. These factors, in turn, affect bidders' satisfaction with each of the auction types and their preferences and valuations for them. Results from an experiment where subjects participated in ten auctions of each type support the premise that in addition to actual earnings, attributions, regret, and risk are important determinants of future auction intentions and behavior.

"An Experimental Analysis of Ending Rules in Internet Auctions"

Dan Ariely, MIT
Axel Ockenfels, Max Planck Institute for Research into Economic Systems
Alvin E. Roth, Harvard University

A great deal of late bidding has been observed on internet auctions such as eBay, which employ a second price auction with a fixed deadline. Much less late bidding has been observed on internet auctions such as those run by Amazon, which employ similar auction rules, but use an ending rule that automatically extends the auction if necessary after the scheduled close until ten minutes have passed without a bid. This paper reports an experiment that allows us to examine the effect of the different ending rules under controlled conditions, without the other differences between internet auction houses that prevent unambiguous interpretation of the field data. We find that the difference in auction ending rules is sufficient by itself to produce the differences in late bidding observed in the field data. The experimental data also allow us to examine how individuals bid in relation to their private values, and how this behavior is shaped by the different opportunities for learning provided in the auction conditions.

"Motivational and Cognitive Influences on Consumer Value Construction and Bidding in Ascending and Descending Auctions"

Amar Cheema, University of Colorado, Boulder
Dipankar Chakravarti, University of Colorado, Boulder
Atanu Sinha, University of Colorado, Boulder

This paper experimentally investigates motivational and cognitive influences on how consumers construct value and bid on real objects in both ascending and descending auctions. We focus on

how bidders' motivations interact with knowledge (prior price information) and deliberation time (at each price level) to influence bidding behavior. We also examine how consumers mentally manipulate their own and competitors' values to manage post-auction regret, contingent on win/loss outcomes. Bidders' behavior in a second auction was also studied to assess the impact of regret on subsequent behavior. The results for the descending auctions show that bidders' values are influenced interactively by their motivations, deliberation time and prior knowledge. Moreover, bidders with goal-incongruent outcomes experience greater regret than those with goal-congruent outcomes, attempt to manipulate their value after the auction to minimize regret, and change their behavior in the second auction accordingly.

Whatcha Thinking? Mental Simulation in Consumer Contexts

Jennifer Edson Escalas, University of Arizona
Mary Frances Luce, University of Pennsylvania

The three papers in this session present experimental consumer research using mental simulation. Mental simulation is the imitative mental representation of some event or series of events (Taylor and Schneider 1989). The first paper, "Process vs. Outcome Thought-Focus and Advertising," (by Jennifer Edson Escalas and Mary Frances Luce) examines mental simulation in a print ad context and varies the focus of simulation on either the *process* of using the advertised product or the *outcomes* or benefits of using the product. The authors find that process- (versus outcome-) focused thought results in greater sensitivity to argument strength, but that this effect is reversed under high involvement; they conclude that process-focused thought involves qualitatively different cognitive processes than those typically studied in research on dual-processing theories (e.g. Elaboration Likelihood Model). The second paper, "Self–Other Discrepancies in Counterfactual Mental Simulation," (by Parthasarathy Krishnamurthy and Anuradha Sivaraman) examines the structure of counterfactual thoughts, a form of mental simulation, focusing on how self- versus other-focus alters the process, and therefore the effect, of mental simulation. They conclude that we undo events involving others differently than those involving ourselves. The third paper, "The Impact of Simulating Satisfaction on Product Returns" (by Baba Shiv, Joel B. Huber, and Himanshu Mishra) finds a reduction in decision reversals when choice is preceded by anticipation of satisfaction compared to a "normal" (decision-focused) choice scenario. James R. Bettman (Duke University) acted as the discussant and proposed a "dual process" view of mental simulation based upon recent work in cognitive neuroscience and Tulving's distinction between autonoetic consciousness (which is more "episodic" in nature) versus noetic consciousness (more "semantic").

"Process vs. Outcome Focused Mental Simulation: Effects on Advertising"
Jennifer Edson Escalas, University of Arizona
Mary Frances Luce, University of Pennsylvania

Recent social psychological research demonstrates that certain types of mental simulation are particularly useful for helping individuals reach the future they envision (e.g., Taylor et al. 1998). More specifically, Taylor's recent research indicates that the most successful simulations focus on the *process* of reaching a goal rather than on the *outcomes* or attainment of the goal. The purpose of our research is to explore the distinction between outcome- and process-focused mental simulations as a possible tool for designing persuasive advertisements.

Experiment 1 manipulates the focus of participants' thoughts with pre-ad instructions in the context of a fictitious vitamin print advertisement. We find that process-focused thought results in significantly higher behavioral intentions than outcome-focused thought when ad arguments are strong. However, in the case of weak ad arguments, process-focused thought actually lowers behavioral intentions, compared to thoughts focusing on the end result or outcome of product usage. Thus, in addition to increasing the persuasive power of strong advertising claims, process-focused thinking appears to make individuals better, or more discerning, consumers who do not form behavioral intentions when it is inappropriate to do so.

We believe that the underlying explanation for these effects is plan formation, that is, participants in the process-focus condition create a step-by-step plan to achieve a favorable outcome. By imagining using the vitamins on a daily basis, it appears that participants visualize the behavioral steps necessary to achieve the benefits of using vitamins. Therefore, they are more willing to take these behavioral steps, and indicate greater intentions to buy the vitamins under conditions of strong arguments. We also believe that process-focused thought results in lower behavioral intentions under weak arguments because of associated planning processes. When the behavior's ability to achieve the outcome is weak, consumers may be unable to formulate an actionable plan or they may more generally recognize the disadvantages of the plan when its formulation is encouraged by process-focused thought. When consumers reject developing a plan involving the behavior and outcome, significantly lower behavioral intentions result.

While Experiment 1 extends the social psychological research findings to an advertising context, the ad itself in that study does not influence the focus of participants' thoughts; our manipulation consists of pre-ad instructions. In our second experiment, we examine a potential mechanism for influencing thought-focus within the ad itself: narrative advertising, that is, ads that tell stories. Narrative advertisements are well suited to influence the extent to which viewers focus on the process of using a product, as opposed to the outcome of using the product, because narratives consist of goal-oriented action sequences incorporating goals, processes, and outcomes.

In Experiment 2, we are able to manipulate participants' thought-focus by modifying the scenes in a storyboard advertisement. A story emphasizing the process of using the product results in more process focused-thought than a story emphasizing usage outcomes. Furthermore, participants who saw a process-focused narrative exhibited higher ad and brand attitudes and greater behavioral intentions to purchase the advertised product (when ad arguments are strong). While watching a narrative ad that emphasizes the process of using a fictitious shampoo brand, it appears that participants think about the behavioral steps necessary to achieve the benefits of using the shampoo, thus creating a plan. Therefore, they are more willing to take these behavioral steps, and indicate higher attitudes and greater intentions to buy the shampoo.

Experiment 2 also examines the interactive effect of argument strength and thought-focus. Participants are more sensitive to argument strength while viewing a process-focused narrative ad than they are while viewing an outcome-focused narrative ad. Again, we believe that process-focused thought results in more sensitivity to argument strength because of the associated planning processes. When the behavior's ability to achieve the outcome is weak, consumers may become particularly sensitive to the disadvantages of the arguments for the advertised behavior, resulting in significantly lower behavioral intentions.

Finally, Experiment 3 attempts to rule out elaboration as a potential alternative explanation for our process-focus results. This study crosses the process-outcome thought focus, strong-weak arguments conditions with a third factor: accuracy instructions (versus a control group). We find that the thought focus by argument strength interaction found in E1 and E2 replicates in the control group, but not under explicit instructions encouraging elaboration. Thus, we believe that the advantages of process-focused thought (when observed) result from relatively natural, spontaneous planning processes rather than resulting from an

increase in analytical message processing. Mediation analyses using a variable reflecting "degree of planning" further support this account. Additional analyses indicate that the amount of thought does not mediate the effects of process- versus outcome-focused thoughts across any of our studies. Thus, this effect appears to be a function of the content, rather than the amount, of thought.

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"Self–Other Discrepancies in Counterfactual Thinking"

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Anuradha Sivaraman, University of Houston

Counterfactual thinking is a process of mentally simulating a past experience with a view to undoing the outcome of the experience. Roese and Olson (1993) introduced the idea of understanding counterfactuals by investigating their structure. They suggest that the *structure* of counterfactual mental simulations will be influenced by the valence of the outcome that is being undone. Roese and Olson (1993) find that additive counterfactuals, which involve undoing outcomes by changing inactions to actions, or more generally, adding new aspects to an experience, are more likely in response to failure. Subtractive counterfactuals, which involve undoing outcomes by changing actions to inactions, or more generally, removing aspects from an experience, are more likely in response to success.

Our research juxtaposes research on the structure of counterfactuals (Roese & Olson, 1993) with a classic dichotomy in social cognition, self–other discrepancy. This discrepancy has been demonstrated to moderate the process of mental simulation (e.g., Anderson 1983). The principal research issue is as follows: What are the specific differences in the structure of simulated counterfactuals generated in response to self-focused versus other-focused experiences? There are two reasons why we undertook this research. First, counterfactuals generated in response to others' experiences are likely just as pervasive as those involving one's own experiences. Indeed, undoing others' actions and inactions to speculate on how outcomes could have been different is an integral part of social discourse (a.k.a., Monday morning quarterbacking). Second, as consumers, we often learn from others' experiences just as much as we do from our own. Given the findings that counterfactual thinking influences attitudes and behavioral intentions (Krishnamurthy & Sivaraman, 2002), it stands to reason that self–other discrepancies in the nature of counterfactual thinking may differentially influence attitudes and intentions in regard to such experiences. Third, the self–other contrast in counterfactual thinking is structurally similar to the actor–observer contrast observed in attribution theory. An additional goal of our research is to assess the extent to which counterfactual thinking and attribution share the same underlying process. Specifically, we were interested in the actor observer differences in the fundamental attribution error in which actors make person focused attribution for positive outcomes and situation focused attributions for negative outcomes, while the reverse pattern is noted for observers.

Experiences involving one's self versus those involving others can be thought of in terms of actor–observer differences. Actors have access to inner thoughts mental feelings, which often generate the rationale for a given decision. Observers do not have access to these

thoughts. These thoughts and feelings constrain the actor to a smaller set of actions or inactions that can be undone. Thus, the barriers for generating counterfactuals will be in direct proportion to the amount of information one possesses about the reasons for the actions and inactions that preceded the outcome. Given that such information is available readily in regards to one's own actions and inactions, it should be more difficult to undo one's own actions and than to undo others' actions.

Our expectation is that, the pattern of results observed by Roese and Olson (1993)—more subtractive counterfactuals following success and more additive counterfactuals when undoing failure—should be less pronounced for self-focused episodes than for other-focused episodes.

In Study 1, 140 undergraduate students participated in a 2 (Focus: Self/Other) x 2 (Outcome Expectation: High/Low) x 2 (Outcome Valence: Positive/Negative) between subjects design similar to Roese and Olson (1993) with the additional manipulation of focus of reference. Participants were given one of eight hypothetical scenarios in which a student (oneself) with a good (poor) standing in a class goes through a series of events and eventually passes (fail) the exam. Consistent with prior research, outcome expectations were manipulated by varying the current standing in the imaginary class. Participants were instructed to indicate how the outcome could have been different. The principal dependent variable was the number of additive and subtractive counterfactual thoughts in the protocol, coded using procedures outlined by Roese and Olson (1993).

The principal finding was that the effects observed in the other-focus condition were either greatly reduced or absent in the self-focus condition, comporting with our expectation that self-focused episodes present greater barriers to counterfactual thinking than other-focused episodes.

In study 2, we employed the same design as study 1 with the following exceptions. First, participants were run in pairs, with one person narrating a consumption experience and the other person listening to the experience, thus instantiating a self versus other manipulation. The valence of the consumption episode, positive versus negative, was manipulated on a between subjects basis. Third, we assessed how consumers' attitudes and behavioral intentions are influenced by counterfactuals generated in response to consumption episodes involving themselves versus that of others. Recent research indicates that counterfactual thinking in response to failures promotes intention to perform success facilitating behaviors and affects attitudes toward subsequently encountered messages (Krishnamurthy & Sivaraman, 2002).

Although study 1 indicated a moderating effect of focus of reference on structure of counterfactual simulation, the results of study 2 did not indicate such an effect. However, we found an effect of the focus of reference on the focus of counterfactual thoughts. Overall, the results for person versus situation-focused counterfactuals were different from the pattern suggested by the literature on actor-observer differences in the fundamental attribution error. This suggests that the process of counterfactual simulation may be different from the process that generates attributions.

The results for attitude and behavioral intention indicated that valence had a stronger effect on these measures in the self-focused conditions than in the other-focused conditions. This is inconsistent with our expectations that the effect of the valence will be stronger for other-focused experiences.

In summary, even if the structure of counterfactuals are unaffected by the focus of reference, the focus of counterfactuals are. Furthermore, the effect is different from what would be anticipated by the literature on attribution theory, indicating that counterfactual simulation and attribution are distinct processes.

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"The Impact of Simulating Satisfaction on Product Returns"

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During shopping, consumers often arrive at their final choices with quite different decision goals in mind. For example, the consumer's goal could be choice-oriented (e.g., "Which item do I pick?") or it could be value-oriented (e.g., "How much am I willing to pay for this item?") or it could be anticipated-satisfaction-oriented (e.g., "How satisfied am I going to be with the products I am considering?"). Previous research has shown that the type of goal the consumer uses can have a considerable effect on what s/he ends up choosing (e.g., Nowlis and Simonson 1997; Shiv and Huber 2000). These shifts in preferences have been shown to arise due to different psychological processes that are engendered with these different goals. For example, the findings in Shiv and Huber (2000) suggest that shifts in preferences between choice and anticipated-satisfaction goals arise because, compared to choice, anticipated satisfaction results in a processing strategy that involves mental simulations focused on imagining one or more options. Consequently, in the presence of an anticipated-satisfaction goal, attributes such as "leather trim" and "sunroof," that matter more for the long-term satisfaction one derives from owning a car, are likely to become focal and have a bigger impact on the construction of preferences compared to attributes such as "price." The consumer, therefore, is more likely to choose a car with these attributes than in the presence of a choice-oriented goal or a value goal.

We focus on a different research question in this research. Rather than focusing on the effects of decision goals on choice *at the point of purchase*, we ask the question, How are *product returns* affected by mental simulation generated in response to pre-purchase goals of anticipated satisfaction versus choice and value? In other words, Will these goals differentially affect the extent to which consumers change their minds after they have made their initial choices? By addressing this question, our goal is to provide retailers with a way of minimizing product returns, an issue that seems to have become a matter of considerable concern for retail stores in recent years.

To address our central research question, we carried out a lab experiment that used a single-factor (decision-goal: anticipated-satisfaction vs. choice vs. value) between-subjects design. The experiment was carried out in two different rooms. The procedure was designed to mimic the multi-phase decision making that often occurs in case of infrequently purchased items: The *decision-phase* (where the choices are tentative), the *period of non-commitment* (the duration of which is often determined by the store's return policy), and the *period of commitment* (where the decision if final). In the first room, respondents went through the decision phase by visiting a mock Best-Buy web-site, where they received information on two handhelds, Sony Clie T615 with color screen and priced at $249, and Sony Clie SJ20 with monochrome screen and priced at $199. Except for differences on the nature of the screen and the prices, the two models were similar to one another. Respondents were told that they would first make a tentative choice between two options, the T615 priced at $249 and the SJ20 priced at $199, plus $50 in cash. They would then go over to a second room, one person at a time, and use their chosen option for as long as they wished. This was designed to mimic the period of non-commitment. They would finally make up their minds on which option to choose (period of commitment). Participants were also told that by taking part in the study, they would be entered into a lottery. The winner of the lottery will get a prize worth $249, which will be in the form of the T615 if that's what s/he finally ends up choosing, or the SJ20 plus $20 in cash, if that's what s/he finally ends up choosing. Decision-goal was manipulated in the first room as in Shiv and Huber (2000). One group of respondents chose immediately after acquiring information about the two handhelds. Another group rated their anticipated satisfaction with each of the two alternatives on three 1-7 scales anchored on dissatisfied/satisfied, unhappy/happy, and feel bad/feel good. They then made their choices. A third group rated the value associated with the two alternatives on three 1-7 scales anchored on a bad deal/a good deal, a bad value/a good value, and a bad buy/a good buy. They then made their choices. After making their choices, respondents indicated the extent to which they engaged in mental imagery and the extent to which they elaborated.

The extent to which participants changed their minds from the earlier choices was then examined. Choice of Sony Clie T615 was significantly higher in the anticipated-satisfaction condition (64.7%) than in the choice (38.4%, z=2.24, p<.05) and value conditions (35.3%, z=2.43, p<.05). In phase 2 of the experiment, choice of Sony Clie T615 remained unchanged in the anticipated-satisfaction condition (79.4% and 64.7% in phase 2 and phase 1, respectively, z=1.34, p>.20). But in the choice and value conditions, the shifts in choices between phase 2 and phase 1 were significant. Choice of Sony Clie T615 changed from 38.4% to 82% (z=3.92, p<.001) in the choice condition, and from 35.3 to 82.4% in the value condition (z=3.96, p<.001). We propose that the reason for the "change of minds" that occurred in the choice and value conditions is that choice-oriented and value-oriented goals cause people to become myopic and put more weight on attributes that matter for the short haul (e.g., price). After the initial decision, price becomes less salient and vivid attributes, such as the screen-type in a PDA tend to become more salient. This shift in salience causes vivid attributes to be weighted more heavily after the initial decision, leading to the "change of minds." On the other hand, an anticipated-satisfaction goal causes people to focus more on their long-term satisfaction while making their initial decision. After the initial decision, when they think more about their choices, they see no need to change their minds and, therefore, continue to stick with their initial choices. Thus, we have some evidence that when people change the focus of their thought to be more consistent consistent with long-term usage considerations, they may become better (or at least more consistent) decision makers. Supplementary analyses indicate that the process driving our effects involves the focus of thought (e.g. the nature of mental simulation), rather than simply the amount of thought (i.e, elaboration).

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Compelling Relationships between Products and Consumers

Julie A. Ruth, Rutgers University–Camden

This session addresses an area of growing interest to consumer researchers–how the act of consumption affects consumers' lives. The three papers examine how consumers use and experience products that have strong effects on them and ultimately are reflected in "compelling" relationships between the consumer and the product or brand (Fournier 1998). Specifically, the papers examined these compelling consumer/product relationships as reflected in consumers that *have been* transformed by products (Otnes and Ruth), consumers that believe they *would be* transformed by product ownership and use ("aspirational transformations"; Richins), and consumers who believe they *now cannot live without* certain products (Durgee). Across the three papers, two fundamental questions were raised:

What types of products are "compelling" by virtue of being transformative, potentially transformative, or those consumers cannot live without?

If the range of these products is seemingly unlimited and spans from hand lotion to email to microwave ovens and swimming pools, what are the underlying dimensions of these products' meaning and the "reasons" for consumers' adherence to them?

The first paper by Cele Otnes and Julie Ruth, "The Roles of 'Everyday' Transformational Products and Services in Consumers' Lives," takes a social roles perspective and observes that transformative products play active, symbolic, and communicative roles in their relationship with consumers. For example, transformative products and services can express positive social roles such as Emancipators or Magicians by freeing consumers from painful constraints (e.g., microwave ovens), or they can enact negative roles such as Masters (e.g., cigarettes). In the second paper, "Aspirational Transformations Among Consumers," Marsha Richins finds that materialism plays a critical role in aspirational transformations. That is, consumers high in materialism expect to achieve hedonic, self, and relational transformations and to achieve more autonomy and control if they had higher incomes. In contrast, low materialism respondents believe that none of these transformations would occur as a result of acquisition. In the third paper, "CADWOs: New Products Consumers *Ca*nnot *Do Wit*hout," Jeffrey Durgee observes that CADWOs are those products with a "positive dependency" (see Fournier and Mick 1999) that are used frequently and have multiple usage functions.

Drawing on her expertise regarding consumers' special possessions, consumers' friendship relationships with service providers, and how ordinary and extraordinary experiential products create meaning for consumers, Linda Price led a discussion of the papers presented in the session. Price also encouraged consideration of consumer imagination, and how products–and the relationships consumers form with them–unfold over time.

"The Roles of 'Everyday' Transformational Products and Services in Consumers' Lives"
Cele C. Otnes, University of Illinois
Julie A. Ruth, Rutgers University–Camden

Abstract
In recent years, Fournier (1998) and other scholars have demonstrated how key components of interpersonal relationships

are relevant to the study of the relationships between consumers and products. One type of consumer-product relationship that has received scant attention is that of transformational products and services. We define transformation as a process by which the consumer is changed in some psychological, emotional, social, economic, or other fashion through contact with the product.

We use an interpretive approach in exploring depth interview data, where informants described a product or service that transformed them in some way. Through reading and re-reading the data, social role theory emerged to explain consumers' anthropomorphizing of products (e.g., "We're partners now. I have an endearment toward" [the product]). Using the tenets of social role theory articulated by Mead (1934), we argue that transformational products or services acquire their power by expressing distinct social roles in their relationships with consumers. Role theory is especially relevant to transformational products since it is based on the notion that certain social situations–such as consumption–elicit perceptual expectations regarding appropriate behavior and interactions. Moreover, role theory has been used to explain consumer behavior in other contexts such as gift exchange (Otnes, Lowrey, and Kim 1993; Ruth forthcoming).

In this study, both positive and negative social roles emerged as expressions of consumers' experiences with transformative products such as garlic pills, 401K plans, cell phones, bicycles, and microwave ovens. Positive social roles include Assistants, Emancipators, and Enlighteners; negative social roles include Seducers and Torturers. In general, consumers expressed multiple social roles, and often experienced a combination of positive and negative social roles, vis-à-vis consumption of transformative products. Through better understanding how consumers come to experience and be changed by product usage and consumption, these findings have implications for consumer research on satisfaction, new product development, brand relationships, and purchase influence.

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"Aspirational Transformations Among Consumers"
Marsha L. Richins, University of Missouri

Abstract
Americans have strong desires for things. They work long hours to pay for goods, and consumer debt continues to rise, increasing 73 percent between 1989 and 1998 (Kinnickell, Starr-McCluer, and Surette 2000). One survey (Kanner 2001) found that 65 percent of respondents would spend a year on a deserted island to earn $1 million, and 30 percent said they would serve six months in jail for someone else for that amount. Despite the well-docu-

mented desire for more among American consumers, the motivations for this desire are poorly understood. This research is an attempt to further our understanding of this phenomenon by addressing why consumers so strongly want more things.

Previous research has suggested several functions that goods play in consumers' lives (beyond their utilitarian purposes) and that may serve to motivate consumption. An extensive literature shows how possessions can develop and preserve a positive sense of self (e.g., Belk 1988; Kleine, Kleine, and Kernan 1993). Other studies have noted the important symbolic functions of products, particularly in their use to communicate aspects of the self to others (e.g., Wicklund and Gollwitzer 1982; Dittmar 1992). Yet other studies have noted how consumers use goods to communicate a higher status to others (LaBarbera 1988; Mason 1981). While these studies make important contributions to the understanding of motives for consumption, the literature has failed to examine consumers' own views of acquisition and the benefits they hope to obtain by having more. The research described in this paper addresses this gap by directly asking consumers about acquisition.

Two qualitative studies were carried out to examine motivations for acquisition. In one study, consumers described how their lives might change if they had more money and were able to purchase more things. In a second study, informants in depth interviews described how their lives might change if they were able to acquire a desired product that they so far had been unable to obtain (usually because of cost considerations).

From these studies, the notion of aspirational transformations emerged. Aspirational transformations are significant changes to one's life that a consumer expects to receive if he/she purchased a desired item. These aspirations fell into four major categories: hedonic transformations, self transformations, relational transformations, and autonomy and control.

It is hypothesized that materialism is motivated in part by aspirational transformations. Two surveys of adult consumers were conducted to test this idea. The surveys contained measures of aspirational transformations, which were based on data obtained from the qualitative studies. Materialism was measured using the Material Values Scale developed by Richins and Dawson (1992).

In the first survey, respondents completed the aspirational transformations measures to describe changes that would occur if they had more money. In the second survey, respondents described changes that would occur if they were able to acquire a desired product that they so far had been unable to obtain.

In the first survey, materialism was significantly and strongly correlated with all the transformations studied. That is, consumers high in materialism expected to achieve hedonic, self, and relational transformations and to achieve more autonomy and control if they had higher incomes. Low materialism respondents tended to believe that none of these transformations would occur as a result of acquisition. The second study, which dealt with a single acquisition of a desired product, produced similar results.

These findings suggest that aspirational transformations are a potent factor in materialism, and for high materialism consumers, these aspirational transformations appear to be important motivators of acquisition. Aspirational transformations may explain why some consumers go so heavily into debt or work such long hours that they have little time for their families.

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"CADWOs: New Products Consumers *Ca*nnot *D*o *Wi*th*o*ut"
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Abstract

This research examines a category of products called "cadwos," or new products consumers find they *ca*nnot *d*o *wi*th*o*ut. In an exploratory study of 110 young adults, the most common cadwos include such things as refrigerators, clothes washers and personal computers. It appears that these types of products share three key properties: frequent use, multi-functionality, and localized or concentrated benefits in time and space. This paper examines some basic questions about cadwos including what they are, how to generate ideas for new cadwo product concepts, and how to evaluate consume responses to new cadwo product concepts in concept tests.

Background

Marketing has many stories about beta tests in which target buyers initially refused to do the tests–then refused to return the products once the tests were completed (Morone 1993; Dolan l993). The needs for the products were there all along. They simply could not be assessed using standard concept test methods.

This paper explores the idea of the "cadwo," or the product that consumers might initially refuse (e.g., because of radical technology) but come to learn later that they *ca*nnot *d*o *wi*th*o*ut. Fournier and Mick (l995) call the latter condition a state of "positive dependency" and represent it in terms of a model they call the CLalt model. In this model, satisfaction with a new household or office technology is defined in terms of perceived rewards of that item minus costs incurred to obtain and use it–*as compared to* rewards of using an *earlier* version of the technology minus costs of obtaining and using it. I am very upset when my car breaks down because I don't like to have to wait for the bus to get to work. A less scientific way to describe these items might be to use Gladwell's (2000) term "sticky." Unlike new products that are D.O.A.–or fads that take off then quickly burn out–cadwos are products that are introduced and then become very hard to dislodge from peoples' daily lives. They become fixed or "sticky" parts of daily routines. As "Bonita," a respondent in a recent paper by Mick and Fournier

(l998, p. 129) said, "Well, I mean in a way any technology you get, once you get used to having it, you can't live without it."

Note the differences here between cadwo "addiction" and the type of addiction described in Hirschman's (1992) article about addiction to drugs and alcohol. In Hirschman's article, the addictions are largely pharmacological in nature, result from life stresses, and tend to involve serial addictive patterns, for example, people going from alcohol to drugs to stronger drugs. As we will see, in cadwo addiction, the dependency is based on the system-like character of which the new technology is the lynchpin. That my email enables me to be in touch with many different people and many different websites might not be particularly pleasurable–but if it goes down, and I am suddenly cut off from many different contacts and activities, I feel the loss very severely.

The purpose of this research is to explore the cadwo or positive dependency experience and understand what it means to consumers. Since the cadwo concept is new, this paper represents an overview of some exploratory or starting point questions and provides some tentative answers. Specifically, we will explore:

What is a cadwo?
What are some examples of cadwos? What attributes do they share?
How can new product planners generate ideas for new cadwos?
How should cadwos be evaluated in consumer tests since they do not involve standard "liking" measures found in most concept tests but rather measures of unwillingness to give up?

What is a cadwo?

As indicated above, a cadwo is an item a person cannot do without. The Fournier and Mick (l999) CLalt model, which represents similar properties to cadwos, might be represented as follows:

Satisfaction with new technology=(A–B)–(C–D)

Here, A is the perceived reward of the new technology, B is the cost associated with the new technology, C is the perceived reward of the old technology, and D is the cost of using the old technology. In most cases, B would be higher than D. The monetary costs, for example, of buying and installing a garbage disposal would be higher than the monetary costs of getting a garbage pail.

The cadwo model is a little different and looks like this:

Satisfaction=$((A_1 + A_2 + A_n)$–B))– (C–D)

In this formula, all the "A" variables represent all the new benefits the cadwo brings.

People are constantly finding new uses for cadwos. For example, phone answering machines are now widely used to leave special messages and screen incoming calls and as well as record sender messages (Mick and Fournier 1998).

Most new product design and development research is based on how well target buyers like a new idea. Target consumers might, for example, rate a new concept in terms of overall appeal and intent-to-buy. The idea of the cadwo suggests an alternate dimension that might even be orthogonal to liking: unwillingness to give something up. As Fournier and Mick (1999) point out–and Thibaut and Kelley (l959) noted before them–positively valued dependency and satisfaction might be independent variables. High liking (as well as other basic factors from diffusion of innovation theory; Rogers l995) explains the fast diffusion of innovations such as the personal computer. Unwillingness to give up–as well as absence of new replacement technologies–explains the long tails in the prod-

uct life cycles of products such as washing machines and ATMs. Unwillingness to give up might also be more associated with slow-diffusion items such as the microwave oven and air-conditioning.

Although liking and unwillingness to give up are linear dimensions, we might classify products as being high or low on each. This would give us four types of products as shown in Table 1: 1. Hi like–low willingness to give up; 2. Hi like–high willingness to give up; 3. Low like–low willingness to give up; and 4. Low like–high willingness to give up.

As part of this research, a small sample (n=9) of young adults (MBA students) was asked to think of items they would put in each category. Items they liked and found hard to give up (Cell 1) included pillows, automobiles and mountain bikes. Examples of products they dislike and would find easy to do without (cell 4) included manual pencil sharpeners and Listerine mouthwash.

The paradoxes, of course, are in cells 2 and 3.

Cell 2 included potato chips and television. People say about these items, "I like this but I could easily do without it for a while." Potato chips are liked but have no real benefit –and most television is like potato chips for the mind. (In fact, students tend not to watch much TV so most could easily do without it.) The general feeling here is one of ambivalence, as in "I don't really need this; take it away."

Cell 3 included vegetables and toilets. People say they don't like these much but they have to have them each day. If respondents were probed further, they might mention such things as some of the new medical technologies. Nobody likes the new medical testing technologies such as CAT scans and colonoscopies, yet most people realize that they have to have them.

Cell 3 items represent the greatest opportunity for new products and services. In other words, if an existing product falls in Cell 3, it would represent the best opportunity for a new or redesigned product. Many companies have been very successful at taking products that people need–but don't like–and giving them more likeable qualities. Children never liked vitamins, but they like the new chewable, flavored children's vitamins. Few people enjoy vacuuming, but a new vacuum cleaner was just introduced which includes a built-in radio and headphones.

Where are cadwos? In cells 1 and 3. The perfect new product is obviously one in cell 1, that is, a product that is liked and offers can't-live-without functionality. The marketing of items here probably goes fast and easy. When refrigerators were first introduced, they diffused very rapidly throughout the United States (Forty l986).

At the same time, if someone doesn't particularly like something but has to have it (cell 3), they will buy it and it becomes a cadwo. In fact, the life span of many products probably begins in cell 3, moves to cell 1, and then finishes in cell 2. The first trains in the U.S. were dangerous and dirty but met important transportation needs (cell 3). Later trains became luxurious, fast, and comfortable (cell 1). They were well-liked and were vital to the economic and social life of the country. Today, most trains are not needed but rather are ridden as curiosities at historic theme parks (cell 2; Forty l986). They are liked but are hardly necessary.

What Are Some Examples of Cadwos? What Attributes Do They Share?

In a recent study, a convenience sample of 110 upstate New York consumers, ages 21 to 34 (equal male and female), were given a list of 27 everyday products and asked to indicate which they owned–and then which 10 of those "would be the most difficult to give up." The results are shown in Table 2.

Obviously, many of these results are very subjective. One person's cadwo may well be another person's junk. Also, where

TABLE 1

Products Young Adults Mention They Like Versus Don't Like By Those They Are Unwilling to Give Up Versus Those They Are Willing to Give Up

	Unwilling to Give Up	**High Willing to Give Up**
High Like	1. Pillows, bike, auto	2. Potato chips, television
Don't Like	3. Vegetables, toilets	4. Manual pencil sharpeners, Listerine

TABLE 2

Percent of Young Adults Who Indicate Which Ten Items (Out of 27) Would be Most Difficult to Give Up

	"Difficult to Give Up" (n=110) %
Refrigerator	98
Clothes washer	90
Personal computer	89
Credit card	76
Clothes dryer	68
ATM	66
Microwave	65
Calculator	52
Phone answer machine	49
Air conditioner	46
Copy machine	37
Cordless phone	33
VCR	27
Vacuum cleaner	22
Hair dryer	18
Automatic transmission	17
Dishwasher	15
Garbage Disposal	14
Mr. Coffee	11
Lawnmower	9

should we draw the line on a given item? What qualifies something to be a cadwo? That 60 percent or more feel they can't live without it? How about 50 percent?

While this list hardly includes all items that might be cadwos (particularly many new technologies such as cell phones and email), the results are interesting. Nearly everyone owns or has access to a refrigerator–and almost everyone (98%) agrees that refrigerators would be very hard to give up. Similarly, owners of clothes washers would also find clothes washers very hard to do without (90 %). The clothes washer result reflects results from an earlier study of why people rent things instead of buying them (Durgee and O'Connor 1995). In the rental study, low-income people were most reluctant to lose their rental washer-dryer combinations (versus rental TVs, furniture, stereos) because it would mean they would have to go back to the dreaded alternative of the laundromat.

On the other end, respondents were relatively amenable to parting with lawnmowers, Mr. Coffee machines, and hair dryers. Asked to separate out items they really need versus those they need less, people tend to put these types of items in the latter category.

Thus, key criteria distinguishing cadwos from other products include the following:

1. *Frequent use*. Refrigerators, clothes washers and personal computers are used on a daily basis. As indicated earlier, these items become embedded in daily rituals and routines. Like retired executives who sorely miss their administrative assistants, consumers who are denied access to these technologies are very frustrated.

Most of the cadwos represent interesting solutions to daily, long-nagging problems. Many years ago, it was an ongoing struggle to get the laundry done–so clothes washers represented a welcome solution. Waiting for the bank to open was a long-nagging problem so ATMs were a Godsend. If a cadwo is broken or missing, the user feels the loss on a sustained basis. If the personal computer is broken, one probably needs to find some type of substitute every day until it is fixed.

2. *Multi-functionality*. People keep inventing new uses for the products at the top of the lists. Personal computers can do many different tasks, microwave ovens can cook many different foods, and refrigerators preserve lots of foods as well as help make them (Jell-o, fudge). In contrast, lawnmowers simply cut grass, hair dryers dry hair, and Mr. Coffee makes coffee.

That a new product should stress many different capabilities represents a somewhat different approach from most new product thinking today. Urban and Hauser (l993), for example, stress the importance of the new product CBP or "core benefit proposition." The CBP is a highly focused function or capability of a new product that becomes the starting point and inspiration for all design and marketing efforts for that product. The CBP for Tylenol, for example, is that it is a pain reliever that doesn't upset one's stomach. The CBP approach probably explains the market success of Porsche automobiles. Porsches are highly focused high performance cars, and everything about them–advertising, racing programs, and styling–reflects this identity. If they are cadwos, it's because this identity resonates extremely well with Porsche buyers. They would be unable to part with their cars because of a purely emotional bond. In our model, however, a more likely car cadwo would be a truck, van, SUV or station wagon. Suburban women in the US report being highly dependent on their mini-vans. They might not like being referred to as "soccer moms" (Fournier) but they value their vans for their abilities to carry children, groceries, pets, large household items, etc. Versatility and multi-functionality have been identified in earlier studies as key determinants of "product rightness" (Durgee and O'Connor l995).

3. *Localize functions in time and place*. If one is using an old icebox instead of a refrigerator, one needs to buy ice, haul it to the box, and get rid of the melted ice water. In other words, with an old icebox, there are many actions over time that involve some physical distance from the box. With a refrigerator, in contrast, all relevant operations and functions are localized in the technology in time and place. The interaction with the technology is concentrated and brief. The time difference in using a cadwo such as a clothes washer versus an old hand washboard is much greater than the difference in using a lawnmower versus an old push mower, or a Mr. Coffee versus an old coffee percolator. People rely on cadwos to save time.

Obviously, many of these criteria overlap. Multi-functionality relates closely with localizing a lot of functions, and it also relates directly with frequent usage. The important thing to remember is the extent to which cadwos seem to put more and more tentacles into separate activity or function areas in peoples' lives. If a cadwo is taken away, it can impact many different activity spheres.

How Can New Product Planners Generate Ideas for New Cadwos?

In order to come up with ideas for new cadwos, the first step is to consider the types of long-nagging problems referred to above. For products in the category, what are some ongoing obvious and non-obvious problems? What aspects of the product design or consumption ritual are particularly bothersome?

Once these problems are identified, the next step is to come up with relevant solutions. It might be said, for example, that the problem of rushed dinners found a "solution" in the microwave oven, and the problems associated with high fat foods led to low-fat foods.

The next step is to screen the solutions or new product ideas in terms of the cadwo criteria above. An idea is more likely to be a cadwo if the product will be used often, has many different functions, and concentrates functions and operations in time and place. Thus far, electric cars have not been very successful in the market. They might be used on a daily basis, but they don't have many functions other than limited personal travel.

A lot of imagination is required here, but the main requirement is that the product planner has a lot of empathy with target buyers.

This is important because the planner should be able to screen the ideas based on his or her feelings about *whether or not he or she could live without this product after having used it for one year*. What would it feel like to use the product in question for a year, and then have to give it up?

Back to automobiles. The automobile itself is probably a major cadwo insofar as providers of mass transit have tried many years to lure drivers from their cars but seldom succeeded. Inside the automobile, car owners report that many seemingly trivial recent innovations have become important parts of their daily drives. The cup-holder is one and so is the car phone.

What are some new ideas for automobiles and other categories that might become cadwos? What are some new ideas for other categories?

Sample Cadwo Concepts

This section reviews sample concepts for new products from three categories: automobiles, personal computers, and cameras. The ideation process described above was followed, and the resulting concepts are listed below. All concepts are intended to be cadwos.

Five-Minute Autopilot: An automatic steering and driving control that lets drivers do other things for brief, 5-minute intervals. The car is guided by reading the side of the road or the car in front. Benefit: drivers can do other activities: consult map, quiet children, operate other controls in car for brief moments. Device is completely safe because driver can override it at any moment.

Mouthpiece Machine: A device attached to the plumbing and a control center under the bathroom sink by two long hoses. At the end of the hose is a device that resembles the mouthpiece unit from a scuba gear regulator or a common snorkel that fits in the mouth and around the outside of the lips. A button is pushed on the wall which activates, in quick sequence: (1) A quick stream of water in and out of the mouth through the hose; (2) A stream of warm water in and out of mouth which carries liquid toothpaste; (3) Brushes are activated in the mouthpiece to brush the teeth and gums; (4) A stream of warm rinse water goes in and out of the mouth through the hose; and (5) A final stream of mouthwash goes quickly in and out of the mouth through the hose, all actions taking 4 seconds or less, hands free.

Power Boost Pill: A pill that can be taken for temporary boosts of physical strength. If one needs to lift heavy objects, engage in a physically difficult sport, be prepared to defend oneself, this pill greatly enhances muscle strength. This pill is completely safe.

No Sleep Pill: A pill that enables one to stay awake and fully alert for 40 straight hours. The user then gets a regular 8-hour sleep, and can go back to his or her normal routine. This pill is completely safe.

How Should Cadwos Be Evaluated in Consumer Tests Since They Do Not Involve Standard "Liking" Measures Found in Most Concept Tests but Rather Measures of Unwillingness to Give Up?

The point was made earlier that by their nature, cadwo concepts are difficult to assess using standard concept tests. It is difficult to assess their appeal and long-term market success. It is only through beta testing that users can actually experience the item and appreciate how important it might become in their daily lives.

Could cadwos be identified before a beta test? Could consumer respondents imagine their lives with these innovations and the impact of having them taken away? How would the products above perform in a standard concept test insofar as they came out of the cadwo ideation process? What would a cadwo test be like?

In order to explore these questions, two samples of undergraduate students were exposed to the four ideas described above.

TABLE 3

Average Ratings for Cadwo Concepts in Terms of Overall Likeability and Unwillingness to Give Up (1-10 scales)

Concept (N)	Likeability (58)	Unwillingness to Give Up (62)
Car 5-min. autopilot	7.29	7.02
Mouthpiece machine	4.24	4.84
Power Boost Pill	5.66	7.58
No-Sleep Pill	7.45	8.16

The samples consisted of equal numbers of males and females, and included 58 respondents in the first sample, and 62 in the second. The first sample was asked to read the concepts and rate each concept in terms of overall likeability, from one to ten (low like to high; see Crawford l991). The second sample was asked to read the same concepts then follow these instructions: "Imagine for a few minutes what it would be like to have and use this product on a regular basis. Close your eyes and picture yourself using it on a regular basis including all the things you could do with it, all the things it would make possible. After using it for 6 months, how hard would it be to give it up? (Circle number, from 1 to 10, 'Easy to give up' versus 'Hard to give up'.)" The goal in the latter question is to push them into imagining each item as part of their daily routines and how they feel in depth about having that item in these routines.

Results

Results (Table 3) reflect the generally high acceptance for all the concepts except the mouthpiece machine.

To repeat, these concepts were deliberately developed to represent cadwos. They were intended to meet as many cadwo criteria as possible: frequent use, multi-functionality and general high daily life dependency–so the favorable results (except for the mouthpiece machine) are not too surprising. In fact, most concepts generated very animated responses as respondents later spoke of new uses and applications for each: "I could use the autopilot to look at maps," "I could read the paper and drive!" While it turned out that one item already exists (no sleep pill), nearly all of the respondents were not aware of it, so it was still a valid representation of a new product idea.

Looking across the numbers, there was not much change from likeability ratings to ratings regarding unwillingness to give up. Respondents seemed to have their minds made up about the general desirability of an item, so there would not be much change. It was expected that concepts that scored relatively low in terms of likeability might do better when tested on the cadwo dimension. While there was no increase in the scores for the autopilot, there were increases for the mouthpiece machine, the power boost pill, and the no sleep pill. For these products, in cases where conventional concepts tests might suggest a good market for the product, a cadwo question would indicate a market that is a little stronger and more promising.

The question–would you be willing to give this up after a year–is one that would certainly gather more information in concept research, particularly qualitative research.

Summary

The purpose of this paper was to explore the idea of the cadwo, a type of product that consumers feel they cannot do without. Results from two studies indicated that consumers are able to rank order everyday goods along this dimension, and can represent products in terms of those they can live without–versus those they would never part with. The latter all seem to have the attributes of frequent daily use and multi-functionality. Directions were provided for how to think up ideas for cadwos, and results from a small test were reported which explored how to identify cadwos in a list of new product concepts.

In order to market cadwos, it would probably be necessary to include a lengthy trial period. People might be initially skeptical of the product since many are very unique. The trial would give them a good opportunity to invent new uses for the product and feel it was a cadwo.

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Advertising in 1920s Shanghai: Globalization and Localization in the World of Calendar Advertising

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Most recently emerging research on Chinese consumption and advertising focuses on contemporary big cities in China, regardless the fact that historical research can also offer important potential for expanding our understanding of inherently dynamic consumption and advertising phenomena in current China. Prior research also tends to view globalization manifested in consumption and advertising as a fairly new phenomena emerging after the late 1970s' economic reformation. However, there is a missing part in the marketing literature: 1920s Shanghai, which at that time was the fifth biggest city in the world and very much a cosmopolitan metropolis. Chinese consumers, as represented in the increasing research on contemporary China, still find preserving their established way of life as problematic as their predecessors at the turn of last century. At the same time, advertisers found it daunting to persuade people with a long, distinguished history and tradition to change their habits of mind and living patterns. Like today global and foreign appeals didn't always work well in 1920s Shanghai. Examining China's first exposure to global advertising also shows how advertising, along with other forces, works to transform society.

In this paper, a unique form of advertising, commercial calendars are chosen for the semiotic analysis from a pool of over 150 pieces (more than 10% of those left today in the world). The emergence of commercial calendars was due to the early advertisers' failure in promoting their products with images of George Washington and Western women in China. Commercial calendars originated from traditional Chinese New Year pictures, which were used for lunar New Year celebration and decorations, and which were rich in symbolic meanings. Advertisers incorporated traditional New Year Pictures to carry not only the auspicious symbols and historic characters from traditional Chinese folklore, but also a Chinese lunar calendar and pictures of the branded goods of their sponsors. Later Yue Fen Pai are usually composed of an oblong rectangular frame as used in traditional Chinese scroll paintings, with a portrait of an idealized and modernized Chinese woman in western style decorated settings and with other symbols of modernity such as electrical appliances and airplanes. At the bottom there was a calendar and on top was printed the name of the advertiser, most often a cigarette and medicine company.

Commercial calendars were not only used by foreign advertisers to make their product appear less exotic an more friendly but also to co-opt a local identity during times of anti-foreign boycotts in China. In doing this, the products were likely to be associated with nationalistic sentiments among consumers and proved effective. Domestic merchants also used commercial calendars to promote a sense of modernity and being foreign.

Commercial calendars had far more influences on social changes. The inscription of the Western calendar institution onto the Chinese lunar calendar helped change time concepts in people's mind and are these new time concepts are regarded as a foundation of Chinese modernity. The influences of globalization are also found to manifest in the changes of dressing styles depicted in commercial calendars. The emergence of a new fashion style is analyzed as a collective rite of social passage from Chinese feudal society to a modern Republican China, as manifest in people's clothing by the late 1920s. Prior research points out clothing changes often correlate with social changes and Gennep's theory about rite of passage seems quite applicable in this case.

Although calendar advertising invoked dramatic social changes, traditions and cultural values were not necessarily diminished, as seen in the analysis of calendar pictures. Women's roles were still depicted as fixed in homes and focused on the cultivation of children. Emphases on Chinese family values were still dominant. Furthermore, the Western oil painting techniques were adopted to promote Chinese folklore.

The discussion also indicates that modernization and globalization are not merely simple breaks with the past. The competition between the global and local forces was prominent in the material and cultural transformation of Chinese lives and manifested in calendar advertising in 1920s Shanghai, and it is still evident in present day China and contemporary advertising. In this competition, foreign goods are transformed into symbols of modernity, social status, and cosmopolitanism. Although examples from the last century clearly illustrate that to make products and advertising appear as Western as possible cannot guarantee advertising success in China, such lessons are being learned again and again in the present. Many advertisers still appear to assume that West is best and Western straightforward advertising will work the same way in China. The paper also contributes to the field by adopting semiotic theory to Chinese advertising research and historical data.

A Comparative Content Analysis of Cambodian and Thai Print Advertisements

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ABSTRACT

Cambodian and Thai print advertisements were content analyzed to examine how content and advertising expression differed in the two countries and at two different time periods, 1995 and 2000. Analysis focused on traditional Western and emotional appeals and traditional Eastern and informational appeals. As hypothesized, Cambodian ads contained fewer emotional and Western appeals than Thai ads, while Thai ads were found to contain fewer informational cues and traditional Eastern appeals than Cambodian ads. Furthermore, the study found that in both 1995 and 2000 Cambodian ads were less influenced by Western appeals than Thai ads.

LITERATURE BACKGROUND

As the world shrinks, interest in empirical comparative communication analysis grows. Doyle (2001) presents a dozen studies of the meaning of money within and across prominent European and Asian cultures. The theme of this collection is that many of the people of the world differ in their financial values, attitudes, and behaviors, and in ways predicted by his (1999) model. The thrust of this literature is that there are important differences that influence how people in different cultures experience the material world and communicate those experiences to others.

In advertising, Hofstede (1980) studied work related values of men and women comprising the majority of the middle classes across different cultures in various developed and developing countries. The purpose of Hofstede's study was to measure how advertising appeals differ between countries to reflect the various dimensions of cultural values in those countries. He found that advertising appeals strongly reflected the cultural values of the selected countries. For example, Hofstede found that countries that value collectivism (such as Japan, Hong Kong, Taiwan, China, and India) employed more collectivism, masculinity, and power distance values in advertising appeals. While countries such as the United States, Finland, and France that value individualism employed more individual determinism in advertising appeals.

Belk and his associates (1985) studied cultural values in Japan and America. They found that even though evidence suggests the need for increasing Americanization in Japanese ads their studies revealed that deep-seated Japanese cultural values remain strong. For example, Belk and Brace found that Japanese ads stress status symbols, while American ads put more emphasis on individual determinism.

Biswas, Olsen, and Carlet (1992) found that French advertisements employed more emotional appeals, humor, and sex, while American advertisements used more informational cues. Graham, Kamins, and Oetomo (1993) found that German advertisers did relatively little to tailor their ads to foreign markets, whereas Japanese advertisers did relatively a lot. Thus, it would appear that different cultures communicate their advertising messages differently both in their home markets and in foreign markets.

In our particular area of geographical interest, Southeast Asia, Shultz and Tith (1997) researched consumer behavior and economic development in Cambodia, while Wongthada and Leelakalthanit (1997) researched consumer behavior and economic development in Thailand. The interpretation in Shultz et al. and Wongthada emphasized the probable effects of socio-political transition on advertising in Cambodia and Thailand.

The present study is a comparative content analysis of advertising expression in Cambodia and Thailand in the years 1995 and 2000. These two Southeast Asian countries are geographically adjacent and culturally similar, but at very different stages of economic development. For example, the literacy rate in Cambodia is about 56%, in Thailand, about 87% (Backhaus et al. 1994). The predominant languages–Khmer in Cambodia, Thai in Thailand–are quite similar. Neither language uses either articles or subject/verb agreements, nouns and pronouns do not clearly distinguish either number or gender, and verbs do not distinguish either numbers or persons. But, like some American Indian languages (Doyle, 2000), both are highly contextual, and considerably more emotive and expressive than Western languages. Accordingly, both Cambodian and Thai people tend to be more subtle than Westerners, and rely on non-verbal and contextual cues when communicating (Keo and Chu, 1999). In terms of religion, Cambodia and Thailand are almost identical, they both practice Hanyana Buddhism. The political systems are also similar in both countries. They are both constitutional monarchies with the king serving as Head of the State. The king's sovereignty in both countries is expected from the people and his constitutional power is exercised through the National Assembly, the Council of Ministers (Cabinet) and the Courts.

On the other hand, the two countries differ quite dramatically in economy and recent socio-political history. The Gross National Product (GNP) in Cambodia was $1,200 in 1995 and $1,666 in 2000; in Thailand the GNP was $5,500 in 1995 and $5,665 in 2000 (Global EDGE, 2000). Cambodia is just beginning to engage in international trade, and only recently has modern consumerism begun to emerge, then only in the major cities. Thailand, on the other hand, has been a partner in international trade since the 1970s, and has been supporting a vital consumer economy built on gold, gemstones, and other natural resources. Perhaps most important of all, Thailand has managed to sidestep the catastrophic political turmoil–exemplified in the atrocities of the "killing fields"–that decimated Cambodian society during the last decades of the twentieth century. Even after the end of the Pol Pot regime in 1979, the new Cambodian government was still not allowed to engage in free-market economic activities. In 1979, the new government instead adopted socialistic, centrally controlled ways of market management. The government did not interact with industrialized, democratic countries (western countries) for economic development purposes.

Between 1995 and 2000 the Cambodian government finally created free-market policies and started to expand its economic involvement with western companies. The new free market between the Cambodian government and western companies grew rapidly during this period. This period of time is perhaps the most dramatic in modern Cambodian history in terms growth and development.

The present study concentrates on traditional Eastern and traditional Western appeals and emotional and informational content. Traditional Eastern appeals in advertising reflect the extent to which advertising content relates to cultural values of either Cambodia or Thailand. Traditional Western appeals in advertising reflect the extent to which advertising content relates to Western cultural values. Emotionality in advertising reflects the extent to which ads rely on creating or building affect, or the "subjective impressions of intangible aspects of a product" (Holbrook, Morris,

TABLE 1[1]

Operationalization Definitions of Traditional, Western, Emotional, and Informational Appeals

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Traditional Appeals:
1) <u>Respect for the elderly</u>: The emphasis here is on younger peoples' respect for older people.
2) <u>Patriotism</u>: the ads must show or give some information about patriotism. A typical example would be like "Angkor My Country, My Beer".
3) <u>Morality</u>: Humane, just, fair, honest, ethical, reputable, principled, religious, devoted, spiritual.
4) <u>Modesty</u>: Being modest, naïve, demure, innocent, inhibited, bashful, reserved, timid, coy, shy.

Western Appeals:
1) <u>Convenience</u>: A product is suggested to be handy and easy to use.
2) <u>Sexy</u>: erotic relations: holding hands, kissing, embracing between lovers, dating, romance, intense sensuality, feeling sexual, erotic behavior, lust, earthiness, indecency, attractiveness of clearly sexual nature and sexually revealing dress.
3) <u>Comfortable</u>: warmth, cozy, at home, serene, and at peace.
4) <u>Funny</u>: humor, and amusing.

Emotional Appeals:
1) <u>Happy</u>: The product shows a happy moment when you use it.
2) <u>Surprised</u>: shocking, unbelievable, and out of the ordinary.
3) <u>Pleasant</u>: soothing, inviting, and enjoyable.
4) <u>Interested</u>: attractive, revealing, and new concepts etc.

Informativeness of Advertising:
1) <u>Price-value</u>: the price of the product must appear on the ads.
2) <u>Quality</u>: The product's characteristics that distinguish it from competing products based on an objective evaluation of workmanship, engineering, durability, excellence of materials, structural superiority of personnel, attention to detail or special services.
3) <u>Guarantees and warranties</u>: the assurance of the product that the company offers.
4) <u>New ideas</u>: New concepts introduced with the product.

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[1]Some of the Operationalization Definitions were cited from Cheng, Hofstede, and Polley

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& O'Shaughnessy, 1984), as contrasted to informational appeals, which build on the logical and objective description of a product. Informational appeals in ads reflect the extent to which information is provided to allow the consumer to make intelligent choices among alternatives (Stern, Krugman, & Resnik, 1981).

The value of a study of traditional Eastern and traditional Western appeals and emotional and informational expression in Cambodian versus Thai magazine ads is both practical and theoretical. Practically, it may generate insights that can help advertising professionals develop ads that are increasingly suitable to the target populations in these and similar non-western nations. Theoretically, it explores the influence of dramatic socio-environmental events and external pressures on the evolution of cultures, and the receptiveness of culture to such influences.

METHOD

Design. This is a traditional content-analysis study in a 2x2 factorial design. The four factors are traditional Eastern versus traditional Western and emotional appeals versus informational appeals. To operationalize traditional versus western appeals, 20 Thai and Cambodian students studying at a Midwestern university in the United States participated in a focus group in which they were asked to define the differences between traditional and western appeals. Subjective analysis of the discussion produced four principal attributes of Traditional appeals–"respectful," "patriotic," "moral," and "modest" (Table 1)–and four principal attributes of Western appeals–"sexy," "funny," "comfortable," and emphasizing "product/service convenience" (Table 1b). We created a five-

point modified semantic differential scale for each of these attributes.

Instrumentation. To operationalize emotional versus informative, we used Plutchik's abbreviated Mood Rating Scale (Stutts, 1982). This scale uses four adjectives selected from Plutchik's longer checklist: "happy," "pleasant," "interested," and "surprised." We set these in five-point scales similar to the preceding. In addition, we selected four elements from Stern and Resnik's "informativeness" classification (1978) and set these, too, in a semantic differential format: "Price/Value," "Quality," "Guarantees and Warranties," and "New Ideas." Table 1 includes descriptions of each of the 16 attributes that comprise our measures.

Stimulus Materials. We chose the three highest-circulation general and women's magazines from each country, on the assumption that most consumer purchases were made by the kinds of people who read these magazines. Table 3 identifies and describes the six magazines. Twelve issues were selected for both periods 1995 and 2000 between May and June from each country's magazines, resulting in a total of 24 issues examined.

We collected the ads for every personal and non-personal product that appeared in these issues. Personal products included shampoo, soap, body lotion, sanitary pads, and toothpaste; non-personal products included detergent, fabric rinse, and dishwashing liquid. This resulted in 15 ads from Cambodian magazines, and 20 from Thai.

Coding. Two Cambodian (one male and one female) and two Thai (one male and one female) coders completed our four rating instruments for each of the ads from their own country. The average

TABLE 2
Scaling or Evaluation for Coders

Judge No.—————
Ad No.—————

I. Traditional Appeals:
Please put a check next to each appeal if you think an ad includes that appeal.

1/ Does not depict respect for elderly	1	2	3	4	5	Depicts very strong respect for elderly
2/ Does not show patriotism	1	2	3	4	5	Depicts very strong patriotism
3/ Does not depict morality	1	2	3	4	5	Depicts very strong morality
4/ Does not depict modesty	1	2	3	4	5	Depicts modesty

II. Western appeals:
Please put a check next to each appeal if you think an ad includes that appeal.

1/ Not convenient	1	2	3	4	5	Very convenient
2/ Not sexy	1	2	3	4	5	Very sexy
3/ Not comfortable	1	2	3	4	5	Very comfortable
4/ Not funny	1	2	3	4	5	Very funny

III Emotional Appeals:
Please identify the way you feel after seeing each ad by assigning the appropriate number (between 1 and 5) next to each word.

1/ Not happy	1	2	3	4	5	Very happy
2/ Not surprised	1	2	3	4	5	Very surprised
3/ Not pleasant	1	2	3	4	5	Very pleasant
4/ Not interesting	1	2	3	4	5	Very Interesting

IV/ Informativeness of Advertising:
Please put a check next to each information cue if you think an ad includes that information.

1/ Does not depict price-value	1	2	3	4	5	Depicts price value
2/ Does not depict quality	1	2	3	4	5	Depict quality
3/ Does not depict warranties	1	2	3	4	5	Depict warranties
4/ Does not depict new idea	1	2	3	4	5	Depict new ideas

rater-reliability coefficient for each instrument among Cambodian raters for Cambodian ads in 1995 were .84 for the traditional appeals, .85 for western appeals, .76 for emotional appeals, .78 for informativeness (see table 4 for the rest of the averages of the rater-reliability coefficients). The two coders from Cambodia were a 28 year old male graduate student, and a 30 year old female full-time employee in a large corporation. They are both fluent in English and Khmer. The two Thai coders were both undergraduate students, one male age 23 and one female age 24. They are both fluent in English and Thai.

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Table 5 shows that the mean rating on Western Influence for Year 2000 ads was always higher than the mean rating for Year 1995 ads, and that the mean rating for Thai ads was always greater than the corresponding rating for Cambodian ads, p-values ranging from .05 to .001. From this we conclude that the coders saw the Thai ads as always more Western-influenced, more so in 2000 than in 1995. The strongest differences occur on "funny" and "convenience."

Table 6 shows that the mean rating on Traditional influence is, with one exception, always higher for the Cambodian ads, and always higher for Year 1995 than Year 2000, p-values ranging from .05 to .001. These results confirm the Table 6 results, and indicate that the Cambodian ads, especially the Year 1995 ones, are more traditional. The strongest differences are on "modesty" (1995) and "respect for the elderly" (2000). The one exception is the negligible difference on "modesty" (2000). From this we conclude that advertising appeals based on traditional values are generally decreasing.

Tables 7 and 8 show fewer clear patterns. Table 7 shows that Thai ads generally used more emotionality than Cambodian ads, and that both Cambodian and Thai ads generally used more emotionality in 2000 than in 1995. "Happy" decreased in both countries from 1995-2000. Roughly confirming this pattern, table 8 shows that Cambodian ads generally used more informative appeals than Thai ads in 1995 and perhaps in 2000, although the size of the differences is shrinking. Table 8 shows that "Price/value" decreased in Cambodia but increased in Thailand from 1995-2000.

DISCUSSION

This comparative content analysis of advertisement in popular Cambodian and Thai magazines shows clearly that Cambodian ads employed more appeals to Eastern traditional values and informational cues than Thai advertisements, particularly in 1995, and, conversely, that Thai ads employed more appeals to Western values

TABLE 3
Magazines' Type and Its Name

Cambodian Magazines	Thailand Magazines
Popular: Coase Khmer (*Khmer' Island*)	Popular: Thairat
Entertainment: Monoust-Mey (*New people*)	Entertainment: Metro:Magazines
Women's: Satrey Khmer (*Khmer Lady*)	Women's: Prail (*Shining*)

TABLE 4
Inter-Coder Reliability[a]

	Traditional Appeals	Western Appeals	Emotional Appeals	Informativeness
Between Cambodian Rater: 1995 ads	.84	.85	.76	.78
Between Cambodian Rater: 2000 ads	.81	.83	.79	.81
Between Thai Rater: 1995 ads	.71	.81	.83	.79
Between Thai Raters: 2000 ads	.81	.90	.85	.81

[a]Pearson correlation coefficients.

and emotionality, particularly in 2000. The differences between cultures and time periods centered in sexuality and modesty, and to a lesser extent, humor (funny).

The findings suggest that there are not only general cultural factors and consumption patterns, and psychological characteristics that influence the process of print advertising in Cambodia and Thailand, but also other socioeconomic factors such as the political system, the level of economic development, and literacy rates influence the practices of advertising professionals and the preferences of consumers in these two adjacent and similar countries.

Although the findings were satisfactory with regard to the hypotheses, there were some limitations to this study. First, the sample of ads coded was relatively small. Second, the content analysis was conducted only with two coders for each country's ads, thus leading to a problematic interpretation of the data.

In the practical world of advertising, these findings may help advertising professionals gain some insight into the differences between the perceptions of Cambodia and Thailand's consumers, and give insight as to the best approach in those seemingly similar but distinguishable advertising markets.

From a theoretical standpoint, these findings are consistent with Gramsci's (1992) notion of hegemony, the intrusion of Western values and practices into developing nations. From this vantage, whether the intrusion is welcome or unwelcome, greater power exerts influence and control over the weaker power. When the intrusion is unwelcome, it is called "cultural imperialism" or "hegemony." When welcome, it is called "spontaneous consent" (Gramsci, 1992). But the findings are no less consistent with the more benign interpretation that, absent totalitarian and terroristic governmental oppression, increases in international communication leads developing nations to admire and choose to adopt Western values and practices, just like Western nations adopt values and practices from developing nations. Politics, like beauty, is in the eye of the beholder.

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TABLE 5
Mean Scores for Western Appeals of Cambodian and Thai Ads for Both Periods
(t-value and F-value)

Countries	Years	Types of Appeals			
		Sexy	Funny	Perfect	Convenience
Cambodia	1995	3.00	3.45	2.89	2.39
	2002	4.01	3.79	3.91	3.70
Mean differences		-1.01	-.34	-1.02	-1.31
t-Value		t= 3.09	t=1.01	t= 3.09	t= 3.12
p-Value		p<.00	p<.12	p<.00	p<.00
Thailand	1995	3.54	3.44	3.98	3.30
	2000	4.98	5.00	4.79	5.00
Mean Differences		-1.44	-1.56	-81	-1.70
t-Value		t= 3.10	t=3.23	t=2.49	t=3.31
p-Value		p<.00	p<.00	p<.01	p<.00

ANOVA Results (Between Countries)

		df	F	Sig.
SEXY	(Between Countries)	1,138	3.142	.05
FUNNY	(Between Countries)	1,138	7.145	.00
PERFECT	(Between Countries)	1,138	3.389	.03
CONVEN	(Between Countries)	1,138	4.853	.01

TABLE 6
Mean Scores for Eastern traditional Appeals of Cambodian and Thai Ads for Both Periods
(t-value and F-value)

Countries	Years	Types of Appeals			
		Respect	Patriotism	Morality	Modesty
Cambodia	1995	4.98	4.00	3.90	4.12
	2000	4.00	3.59	3.00	3.00
Mean Differences		.98	.46	.90	1.12
t-Value		t=2.56	t=1.30	t=2.50	t=3.05
p-Value		p<.01	p<.10	p<.01	p<.00
Thailand	1995	3.22	3.81	3.49	3.11
	2000	3.14	3.00	2.89	2.90
Mean Differences		.08	.81	.60	.21
t-Value		t=.12	t=2.49	t=2.00	t=.96
p-Value		no	p<.01	p<.06	p<.34

ANOVA Results (Between Countries)

		df	F	Sig.
RESPECT	(Between Countries)	1,138	7.129	.00
PATRIOTISM	(Between Countries)	1,138	10.44	.00
MORALITY	(Between Countries)	1,138	3.15	.05
MODESTY	(Between Countries)	1,138	2.14	.08

TABLE 7
Mean Scores of Emotional Appeals for Cambodian and Thailand Ads for Both Periods
(t-Value and F-Value)

Countries	Years	Types of Appeals			
		Happy	Pleasant	Surprised	Interesting
Cambodia	1995	3.10	3.21	3.34	3.12
	2000	2.21	3.80	4.01	3.89
Mean Differences		.89	-.59	-.67	-.77
t-Value		t=2.49	t=2.00	t=2.18	2.23
p-Value		p<.01	p<.06	p<.05	p<.05
Thailand	1995	4.68	3.77	3.84	3.54
	2000	3.65	4.91	4.78	4.60
Mean Differences		1.03	-1.14	-.94	1.06
t-Value		t= 3.00	t=3.08	t=2.89	t=3.04
p-Value		p<.00	p<.00	p<.01	p<.00

ANOVA Results (Between Countries)

		df	F	Sig.
HAPPY	(Between Countries)	1,138	3.16	.04
PLEASANT	(Between Countries)	1,138	5.85	.01
SURPRISED	(Between Countries)	1,138	4.62	.01
INTERESTING	(Between Countries)	1,138	3.00	.05

TABLE 8
Mean Scores of Informational Cues for Cambodian and Thailand Ads in both Periods
(t-Value and F-Value)

Countries	Years	Types of Appeals			
		Price Value	Quality	Warranty	New Idea
Cambodia	1995	4.90	3.94	3.89	3.55
	2000	3.91	3.19	4.91	4.60
Mean differences		.99	.75	1.02	-1.05
t-Value		t=2.89	t=2.39	t=3.00	t=3.01
p-Value		p<.01	p<.05	p<.00	p<.00
Thailand	1995	3.78	3.51	3.32	3.42
	2000	4.89	3.78	4.25	3.91
Mean Differences		-1.11	1.27	-.93	-.49
t-Value		t=3.08	t=3.20	t=2.79	t=1.90
p-Value		p<.00	p<.00	p<.01	p<.06

ANOVA Results (Between Countries)

		df	F	Sig.
PRICE VALUE	(Between Countries)	1,138	3.41	.05
QUALITY	(Between Countries)	1,138	9.87	.00
WARRANTY	(Between Countries)	1,138	3.26	.05
NEW IDEA	(Between countries)	1,138	2.16	.08

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The Consumer versus the Judge: An Empirical Comparison of Approaches to Content Analysis in Cross-Cultural Advertising Research

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Recent interest in cross-cultural advertising research has led to several empirical studies that examine similarities and differences in advertising content between various countries. Cross-cultural studies of this kind typically use content analysis as the primary, if not only, method for comparing ads. Whereas content analysis was originally devised to quantify qualitative data through the capture of the presence, or frequency, of a word or object, it is more widely applied today to capture meaning. Such usage suggests that the selection of judges together with the type of content to be coded might have a significant impact on validity regardless of the care with which coding categories are devised and coder instructions prepared. For example, the language background (i.e. monolingual or bilingual) of the judges selected to code the material may influence the reliability and validity of the findings. Additionally, the type of content (i.e., object or narrative) selected may have an effect on the level of implicit versus explicit interpretation that is required from the judge.

One option is for researchers to select judges that appear similar to the target audience and are therefore presumably able and qualified to correctly interpret the ads and assign valid codes. This typically means using two sets of monolingual judges each to code ads from their own country. Since these judges presumably have the linguistic and cultural knowledge required to properly classify the ads under study, this approach represents an attempt to increase interjudge reliability, category reliability, and validity *within* each country analysis. However, the use of monolingual judges poses a methodological problem when researchers wish to compare advertising content *between* countries. More specifically, interjudge reliability cannot be calculated across the various stimuli collected from the countries under study unless there is an overlap in material which is not the case.

In recognition of this limitation, some researchers have used a bilingual judge in conjunction with monolingual judges, or alternatively, a single set of bilingual judges. Unfortunately, interjudge reliability between bilingual and monolingual judges tends to fall below the recommended guideline. Bilingual judges, however, tend to achieve higher interjudge reliability rates thus allowing the researcher to determine whether the codes have been applied to the ads from both countries in a consistent fashion. However, consistent application of a coding scheme does not guarantee validity nor does it guarantee that the code is being used in a manner that is relevant to the hypotheses under question. In other words, the judges must be cultural translators as well as language translators.

One remedy to these methodological problems suggested by Lerman and Callow (1999) is the development of narrative texts from native consumers for each ad under study. The purpose of this stage is to convert any implicit messages in the ads to explicit information. Once this cultural interpretation has taken place, judges are then used to categorize the narratives. Since the material has been converted from an advertising format comprising both visual and verbal elements into more explicit textual narratives, the judges can rely on language skills instead of interpretative skills to classify the material.

These various approaches to content analysis were tested in a study comparing ads from Spain and the United States. Five pairs of judges, two bilingual and three monolingual, coded either the ads directly or narratives of the ads. Ten ads for hard liquor and ten ads for cars were selected from each country. All ads appeared in either the American magazine *GQ* or the Spanish magazine *Quo*. Ten consumers in each country who fit the demographic profile of the magazine readership (male between the ages of 22 and 35) and thus are presumably in the target market for the ads served as ad interpreters and provided the narratives to be coded. The coding scheme consisted of nine codes: traditional, modern, productivity, enjoyment, independence, status, affiliation, family, and morality. These codes represent a subset of values that Pollay (1983) identified as expressed in advertising and recommends for use as a coding scheme in advertising research.

A comparison of both interjudge reliability rates and substantive results based on a series of chi-square analyses indicates the superiority of narrative coding over ad coding in cross-cultural advertising research. The results also offer evidence that monolingual narrative coding is preferable to bilingual narrative coding. These findings call into question the results of numerous cross-cultural advertising studies. More specifically, they suggest that their findings are, at least in part, a function of the approach chosen by the researchers. The fact that researchers have used different approaches to content analysis introduces further confusion since the direction of the error may vary from study to study. Given these issues, the paper makes a number of recommendations for increasing the methodological rigor of content analysis for cross-cultural advertising research and offers some direction for making sense of prior research results in light of methodological concerns.

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Beyond Valence: Negative Affect and its Effects on Consumer Decision Making

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SESSION OVERVIEW

Anger, sadness, anxiety, fear–what do they have in common? All these are emotions that possess a negative valence. Does that mean that their effect on variables such as risk assessment, choice, and perception of future events is the same? This is the question that this session addressed. All the three papers presented in the session highlighted the impact of different discrete negative emotions (e.g., anger, fear, sadness) on a variety of decision-related dependent variables.

Researchers in the areas of social cognition and marketing have been examining incidental or context-based emotion and its effect on different aspects of consumer decision making. However, it is only recently that researchers have begun to explore the impact of different types of discrete emotions that have the same valence. The interesting finding across these studies was that same valence emotions differentially impact consumers' decision making. The papers in the session combined the insights from both marketing as well as the social cognition literature to present a broader spectrum of research that is being currently undertaken to draw new insights about consumer behavior.

Some researchers have looked at negative affect and its various components (Pham and Raghunathan, 1999; Pham et al, 2001; Keltner, Ellsworth, and Edwards, 1993; Lerner and Keltner, 2000; Lerner and Keltner, 2001; Tiedens and Linton, 2001). The research presented in this session built on this literature and combined it with learnings from other research areas such as decision complexity (Luce, 1998; Bettman, Luce and Payne, 1998; and Luce, Payne and Bettman, 1999) and affect and cognition (Zajonc, 1980; Ortony, Clore, and Collins, 1988). By integrating different research areas, the studies drew on a richer knowledge base and thereby increased our understanding of consumer decision making. Specifically, the objective of the session was to present a range of studies that draw on different theoretical bases and methodological aspects to highlight various facets of negative affect and thus present a more holistic view.

In the first paper, Michel Tuan Pham (Columbia University), Rajagopal Raghunathan (University of Texas at Austin) and Tamar Avnet (Columbia University), empirically examined the interface between affect and cognition. The authors investigated whether affect and cognition tap into separate systems in relation to the environment or instead simply represent different inputs operating within a single system. The authors suggested that one should look not at the phenomenology of "feeling" versus "thinking" or the correlation between feelings and thoughts, but at the functional properties of the two types of judgment inputs. The results of two studies were reported, along with theoretical and practical implications.

The second paper examined the interactive effect of task-related negative affect and incidental negative affect on consumer choice. The paper was co-authored by Nitika Garg, Jeff Inman, and Vikas Mittal (University of Pittsburgh). Specifically, in this research the authors explored the impact of different incidental negative emotions namely, anger and sadness, on consumer choice under high and low emotional trade-off difficulty. The authors argued that these negative emotions impact subject's degree of certainty and control causing subjects to display differential reliance on various avoidance choice strategies such that angry versus sad subjects exhibit greater reliance on status-quo under high

emotional trade-off difficulty. This is because subjects in the anger condition process the information more heuristically and thus, rely on the status-quo as a means to avoid the task-related negative affect whereas sad subjects process the information more systematically and exhibit a different choice pattern.

The last paper drew on growing literature that shows how emotions and risk perceptions affect one another. Co-authored by Jennifer S. Lerner, Roxana M. Gonzalez, Deborah A. Small, and Baruch Fischhoff (Carnegie Mellon University), the paper examined how the recent 9/11 terrorist attacks evoked negative emotions like anger and fear in people and its effect on perceptions of risk in a nationally representative field survey. The authors also explored the role of media portrayals of these news events that could evoke these emotions and consequently affect the risk perceptions.

This session brought together several leading scholars (e.g. Fischhoff, Pham, Lerner, Raghunathan) who have been very active in the field of negative affect and decision making. Further, the proposed session offered a variety of implications of negative affect useful for managers to public policy professional and highlighted its impact on people and their behavior in general. By employing a diverse set of methodologies (e.g., experiments, surveys) and settings (field, lab), the papers in the session also enabled an assessment of the findings' generalizability.

"On the Functional Independence of Feeling and Thinking"

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The interface between affect and cognition—and relatedly the relation between emotion and reason—has always intrigued social scientists. That affect and cognition represent different mental phenomena is well accepted. From a phenomenological standpoint, people, laypersons and scientists alike, experience no difficulty differentiating between the two kinds of phenomena. Empirically, research on the structure of attitudes has consistently identified two separable components: (a) an affective component, sometimes called hedonic or experiential, and (b) a cognitive component, sometimes called utilitarian or instrumental. Yet, that affect and cognition can be separated either conceptually or empirically does *not* necessarily mean that they represent separate *systems*, as Zajonc (1980) once argued in his well-known essay. For instance, research on emotional appraisal (e.g., Roseman 1991) and on the cognitive representation of emotion (e.g., Ortony, Clore, and Collins 1988) suggests that affect and cognition often interact with one another. The question of whether affect and cognition tap into separate systems of relation to the environment or instead simply represent different inputs operating within a *single* system remains open.

We suggest that to examine this important but very difficult question, one should look *not* at the phenomenology of "feeling" versus "thinking" or the correlation between feelings and thoughts, but at the *functional* properties of the two types of judgment inputs. In other words, regardless of how they are experienced and regardless of whether they are correlated, does "feeling" versus "thinking" make a difference in how people relate to their environment? We report two studies that tentatively suggest that it does.

The first study elaborates on Raghunathan and Pham (1999, OBHDP)'s recent finding that states of anxiety versus sadness provoke marked differences in people's decisions. In particular,

Raghunathan and Pham showed that, when given a choice between a high-risk/high-reward option and a low-risk/low-reward option, anxious individuals tend to prefer the low-risk/low-reward option, whereas sad individuals tend to prefer the high-risk/high-reward option. According to the authors, this is because people often make decisions by asking themselves "how do I feel about" the options (e.g., Pham 1998; Schwarz and Clore 1996). Feelings of anxiety signal that risks and uncertainty are relatively more important, whereas feelings of sadness signal that potential rewards are more important.

An important limitation of the Raghunathan and Pham (1999) studies is that they manipulated anxiety and sadness by having subjects empathize with anxiety-producing and sadness-producing scenarios. It is therefore possible that their results were not driven by feelings of anxiety and sadness per se, but by anxiety and sadness-related *cognitions* primed by the scenarios. In order to test explanation it is important to examine the effects of feelings of anxiety and sadness *independent* of anxiety and sadness-related cognitions. In this new study, 161 subjects were randomly assigned to the conditions of a 3 (scenario) x 2 (frame) design. As in Raghunathan and Pham, subjects were first exposed to a detailed scenario, then asked to make a choice between two options: one involving greater rewards and greater risks and one involving lower rewards and lowers risks. The first factor varied whether the scenario was anxiety-producing (learning about the possibility of having cancer), sadness-producing (witnessing a mother's death), or affect-neutral (experiencing a series of innocuous events). The second factor manipulated the frame of mind subjects adopted while reading the scenarios. In the "hot" frame condition, subjects were asked to *empathize* with the described situation (as in Raghunathan and Pham 1999). In the "cold" frame condition, subjects were asked to *analyze* the described situation. It was anticipated that, compared with subjects with the "empathize" frame, subjects with the "analyze" frame would be less likely to actually experience feelings of anxiety or sadness (e.g., Strack et al. 1985). Therefore, while all subjects were exposed to the same cognitive content (which was either anxiety-related, sadness-related, or affect-neutral) only those in the hot (empathize) frame condition were expected to experience genuine feelings. Results from an extended pretest among 86 subjects supported these assumptions. Specifically, they show that subjects exposed to the anxiety or sadness scenarios in the hot-frame condition did experience genuine feelings of anxiety or sadness. Those exposed to the same scenarios in the cold frame condition did not experience these feelings significantly. Results also show that the hot/cold framing manipulations did not influence the type of thoughts subjects had. In other words the framing manipulation was effective in blocking the feelings in the cold-frame conditions without blocking subjects' scenario-related thoughts.

The results of the main study show that, as predicted, the Raghunathan and Pham findings held in the hot frame condition but not in the cold frame condition. In the hot frame condition, where feelings were presumably indeed experienced, anxious subjects were again more likely to prefer the low-risk/low-reward option than sad subjects who were more likely to prefer the high-risk/high-reward option (neutral affect subjects had intermediate preferences). However, in the cold frame condition, there were no differences: subjects exposed to the anxiety scenario had similar preferences as those exposed to the sadness scenario and those exposed to the neutral affect scenario. These findings suggest that a necessary condition for the Raghunathan and Pham result is the actual *experience* of feelings of anxiety and sadness. The mere accessibility of anxiety and sadness-related cognitions does *not*

suffice. More generally, this is consistent with the hypothesis of a functional independence between feeling and thinking.

The second study elaborates on recent results by Pham et al (2001, JCR). They recently showed that, contrary to common wisdom, under certain conditions different people agree more on their feelings toward stimuli than they do on their reason-based (cold evaluative) assessments of the same stimuli. An important characteristic of the Pham et al.'s studies is that subjects reported their feelings and reason-based assessments *online* (i.e., as they were exposed to the stimuli). This new study examines what happens when subjects are asked to make *memory-based* reports of their feelings or reason-based assessments (using their recollection of the stimuli). The study was based on the popular reality-TV show "Survivor—Africa." This show presents a unique opportunity to study the dynamics of judgment. First, previously unknown individuals (the cast members) become celebrities within a span of several weeks. Second, each cast member's personae is almost uniquely determined by his or her portrayal on the show (i.e., the available information is heavily controlled). Finally, one cast member is voted off the show every week, effectively disappearing from exposure. The study was conducted in the 12th week of the show. Subjects were asked to make either feeling-based or reason-based evaluations of the 16 cast members. As in Pham et al., the analyses focused on how much subjects agree among themselves. Agreement coefficients were calculated (a) for the first eight members to be voted off the show (who had "disappeared" from the show for at least four weeks) and (b) for the last eight members (who were still on the show or had disappeared for less than four weeks). Interestingly, agreement coefficients for reason-based assessments were equally high for the first eight and last eight members of the show. That is, subjects agreement in their reason-based assessments where independent of whether the target has been on the show for a long (last eight) or short (first eight) period of time and whether the target was relatively accessible in memory (last eight) or relatively inaccessible (first eight). In contrast, agreement coefficients of feeling-based judgments were much lower for the first eight members voted off the show than for the last eight. This finding can have two interpretations. The first, less interesting interpretation is that feelings generate high interpersonal agreement only when people have a high amount of information about (here exposure to) the target. Although plausible, this explanation seems unlikely because in the Pham et al. studies subjects had relatively limited exposure. The second and more intriguing possibility is that feelings generate high interpersonal agreement *only* when the target is very accessible (here for the last eight members), that is, again when feelings are genuinely experienced. Should the second interpretation be confirmed in subsequent studies, this would be further evidence of a functional independence of feeling versus thinking. As in the other study, the experience of feelings seems to influence a person's mode of relation to the environment in a way that is functionally distinct from the colder representation of the same feelings.

That genuine feelings may have very different functional properties from colder representations of these feelings has important implications for research on affect. This finding would suggest that measurement-based studies of feelings (e.g., questionnaire-based correlational studies) may not really tap into the true affective system.

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"Negative Affect and Emotional Trade-off Difficulty: Their Impact on Consumer Choice"

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Negative affect in decision making has captured the interest of researchers for quite some time in both social cognition and marketing. There are two distinct streams of research. One, which focuses on *task-related* negative emotion arising due to the decision based complexity and the consequent trade-off difficulty and the other, which looks at the more general, *incidental* negative affect and its effect on various dimensions, like risk taking and future appraisal.

Task related emotions result from whatever is currently engaging one's attention. In the decision making context, task related emotions are related to the decision difficulty where the consumer has to make an emotionally difficult trade-off (e.g., Luce, Bettman and Payne, *Monographs of JCR*, 2001). Luce (1998) argues that trade-off difficulties are a major source of task related emotion and decision difficulty. Luce predicts that consumers caught in a decision involving emotion laden trade-offs experience negative emotions and choose avoidant responses such as prolonging search, maintaining the status-quo and choosing a dominating alternative.

Incidental affect, also known as context-based affect, is affect that a consumer may imbue from her environment in isolation to the complexity of the decision on hand. Recently researchers have begun to look beyond simple emotion valence (Desteno et al., 2000; Lerner and Keltner, 2000, 2001; Tiedens and Linton 2001; Raghunathan and Pham, 1999). Regarding incidental affect, these researchers have found differences not only between negative and positive affect but also between the different discrete emotions having the same valence (e.g., anger/sadness, pride/happiness). Lerner and Keltner (2000, 2001) have developed the 'appraisal-tendency' approach, which hypothesizes that 'each emotion activates a predisposition to appraise future events in line with the central appraisal dimension that triggers the emotion'. They find that fearful people made pessimistic risk assessments and future events judgments whereas angry people make optimistic assessments in the same scenarios.

The above discussion provides evidence that these two sources of affect have been studied in the literature. However, to the best of our knowledge, these two types of emotions have been studied in isolation. No one has attempted to bring the two together and examine their interaction. The objective of this research then, is to examine the interactive effect of task-related negative affect and context-based negative affect on consumer choice. In the process, the research also aims to replicate existing results for each type of affect separately.

In this research we examine the differential impact of different incidental negative emotions–anger and sadness–on consumer choice in the context of high versus low emotional trade-off difficulty. We hypothesize that consumers experiencing different negative emotions will display differential reliance on the avoidance choice strategies such as choosing status-quo, asymmetrically dominated option or delaying the decision, when considering an emotionally difficult trade-off. Our reasoning for the above hypothesis is that anger versus sadness differentially impacts subject's degree of certainty and control. Specifically, previous research has shown anger to have a higher degree of certainty associated with it as it has a target as compared to sadness or fear (Smith and Ellsworth, 1985). Further, anger is associated with greater degree of control compared to the other two affects. Thus, we expect that in a consumer decision setting, higher degree of certainty and control will lead to higher degree of optimism and more heuristic processing of available information. Consequently, angry subjects should exhibit greater reliance on status-quo under high emotional trade-off difficulty compared to sad subjects who process the information relatively more systematically, leading to a different choice pattern.

In two studies, we test the above hypotheses and show how these different discrete negative emotions influence subjects' decision making process and consequently their choice under low and high decision complexity situation. Study 1 is a 3 (emotions: angry, sad, neutral) x 2 (emotional trade-off difficulty: high, low) between subjects design. We expect that neutral mood subjects will replicate Luce's (1998) results. Study 2 builds on study 1 and examines the underlying process across the conditions in greater detail. The implications of these findings to academicians as well as managers are then discussed.

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"Emotion and Perceived Risks of Terrorism: A National Field Experiment"

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The recent terrorist attacks have intensely affected many individuals and institutions. Equity markets sold off, consumer spending declined, air travel dropped precipitously, and public opinion toward government shifted dramatically. These responses reflected both intense deliberations and intense emotions. The attacks–and prospect of sustained conflict with a diffuse, unfamiliar enemy–created anger, fear, and sadness.

A growing literature (for reviews, see Loewenstein and Lerner, in press; Loewenstein, Weber, Hsee, and Welch, 2001; Mellers, Schwartz, and Ritov, 1999; Schwarz and Clore, 1996) shows how emotions and risk perceptions affect one another. Its theories can both illuminate current events and be tested by them. Early research found that positive emotions triggered relatively optimistic risk assessments, while negative emotions evoked more pessimistic ones (Johnson andTversky, 1983). According to recent theories, however, the distinct cognitive appraisals that evoke some specific negative emotions can differentially color perceptions of future events (Keltner, Ellsworth, andEdwards, 1993; Lerner andKeltner, 2000; Lerner andKeltner, 2001; Tiedens and Linton, 2001). For example, although fear and anger are both negative emotions, only fear arises from (Smith and Ellsworth, 1985) and evokes strong appraisals of uncertainty and situational control (Lerner and Keltner, 2001), two central determinants of risk judgments (Slovic, 1987). Anger, by contrast, is associated with appraisals of certainty and individual control (Lerner and Keltner, 2001; Smith and Ellsworth, 1985).

Based on appraisal-tendency theory (Lerner and Keltner, 2000; Lerner and Keltner, 2001), we predicted that anger and fear would have opposite effects on perceptions of risk. Moreover, we predicted that media portrayals of news events could evoke these emotions and, thereby, influence risk perception. In a nationally representative sample of Americans (N=973, ages 13-88) that matched Census figures on major demographic indicators, fear increased risk estimates and plans for precautionary measures; anger did the opposite. These patterns emerged with both experimentally induced emotions and naturally occurring ones. Males' risk estimates were less pessimistic than females; differences in emotion explained 80% of the gender difference. Emotions also predicted diverging public policy preferences. Discussion focuses on theoretical, methodological, and policy implications.

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Psychological, Marketing, Physical, and Sociological Factors Affecting Attitudes and Behavioral Intentions for Customers Resisting the Purchase of an Embarrassing Product

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ABSTRACT

In this research, we examine hearing impaired consumers' attitudes and behavioral intentions regarding hearing aids. We measured attitudes prior and subsequent to exposure to marketing communications which attempt to persuade consumers to purchase hearing aids and perceive them more favorably. We consider the hearing aid patient/consumer holistically, and include predictors for their psychological and physical states, as well as explanatory factors such as the environmental, sociological pressures that the patient/consumer is experiencing which help to induce the hearing aid purchase. In this context, we test the marketing effect of the advertising exposure.

This study is predominately a psychological profile of the consumer who needs to buy and wear a hearing aid, but as yet has not done so. We believe the psychological processes that we consider may have broader implications, in that the class of embarrassing products is large, e.g., AIDS-testing, adult undergarments, etc., and our findings should therefore have wide-ranging implications. The marketer attempting to persuade consumers to make any of these kinds of purchases has to overcome similar levels of resistance and denial in the purchase of these embarrassing products. We also sought representative sampling of our study participants and real-world execution of advertisements to also enhance the generalizability of this research.

Nevertheless, this particular study focuses on hearing aids and consumers' attitudes toward people who wear them, including the psychological stigma attached to the wearer, which in turn begins to explain the state of denial in which a hearing impaired consumer lives. Denying the need for an embarrassing product creates greater resistance to the purchase of that product, from not paying attention to the targeted marketing communications efforts, to holding rather unfavorable attitudes toward the product, regardless of the consumer's (or patient's) physical realities, namely, having a hearing incapacity that would be benefited from the wearing of the hearing aid product.

We shall begin by describing data that demonstrate our claim that hearing aids are a purchase that involve no small amount of consumer embarrassment. Accordingly, the marketer's task, typically to induce more favorable product attitudes and greater purchase intentions, is quite challenging. Still, as we will demonstrate in our data, such attitudes and behavioral intentions are indeed mutable—they can be enhanced, as long as the psychological complexities of the consumer are acknowledged, and several classes of predictor variables incorporated into the modeling.

We will test our hypotheses in a data set gathered from a large field experiment. The respondents comprise a sample of "real" people, contacted by a real field marketing research firm, and the advertisements in all their varying media forms were created by a real advertising agency; hence we have attempted to maximize

external validity to the extent possible, on both the dimensions of the sampling of respondents and the creation of the advertising stimuli. We will describe our study shortly, but first, given that we expect few readers to be familiar with this particular product and its sales difficulties, we describe the nature of the typical hearing impaired consumer.

Consumers Who Need Hearing Aids

Many people who would benefit from wearing hearing aids do not use them. Of adults 18 years old and older with impaired hearing, 78% do not own a hearing aid. As we age, the need for hearing instrument assistance becomes nearly universal (Datan, Rodeheaver, and Hughes 1987; Garstecki and Erler 1998), but even among the hearing impaired who are 65 years and older, 61% do not wear hearing aids (Garstecki and Erler 1998; Kochkin 1998; National Center for Health Statistics 1994).

The process of buying a hearing aid can be initiated by self-discovery that one's hearing is not as effective as it had been formerly, or through prompting by members in one's social environment—friends, or co-workers, but usually a spouse or family member whose own quality of life has been affected by the focal person's hearing loss. The consumer/patient may discuss with his or her physician their hearing disability and proceed to an audiologist or hearing instrument specialist to have their hearing tested, with the intention to buy a hearing aid, and so forth. Most people who have been identified as at least somewhat hearing impaired, and who should initiate this process fail to follow-through doing so.

Patient conformity (e.g., making an appointment to see an audiologist upon recommendation by a family physician) is important and challenging to achieve in many areas of health promotion. In our study, we seek to understand possible reasons for resistance to the particular intervention of buying and wearing a hearing aid.

Respondents (in our sample, to be described shortly) were asked to explain their unwillingness to speak to a doctor about their possibly needing a hearing aid. As illustrated in Figure 1, the primary reason stated was that "my current hearing ability is okay." This response reflects a sense of denial because, as we shall describe in greater detail shortly, all of the participants had been included in our sample only if they had been previously identified by a physician as hearing impaired. The remaining reasons offered in Figure 1 include: the cost of visiting the health professional, lack of interest (presumably driven by thoughts that a hearing aid was unnecessary). Relatively fewer people rejected hearing aids as a function of past failures with the electronic products.

Figure 2 gives an impression regarding the level of avoidance toward hearing aids. People reported that they would readily wear eyeglasses to help correct their vision (M=6.40 of 7). Respondents also would have no problem taking pain relievers to alleviate aches (5.24). They would not even mind terribly having to circumambulate with a cane (4.98). However, the thought of wearing a hearing aid is a far less positive prospect (3.46). Why?

There is a hypothesis in the hearing and speech communications literature that wearing a hearing aid carries a bit of a stigma that the wearer is old, feeble, and incompetent. An article in the American Psychological Association's *Monitor* described the de-

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FIGURE 1
Why Not Discuss with a Health Professional Whether You Need a Hearing Aid? % Reasons Cited
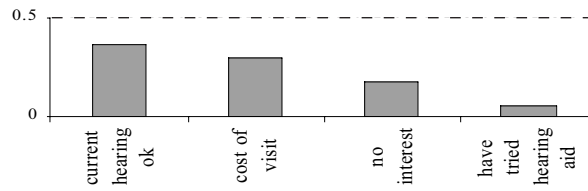
FIGURE 2
Willingness to Use Alternative Assistive Devices
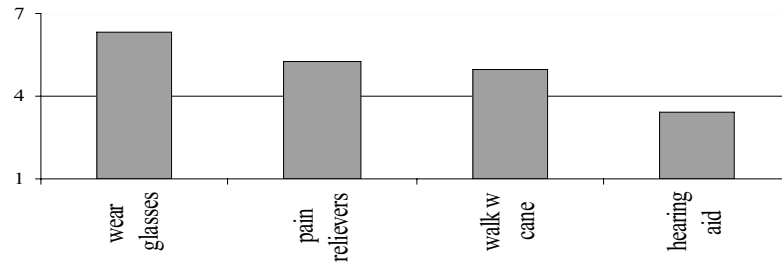
nial and depression people associate with hearing loss (Seppa 1997). People do not want to admit their hearing loss to themselves, because it connotes aging, nor do they want to admit it to others, for fear of being viewed as incompetent.

Given all these concerns, it is perhaps not surprising that when *Business Week* features a hearing aid manufacturer in its "Annual Design Awards," the product receiving acclaim is tiny and is said to "nestle discreetly in the ear canal"; i.e., no one will know you're wearing it (Baker 1998). Anecdotally, hearing aids saw a surge in sales after President Clinton's public acknowledgment of beginning to wear one (Cowley, Breslau and Kalb 1997; Rivera 1997); perhaps the devices were seen as more acceptable when rather than being associated with the old and feeble, they were associated with the relatively young and purportedly virile.

In addition, hearing loss, if not assisted with hearing aids, can lead to greater dependence upon a spouse, or withdrawal from social events (Garstecki and Erler 1998). It is often due to the stress experienced by family members or co-workers, i.e., those who are secondarily affected by the focal person's hearing loss, who first diagnose the problem and recommend they seek help (Kochkin 1998). Feelings of isolation and loss of control of one's environment can in turn contribute to states of depression, anxiety and related illnesses (Garstecki and Erler 1998; Miller, Shoda, and Hurley 1996).

Some people console themselves with social comparisons, e.g., that their hearing is at least as good as others' of comparable age (Collins 1996). In general, there are many coping strategies with hearing impairment, including denial (cf. Rodin and Salovey 1989).

Thus, varied psychological contributors may affect attitudes toward hearing aids and intentions to purchase hearing aids. We now present our particular hypotheses about how these factors are inter-related.

We begin simply, by explicating benchmark hypotheses that had better be supported, given decades of research on the relationships among attitudes and behavioral intentions (e.g., Chaffee and Roser 1986; Kim and Hunter 1993). Specifically, we predict that

prior states (attitudes or behavioral intentions) ought to be reflected in current states:

H1: Attitudes measured prior to the advertising interventions will contribute to the prediction of attitudes measured following the advertising exposure, $A(t-1) \rightarrow A(t)$.

H2: Buying intentions measured prior to the advertising interventions will contribute to the prediction of buying intentions measured following the advertising exposure, $BI(t-1) \rightarrow BI(t)$.

In addition, if we have captured consumer attitudes, these indicators should contribute to our understanding of the consumers' behavioral intentions:

H3: Consumer attitudes will help predict consumer buying intentions and intentions to contact a medical professional, $A(t) \rightarrow BI(t)$.

H4: Consumer intentions toward buying hearing aids will in turn propel greater reported likelihood of visiting a hearing professional to begin the hearing aid purchase process, $BI_{aid}(t) \rightarrow BI_{doc}(t)$.

We are also interested in unique precursors to the attitudes and behavioral intentions. Given the psychological nature of an attitude, we predict that other psychological measures should also give rise to one's reactions to the product. For the class of embarrassing products, relevant psychological indicators are likely to include such predictors as: a) the extent to which a stigma is attached to the product (i.e., the degree of embarrassment associated with the product, the perceptions of self-efficacy with and without the hearing aid, e.g., Fine and Asch 1988; Kochkin 1998; Lee and Bobko 1994); b) denial of one's own need of the product associated with the stigma (à la Kübler-Ross, cf. p.528 of Demorest and Erdman 1986); and c) the extent to which a person has salient needs

for self-presentation, e.g., as may be measured by a self-consciousness scale (e.g., Fenigstein, Scheier, and Buss 1975). Thus, psychological factors should impact the consumer attitudes:

H5: Psychological factors (denial, self-consciousness, and concern about a stigma) will contribute to the formation of the attitudes toward hearing aids, $\psi \rightarrow A(t)$.

Marketers have long claimed that advertisements presumably make more favorable attitudes toward featured products, thus:

H6: Marketing interventions (advertisements) will enhance the attitude toward the product, $Ad \rightarrow A(t)$.

By comparison, behavioral intentions may be impacted less by perceptual factors and more by physical ones, such as the consumer's hearing competency and the pressures they are experiencing to make the purchase, such as word-of-mouth from their family or physician (Coleman 1993; Kochkin 1998). Whether one likes hearing aids or not (i.e., one's attitude is positive or negative), one may be driven to buy a hearing aid when the need becomes sufficiently great, as becomes obvious either to the focal consumer or to those around him or her. Thus:

H7: Physical factors (the extent of hearing impairment) will heighten a respondent's intention to purchase a hearing aid, $\Phi \rightarrow BI(t)$.

H8: Social factors (pressures from medical professions) will also enhance a person's intention to buy the recommended hearing aid, $Soc \rightarrow BI(t)$.

Altogether, our predicted nomological network (illustrated in Figure 3) may be described as follows: the prior-attitudes and prior-behavioral intentions should assist the prediction of the current attitudes and intentions, and the attitudes ought to contribute to our understanding of the intentions themselves. The attitudes, in turn, should be affected by the psychological and marketing factors, and the intentions, in turn, should be impacted by the physical and sociological factors.

In sum, a product with such a negative image as hearing aids clearly presents a challenge to the marketer interested in stimulating their sales. Due to the complexities of the entire circumstances, initial advertising exposure may be judged successful if it simply prompts the consumer to begin to think of the extended process involved toward deciding to purchase a hearing aid. While our study is not extensively longitudinal, we made efforts to obtain data at multiple points in time. We now describe our study and findings.

METHODS

Market Facts Inc. surveyed a U.S. national panel of 80,000 adults in September 1995 with a screener to identify respondents who had been previously diagnosed by their general practice physician or a hearing specialist as having some hearing impairment, in one or both ears, and who were between the ages of 30 and 75. Of the 59,828 cards returned (for a 74.8% response rate), 7955 respondents qualified (this near 10% rate approximates the prevalence of hearing difficulties in the population). Those qualifying were sent an 8-page questionnaire (Wave 1) in March 1996. Usable questionnaires were returned by 4824 persons, for a 60.6% response rate. This survey provided baseline data on attitudes toward hearing aids, intentions to visit a physician to discuss them, intentions to purchase a hearing aid, and several individual difference covariates.

Media exposures were conducted in August and September 1996. A random sample of 4344 participants (of the 4824) received advertising messages attempting to enhance their attitudes toward hearing aids, persuade them to visit their physicians to discuss hearing aids, and eventually to purchase a hearing aid. The advertising stimuli were created by the Colle-McVoy advertising agency based on their previous research to convey the idea that a hearing aid would enhance the wearer's interactions with his or her work and family environments. These advertising messages were delivered via multiple and varied media vehicles, to simulate a real-world advertising campaign. These media included print ads, television ads (on video tape), telemarketing phone calls and direct marketing mailings. The messages were consistent across the media in an effort to produce integrated marketing communications (Edell and Keller 1989).

Participants were mailed another 8-page survey (Wave 2) to measure short-term change in attitudes and reactions to the advertisements. Returns came in from 3351 persons, resulting in a 77.1% response rate. A briefer (4-page) follow-up questionnaire (Wave 3) was sent to the 3351 parties in November 1996 to obtain indices of moderately longer-term attitude change; 3049 surveys were completed, for a 91.0% response rate. All surveys complied with human subjects requirements.

In sum, this test market was conducted over a nine-month period. The panel of respondents was contacted at t1, prior to the exposure to any marketing communications; their attitudes were measured upon exposure to the persuasive materials, t2; as well as t3, two to three months after the marketing efforts.

Sample Characteristics

In an attempt to be in the position to generalize our findings to the greater U.S. population, we sought a random, representative sample of respondents from across the country, who varied on any properties except the two screeners (i.e., they must have been previously diagnosed as hearing impaired, and they were between 30 and 75 years old). As a result, descriptive statistics on our sample offer a rough profile of the cross-section of the general public who have an identified hearing problem. Their mean age is 54.2 years, but the standard deviation is large (12.6 years), confirming that hearing loss problems are not entirely concentrated among the elderly. Our sample was comprised of slightly more men than women (53.5%), but not so disproportionately as to be unrepresentative. Very few people in this sample, who are known to have hearing losses, have tried to use a hearing aid (5.1%), although more (45.9%) state their willingness to discuss the possibility of getting one. Finally, socioeconomic indicators suggest that these persons could probably afford a hearing aid if they wished to own one; specifically, most own homes (81.8%), most are employed (68.3%), many are professional workers (30.4%).

Measures

Respondents' behavioral intentions were measured both with respect to their anticipating seeing a doctor to discuss hearing aids, and with respect to their intentions to buy a hearing aid. (We are happy to make available to interested readers the items we used to measure our constructs and those scales' Cronbach's coefficient alphas to indicate their estimated reliabilities.) Attitudes toward the product and attitude toward the advertisement were measured. Items measuring attitudes toward the product included several classic, semantic differential scales, as well as several items about the respondents' beliefs about hearing aids, e.g., their usefulness in different situations. The items tapping "attitude toward the ad" were drawn from the advertising measurement literature, to capture

FIGURE 3
LISREL Coefficients Relating Psychological, Marketing, Physical, and Social Factors to Attitudes and Buying
Intentions
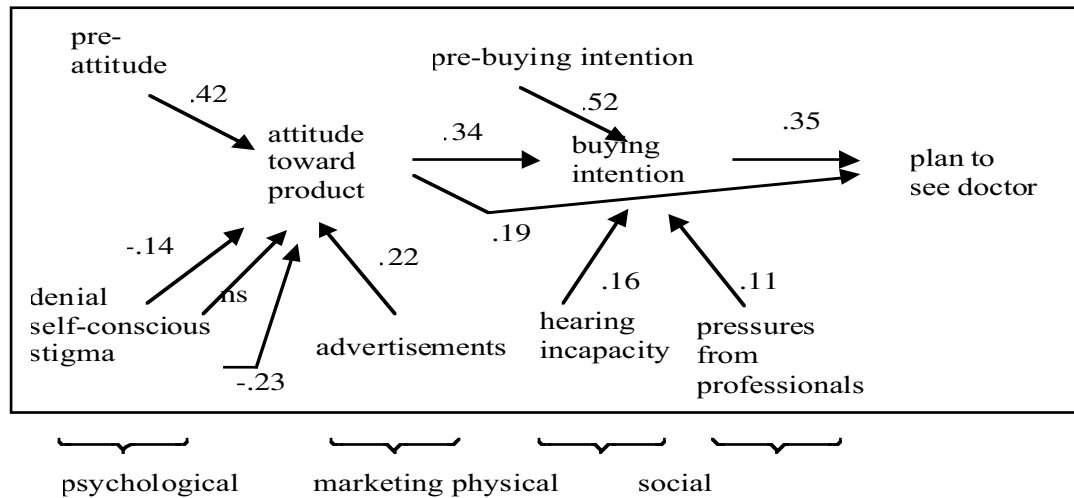
dimensions of the Viewer Response Profile and other popular A_{ad} scales (cf. Beltramini and Evans 1985; Schlinger 1979).

The items measuring the psychological factors of denial, self-consciousness, and the perceptions of stigma are also available from the authors, and again, where scales existed in the literature, we implemented the extant items (e.g., the self-consciousness scale of Fenigstein, Scheier and Buss, 1975). The physical impairment scale has been extensively studied and established in the speech and communications disorders literature. Accordingly, we borrowed the CPHI items (the Communication Profile for the Hearing Impaired; Demorest and Erdman 1986; Garstecki and Erler 1998). Finally, we also used measured the extent of sociological pressures from one's medical service providers.

RESULTS

We fit our model via Lisrel. The results are displayed in Figure 3. All coefficients are significant (p<.01) except for the "self-conscious→attitude" path that is labeled "n.s."

As anticipated in H1 and H2, pre-attitudes significantly predicted post-attitudes (.42) and pre-buying intentions predicted post-advertising buying intentions (.52). As per H3, attitudes predicted buying intentions (.34), and attitudes predicted intentions to contact medical professionals (.19). H4 was also supported in that consumer buying intentions (.35) begin the hearing aid purchase process by increasing the consumers' intention to visit their physicians to discuss hearing aids. These first results are not surprising, given the extensive psychological literature on the relationships among attitudes and behavioral intentions; essentially that prior-attitudes should affect current attitudes, and attitudes should affect behavioral intentions.

H5 had stated that the psychological factors of denial, self-consciousness, and perceptions of stigma would contribute to the consumers' attitudes about hearing aids. The parameter estimates for the first and third of these factors were significant (-.14 and -.23, respectively; as denial or perceptions of stigma increase, one's attitudes towards hearing aids becomes more negative). Self-consciousness was not a significant contributor. We expected self-consciousness to be important, if consumers are so sensitive to the

"stigma" of hearing aid that they are in "denial" of their own state of hearing impairment.

In hypothesis H6, as per the extensive literature on advertising and its effects on attitudes, we posited that an effective marketing intervention should enhance the consumer's attitude toward the product, and we did indeed find this to be true (.22). H7 and H8 suggested that the physical need due to the extent of hearing impairment, and social pressures, such as a physician recommending the use of a hearing aid would both encourage the respondent's intention to purchase a hearing aid. These paths were also significant (.16 and .11, respectively). Thus, aside from one's attitude about hearing aids and people who wear them, consumers were more inclined to be considering the purchase of a hearing aid if their physical need was greater or if they were being implored to do so by a medical professional.

The model in Figure 3 fits well: X^2_{16}=31.27 (p=.012, presumably due to our large sample size); CFI=0.97; RMR=0.071; AGFI=0.93. Nevertheless, for some theoretical and empirical comparison, we explored a competing model.

Specifically, we explored whether adding paths indicative of greater advertising effectiveness would further enhance the model. Thus, we modified Figure 3 to also include effects of "advertising"→"buying intentions" and "advertising"→"plan to see doctor." Neither of these paths were significant (t=1.25 and t=1.71), nor was there a significant improvement in fit: X^2_{14}=28.87 (so ΔX^2=2.40 on Δdf=2) and AGFI=0.77. These results suggest that, at least for hearing aids, the advertising enhanced a consumer's attitudes about the product, but it did not directly impact behavioral intentions. Having fit an alternative model and found it lacking, we conclude with somewhat greater confidence that the model depicted in Figure 3 is a reasonably useful approximation of the complex world of the consumer who is resisting hearing aids.

DISCUSSION

We have explored one particular sensitive product, hearing aids, but our findings should speak to the broader class of embarrassing products that would carry negative associations and stigma. While our study has focused on how consumers with hearing loss

can be convinced to consult a physician and buy a hearing aid, the principles we explored are more general—there is resistance and denial in many kinds of behavioral solutions to medical and social ills, and this study suggests it is possible to identify those discriminatory variables that lend some compliance.

We were able to demonstrate distinct precursors of attitudes—psychological and marketing factors, and of behavioral intentions—physical and sociological factors. We do not claim that these classes of predictors will always align themselves with these consequence constructs—the particular relationships are likely to depend on the product category. Rather, the general principal is that we can indeed find categories of predictors that can assist our understanding and predictions of these key psychological constructs—attitudes and intentions.

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Coping with it: Regret for Action vs. Inaction in the Consumer Context

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the differences between regret for purchases and regret for non-purchases, through the use of both narratives and quantitative analysis. It was found that, although the regret experienced for purchases is greater than that felt for non-purchases, the latter is also significantly intense. The results also suggest that the reasons for regretting a purchase differ from those for regretting a non-purchase, even though the product types and prices were essentially the same. In addition, the coping mechanisms employed differed for the two types of regret, with regret for non-purchase requiring a greater variety of coping mechanisms.

INTRODUCTION

"Regret for the things we did can be tempered by time; it is regret for the things we did not do that is inconsolable."
-Sydney J. Harris, *Strictly Personal*

As true as this quote may ring in our ears, research on regret in consumer behavior has only focused on regret for things we've done, rather than for those we haven't. A few recent studies in psychology (Zeelenberg, van den Bos, van Dijk and Pieters, 2002; Seta, McElroy and Seta, 2001; Tykocinski and Pittman, 1998; Savitsky, Medvec and Gilovich, 1997; Gilovich and Medvec, 1995), however, have found support for what our literary colleagues have so poignantly noted for some time. They found that while regret for things we have done is stronger than for things we did not in the short run, the reverse is true in the long term. And even though regret for actions may be stronger than for inaction in the near term, that is not to say regret for inaction is inconsequential.

Since research on regret in consumer behavior has largely focused on regret following a purchase decision (Cooke, Meyvis and Schwartz, 2001; Tsiros and Mittal, 2000), the first objective of the current research is to explore the differences between regret for action (making a purchase) vs. inaction (not making a purchase) in the consumption context. We investigate the degree and frequency of these types of regret, and compare the emotions that accompany them. Further, we explore whether differences exist between types of products, and types of regret.

Given that the feeling of regret is a common occurrence in the consumption context, understanding how individuals cope with it is of considerable importance. Yet, virtually no research has been done to examine how consumers cope with regret in the consumption context. An understanding of consumer coping strategies in the context of regret will provide insights on its effects on future purchase behavior and satisfaction. Thus, our second objective is to explore how consumers cope with regret of action vs. inaction. We suggest here that consumer coping with regret, like consumer coping in other areas currently under study, can be categorized into behavioral vs. emotional coping, and goal-avoidant vs. goal-attendant, representing all basic coping options available to consumers: behavior, emotion, perseverance, and avoidance. Before elaborating on such arguments in detail, however, it is necessary to first review previous findings on regret in general, and in the consumer context in particular.

REGRET: AN OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The experience of regret is among the most commonly shared in human life: being forced to make choices on a routinely basis, it is unavoidable that more often than not we'll engage in ill-considered behaviors, or fail to pursue courses of action that, in retrospect, would have been beneficial to us. In our everyday conversations, regret is the most frequently named emotion, after love (Shimanoff, 1984).

The study of regret has been approached from numerous angles, reflecting the complexity and importance of the phenomenon. The first approaches came through the philosophy literature, where efforts were directed at defining the concept of regret and distinguishing it from related states such as disappointment, guilt, and remorse (deSousa 1987; Landman 1987a; Landman 1987b). There is agreement among scholars that regret is an "unusually cognitively-laden or cognitively-determined emotion." (Gilovich and Medvec 1995). Hampshire (1960, pg. 241) states that the feeling of regret about a decision requires one to "think practically" about the decision, and not merely to inspect one's feelings. It seems that judgment is more central to the experience of regret than to the experience of other emotions such as anger or jealousy, for instance (Gilovich and Medvec 1995).

A widely accepted definition of regret is Landman's (1993, pg. 36), who defines it as "a more or less painful cognitive and emotional state of feeling sorry for misfortunes, limitations, losses, transgressions, shortcomings, or mistakes. It is an experience of felt-reason or reasoned emotion." In her definition, Landman also makes a distinction between "sins of commission" and "sins of omission." We next discuss these two forms of regret.

Regretting What We Did Vs. Regretting What We Failed To Do

Research on counterfactual thinking (Kahneman and Miller 1986; Miller et al. 1990) has shown that the distinction between action and inaction has important hedonic consequences. Consistent findings suggest that, assuming equally negative outcomes, people experience more regret over things they did, than over things they failed to do (Gleicher et al. 1990; Kahneman and Tversky 1982; Landman 1987a). Kahneman and Miller (1986) advance as an explanation that "it is usually easier to imagine oneself abstaining from an action that one has carried out than carrying out actions that were not in fact performed."

Despite the intuitive appeal of Kahneman and Miller's interpretation, and the weight of the experimental evidence, Gilovich and Medvec (1995) have suggested than in some instances people who are asked to think about their biggest regrets in life tend to focus on instances of inaction rather than action—that is, they tend to mention more things that they wish they had done than things they wish they hadn't. The explanation offered by Gilovich and Medvec is that regrettable failures to act may have a longer "half-life" than regrettable actions. They suggest that "sins of commission" are more regretted in the short term, while "sins of omission" are more regretted in the long run.

The reasons advanced to explain this pattern of temporal shift in the experience of regret are varied. Gilovich and Medvec (1995)

TABLE 1

Causes of the Temporal Pattern to the Experience of Regret[1]

Factors that reduce the pain of regrettable actions more than the pain of regrettable inactions

Behavioral repair work:	More compensatory steps tend to be taken to ameliorate regrettable actions.
Psychological repair work I:	More silver lining tend to be associated with regrettable actions.
Psychological repair work II:	More dissonance reduction tends to be induced by regrettable actions.

Factors that increase the pain of regrettable inactions more than the pain of regrettable actions

Inexplicable inaction I:	The passage of time brings an increase in retrospective confidence that makes earlier failures to act inexplicable, and hence inexcusable.
Inexplicable inaction II:	Because factors that inhibit behavior tend to be less salient than those that induce behavior, failures to act can seem inexplicable, and increasingly so with the passage of time.
What was versus what might have been:	The consequences of regrettable actions tend to be finite; the consequences of regrettable inaction tend to be psychologically infinite.

Factors that promote the cognitive availability of regrettable inactions more than the availability of regrettable actions

The Zeigarnik effect:	Regrettable failures to act tend to be more memorable and enduring than regrettable actions.

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[1]Adapted from Gilovich and Medvec (1995)

propose three types of factors: a) factors that reduce the regret of action more than the regret of inaction; b) factors that increase the regret of inaction more than the regret of action; and c) factors that promote the cognitive availability of inactions more than that of actions. Table 1 summarizes those factors.

Regret In Consumer Behavior

The study of regret in the consumer behavior literature has been scant, and limited to regretting purchases—that is, "sins of commission." The main studies conducted in the marketing literature thus far have dealt with consumers' efforts to avoid feeling regret in the future, and how that affects purchasing behavior. For example, Simonson (1992) looked at the role played by anticipated regret in purchase decisions. Tsiros and Mittal (2000) found that, while satisfaction directly influences both repurchase and complaint intentions, regret directly influences only repurchase intentions. Their study also shows that regret is experienced even in the absence of information on a better-forgone outcome. More recently, Cooke et al (2001) contributed to our understanding of regret by analyzing the effect of pre- and post-purchase outcome evaluations on the experience of regret and satisfaction. To our knowledge, ours is the first attempt at shedding light into consumers' "sins of omission"—that is, regret felt for things they didn't buy but wish they had—and with coping mechanisms employed after the regretted action/inaction has occurred. In the following section, we review the literature on coping mechanisms.

COPING WITH REGRET

From the discussion above we can see that significant work has been done on regret in general. Less has been done on regret in a consumption context, and little at all examines the differences between regret for purchases made vs. regret for purchases not made. Further, although studies have addressed *avoiding* regret, almost nothing is known about how consumers might cope with regret *after* an ill-advised decision to purchase or not to purchase has been made. In order to gain an understanding of coping strategies in this context, it is necessary to first review work on

coping on the whole, and then more specifically in the consumer context. First, however, a definition of coping as employed in this research is in order.

While previous research has examined coping from a variety of perspectives, current thinking generally conceptualizes coping as a process. Lazarus and Folkman (1984) offer a useful process definition of coping: "[coping is] constantly changing cognitive and behavioral efforts to manage specific external and/or internal demands that are appraised as taxing or exceeding the resources of the person" (p. 141). As the authors explain, this definition draws a distinction between active coping and automatic behavior; does not confound coping with outcomes; and stresses management over mastery. This definition of coping will be used in the context of investigating coping with regret in this research.

The process of coping consists of stress, emotions, and appraisals, and coping itself. As such, coping, along with appraisal, is essentially a mediator of the emotional reaction (or outcome) of a stressful encounter (Folkman and Lazarus 1988).

There is no universally effective or ineffective coping strategy, since coping is a dynamic process based upon appraised relational meanings across individuals and contexts. Thus the way in which someone deals with one threat may differ from the way in which they cope with another (Lazarus 1999). Lazarus' theory posits that coping responses to appraisals may be either emotion-focused or problem-focused (Folkman et al. 1986). Lazarus describes problem-focused coping as thoughts or actions directed at managing or altering the problem causing the distress, and emotion-focused coping as thoughts or actions directed at regulating emotional response to the problem (Lazarus and Folkman 1984, p. 150). These two functions are not mutually exclusive, and can both be used in the same situation.

Regulatory Focus: Behavioral And Emotional Coping

While categorizing coping strategies along a problem- vs. emotion-focused dimension is helpful, it also confuses two central aspects of coping—the distinction between actions and emotions, and the distinction between efforts to attend to vs. avoid one's goal.

Thus, a two-dimensional typology may provide more insight into the coping process (Lancellotti 2002). These two separate dimensions are labeled here as regulatory-focus and goal-focus. Regulatory-focus refers to whether coping is focused externally (on actions to handle environmental factors) or internally (on attempts to reappraise the situation in a more positive light). These are labeled behavioral and emotional coping, respectively.

Goal Focus: Goal-Attendant Vs. Goal-Avoidant

Goal-attendant coping responses are those aimed at overcoming the problem or failure in order to continue working towards the original goal (Lancellotti 2002). Consumers who have a positive attitude and perceive that they have the ability (resources) to overcome the failure situation will maintain their high expectations and remain hopeful. On the other hand, goal-avoidant coping responses are those responses that represent a shift from the original goal-focus to one of immediate distress reduction (which may or may not be a temporary shift).

Goal-avoidant coping involves the physical, cognitive, or emotional removal of the source of distress. In the consumer context, when the consumer regrets a purchase they did or did not make, avoidance may indeed take the form of complete removal of the distress source. A consumer may choose to push the purchase out of their mind completely, perhaps even hiding the product or giving it to a friend. The other side of this dimension, goal-attendant coping, refers to sticking to the original goal for which the product was bought and trying to overcome the regrettable situation, rather than avoiding it completely.

Coping with Commission vs. Omission

As mentioned earlier, we know too little about the differences between regret for purchase vs. regret for non-purchase, and nothing at all about how consumers might cope with these types of regret after the fact. We surmise that, since the causes of these forms of regret are different (i.e., having bought vs. *not* having bought a product) the nature of regret, and the mechanisms elicited to cope with it, should also differ. Consider Kahneman and Miller's (1986) assertion that it is easier for us to imagine ourselves not engaging in an action that we have performed, than engaging in actions that we didn't actually carry out: This could suggest that, in behavioral coping, we might find easier to find comfort in the thought that we have "learned a lesson," and will not make the same mistake (i.e., unwise purchase) in the future again. The possible differences in coping with regret for purchase vs. non-purchase are at this point purely conjectural, and thus it becomes necessary to explore them in our study.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The following study is a descriptive study that aims (1) to explore the differences between regret for action (making a purchase) vs. inaction (not making a purchase) in the consumption context and (2) to provide an initial framework of consumer coping with regret, both for action and inaction.

METHODOLOGY

Sixty-one undergraduate students (32 males and 29 females) at a large west coast university participated in this research for course credit. Each subject responded to one of two versions of a questionnaire. One version asked subjects to "please think about something that you bought in the past, but wish you hadn't" (n=31) while the other version asked subjects to "please think about something you did not buy in the past, but wish you had" (n=30). Subjects were then asked to briefly describe the item they did/did

not purchase, why they wish they hadn't/had purchased the item, the reasons for not purchasing the item and the thoughts that went through their mind after they had left the store. Subjects were then asked to rate on a 9-point Likert scale the extent to which they regret purchasing/not purchasing the item. Subjects were also provided with 26 measures of 12 different coping strategies (Table 2), and asked to check off which ones applied to what they did after the purchase/non purchase incident described. The typology of coping strategies included items that reflected both coping regulatory-focus (Folkman et al. 1986) and goal-focus (Lancellotti, 2002).

RESULTS

Experiencing Regret

Subjects reported the extent of regret they experienced due to purchase or non-purchase. Consistent with the literature of regret (see Zeelenberg et al, 2002), the extent of regret for purchase (M=6.93) was significantly higher than the extent of regret for non-purchase (M=5.93), $F_{(1, 58)}=4.39$, $p<0.05$. Despite the regret for non-purchase being lower than the regret for purchase, it was significantly higher than the midpoint of 4.5, thereby confirming that the subjects did experience considerable regret from non-purchase. The average time lapsed since the incidents reported was 12 months, with the most recent being 2 days and the most distant being 96 months. Although the difference in time lapse was not significant, results suggest that the average time lapsed since the regretted purchase (14.98 months) is larger than that for the regretted non-purchase (9.26 months). The fact that purchases were significantly more regretted than non-purchases would explain the relatively higher salience of these "sins of action" in memory.

Comparing Regret for Purchase and Regret for Non-Purchase

An analysis of the open-ended responses revealed that subjects reported equally rich experiences with incidents of non-purchase (regret of inaction) as with experiences of purchase (regret of action). An analysis of the word count of the two versions suggests that subjects devoted substantial effort to the task, hinting at the relevance and bearing that regretted behavior has on them. Open-ended descriptions averaged 71 words for regretted purchases and averaged 77 words for non-purchase. Narratives of how subjects coped with regret averaged 52 words for purchase, and 57 words for non-purchase. No difference between the extent of elaboration for incidents of purchase and incidents of non-purchase was observed (F=.517, p=.47)**.** This seems to confirm our previous assessment to the effect that both types of regret (action vs. inaction) are comparable as sources of concern for individuals. An analysis of the open-ended responses for emotional content revealed that the main emotions reported in both the case of regret of purchase and regret of non-purchase was negative emotions (regret, sadness, disappointment, anger and guilt). In the case of non-purchase 20% of the subjects explicitly referred to experiencing regret while in the case of purchase 23% did.

The analysis revealed that the types of products in both the regret of purchase and regret of non-purchase were quite similar. Products reported were mainly hedonic (83%), durable (96%) and highly priced (74%). Some examples of the products subjects mentioned were electronics (for example: DVD players, television sets, speakers, Playstation 2, printers, etc), items of clothing (for example: leather jacket, dress, sweater, shirt) and services (gym membership).

The reasons for purchasing or not purchasing the target item were analyzed and were found to be different for the two conditions. The reasons subjects in the regret-purchase condition gave were

TABLE 2
A Typology of Coping Strategies

Emotion Focused (Aimed at Regulating Emotions)	Problem Focused (Aimed at Regulating Behavior)
Goal-Attendant Coping	
Seeking Social Support for Emotional Reasons ❏ Talked to someone about how I was feeling. ❏ I asked a relative or friend I respected for advice. ***Positive Reinterpretation and Growth*** ❏ I try to see it in a different light, to make it seem more positive. ❏ I learn something from the experience. ***Turning to Religion*** ❏ I seek God's help. ❏ I try to find comfort in my religion. ***Emotional Restraint*** ❏ I tried to keep my feelings to myself. ❏ I tried to keep my feelings from interfering with other things too much.	***Aggressive Action: Confrontative*** ❏ Stood my ground and fought for what I wanted. ❏ I expressed anger to the person(s) who caused the problem. ***Calculated Action*** ❏ I knew what had to be done, so I doubled my efforts to make things work. ❏ I made a plan of action and followed it. ***Constructive Support*** ❏ I ask people who have had similar experiences what they did. ❏ I try to get advice from someone about what to do. ***Behavioral Restraint*** ❏ I make sure not to make matters worse by acting too soon. ❏ I restrain myself from doing anything too quickly
Goal-Avoidant-focused coping	
Emotional Evasion ❏ Made light of the situation; refused to get too serious about it. ❏ Didn't let it get to me; refused to think about it too much. ***Denial*** ❏ I pretend that it hasn't really happened. ❏ I act as though it hasn't even happened. ***Emotional Release*** ❏ I get upset and let my emotions out. ❏ I let my feelings out.	***Concession*** ❏ I learn to live with it. ❏ I made a promise to myself that things would be different next time. ***Behavioral Evasion*** ❏ Wished that the situation would go away or somehow be over with. ❏ Tried to make myself feel better by eating, drinking, smoking, using drugs or medication, and so forth.

that the purchase was made impulsively (42%), the item was on sale or that it was a good deal (32%) or that they had always wanted to buy it (29%). Other reasons included that they were tempted (19%), they were persuaded by the salesperson (10%) or that a friend convinced them (6.5%). However, subjects in the regret-non-purchase condition reported that the main reason they did not purchase the target item was a budget constraint (70%). Other reasons for non-purchase included waiting for or expecting a better deal in the future (27%) and convenience (13%) i.e. not wanting to stand in line or avoiding a crowd at the store.

In attempting to determine the reasons why subjects experienced regret in both the purchase and the non-purchase condition, we found that the main reasons for regret in the purchase condition was that subjects found that the item that they purchased was not useful (74%), not worth the money (35.5%) or was obsolete (16%). In the case of non-purchase, all subjects experienced regret because they believed that they should have made the purchase (obviously). However, the experience of regret for non-purchase was also due to the fact that subjects saw the non-purchase as a lost opportunity (80%) or as a better option than what they had actually bought (23%).

Coping Strategies for Regret of Purchase and Regret of Non-Purchase

Table 3 shows the incidence of coping strategies subjects relied on to deal with the regret experienced after a purchase and non-purchase incident. The results in Table 3 show that coping with regret of purchase and regret of non-purchase involves a mixture of coping strategies, behavioral and emotion focused coping as well as goal-attendant and goal-avoidant coping. Interestingly, in terms of sheer numbers, coping with regret for non-purchase involved the utilization of a greater number (216) of different coping responses than coping with regret for purchases (187). The difference in number of coping mechanisms used between conditions is significant at the 90% level (sig.=0.086)**.** The most commonly employed coping strategy across both regret of action as well as regret of inaction was goal-avoidant problem focused coping ("I learned to live with it") and goal-attendant emotional coping ("I tried to see it in a different light, to make it seem more positive" or "I learned something from the experience").

To further examine the combination of coping strategies associated with the regret of action vs. the regret of inaction, an exploratory factor analysis was conducted. The factor analysis was

TABLE 3
Coping Strategies for Regret of Purchase and Non-Purchase

Coping Strategy	Regret Purchase	Regret Non-purchase
I talked to someone about how I was feeling.	15	19
I tried to see it in a different light, to make it seem more positive.	17	23
I asked people who have had similar experiences what they did.	9	6
I sought God's help.	2	1
I wished that the situation would go away or somehow be over with.	6	6
I asked a relative or friend I respected for advice	5	9
I tried to find comfort in my religion.	-	1
I made light of the situation; refused to get too serious about it.	16	20
I learned to live with it	24	25
I didn't let it get to me; refused to think about it too much.	17	17
I tried to keep my feelings to myself.	3	5
I learned something from the experience	23	17
I tried to make myself feel better by eating, drinking, smoking, using drugs or medication	2	1
I restrained myself from doing anything too quickly.	7	8
I got upset and let my emotions out.	2	1
I stood my ground and fought for what I wanted.	-	1
I tried to keep my feelings from interfering with other things too much.	3	4
I knew what had to be done, so I doubled my efforts to make things work.	2	2
I let my feelings out.	2	4
I made a plan of action and followed it.	5	11
I expressed anger to someone about the problem.	5	3
I tried to get advice from someone about what to do.	8	9
I made sure not to make matters worse by acting too soon.	2	11
I made a promise to myself that things would be different next time.	12	12

performed on the coping responses for each group (action and inaction) to provide an initial assessment of the different types of coping strategies associated with regret of purchase and regret of non-purchase. Though the number of subjects at this stage in the investigation was too low to establish conclusive categorizations, this exploratory factor analysis was quite helpful in painting a preliminary picture of differences in consumers' coping across the two situations.

It was found that consumers did indeed cope differently, depending on what it was they regretted. Using principal components analysis, with a factor loading of .5 as a cutoff, the coping responses reported by subjects who experienced regret for *making* a purchase loaded primarily on three factors (Table 4). These were *Serious Actors*, *Emotional Avoiders*, and *Emotional Expressers*. The *Serious Actors* group represents behavioral coping with the aim of attending to the problem, such as making a plan of action, or getting advice from others. Individuals in this group are unlikely to cope through emotional avoidance, such as making light of the situation, or refusing to think about it. The *Emotional Avoiders* engaged in those coping strategies specifically not used by those in the Action group: they wish the situation would go away, and try to keep their feelings from interfering with other activities.. The *Emotional Expressers* engaged in a combination of emotional release and expressing their feelings to others, both through venting and seeking advice.

A similar factor analysis was conducted for consumers coping with regret for *not* having made a purchase (see Table 5 above) revealed that these people coped with things a bit differently. For one they were more varied in their coping mechanisms, and the groups were less homogeneous. Thus, subjects could broadly be

categorized in four groups based on their coping strategies. The first group consists of those people who sought advice and expressed their feelings to others. This group is labeled the *Outreachers*. Other subjects tended to simply vent their emotions (*Emotional Non-Actors*): "I got upset and let my emotions out;" "I expressed anger to someone about the problem." The third group took aggressive action, yet did so without expressing emotions (*Emotionless Fighters*), while the fourth group simply focused their efforts in a thoughtful manner, carefully gauging their actions (*Conscientious Actors*).

Again, an important consideration in evaluating these results is that the number of subjects is low, and little variance exists for each coping strategy, due to the binomial nature of their measurement scales. Thus, the groups described above can only be characterized as initial tendencies, rather than stable types. Additional investigation with a larger subject pool, using measures with greater variance, is necessary to verify these findings, and parse out some of the irregularities.

DISCUSSION

Our objective in undertaking this study was to explore the differences in regret for action vs. inaction in consumer behavior. We reported the degree and frequency of these two types of regret and the consumption situations that give rise to the regret of action vs. the regret of inaction. In addition, we also examined ways in which subjects coped with regret in each of these situations.

Our results indicate that subjects did experience regret from both action (purchase) as well as inaction (non-purchase). In accordance with previous psychology literature, we also found that the extent of regret of action (purchase) is significantly greater than

TABLE 4
Coping with Regret for Purchase

	Serious Actors	Emotional Avoiders	Emotional Expressers
I made a plan of action and followed it	0.836		
I knew what had to be done, so I doubled my efforts to make things work	0.767		
I learned to live with it	-0.702		
I made light of the situation; refused to get too upset about it	-0.649		
I didn't let it get to me; refused to think about it too much	-0.577		
I tried to keep my feelings from interfering with other things too much		0.86	
I tried to keep my feelings to myself		0.799	
I wished that the situation would go away or somehow be over with		0.605	
I got upset and let my emotions out			0.744
I talked to someone about how I was feelings			0.7
I asked a friend or relative I respected for advice			0.584
Eigenvalues	2.82	2.56	2.01

regret of inaction (non-purchase). Interestingly, however, a greater number and variety of coping responses were employed to cope with regret of inaction. In addition, an exploratory factor analysis revealed that subjects do cope differently with regret of action (purchase) compared to regret of inaction (non-purchase).

Although we believe that this research is a significant first step in demonstrating the importance of regret of inaction (non-purchase) in a consumption context as well as the variety of coping strategies employed to cope with regret, we nonetheless are aware of the limitations of this research. First, in "requiring" consumers to describe incidents of purchase and non-purchase regret we may have obtained reports with varying levels of importance and accessibility. Second, the time lapse between the actual feelings of regret and the subjective reporting of coping responses are likely to suffer from memory biases. Last, our sample was quite small and some of our results may not be generalizable.

This research has barely scratched the surface of the issues underlying the importance of the experience of regret in consumer behavior and despite its limitations, presents some noteworthy directions for future research. Our plan for future studies includes investigating issues related to impulsive behavior. For instance, could it be that—paradoxically—an "excess of self control" that resulted in not purchasing something and regretting it, leads later to impulsively buying a substitute—perhaps a less satisfactory one, or paying more than planned, which would result in further regret? Similarly, is anticipated regret an antecedent to impulsive purchases? Also, this preliminary study didn't allow us to clearly identify the antecedents and moderating factors in the experience of regret: what makes a purchase later on "undesirable"? What prevents us from purchasing something that later we regret we had? A better understanding of these issues would enable consumers to avoid falling into the trap of ill-advised purchases, and marketers to tailor their communications to overcome the customers' perceived (but unsubstantiated) reasons for not buying what they actually want and can.

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TABLE 5:
Coping with Regret for Non-Purchase

	Outreachers	Emotional Non-Actors	Emotionless Fighters	Conscientious Actors
I asked a friend or relative for advice	**0.841**			
I tried to get advice from someone about what to do	**0.826**			
I asked people who have had similar experiences wheat they did	**0.591**			
I talked to someone about how I was feeling	**0.581**			
I expressed anger to someone about the problem		**0.836**		
I got upset and let my emotions out		**0.802**		
I stood my ground and fought for what I wanted			**0.816**	
I tried to keep my feelings to myself			**0.791**	
I knew what had to be done, so I doubled my efforts to make things work				**0.875**
I made sure not to make matters worse by acting too soon				**0.539**
Eigenvalues	**2.70**	**1.93**	**1.67**	**1.24**

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Studying Television Effects: Unrealistic Attempt?

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ABSTRACT

This work is a response to sound invitations to investigate the invisible linkage between marketing and the media that have been articulated in the marketing discipline in recent years. Specifically, Varey (1999) encourages researchers to reread the writings by Marshall McLuhan to better deal "with the consequences of the wholesale marketization of society." The Canadian-born communication "prophet" McLuhan introduced the term *media* and the metaphor *global village* in their current usage. In this paper, a forty-year old heritage is juxtaposed with the latest findings of an under-researched marketing area, by conducting the literature review of how television has been found to impact consumption behavior.

INTRODUCTION

The present work is a first response to the invitation to explore the socially vital relationships between marketing and media in light of the Canadian-born communication "prophet" Herbert Marshall McLuhan's works. The scholar introdced the term *media* and the metaphor *global village* in their current usage and was the one who at the dawn of television foresaw the shift in the public's preference from a print to a visual culture and the overwhelming popularity of an audiovisual communication channel.

An invitation to investigate the invisible linkage between marketing and the media has been clearly sounded in the marketing discipline in recent years (Hirschman and McGriff 1995; Lehmann 1999). Defining this area to be under-researched, scholars call for particular attention to integrated marketing communication and urge researchers to broaden their current narrow focus on mass advertising by examining the influence of subtle messages delivered by television. Specifically, Varey (1999) stresses the need for marketers to study the effects, and not just the effectiveness of media, and encourages researchers to reread the writings by McLuhan to better deal "with the consequences of the wholesale marketization of society."

In this paper, I attempt to juxtapose the latest findings of an under-researched marketing area with a forty-year old heritage by conducting the literature review of how television–which is believed to be the most popular and the most controversial media channel–has been found to impact consumption behavior. Commercial advertising is purposely excluded from the scope of the review due to the substantial attention that television advertising has already received in marketing literature. In this way, attention is re-focused away from the omnipresent and often annoying and intrusive commercial messages to those equally ubiquitous, but subtle and hidden messages that customers deliberately expose themselves to. This review investigates which television messages consumers choose to receive, how these messages are interpreted, and their immediate and subliminal long-term effects with regards to consumption behavior. The findings are analyzed against the writings by McLuhan.

MCLUHAN: STUDYING TV AS A COMPLEX GESTALT OF DATA

Today, television is attacked by public health specialists for the potential health risks that media exposure presents to children and adolescents, by sociologists for being "a time waster and social isolator" (Tonn and Petrich 1998), and by social scientists and public policy officials for the prevalence of violent content. Many of the sins attributed to television's influence have either direct or indirect links with consumption behavior. Materialism, compulsive buying, smoking, and the antisocial consumption of drugs and alcohol are the "sins" that are referred to most often. The overall situation seems to be so critical that the American Academy of Pediatrics suggests that pediatricians take a media history from patients with regards to habits of watching TV, eschew televisions in their waiting rooms and provide guidance about media use in the home to parents and children during pediatric visits (Hogan 2000).

Yet about 40 years ago, McLuhan noticed how hard it was to "grasp" the effect of TV on people's lives. The communication guru, recognized as one of the brilliant contemporary thinkers of his time, used the word "totality" to explain the phenomenon which resulted from the intervention of TV in personal, political, and social lives. In his works, the scholar expressed concern over the prospects of possible studies. "Since it [television] has affected the totality of our lives,… it would be quite unrealistic to attempt "systematic" or visual presentation of such influence," wrote McLuhan. Instead, the scholar suggested what seemed to him a more feasible way of studying these effects–"to present TV as a complex *gestalt* of data gathered almost at random" (McLuhan 1964, p. 317).

Reported research on the impact of television viewing on consumption has been scarce and fragmented, and conducted in several disciplines: communication (e.g., Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, and Signorielli 1994), psychology (e.g., Bandura 1994), sociology (e.g., Fox and Philliber 1978), child development (e.g., Potts, Doppler and Hernandez 1994), preventive medicine (e.g., Cooper, Roter, and Langlieb 2000). The cumulative body of knowledge can be roughly divided into the following areas: 1) Why television matters (theoretical justification of the importance of study), 2) Who is watching TV (statistical description of the audience through surveys), 3) What is on the screen (contextual analysis of the television messages and images), 4) How it works (theoretical and empirical explanation of the mechanism of television's influence), and 5) What happens due to exposure to television (mostly empirical study of immediate effects of television watching). Major findings suggest that the artificial reality perpetually portrayed on the TV screen serves as a subliminal frame of reference for the viewers in their consumption activity and affects both "good" consumption (e.g., making the right lifestyle choices, developing healthy eating patterns etc.) and "bad" consumption (e.g., smoking, consuming alcohol, doing drugs, practicing over-consumption).

WHY NON-ADVERTISING TV MESSAGES MATTER IN MARKETING

The marketing discipline's approach, narrowly favoring the advertising domain, lately appears to be changing due to the attempts of some marketing academicians to turn attention to a largely ignored area. One rationale behind this turnaround refers to a *symbiotic* relation between advertising and media. The most sound recent theory-building work is offered by Hirschman and Thompson (1997) who argue that advertising, though certainly a powerful influence on consumption, is not a dominant voice and is being supplanted by mass media non-advertising messages and images that largely define consumers' beliefs and behavior. The strength of these subtle messages lies in their informal, unobtrusive nature, and "because such mass media texts are not viewed with the same cultivated skepticism as actual advertisements, they may have an even greater impact on consumers' preferences." Hirschman and

Thompson expand prior multidisciplinary research that ascertains that media enhances the effectiveness of some advertising through portraying certain products as more appealing than others. This theoretical framework finds further development when Hirschman and Thompson engage in a search for the motivational interpretations practiced by consumers to form relationship with mass media and, through an in-depth grounded theory investigation, expand on McCracken's (1989) meaning transfer model. As a result, the authors define three interpretive strategies employed by consumers of televised messages and images in their relationships with the mass media: inspiring and aspiring, deconstructing and rejecting, and identifying and individualizing.

Proposing that "consumers relationships with non-advertising forms of mass media are an essential aspect of the perceived meaning they derive from advertisements," the authors imply that the process of decoding messages encoded on the screen is not a completely random and unpredictable affair. In that, they depart from McLuhan's statement about TV as a "most arbitrary affair" (McLuhan 1964, p. 326). Together with communication scholars, however, they agree with McLuhan that the nature of television makes the viewer an active part of the process of consuming TV images. McLuhan views television "not so much [as] an action, as a re-action medium" (McLuhan 1964, p. 320) interpreting the viewer as an active participant in reactions versus as a passive consumer of actions. He describes the viewer's work as "do-it-yourself participation," presenting it as the active creation of meanings on the part of the audience based on televised images. For this reason, he considers TV a medium that requires a high participatory involvement–a conclusion that is still debated among the communication scholars, who tend to refer to TV as a low participatory medium.

Arguing with McLuhan's propositions, some scholars offer "technical" ways of assessing participants' involvement while calculating the number of self-reported hours that viewers spend solely watching TV and comparing it with hours when they accompany watching with some other activities. However, McLuhan's assertions are probably much deeper in meaning. He talks not only about the immediate involvement in watching a particular show and its effect on the viewer but also about the effects of the involvement as a long-lasting process. He writes, "The banal and ritual remark of the conventionally literate, that TV presents an experience for passive viewers, is wide of the mark. TV is above all a medium that demands a creatively participant response" (McLuhan 1964, p. 336).

McLuhan's statement is mirrored in the works of many marketing and communication scholars who try to define and interpret the character of participatory activity that the viewer is subconsciously involved in, and in the effects that researchers report to have captured. Thus, a number of studies have been designed to test whether television consumption can be argued to alter the perception of reality and subsequently affect consumer behavior. Several authors claim a causal relationship between viewing television and the formation of beliefs about *social reality*. According to their findings, heavy viewers of television do differ from light viewers in their perception of the real world, which in their mental construction closely reflects that portrayed on the screen. Thus, heavy viewers are found to place a higher value on the ownership of expensive products (O'Guinn and Shrum 1997), to overestimate the rate of crime (Gerbner et al. 1980a) and drug and alcohol consumption in society (Shrum and O'Guinn 1993), to negatively view the elderly as unhealthy and financially poor, and to perceive women as aging faster than men (Gerbner et al. 1980b). These works employ Gerbner's cultivation theory (Gerbner et al. 1994), which

suggests that heavy exposure to television results in largely viewing the world the way it is depicted on the screen.

In several attempts at exploring the mechanism of constructing the concepts of the social reality of consumption, scholars have examined the effects of television on perceptions of affluence (Fox and Philliber 1979; Shrum et el. 1991; O'Guinn and Shrum 1997) and report significant relationship between the two variables. Among the items considered to be over-represented on the screen as compared to real life, the researchers choose swimming pools, convertible automobiles, maids, and the percentage of millionaires. The overall results suggest that the surrounding world appears to be a more affluent place for those heavily exposed to television images.

Cultivation theory, though widely accepted and tested by scholars, elicits justified criticism for not providing a thorough explanation of its mechanism and not considering other variables (e.g., people's socioeconomic situation or education) that could lead to the same social judgments and beliefs of the respondents (McGuire 1986). In response to this criticism, Shrum et el. (1998) provide empirical explanation for the availability heuristic processing model of cultivation effects (Tversky and Kahneman 1973). To them, the application of the availability heuristic is seen as "responsible" for viewers' estimates of real frequency and probability of events portrayed on the screen. Thus, the heavy viewers of TV should have relevant images (those frequently sent through the media channel) more accessible in memory, and when it comes to estimating the real situation, they operate the information stored in the memory.

In addition to the role television plays in *consumer socialization*, there is some empirical evidence that it plays a role in *consumer acculturation* as well. The idea that the televised world is perceived as a close model of the real one and is deliberately turned to as a reference point for understanding society's values and beliefs is evident in Reece and Palmgreen's inquiry into the motives for watching television by foreigners (2000). In a study of Asian Indian graduate students enrolled at American universities, among eight motives for watching TV the authors distinguish those of acculturation and reflection on values. Having conducted a cross-cultural survey of the convenience sample of 99 students, scholars argue that those subjects who wanted to learn more about current issues in their host country, understand the ways in which American people behave and think, and make American friends spent more time in front of the TV.

These studies are responsive to McLuhan's metaphor about TV being "the Bauhaus program of design and living, or the Montessori educational strategy" (McLuhan 1964, 322). A German school of design, Bauhaus (1919-1933) was marked by an emphasis on functional performance, the Italian educational method named after its developer Maria Montessori, promotes self-motivational learning with an emphasis on sensory training. Deliberate use of the artificial televised world by foreigners for the purpose of searching out functional clues about the real and strange world they wish to join is just one of the examples of interpretation of TV images and messages.

It is also argued that consumers' incorporation of television-mediated images of reality into their assumptions of how others live and consume is utilized during the making of *lifestyle-related* product choices. Thus, Englis and Solomon (1997) note that images of affluence transmitted via mass media become objects of desire for many who aspire to this quasi-mythical lifestyle. On the other hand, some symbolical images associated with lifestyles that consumers tend to avoid, are being stored as a negative mental set of objects. Moreover, the authors strongly assert that these pervasive

consumption-rich images replete in mass media "are no mere shadows playing across the screen of popular culture" but become equally or even more important than actual behavior observed when consumers subconsciously engage in the construction of lifestyle meanings.

"GRASPING" IMMEDIATE AND LONG-TERM EFFECTS

If we turn to McLuhan for guidance in "grasping" television's effects, we find a strong advocate of research into the long-term "psychic and social disturbance" created by television (McLuhan 1964, p. 312). Moreover, he repeatedly highlights that it is the overall TV image and not the specific TV programming that is responsible for this disturbance. McLuhan believes that this change of attitude "has nothing to do with programming in any way, and would be the same if the program consisted entirely of the highest cultural content"(McLuhan 1964, p. 335), and explains it by pointing to the nature of TV, with its "unrivaled power" to totally involve and subliminally influence the audience. McLuhan asserts that people experience far more than they understand, and "yet it is experience, rather than understanding, that influences behavior, especially in collective matters of media and technology, where the individual is almost inevitably unaware of their effect upon him"(McLuhan 1964, p. 323). The proponents of cultivation theory evidently support this position. Thus, Gerbner insists that regardless of how much time, energy, and money is invested, the conceptualization of television's effect as a short-term individual change has not produced research that helps understand the distinctive features of television. To him, these features include "massive, long-term, and common exposure of large and heterogeneous publics to centrally produced, mass distributed, and repetitive systems of stories" (Gerbner 1994). On the other hand, there is strong feeling among communication theorists that "televised influence is best defined in terms of the contents people watch rather than the sheer amount of television viewing"(Hawkens and Pingree 1982).

The studies in support of content's predominance are usually conducted in controlled laboratory settings. A series of them have been designed to empirically test the short-term effects of television influence on behavior. An example is a study that investigates the impact of risk-taking by characters in television programs on children's willingness to take physical risk (Potts et el. 1994). This problem not only has medical aspects, but a lot of social ones, as risk-prone behavior, especially prompted in immature children and vulnerable teenagers, may later have direct links to such antisocial consumption behavior as drug and alcohol use. Potts et el. assign a group of children to three experimental conditions–television stimulus programs with infrequent physical risk-taking, programs with frequent risk-taking and no TV stimuli. After analyzing data, they conclude that children exposed to high-risk TV programs self-reported higher levels of willingness to take risk. The authors interpret their results as "evidence of a small effect that may accumulate into a larger effect across the many hours of TV viewed routinely by most children." Moreover, they argue that even "relatively innocuous" and humorous animated cartoons may result in a previously unidentified impact on children via the observational learning process in which risk-taking television characters are rarely punished and even glamorized.

It is clear that for ethical reasons laboratory studies cannot be designed in order to elicit strong effects proving the negative influence of television watching. The body of research exploring negative impact is more inclined to apply survey and observational and interpretive methods. Consequently, the findings are usually suggestive. The typical example is a study by Distefan et el. (1999) that explores whether movie stars who smoke on and off screen may encourage adolescents to start smoking. After running a multivariate statistical analysis of data gathered in the 1996 California Tobacco Survey of over 6,000 teenagers, the authors claim that the effect of suggestive influence of movie star smoking on their fans' tendency to start smoking is evident and only slightly weaker than the influence of smoking friends and family members. Though the findings are not reported to establish that smoking portrayed in films directly leads adolescents to smoke, the study supports the idea of the reversed causal order when adolescents accepting smoking tend to favor actors and actresses associated with smoking.

In this light, Hirschman and McGriff's study (1995) provides a novel empirical attempt to examine possible therapeutic uses of motion pictures in drug rehabilitation programs. The study, designed to apply marketing theory and method toward assisting the treatment of addiction as a social problem, is conducted in a real life setting. Recovering alcoholics and drug addicts are exposed to films that they view on a television monitor, and then asked to fill out a questionnaire while evaluating the accuracy of the portrayal of addiction on the screen and the ability of the films to stimulate their recovery. The authors conclude that two factors define certain films' stronger constructive effect: the stories are not overly graphic or violent, and the films model not only addiction but also a path to recovery.

In one of the first attempts to explore the domain of televised narratives under the marketing angle, Hirschman explores the ideology of consumption encoded within two, at the time, "immensely popular" television series, "Dallas" and "Dynasty" (1988). She investigates the messages the series transmit about consumption, how prominent characters behave as consumers, and what their consumption behavior signifies. Specifically, she claims that the two series provide encoded binary opposition between secular and sacred consumption and that a process of transformation from secular toward sacred consumption is observed in the programs. However, the research does not provide any parallels with real life in terms of whether or not the same tendency is exhibited there.

It is in the proposed model of the dynamic relationships between consumption practices and cultural texts, that Hirschman, Scott and Wells (1998) demonstrate a method of interpreting the symbolism of practice and its symbolic depiction on the screen. They use data on coffee drawn from advertising and television programming and incorporate a broad historical and sociological perspective into their discursive model.

With its power to transcend the boundaries and make our world a "*global village*," television programming conveys messages, including those with a consumption context, from country to country. It is no wonder that cross-cultural marketing studies have already been implemented. Thus, a content analysis of consumption imagery in music television shown in the United States (MTV) and Sweden (MTV-Europe) suggests that the American sample of videos contains more consumption imagery than those Swedish viewers are exposed to, with 73 percent of all American videos having some reference to consumption (Englis, Solomon and Olofsson 1993). It is also noted that more videos shown in the U.S. refer to a specific brand. Moreover, the findings reveal several differences in consumption imagery as a function of musical genre. Thus, rap videos consist of more "darkside" consumption images (alcohol, weapons and drugs), heavy metal "favors" band-related products, and dance music conveys more fashion messages. Considering music television to be an important agent of adolescent socialization, the authors highlight the importance of studying

consumption-relevant content of music in order to better predict and understand the effects of music on consumers, particularly young consumers.

Adolescents have been long reported to be heavy consumers of both material goods and of television programming as well. McLuhan believes that youth in particular is attracted to television because of the "total involvement in all-inclusive nowness that occurs in young lives via TV's mosaic image"(McLuhan 1964, p. 335). As a recent cross-sectional national survey led by the Kaiser Family Foundation reveals, the typical American adolescent's household has three television sets, and two-thirds of the respondents aged 8 through 18 years old report having a television set in their bedroom, spending on average more than three hours a day watching TV with practically no parental guidance and involvement (Roberts 2000). As this audience is known to be especially vulnerable because of a lack of prior experience, the television becomes a particular powerful shaper of their minds and behavior.

DISCUSSION AND PUBLIC POLICY IMPLICATIONS

A review of research on the effects of television on consumption behavior demonstrates that this relatively new topic in marketing discipline has been marked by the incorporation of both observable responses to TV exposure and strong attempts at theory building. But, because of its ubiquity, TV makes it really difficult to distinguish those effects caused solely to television viewing. McLuhan compares the functions of television with the "invisible operation of bacteria" when he writes that it only took ten years for the American public to express new tastes in clothes, in housing, in entertainment, and in vehicles after the arrival of TV (McLuhan 1964, p. 320). These observable changes, he argues, express the new pattern of interrelation between the "mosaic" messages conveyed by television and the "do-it-yourself" involvement of the audience whose job is to interpret the messages and apply them creatively.

Methodologically, the main challenge researchers face today is the fact that there is presumably no authentic control group–people not affected by the phenomenon of television. For this reason, studies are often criticized for employing a non-representative sample. It is also evident that there is no clear agreement among scholars on the definitions of light and heavy viewers. Most research refers to calculations of the number of hours that the respondents self-report TV watching. This way the boundary between heavy and light viewing remains arbitrary and vague, and an individual who may only watch sports programs can easily be referred to as a heavy viewer.

Another challenging point is the choice of methods. While some scholars favor pure empirical studies, believing that laboratory-run experiments can test the power of TV influence on its audience and thus arm the public with scientifically proven evidence, others question the limitedness of such studies. Thus, Brown and Cantor (2000) argue that "any experimental manipulation may be just a drop in the bucket compared with the massive exposure to the same kind of content" in everyday lives and that often the focus of research interest lies in long-term attitude or behavioral change rather than short-term effects. In a similar way, a generation ago, McLuhan attributed political scientists' lack of awareness of TV's effects to an unwillingness to study personal and social effects apart from their "content" (McLuhan 1964, p. 323).

Seen in this light, it seems especially suitable that marketing researchers studying television effects have experimented with methods themselves and have included in their operational set such methods as telethnograpy (Sherry 1995), hybrid structural-syntactical method (Hirschman 1988), historical discourse (Hirschman,

Scott and Wells 1998), and application of grounded theory (Hirschman and Thompson 1997). This range of methods has helped explore not only immediate but also long-term effects of exposure to television on consumption behavior. Furthermore, as this literature review indicates, future inquiry into the topic should produce a multidisciplinary contribution in two general directions: empirical studies of short-time effects of specific television content on the audience; and interpretive studies of the effects of TV exposure, independent of the content of TV programming. But there is a strong need for both directions to examine what can be done to promote positive, and reduce negative, consumption behavior.

The recognition by marketing scholars of the importance of studying non-advertising television is only the first step. The next step should be the exploration of differential effects of TV messages and images on viewers. It is evident now that early models of mass media effects assumed a homogeneous audience, contrary to McLuhan's view when he wrote that TV fostered "many preferences that are quite at variance with literate uniformity and repeatability" and proposed that "the uniform and repeatable now must yield to the uniquely askew, a fact that is increasingly the despair and confusion of our entire standardized economy"(McLuhan 1964, p. 323).

Invitations to conduct differential effects research and explore selective exposure more systematically have become more pronounced lately. Scholars call for an examination of the mediating effects of such variables as education, gender, social economic status, family life, ethnicity, and cognitive development, and for exploration of which attributes make messages more powerful and influential for different groups. They propose that television's impact is often disputed not because it is not always visible, but because effects often accumulate over time and are obscured by the individual differences of the viewers.

Previous research indicates that "gender is one of the most fundamentally differentiating factors" in media use in terms of both quantity and content preferences (Roe 2000). Thus, boys are more likely than girls to have a television in their bedrooms, they tend to spend more time in front of the TV, and prefer watching action, crime, sport, science fiction, and war films while girls rate music, talk shows and "soaps" higher. Only comedy seems to attract equal attention. It is also known that boys watch more animated cartoons (Huston, Wright, Rice, Kerkman, and St. Peters, 1990), African-American and Hispanic youngsters are more likely than white peers to have TV sets in their bedrooms, and that TV viewing is the most substantial during the early childhood and declines in middle adolescence (Roberts 2000). And though McLuhan stresses that "the nature of the TV image is more important than statistics about number of sets in American homes and the number of hours of daily use of these sets," (McLuhan 1964, p. 329) these data provide a valuable starting point for further inquiry.

Hirschman and Thompson (1997), in their study of motivational relationships between viewers and televised messages, claim to have discovered age- and gender-based differences in the interpretations of television's appeal. According to their findings, older people seem to express a more inspirational relationship with media images and more often refer to some of them as an ideal self to which they can aspire. The scholars also discern a major difference between men's and women's interpretations of media messages with regards to the perceived need to resist them on the ground of being unreal and artificial. While many of their female participants described themselves as resisting the distorting influences of televised messages, the male participants reported their ability to stand outside these influences.

Since the advent of television in 1946, researchers have actively speculated on the role of television in influencing people's behavior, attitudes, and knowledge. McLuhan even suggests framing history into "pre-TV consumer days" and the post-TV era. His desire to understand the dynamic life of what he describes as the mosaic forms of the TV images "as they intrude upon us and upon one another" (McLuhan 1964, 334) is still shared today. The phenomenon of television is full of contradiction: it is depicted as a threat and as an opportunity, it can promote and deter behavior, it can encourage positive and negative attitudes, it can lead to socially desirable and avoidable effects, it can advocate consumption and or abstention from consumption, and television viewing itself can be intimate and social, global and local, innocent and evil, passive and active, cheap and expensive. Because of this conflicting nature, television poses a lot of public policy implications; after half a century of research scholars recognize they still know little about the extent or consequences of television's influence and public health specialists are unclear about how best to advise parents and children about media use in the home. Public policy officials ask scholars to study the effects of TV portrayals of tobacco, alcohol, and illicit drug use, urge parents to be more involved in children's media exposure, and encourage viewers to resist potentially harmful television impact.

In a changing media environment that embraces new channels of communication the "old" media of television has not yet been relegated to secondary status. In light of the increasing tendency to simultaneously use multiple media, television still remains a powerful shaper and mirror of consumers' minds, lives, and experiences. It still functions, as McLuhan described decades ago, as an extension of the sense of touch, "transforming fragmented and specialist extensions into a seamless web of experience" (McLuhan 1964, p.334). The disturbing prediction is that because of information overload we may witness the decline of credible fact (Braman 1993), and for this reason it will become "harder to distinguish between what is on-screen and in reality" (Walsh 2000), what is experience and what is fiction. Thus, the characters in television programs and the products they will use will even more define the consumers' perception of their surrounding environment.

This review of the body of knowledge accumulated by research into the effects of television on consumption behavior suggests that both marketers and public policy officials need a working knowledge of televised messages, in order to be able to communicate their goods and ideas. Because television viewing is argued to have a strong impact on associations consumers have with lifestyles, both aspired and avoided, media gatekeeper's choices revealed on the screen should be constantly monitored for information about current and future consumption trends. This task becomes particularly necessary in light of assertions that producers of TV programs "read" from present consumer behavior–a conclusion that leads to a two-tiered perspective on the encoding and decoding of lifestyle information from media sources (Englis and Solomon 1997). This perspective is analogous to McLuhan's definition of the power of television when he argues about its ability to involve an entire population in a ritual process and credits TV with the power to "invest an occasion with the character of corporate participation," to challenge the values of consumer goods and create an obsession with bodily welfare (McLuhan 1964, pp. 337, 320, 328).

However, many research questions still go unanswered. Thus, what implications appear at the societal level, and is it good or bad for the public when TV viewers perceive the real world as a more affluent place that it is in reality? Does the heavy TV exposure of children and teenagers make them savvy, or more materialistic and greedy consumers? Does it teach them learn the value of money and how to spend it? Does TV promote compulsive and violent behavior

by portraying risk-taking television characters? Though television violence has probably received more scrutiny than any other area, hot debates about possible contribution of television violence into antisocial behavior haven't so far been explicitly linked to consumer behavior. Assuming there are causal relationships between the violent images abundant on TV screen and the aggressive behavior of their recipients, it is worth exploring how consumption behavior changes in a crime-ridden society, town, or a neighborhood.

The final and perhaps most socially important question is whether the reported findings can be used to reduce the antisocial consequences of televised messages and enhance their positive potential? Can academic studies, as some researchers optimistically hope, contribute to solving destructive social problems based on compulsive and addictive consumer behavior?

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Postpurchase, Intertemporal Consumption Behavior

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SESSION OVERVIEW

The authors in this session report research that seeks to understand consumption behavior. In the past, such research has been constrained due to a lack of adequate data. The authors discussed how postpurchase consumption behavior is shaped by factors such as convenience and salience (Chandon and Wansink), habit (Khare and Inman), and socio-demographic trends and attitudes (Beres).

Chandon and Wansink examine when and how, exogenous product stockpiling increases the short-term rate of consumption. They address the following questions: 1) Are exogenously-stockpiled products really consumed at a faster rate? 2) How does stockpiling increase consumption rates for high vs. low convenience products? The questions are answered through multiple methods (scanner data analysis and field/laboratory experiments) and across product categories. Chandon and Wansink's findings show that stockpiling does indeed cause people to consume products at a faster rate. Stockpiling increases the consumption rate more for high convenience products than for low convenience products. This is because, while stockpiling increases consumption quantity (given incidence) for both types of products, it only increases consumption incidence for high convenience products. Further, stockpiling only triggers consumption incidence when it increases the salience of the product at the point of consumption. Such increased salience is more likely to lead to consideration when the product is convenient to consume compared to when it requires preparation.

Khare and Inman argue and demonstrate that habits–consistency in behavior over time–play a dominant role in repetitive consumption behaviors such as food consumption behavior (Aarts and Dijksterhuis 2000; Ouellette and Wood 1998). They study habits in the consumption of various food-nutrients and discuss two types of habits–carryover and baseline–and show that meal-type (breakfast, lunch, dinner) and nutrient-type (positive, negative) moderate the nature of these habits. Carryover habit is observed when, within a meal-type, the level of a nutrient in a past meal significantly predicts the level of the same nutrient in the current meal. Baseline habit is observed when the consumption level of a nutrient is habitually different across meal types. Based on food consumption data from a diary-panel of individuals, Khare and Inman 1) show support for carryover and baseline habits 2) show that carryover habit is stronger at breakfast than at dinner 3) demonstrate that individuals' baseline habits are such that they obtain positive nutrients mostly at breakfast and negative nutrients mostly at dinner.

Beres reports findings from The NPD Group's Annual Report on *Eating Patterns in America*. These findings are based on the dietary consumption information collected from a panel of 2500 households over a two-week period staggered throughout the year. The data includes information on product usage (e.g., base dish, ingredient), preparation method (e.g., stove, microwave), meal occasion (e.g., breakfast, lunch, dinner), location (in-home versus away-from-home), seasonality (e.g., day of week, holiday), user (e.g., age, diet status, lifecycle), etc. These consumption data are supplemented by self-reports on nutritional attitudes and behaviors. Beres discussed findings regarding trends in Americans' concern

with maintaining a healthy diet (e.g., avoiding harmful substances such as fat and cholesterol), trends in tolerance for extra weight, and changes in meal preparation methods.

At the end of the three presentations, the session's discussant, Valerie Folkes underscored the need to study actual consumption behavior and along with the audience discussed important issues related to food consumption behavior. Some of these issues were: increasing serving sizes of packaged as well as served foods, time-of-the-day effects in food consumption behavior, and possible changes in nutritional labeling.

EXTENDED ABSTRACTS

"Do We Consume Stockpiled Products Faster? A Convenience-Salience Framework of Stockpiling-induced Consumption"

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In this research, we develop a framework of postpurchase consumption behavior, which we use to examine when, and how, exogenous product stockpiling increases the short-term rate of consumption. We ask two questions: 1) Are exogenously-stockpiled products really consumed at a faster rate? 2) How does stockpiling increase consumption rates for high convenience and low convenience products? We examine the first question with an analysis of household scanner data and by conducting a field experiment. We examine the second question with field and laboratory studies, with families and young adults, with multi-category or single-category choices, with retrospective and prospective measures of consumption, and with a total of 20 different products.

Findings from the scanner data and the field experiment show that stockpiling does indeed cause people to consume products at a faster rate. The association between stockpiling and consumption that is shown in previous scanner data analyses (e.g., Ailawadi and Neslin 1998) is therefore not simply caused by consumers endogenously stockpiling in anticipation of a higher demand for the product. Studies 1 and 2 also show that stockpiling increases consumption rate more for high convenience products than for low convenience products. The reason is that, although stockpiling increases consumption quantity (given incidence) for both types of products, it only increases consumption incidence for high convenience products. Study 3 shows that this impact of stockpiling on consumption incidence is mediated by salience. Stockpiling only triggers consumption incidence when it increases the salience of the product at the point of consumption. Finally, Study 4 shows that convenience moderates the effects of salience—and hence of stockpiling—on consumption incidence. This is because the higher awareness created by stockpiling and salience is more likely to lead to consideration when the product is convenient to consume compared to when it requires preparation.

"Habit Regimes in Consumption"

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We argue and demonstrate that habits play a dominant role in repetitive consumption behaviors such as food consumption behavior (Aarts and Dijksterhuis 2000; Ouellette and Wood 1998). Habits

are reflected through consistency in behavior over time. We study habits in the consumption of various food-nutrients (e.g., saturated fat, calcium, etc.). In this context, we discuss two types of habits–carryover and baseline–and show that meal-type (breakfast, lunch, dinner) and nutrient-type (positive, negative) moderate the nature of these habits.

Carryover habit is observed when the level of a nutrient in a past meal is a significant predictor of the level of the same nutrient in the current meal. Carryover habits reflect within meal-type behaviors. For example, if the level of fat in yesterday's lunch predicts the level of fat in today's lunch well then carryover habit with respect to fat is observed. We argue that carryover habit can take one of two forms: fixed vs. cycling. When carryover habit is significant and has a positive valence (i.e., the habit coefficient is significant and positive), we categorize this type of carryover habit as fixed carryover habit (e.g., eating the same breakfast cereal everyday). And, when carryover habit is significant and has a negative valence (i.e., the habit coefficient is significant and negative), we categorize this type of carryover habit as cycling carryover habit (e.g., alternating between three breakfast cereals in a fixed order) (c.f., Brickman and D'Amato 1975).

Baseline habit is observed when the consumption level of a nutrient is consistently different across meal types. For example, if a person consistently consumes lower levels of protein at breakfast but higher levels of protein at dinner then baseline habit with respect to protein will be observed i.e., the person's protein consumption baselines differ across meal-type.

Given the repetitiousness and situational stability of food consumption behavior, habits are very likely to develop in food consumption behavior. Habits can develop for a variety of reasons. For example, with respect to food consumption, observed eating behavior could be so because consumers deliberately planned it that way (Connors et al. 2001) or because consumers have been conditioned to do so (Bargh and Chartrand 1999). It should be noted that irrespective of what the bases of habits are, once developed, all habits operate automatically i.e., at a lower level of cognitive processing. We argue that habits are beneficial because they help consumers manage their utility over time (Kahn, Ratner, and Kahneman 1997) and because they help consumers minimize effort in decision-making.

We hypothesize and based on a diary-panel of individuals (n=769) show that:

- A majority (over 70%) of individuals exhibit carryover habit in food consumption behavior.
- The magnitude of fixed carryover habit is stronger at breakfast than at dinner.
- A majority of individuals (over 75%) exhibit baseline habit in food consumption behavior.
- For positive nutrients (e.g., calcium) the nature of baseline habit is such that for a majority of the individuals the level consumed at breakfast is the highest.
- For negative nutrients (e.g., saturated fat) the nature of baseline habit is such that for a majority of the individuals the level consumed at dinner is the highest.

These findings have important implications for public-policy making and managerial decision-making. For example: 1) Based on the observed asymmetry between positive and negative nutrients, perhaps dietary guidelines for positive nutrients could focus on breakfast foods and those for negative nutrients could focus on dinner foods. Such targeting could increase the effectiveness of dietary guidelines 2) The asymmetry between positive and negative nutrients has implications for designing nutritional descriptors of foods. Nutritional descriptors for breakfast foods could focus on accentuating the positives (e.g., high calcium) and nutritional descriptors for dinner foods could focus on downplaying the negatives (e.g., low in saturated fat).

"Eating Trends in America"
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The NPD Group in 1980, as part of its National Eating Trends service, began to collect complete intake information on the eating patterns of America. This ongoing research effort involves thousands of individuals maintaining a daily diary of all the foods and beverages they consume over a two-week period. Our sample of households is a rolling sample. That is, on the Monday of every week in a year, about fifty households start recording their dietary intake information for a period of two-weeks. At any given point of time, a group of fifty households is in the first week of their participation period and another group of fifty households is in their second week of participation. The 2500 households we sample every year are representative of the Census Bureau's demographic distribution of the household population. Participating households are compensated for their cooperation. The daily diaries completed by the participating households contain sections for each main meal occasion, carried meals, snack occasions, as well as meals eaten away-from-home. The collected data include information on product usage (e.g., base dish, ingredient, side dish), preparation method (e.g., stove, microwave), meal occasion (e.g., breakfast, lunch, snack), location (in-home versus away), seasonality (e.g., day of week, season of year, holiday), user (e.g., age, diet status, lifecycle, ethnicity), etc. We then calculate the nutritional ingredients of each food item eaten. Our sampled households' head individuals also report their nutritional attitudes and behaviors. These data enable us to address issues involving demographic dynamics, health related behavior and attitudes, meal preparation–who does it, how it is done, etc., and food related trends such as which foods are eaten when, consumption of which foods is increasing (decreasing), etc.

A sampling of some of the findings in our most recent analysis include: (*Health*) Ours being an "aging" nation, health will remain an important issue. However, with regards to food, health is not the front runner that it once was. Americans are less watchful when it comes to avoiding harmful substances such as fat, cholesterol, and sodium. Health issues have reached a point where Americans are finally able to confess that the most important things about food are its taste, looks, and smell. (*Weight*) Americans appear to be more tolerant of extra weight than ever before. This tolerance is not odd given that more people are overweight than before. However, there remains, as always, a core group of dieters consisting of approximately a third of adult females and a fifth of adult males. (*Meal preparation*) Changes in what Americans eat seem less to do with food and more to do with preparation. Nearly half of the food dollar now goes to foodservice outlets rather than supermarkets. Restaurants have become "prepared supermarkets" for today's households as take-out continues to be a driving force in that industry. Still, most meals are prepared in-home. The in-home meal is undergoing changes too. In-home meals now have more frozen main dishes, fewer homemade dishes, and fewer side dishes.

These trends are among those that we will discuss, along with concomitant implications. However, despite the changes in food consumption, on average, our eating habits evolve quite slowly. For example, the foods consumed ten years ago are, for the most part, the same as foods consumed today.

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An Analysis of Multi-dimensional Internal Reference Prices

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the number and type of multiple internal reference prices (IRPs) consumers utilized for evaluating an offered price for three products that differed in perceived price expensiveness and product involvement. Findings are as follows. First, the number of IRPs utilized increases in tandem with perceived price expensiveness and product involvement. Second, the combination of multiple IRPs utilized is similar, but the most important IRP varies among consumers. Third, the type of IRP utilized varies among products, although there are some commonalities. Our additional investigation pertaining to the impact of deviations from IRPs is also reported.

INTRODUCTION

Importance of internal reference price (IRP) in consumers' decision making has found a consensus among marketing researchers through a considerable amount of empirical evidence (for a review, see Kalyanaram and Winer 1995). Also, IRP effects are well grounded in several psychological theories such as adaptation-level theory, assimilation-contrast theory, and prospect theory (for a review, see Sawyer and Dickson 1984). The IRP is defined as a standard price which consumers utilize for evaluating a product offer price. Its formation is based mainly on prices that individual consumers have observed previously; it is stored in memory, recalled, and reevaluated as occasions demand.

Although IRP has been addressed by past research, there is a specific void in those studies. Given the multi-dimensional nature of IRP, no specific suggestion is offered to marketers as to which price concept should receive focus when they choose to use IRP for more effective price communications toward consumers. Multi-dimensionality suggests that the IRP may differ among consumers and products; also, consumers may use more than one IRP per purchase occasion. As for those multiple IRPs, Winer (1988) presented five operational IRPs: fair price, reservation price, lowest acceptable price, expected price, and perceived price. Fair price taps notions of what a product 'ought to cost'. Reservation price is the most a consumer is 'willing to pay' for a product. Lowest acceptable price is the lowest price level at which a consumer does not 'suspect poor quality' and hence would pay for a product. Expected price is the price a consumer thinks she will have to pay for a product 'in the future'. Perceived price is the current perceived or estimated price, which incorporates an amalgamation of the price most frequently charged, last price paid, price of the brand usually bought, and the average price of similar products. Various other operational IRPs have been used: reasonable price (Folkes and Wheat 1995), lowest market price (Biswas and Blair 1991), average price (Bearden et al. 1992; Diamond and Campbell 1989), and evoked price (Rao and Gautschi 1982).

Although each IRP concept differs, previous research has found that many of these prices were similar. For instance, Folkes and Wheat (1985) demonstrated that the reservation, fair, expected, and reasonable prices were highly correlated for an electric ice-cream maker and oil stain (Cronbach's alpha=.92). In a study by Diamond and Campbell (1989), levels of the expected, average, most frequent, fair, and reservation prices were very similar for liquid laundry detergent. Bearden et al. (1992) showed that, excepting fair price, the normal, expected, average, and reservation prices were correlated for apartment rents (mean score of correlation coefficients=0.75). These previous research efforts elucidate how

similar the level of some IRPs can be, but not which type of IRPs that consumers use. As mentioned earlier, that latter information is crucial for marketers because recognizing corresponding IRPs leads to focus and emphasis of appropriate IRPs in price communications toward consumers.

One exception is a study by Chandrashekaran and Jagpal (1995) which showed that four IRPs (fair price, reservation price, normal price, and lowest price seen) would not be combined into an overall unitized IRP upon evaluating an offered price; instead, respective IRPs directly influenced evaluation. They also found that consumers' use of IRPs was product-specific. For a compact disc stereo player, fair price and reservation price affected evaluations similarly and were highly correlated (phi=.71). For running shoes, fair price and lowest price seen affected evaluations to a similar degree and were significantly correlated (phi=.58).

This study also investigates consumer use of multiple IRPs, but employs a different approach from Chandrashekaran and Jagpal. Instead of measuring the level of multiple IRPs, we attempt to rank these prices based on perception of usability for price evaluations. This approach may lead to more accurate measurement in terms of relative importance of multiple IRPs. We argue that consumers may use multiple internal prices; however, these prices are not used simultaneously. In other words, multiple IRPs are used separately in some order of importance. For example, one consumer may first use expected price, the most relevant IRP for him, for price evaluation. If he feels that more price evaluation is necessary, he may next recall purchased price, his second-most relevant IRP, for subsequent evaluation. If he is not yet satisfied, he then recalls his third-most relevant IRP for further evaluation, and so on. This process continues until the consumer reaches a certain level of price-evaluation satisfaction. Hence, measuring multiple IRPs by asking consumers to indicate their level all at once, as in previous research, seems to be rather unnatural. Consumers are not able to differentiate innate levels of respective IRPs in that way. This may explain why levels of different IRPs were very similar in previous studies.

This study examines which IRP consumers generally use upon evaluating an offered price for several different product classes; those classes would differ in their respective level of consumers' perceived price expensiveness and product involvement. Product involvement is defined here as the individual's level of interest in a product. It is found to affect many aspects of consumer response, such as attention to a stimulus, depth of stimulus processing, cognitive response, and search behavior (e.g., Celsi and Olson 1998; Moore and Lehmann 1980; Petty et al. 1983). In addition, we look at a situation where actual offered prices deviate from consumers' IRPs (e.g., Winer 1986; Kalwani et al. 1990). We attempt to examine whether the direction of deviation from IRP (DIRP) influences consumers' intentions for conducting an additional price search and intentions of using market prices observed in the price search as an IRP for future price evaluations. If the effects are significant, it would imply that IRP is influenced not only by manufacturer' or retailers' past pricing activities, but also by consumers' past price search behaviors resulting from DIRP. Previous research has revealed the direct effect of DIRP on consumers' choice decisions, but not its indirect effect on future price evaluations. Therefore, we wish to take this opportunity to investigate these potential effects as well. We point out that our focus for DIRP is strictly on its direction, not on its size.

HYPOTHESES

We begin by developing hypotheses regarding the number and type of multiple IRPs that consumers use for price evaluation. Our next set of hypotheses relates to the effect of DIRP direction on intention of conducting an additional price search and of using observed market prices for future price evaluations.

Consumers are likely to evaluate offered prices of a product more carefully and seriously when it is perceived to be relatively expensive since perceived sacrifice engendered by expenditure is large and consumers' needs and motivation for reaching the right decision increase. Also, consumers are likely to generate more careful price evaluations when their involvement toward a product is high. Previous research found that their attention, processing depth, and cognitive responses to stimulus are high when consumers' involvement toward a stimulus is high; their recall ability is also enhanced because it leads to more retrievable, more accurate, and stronger memory traces (e.g., Leavitt et al. 1981; Petty et al. 1983). We argue that a more careful and serious price evaluation leads to use of more IRPs because those consumers are bound to examine offered price validity from every possible aspect. Hence,

H1: The number of IRPs that consumers utilize are larger for products for which consumers' perceived price expensiveness and product involvement are high than for products for which they are low.

Following the same argument, we assert that the type of IRPs used for price evaluation also differs among products that have different levels of perceived price expensiveness and product involvement. In particular, we predict that the use of reservation price and fair price would be very product specific. Reservation price plays a vital role for a product for which perceived sacrifice of expenditure is high since it reflects the most consumers are willing to pay. For such products, reservation price is formed with close reference to a consumer's budget. Fair price also plays an important role for such products; consumers would be encouraged to justify expenditure on the product. Fair price is the best IRP to meet this need because it denotes what a product ought to cost. High perceived sacrifice on expenditure relates to high perceived price expensiveness and engenders high product involvement. Hence,

H2: The type of IRPs that consumers utilize is product specific. In particular, the relative importance of reservation price and fair price as IRPs increases as perceived price expensiveness and product involvement increase.

Previous research found that consumers' price knowledge and accuracy of recalled past prices were low in general (Dickson and Sawyer 1986, 1990). We argue that consumers are aware that their recall of previously purchased prices is inaccurate and somewhat ambiguous, especially for less-frequently purchased products. Thus, they may use historical purchase prices for a price evaluation, but do not appraise them highly. We also argue that this tendency becomes more pronounced as purchase frequency decreases or inter-purchase periods lengthen. This is because some technological innovation or product changes might be expected; alternatively, the same product is likely to be off the market and consumers' memories of purchase prices fade over time.

H3: Importance of purchased prices as an IRP is relatively low. Importance decreases as purchase frequency decreases.

We now hypothesize relationships between DIRP and intention for additional price search and of using observed market prices as an IRP for future price evaluations. Previous studies found consistently that consumers do relatively little pre-purchase search and price comparison for durable goods (e.g., Beatty and Smith 1987) despite reported importance of price to consumers' purchase decisions (Rothe and Lamount 1973). We argue that the price search intention varies depending on the direction in which DIRP occurs. We predict that a higher intention for conducting an additional price search will be derived when offered prices are higher than expected (negative DIRP) than when they are lower than expected (positive DIRP). While positive DIRP leads to pleasure, negative DIRP leads to discomfort or shock. Consumers with negative DIRP will be more motivated to examine whether this negative DIRP is due to their inappropriate price knowledge or not; therefore, their needs and motivation for an additional price search increases. If a positive DIRP occurs, consumers merely enjoy pleasure and perceive low benefit for the search. Hence, the following hypothesis is proposed:

H4: A consumer's intention to conduct an additional price search is higher when a negative DIRP arises than when a positive DIRP arises.

The same argument can be applied to intention toward using market prices observed in the price search for future price evaluation. Negative DIRP should make consumers more knowledgeable of product market prices, as hypothesized in H4. Thus, the intention of using those market prices as IRPs for future evaluations is higher for consumers with a negative DIRP than for those with a positive DIRP. Moreover, consumers with a negative DIRP are likely to engrave the fact of inaccurate price expectation more deeply and clearly in their minds. This forces them to pay more attention to new price-related information such as market prices. Thus, we propose:

H5: A consumer's intention of using market prices obtained in a price search for future price evaluations is higher when a negative DIRP arises than when a positive DIRP arises.

METHOD

The study was a 2 x 3 factorial between-subjects design. Crossing DIRP with products developed six versions of experimental booklets. The two levels of DIRP conditions were positive and negative; three products were a personal computer (PC), a cellular phone (cell-phone), and shampoo.[1]

On a voluntary basis, 341 undergraduate student subjects participated in this study; of them, 297 were useful for analyses. (111 for PC, 116 for cell-phone, and 70 for shampoo).

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[1]Through an interview with 15 students, product involvement and perceived price expensiveness were found to be generally high for PC, moderate for cell-phone, and low for shampoo. Also, a pilot study was conducted to investigate whether IRP use was plausible for the three products. A questionnaire asked 46 students to rate price importance and describe the rating rationale. Results revealed that price is important for these products, but the extent and reason of importance is product specific. Therefore, we conclude that the role of IRP should be vital for these products.

Procedure

The experimental booklet comprised four consecutive hypothetical scenarios. The first scenario asked subjects to imagine the following:

You are currently thinking of buying a PC (cell-phone, shampoo). You are about to visit a store to buy it. You have no strong preference on which brand to buy; thus, price becomes one of the attributes you pay attention to. Your product checking also includes price checking. Checking of price validity is conducted by comparing an offered price to standard prices you refer to. This is the list of prices typically representing a standard.

Then, the nine IRPs were presented to subjects. The IRPs were fair price (FP), reservation price (RP), lowest acceptable price (LAP), lowest-observed price (LOP), highest-observed price (HOP), average-observed price (AOP), normal price (NP), expected price (EP), and purchased price (PP).[2] Each of these nine prices was described specifically so subjects could easily differentiate them. Subjects were encouraged to ask questions if they found difficulties differentiating them. The order of presenting these prices was alternated. Subjects were asked to select only those prices they would consider using as a reference for evaluating validity of an offered price; they were asked to rank selected prices by order of precedence from highest to lowest. Then, subjects received the second scenario:

Now, you are in the store to buy a PC (cell-phone, shampoo). When you checked on several offered prices in the store, the overall price of the product class was higher ("lower" for the positive DIRP condition) than expected. You realized that your price expectation was not consistent with actual levels.

After reading the scenario, subjects assessed their level of intention for conducting an additional price search. Then, the subjects received the third scenario, in which they decided to conduct a price search to understand typical and appropriate price levels of the product in the market. Next, they selected information sources that they would seriously consider seeking information from: "check more prices in the store", "visit other stores", "read magazines", "search on the internet", "ask acquaintances", and "ask store clerks". Finally, the last scenario was provided. It asked subjects to imagine that they had gained a good amount of knowledge about the product price through price searching. Then they rated their intention of using the three market prices (highest-market price, lowest-market price, and intermediate-market price) obtained from their price search for future price evaluations. In the end, they assessed their product involvement, perceived price expensiveness of the product class in general, and supplied demographic data.

Measures

Price search intention was measured using a 4-point scale anchored by "Very much" and "Not at all" with the question, "Do you search for more price information by checking prices of the product?" Intention of utilizing each of three market prices (highest, lowest, and intermediate prices) obtained from the price search on future price evaluations were measured by a 5-point scale from "Very much" to "Not at all" for the question, "How much do you intend to use the highest (lowest, intermediate) price observed in the price search for price evaluations in the future?"

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[2]No price levels were labeled on these price terms since we did not attempt to investigate the effect of having access to price information upon price evaluations.

RESULTS

Data checks

We needed to verify that subjects' assessment on perceived price expensiveness and product involvement actually differed among the three products. Perceived price expensiveness was measured by a 5-point scale anchored with "Very much" and "Not at all" on the question: "Do you feel that a PC (cell-phone, shampoo) is generally an expensive product?" The mean score was 2.2 for PC, 3.1 for cell-phone, and 4.6 for shampoo ($F(2, 289)=246.5$, $p<.01$). Tukey test indicated that all contrasts were significant at alpha=.05. Product involvement was measured by a 3-point scale anchored with "Very much" and "Not at all" on the question: "Are you generally interested in a PC (cell-phone, shampoo)?" The mean score was 1.6 for PC, 2.0 for cell-phone, and 2.9 for shampoo ($F(2, 288)=58.2$, $p<.01$). Tukey test indicated that all contrasts were significant at alpha=.05. These results indicate that perceived price expensiveness and product involvement were both high for PC, moderate for cell-phone, and low for shampoo. Accordingly, those two characteristics are comparable among the three products.

Hypothesis tests

Hypothesis 1 stated that the number of IRPs utilized increased as perceived price expensiveness and product involvement increased. The mean score of a number of selected IRPs was 5.7 for PC, 4.8 for cell-phone, and 2.4 for shampoo ($F(2, 292)=68.9$, $p<.01$). Tukey test indicated that all contrasts were significant at alpha=.05. Figure 1 shows the proportion of subjects selecting each IRP with the intent to use it as an IRP. For PCs, RP (71%), LAP (78%), AOP (74%), NP (87%), and EP (83%) received relatively high scores. For cell-phones, NP (74%) and EP (73%) received high scores. For shampoo, only NP (74%) received a high score. These suggest that as perceived price expensiveness and product involvement increase, IRPs utilized by consumers increase, supporting H1.

Hypothesis 2 predicted that importance of RP and FP as an IRP increased as perceived price expensiveness and product involvement increased. Proportions of those using RP and FP were 71% and 64% for PC, 65% and 46% for cell-phone, and 44% and 36% for shampoo; FP use was lower than RP use. Chi-square test showed that the use of RP and FP differed significantly by product type (Chi^2 (2)=11.5, $p<.01$ for RP and Chi^2 (2)=14.6, $p<.001$ for FP). The average ranks of RP and FP were 2.7 and 2.8 for PC, 3.4 and 3.9 for cell-phone, and 4.1 and 4.1 for shampoo ($F(2, 180)=5.2$, $p<.01$ for RP, $F(2, 146)=3.3$, $p<.05$ for FP; PC and shampoo differed significantly at alpha=.05 for both IRP). These data concur with H2.

As for other IRPs, use of LAP was particularly product specific (Chi^2 (2)=20.6, $p<.0001$) and use of AOP and PP were fairly product specific (Chi^2 (2)=6.9 and 6.3, $p<.05$). Figure 1 also shows that NP, EP, LOP and HOP share commonalities across the three products. That is, subjects strongly regard NP and EP (Chi^2 (2)=6.0 and 5.7, $p<.1$), and weakly regard LOP and HOP (Chi^2 (2)=2.7 and 3.6, n.s.). Additionally, the proportion of subjects ranking each IRP first in terms of their intent to use it as an IRP differed by product as shown in Figure 2: LAP received the highest proportion for PC (21%), RP for cell-phone (19%), and EP for shampoo (17%). These proportions are not high, suggesting that the most important IRP that consumers use varies among consumers even though the combination of multiple IRPs they use tends to be similar.

Hypothesis 3 predicted that importance that consumers assigned to PP for price evaluation was lower; this tendency strengthened with decreased purchase frequency. Among the three prod-

FIGURE 1
Proportion of Each IRP
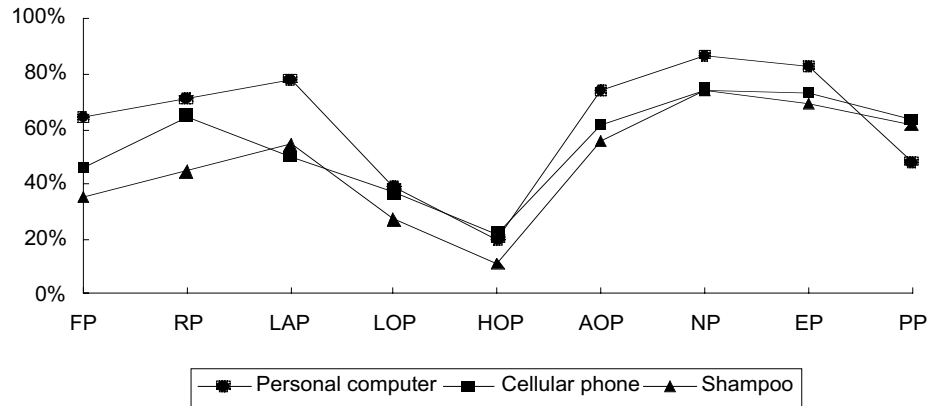
FIGURE 2
Proportion of #1 Ranked IRP
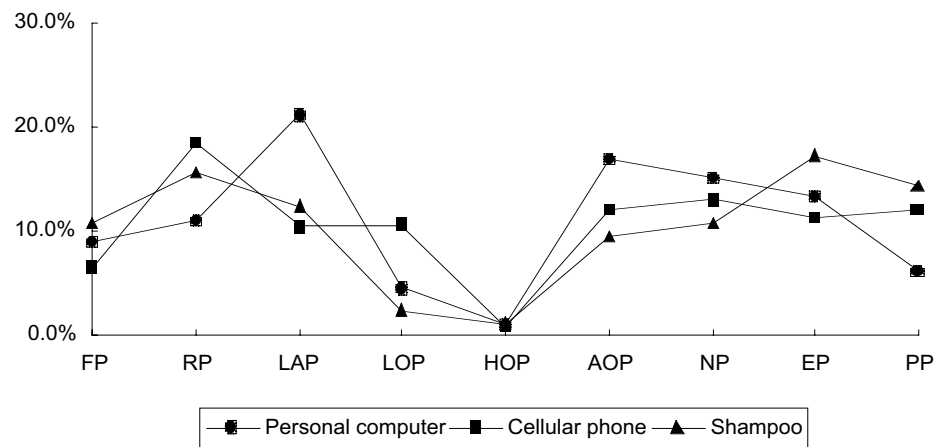
ucts, purchase frequency was low for PC, moderate for cell-phone, and high for shampoo.[3] Figure 1 shows that the proportion of subjects who selected PP was 48% for PC, 63% for cell-phone, and 61% for shampoo. Chi-square test showed that PP use differed by product type (Chi^2 (2)=6.2, $p<.05$). The average rank was 4.3 for PC, 3.4 for cell-phone, and 2.8 for shampoo ($F(2, 166)$=6.3, $p<.01$; two contrasts (PC vs. phone, PC vs. shampoo) were significant at alpha=.05. These data indicated that consumers use PP for price evaluations; however, its extent is relatively low and becomes even lower for less-frequently purchased products. Thus, H3 is supported.

Next, we examine the effect of DIRP on an additional price search as proposed in Hypothesis 4. Two price search aspects were

[3]A pretest conducted with 19 students indicated that the average inter-purchase period was 3.4 years for PC, 2 years for cell-phone, and .2 years for shampoo ($F(2, 54)$=62.0, $p<.01$). Tukey test showed that all contrasts were significant at alpha=.05.

investigated: intention to conduct price search and the number of information sources sought for use in that search. The former aspect reflects the amount while the latter reflects the depth of the price search. The extent of price search intention was significantly different between positive DIRP and negative DIRP for cell-phone ($T(122)$=2.2, $p<.05$), with more search for the negative DIRP than positive DIRP ($M_{positive}$=2.0 vs. $M_{negative}$=1.6). The effect on search intention for PCs and shampoo was not significant. The effect of DIRP on the number of information sources intended for use was significant for PC ($T(112)$=2.1, $p<.05$), with more sources for negative DIRP than positive DIRP ($M_{positive}$=2.4 vs. $M_{negative}$=3.1). When a negative DIRP arose, most subjects similarly intended to use "visit other stores" and "ask acquaintances" highly (77% and 74%), but when a positive DIRP arose, "check more prices in the store" loomed larger (87%). The effect for cell-phones and shampoo was not significant. Thus, we conclude that negative DIRP leads to more price search than positive DIRP; still, the effect depends on product type, partially supporting H4. We also note here that intention for an additional price search and number

of information sources used for that price search varies significantly among the products ($F(2, 285)$=33.8, $p<.01$ for extent, $F(2, 285)$=39.8, $p<.01$ for source). The higher the perceived price expensiveness and product involvement, the more and deeper the additional price search.

Hypothesis 5 stated that the effect of DIRP on intention of using market prices observed in a price search for future price evaluations was greater for negative DIRP than for positive DIRP. For PCs, the effect of DIRP on the extent of using highest-market price was only marginally significant ($T(112)$=1.7, $p<.1$, $M_{positive}$=3.2 vs. $M_{negative}$=2.8). For cell-phones, the effect on the extent of using highest-market price was only marginally significant ($T(122)$=1.7, $p<.1$, $M_{positive}$=3.1 vs. $M_{negative}$=2.7). For shampoo, the effect on the extent of using intermediate-market price was significant ($T(82)$=2.0, $p<.05$, $M_{positive}$=2.3 vs. $M_{negative}$=1.8). Thus, we observed a propensity to use more market prices when a negative DIRP arose rather than when a positive DIRP arose; here again, the type of market prices used and extent of using them depended on product type. These results partially support H5. Notably, comparison of the products revealed that the intention of using intermediate-market price differed significantly among them ($F(2, 284)$=4.5, $p<.05$, $M_{computer}$=1.7, M_{phone}=2.0, and $M_{shampoo}$=2.1), indicating that PC shoppers regarded intermediate-market price highest. Moreover, the intention to use each market price was significantly different among the three market prices ($F(2, 854)$=77.0, $p<.01$, $M_{highest}$=3.1, $M_{intemediate}$=1.9, and M_{lowest}=2.2), indicating that intermediate-market price would be used most and highest-market price would be used least.

DISCUSSION

Although the multidimensional nature of IRP is well-accepted among marketing researchers, few studies address which IRP should be used in price communication strategies toward consumers. This paper examined the number and type of multiple IRPs consumers used in general evaluation of offered prices. Nine IRPs that commonly appeared in previous research were used in this study: fair price, reservation price, lowest acceptable price, lowest-observed price, highest-observed price, average-observed price, normal price, expected price, and purchased price. We examined consumer use of multiple IRPs for three products that differed in consumers' perceived price expensiveness and product involvement: a PC (high level), a cell-phone (moderate level), and shampoo (low level). Results from our experimental design indicated substantial heterogeneity with respect to number and type of IRPs that consumers utilize for price evaluations. Consumers used more IRPs as perceived price expensiveness and product involvement of products increased. As for type of IRPs, the combination of multiple IRPs used was similar, but the most important IRP varied among consumers. When perceived price expensiveness and product involvement were high, shoppers regarded RP, LAP, AOP, NP, and EP highly. When they were moderate, NP and EP were regarded highly. When they were low, NP became a key for evaluation. Particularly, the extent of using FP, RP, and LAP differed highly among the products; FP and RP gained importance when perceived price expensiveness and product involvement were high. However, three commonalities were revealed among the products. First, NP and EP were regarded highly as an IRP. Second, LOP and HOP were regarded less as an IRP. Third, among the nine IRPs, use of PP was lower; this propensity became stronger as purchase frequency decreased or inter-purchase period lengthened.

We conducted an additional investigation to see whether variations in the level of IRPs among consumers were due partially to the direction in which actual price deviated from IRP (DIRP). Results showed that when price expensiveness and product in-

volvement were higher, consumers with negative DIRP showed a tendency to conduct additional price search in terms of extent and number of information sources utilized, in contrast to those with positive DIRP. Also, consumers intended to use market prices obtained from the price search more for future evaluations when negative DIRP arose than when positive DIRP arose. Furthermore, among various market prices, the intermediate-market price was the most important IRP. The highest-market price was least important, although importance increased as negative DIRP arose. Thus, depending on the direction of DIRP consumers experience, the level of IRPs used for future price evaluations is likely to vary; negative DIRP may lead to more accurate IRPs.

Implication

For effective market competition, marketing managers should develop price communication strategies in consideration of consumer use of multiple IRPs. Some adjustments in strategy by considering target product characteristics are appropriate. For products with high perceived price-expensiveness and high product involvement, it is effective to emphasize RP, LAP, AOP, NP, and EP in price communication. Focusing on a solitary IRP in strategy may not be effective because the most important IRP varies among consumers. Messages should be informative. For example, listing similar products with price (affecting AOP, NP, and EP), emphasizing product value by contrasting them (affecting RP), providing information about similar and more expensive products (affecting RP and EP), and about less valued and lower priced products (relates to LAP) on a simultaneous and consistent basis may raise or hold IRPs at desirable level. For products with low perceived price expensiveness and product involvement, messages should be clear and compact and emphasize NP. In addition, providing information about highest-market price in messages should be avoided for all product types since consumers tend to disregard such information. Finally, a concern about the effect of FP on consumers' choice is not necessary as long as a product is not sold at an outrageous price; FP is used, but is not a determinant for price evaluation. We believe that FP importance increases only on special occasions, such as when consumers are informed about changes in the cost of raw materials.

Research Extensions

Several extensions should be conducted to overcome limitations of this study. First, other methods to measure multiple IRP use should be sought. Implicit measurements may be more appropriate since IRP is memory based. Second, other product classes should be targeted. Especially, analyzing frequently purchased products (e.g., foods) and durables with a longer product lifecycle (e.g., microwave ovens) will broaden implications of this study. Third, the sample of respondents should be expanded to include consumers who are unfamiliar with a product. Those consumers are likely to use different IRPs than consumers with high familiarity. For example, they may use prices of different product classes that have some similarity with the target product class. Using population groups other than student convenience samples should be included in this extension. Fourth, examination of whether consumers use multiple IRPs serially should be conducted. Fifth, analysis at the brand level is required to see whether IRPs differ among brands. Difference will likely be found between private and national brands since consumers' expectations toward these brands differ (e.g., Hock and Banerji 1993; Richardson et al. 1994). Brand image may be another factor; Biswas and Sherrell (1993) found that high-image brands induce higher IRPs than low-image brands. Sixth, examination of interaction between store image or store type and IRPs would expand results presented in this study since IRP is

known to be influenced by store type (Thaler 1985). Finally, our study design does not replicate the real world in all aspects; therefore, field experiments are necessary to confirm results.

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The Effects of Featured Brand Quality on Price Valuations of the Product Portfolio

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ABSTRACT

We examine how the quality and price positioning of a featured brand in a product display affects valuations of other brands in the store's portfolio. In an experiment, we find that both high-tier and unfamiliar portfolio brands benefit from the presence of a high-tier featured brand (versus a medium-tier featured brand). Further, store perceptions mediate the effect of the featured brand on valuations of the high-tier portfolio brand, but not on valuations of the unfamiliar brand. We discuss the implications of these results for understanding the impact of featured brands on product judgments and suggest directions for future research.

Product display plays an important role in maintaining brand equity and the overall equity of the retail brand portfolio. The goal of this paper is to examine how one aspect of display, brand precedence, affects evaluations of other brands in the portfolio. Specifically, we compare the effects of giving precedence to, or featuring, a *high-tier brand* (a well known high quality, high priced brand) versus a *medium-tier brand* (a well known medium quality, lower priced brand) on valuations of the other brands offered in the store and on perceptions of the store's quality.

The arrangement of a product assortment is an important factor in shaping preferences and influencing the choice of specific brands (Simonson 1999). Previous research has demonstrated effects of display format on attention (Dreze, Hoch and Purk 1994; Janiszewski 1998), brand evaluations and valuations (Buchanan, Simmons and Bickart 1999; Simmons, Bickart and Buchanan 2000), and brand choice (e.g., Nowlis and Simonson 1997; Simonson, Nowlis, and Lemon 1993; Simonson and Winer 1992). This body of work confirms the importance of managing product display for brand identity, market share, and profitability.

The primary focus of research on display format has been on display structure (i.e., whether products are organized by brand or by quality level). In contrast, we examine the effects of giving a particular brand precedence in the display. Specifically, we examine how display precedence affects store perceptions as well as valuations of both well-known and unfamiliar brands. Display precedence may affect store perceptions because consumers believe that retailers give precedence to their most important brands (Buchanan et al. 1999). Thus, a featured brand may provide cues to consumers about the general quality or value of the other merchandise carried by the outlet.

Display precedence may affect evaluations of specific brands either directly or as mediated by store perceptions. Simmons et al. (2000) show that the presence of high equity brands in a retail department is associated with higher profitability for lower-equity brands. Specifically, the presence of high equity brands in the department results in fewer markdowns on lower-equity brands and therefore higher profit margins. We examine whether the same benefit can be attained by simply featuring a higher equity brand (holding the portfolio constant), as well as whether higher-equity portfolio brands receive the same benefits as lower-equity portfolio brands. Finally, we investigate whether these effects are mediated by store perceptions.

We first describe relevant literature and develop predictions. We then discuss the results of an experiment and explore some directions for future research.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Display variables have been shown to affect consumer information processing in several ways. For example, consumers tend to use the search strategy that requires the least effort given the information display format (e.g., Bettman and Kakkar 1977). In addition, display structure affects the ease of comparing brands, with a mixed (or side-by-side) display facilitating brand comparisons (e.g., Buchanan et al. 1999, Nowlis and Simonson 1997). Nowlis and Simonson (1997) find that because of the increased ability to compare, mixed displays benefit lower quality, lower price products in terms of brand choice. Finally, display structure can heighten the salience of specific product attributes (e.g., Nowlis and Simonson 1997) or make accessible a standard of comparison for subsequent judgments (e.g., Schwarz and Bless 1992).

Like display structure, brand precedence in a display has also been shown to alter information processing. Buchanan et al. (1999) show that giving precedence to a brand creates expectations about the relationship between the featured brand and other brands in the retailer's portfolio. When the portfolio brands violate those expectations, even high-equity brands may be negatively reevaluated. Areni, Duhan, and Keicker (1999) show that featuring a brand on the basis of a low-salience attribute (e.g., the region in which a wine is produced) can alter choice by encouraging brand comparisons on that low-salience attribute.

A common theme in these findings is that display variables make particular contextual information salient. In particular, featuring a brand is likely to make salient the characteristics of the featured brand (Areni et al. 1999). Hence, we expect that featuring a high-tier brand brings to mind quality and higher price associations, while featuring a medium-tier brand brings to mind value or low price associations. Because consumers are motivated to minimize judgment effort (Simon 1978), they may rely on these accessible associations when evaluating other brands in the context or the store itself. Whether a featured brand affects judgments should depend on two factors: (a) whether the consumer constructs a judgment or retrieves an existing judgment from memory, and (b) whether the consumer categorizes the entity to be judged with the featured brand.

For a judgment to be affected by contextually accessible associations, the judgment must be constructed on the spot. Hence, judgments of unfamiliar brands are likely to be affected by the featured brand. However, Buchanan et al. (1999) show that consumers also construct judgments for familiar brands when a display is inconsistent with expectations about the relationship between brands. Because consumers expect stores to feature their most important brands (i.e., higher tier brands), consumers may be especially likely to reconstruct judgments about familiar brands when a medium-tier brand is featured.

Similar considerations apply in determining whether a store evaluation is constructed on the spot. Judgments of unfamiliar stores should be constructed. However, we expect that evaluations of a familiar store will be constructed if the featured brand is inconsistent with what consumers expect from the store.

When a judgment of a portfolio brand or the store is constructed, the impact of the featured brand on this judgment should depend upon whether the entity to be judged is categorized with the featured brand. If it is categorized with the featured brand, assimi-

lation to the featured brand should occur, whereas if it is categorized separately from the featured brand, contrast from the featured brand should occur (Schwarz and Bless 1992). Because they belong to the same retail portfolio, portfolio brands are likely to be categorized with the featured brand as long as they are not highly dissimilar from it. Hence, when portfolio brand judgments are constructed, both unfamiliar brands—for which little is known—and familiar brands that are moderately similar to the featured brand are likely to be assimilated to the featured brand. Only brands that are known to be highly dissimilar to the featured brand are likely to be contrasted from it.

When a store evaluation is constructed, the store should be categorized with the featured brand for two reasons. First, store is superordinate to the brands it carries. Second, because consumers expect that retailers feature their most important brands (Buchanan et al. 1999), characteristics of the featured brand should be diagnostic for a store-level judgment.

Consider the implications of these arguments for the case at hand. We examine a situation in which the featured brand is either a high-tier brand or a medium-tier brand; the portfolio includes a high-tier brand, a medium-tier brand, and an unfamiliar brand; and the retail store is also unfamiliar. Our primary dependent variable is the price that consumers are willing to pay for each brand. Respondents are likely to construct these judgments for the unfamiliar portfolio brand because they have no previously formed judgment. They are also likely to construct these judgments for the high-tier and medium-tier portfolio brands when a medium-tier brand is featured because featuring a medium-tier brand over a high-tier brand violates their expectations. Further, these portfolio brands are expected to be categorized with the featured brand and therefore assimilated to it because they belong to the same retail portfolio and are not known to be highly dissimilar from the featured brands. Hence, we predict:

H1: Valuations of all portfolio brands will be higher when a high-tier brand is featured than when a medium-tier brand is featured.

Consumers are also likely to construct judgments about the store because it is unfamiliar. Further, they are likely to assimilate their store judgments to the featured brand because the store is superordinate to its brands and because they expect retailers to feature their most important brands. Therefore, we predict:

H2: Store perceptions will be more favorable when a high-tier brand is featured than when a medium-tier brand is featured.

Thus far, we have ignored the possibility that the effects of the featured brand on valuations of portfolio brands may be mediated by store perceptions, rather than reflecting a direct influence of the featured brand. Estimates of willingness to pay would seem to reflect more than simply the product itself. Consumers are willing to pay for ways in which a store adds value, be it better service, a nicer shopping ambience, or a lessened sense of risk that comes with the assurance that the retailer understands and appreciates quality. Therefore, we explore whether the effect of a featured brand on portfolio brand valuations is direct or indirect—that is whether these judgments are mediated by store perceptions.

METHOD

Participants

Eighty students participated in this study in a classroom setting. Participation was voluntary. The participants were split fairly evenly by gender. Ages ranged between 18 and 46, with a median age of 24.

Procedure

Participants were told that an online retailer needed consumers' perceptions of a new format for an online product display. The retailer's name was not provided. Each participant was shown two pages, each with a "display" from an online store. One display contained four jean brands and the other display contained four watch brands. The displays included only a picture of the products and the brand names. Participants were asked to examine the displays carefully. Then they were asked to write down the price they were willing to pay for each of the displayed items. The next task asked for participants' impressions of the online store. After completing these tasks, participants were given a separate questionnaire to complete, which included manipulation checks on the familiarity and quality of the featured brands.

Design and Materials

Participants were shown mock-ups of web pages for two product categories. Displays for each product category included four brands. Three of these brands were the *portfolio brands* and remained constant across conditions. One of the portfolio brands was a well-known high-tier brand, one was a well-known medium-tier brand, and one was a less familiar brand. The fourth brand was the *featured brand*, which was either a well-known high-tier brand or a well-known medium-tier brand.

The displays included photographs of the products, but no price information. The featured brand was shown on the top half of the page, accompanied by the label "Our Featured Brand." The portfolio brands were displayed in the lower half of the page, accompanied by the label "We also carry the following brands." The photograph of the featured brand was larger than the photographs of each portfolio brand. Each participant evaluated two layouts, one for each product category. We varied the order in which the product categories were evaluated as well as whether the high-tier or medium-tier brand was featured for the product category across four conditions:

1. Jeans 1st/High-Tier Featured–Watch 2nd/Medium-Tier Featured
2. Jeans 1st/Medium Tier Featured- Watch 2nd/High Tier Featured
3. Watch 1st/High Tier Featured- Jeans 2nd/Medium Tier Featured
4. Watch 1st/Medium Tier Featured- Jeans 2nd/High Tier Featured

The product categories and brand names used in the experiment were selected via two pretests. In the first pretest, participants were asked to rate their familiarity with brands in several product categories, including cameras, beer, watches, jeans, microwave ovens, and cordless phones. Based on this pretest, we selected jeans and watches as the product categories for the study. Most respondents were familiar with a number of brands in these categories and subjective knowledge was high and did not vary by gender.

The second pretest was used to select high-tier, medium-tier and unfamiliar brands within these two categories. Participants were asked to rate brands in each category on familiarity and quality. The high-tier and medium-tier brands were rated similarly on familiarity, but varied in quality ratings. The unfamiliar brand was rated lower than these brands on familiarity. Table 1 shows the brands used in the experiment.

Finally, we varied the order in which respondents provided a price for each brand. This procedure allows us to determine if

TABLE 1
Brand Names Used in Product Display Pages

Brand Type	Jeans	Watches
Featured: High Tier	Polo	Rolex
Featured: Medium Tier	Lee	Timex
Portfolio: High Tier	Calvin Klein	Cartier
Portfolio: Medium Tier	Wrangler	Casio
Portfolio: Unfamiliar	Cabin Creek	Tissot

TABLE 2
Sequence Manipulation for Evaluating Brand Prices

Sequence	Order of Price Evaluation			
	First	**Second**	**Third**	**Fourth**
1	Featured	Portfolio-Med.	Portfolio-High	Unfamiliar
2	Portfolio-High	Featured	Unfamiliar	Portfolio-Med.
3	Portfolio-Med.	Unfamiliar	Featured	Portfolio-High
4	Unfamiliar	Portfolio-High	Portfolio-Med.	Featured

participants use the price of the first brand as an anchor for determining the price of the other brands. Using a Latin Square design, there are four combinations within each display condition, as shown in Table 2.

Dependent Measures

After viewing the displays, participants were asked what price they were willing to pay for each of the brands presented in the display (i.e., "What price would you be willing to pay for the *Brand X* shown in the display?"). As described above, we varied the order in which these prices were elicited. We then asked participants for their perceptions of the online store on three seven-point semantic differential scales (poor/superior quality store; ordinary/exceptional merchandise; better/worse than average store). The first two items are highly correlated (r_{jeans}=.75; $r_{watches}$=.63). The third item, however, is not highly correlated with either of the other items (rs>.12 for both product categories). Therefore, we used the average of the first two items as the measure of store perceptions. We also measured product category knowledge and purchase frequency (both on seven-point scales). For both product categories, knowledge and purchase frequency did not vary across conditions (ps>41).

In the follow-up questionnaire (administered after the display pages were removed), participants were asked to select the featured brand in each product category from a list of brands. For jeans, correct recall of the featured brand is 65% for the high-tier brand and 58% for the medium-tier brand. For watches, correct recall of the featured brand is 65% for the high-tier brand and 53% for the low-tier brand. Recall does not vary by type of brand (p's>.25). Participants were then asked to rate their familiarity with a number of brands in each product category, as well as the quality of these brands, both on seven-point scales (very/not familiar; very high/very low quality). Finally, using seven-point scales, we obtained measures of interest (M=3.34, SD=1.49) and involvement with the

study (M=3.69, SD=1.56), sex, age, and the perceived purpose of the study.

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Manipulation Checks

Two assumptions are important to our interpretation of these results. First, the featured high-tier and medium-tier brands should vary on quality, but not on familiarity. Second, the unfamiliar portfolio brand should be low in familiarity and less familiar than the high-tier and medium-tier portfolio brands. As shown in Table 3, familiarity and quality ratings obtained in the follow-up questionnaire are consistent with these assumptions. The featured high-tier and medium-tier brands do not differ on familiarity ($F_{1,78}$<1 for both jeans and watches), while the featured high-tier brands are seen as better quality than the featured medium-tier brands ($F_{1,75}$=33.95, p<.0001 for jeans and $F_{1,76}$=161.70, p<.0001 for watches). Further, the high-tier portfolio brands are seen as better quality than the medium-tier portfolio brands ($F_{1,76}$=72.76, p<.0001 for jeans and $F_{1,76}$=26.50, p<.0001 for watches). Finally, the unfamiliar portfolio brand is low in familiarity and less familiar than either the high-tier portfolio brand ($F_{1,77}$=206.42, p<.0001 for jeans and $F_{1,78}$=44.88, p<.0001 for watches) or the medium-tier portfolio brand ($F_{1,76}$=125.43, p<.0001 for jeans and $F_{1,78}$=77.25, p<.0001 for watches).[1]

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[1]There are two unexpected outcomes in Table 3. First, participants are less familiar with Cartier (the high tier portfolio watch brand) than Rolex (the high tier featured watch brand). Cartier, however, is rated more highly on familiarity than Tissot (the unfamiliar portfolio watch brand), which is the key comparison. In addition, while participants were not familiar with Tissot, they did rate it high in terms of quality. There is no reason to believe, however, that high quality perceptions associated with the Tissot name would affect the interpretation of the results.

TABLE 3
Manipulation Checks on Brand Familiarity and Quality

	Product Category					
	Jeans			Watches		
Brand Type	**Brand**	**Fam.**	**Quality**	**Brand**	**Fam.**	**Quality**
Featured: High Tier	Polo	4.75	5.73	Rolex	5.48	6.65
Featured: Medium Tier	Lee	4.64	4.17	Timex	5.64	4.38
Portfolio: High Tier	Calvin Klein	4.82	5.67	Cartier	3.82	5.43
Portfolio: Medium Tier	Wrangler	4.03	3.77	Casio	4.77	4.05
Portfolio: Unfamiliar	Cabin Creek	1.57	2.80	Tissot	2.21	4.57

TABLE 4
Mean Willingness to Pay for Portfolio Brands by Quality of Featured Product

	Product Category			
	Jeans		Watches	
Portfolio Brand:	**High Tier Featured**	**Medium Tier Featured**	**High Tier Featured**	**Medium Tier Featured**
High Tier	$39.96	$34.85	$638.83	$178.79
Medium Tier	$25.28	$20.02	$72.51	$53.29
Unfamiliar	$22.80	$19.12	$178.15	$72.66

Valuations of Portfolio Brands

The key dependent measure is the price participants are willing to pay for each of the portfolio brands. We expected that valuations of the portfolio brands would be higher when a high-tier brand was featured. The results in both product categories are consistent with these predictions.

We first determine whether our within-subjects manipulations resulted in differential transfer (position x treatment interactions) that would contaminate the effects of interest. Recall that the order in which brand valuations were measured is varied within subjects, while the order of categories and the order of featured brands is partially varied within subjects; that is, each subject saw two of the four category x featured brand conditions. This design offers efficiencies in data collection and increased power for statistical tests, while avoiding the sensitization to our manipulations that would occur if subjects each saw all levels of our independent variables. However, a tradeoff in this design is that we cannot separate one component of differential transfer (the order of category x order of featured brand interaction) from the category x featured brand interaction. Because we expect the category x featured brand interaction to be significant (the price range for watches is much greater than the price range for jeans), we rely on our other tests of differential transfer (order of categories, order of featured brands, and measurement order), and assume that variance in the order of category x order of featured brands interaction is attributable to the category x featured brand interaction.

We find no evidence of differential transfer for high-tier portfolio brands ($ps > .12$) or for unfamiliar portfolio brands ($ps > .13$). However, we find evidence of differential transfer for the medium-tier portfolio brands, attributable to both order of category presentation ($F_{1,63}=3.05$, $p<.08$) and measurement order ($F_{3,63}=2.27$, $p<.08$). (We set α at .10 for these tests because we wished to conclude a null effect.) When there is differential transfer, the normal procedure is to discard data from all conditions after the first. Because our sample size does not allow adequate power for statistical tests if we follow this procedure, we eliminate the medium-tier portfolio brand from the analyses that follow. However, means for all portfolio brands are reported in Table 4.

As predicted by H1, valuations of both high-tier and unfamiliar portfolio brands are greater when the featured brand is a high-tier brand vs. a medium-tier brand ($Ms=339.62$ and 104.86, $F_{1,59}=5.08$, $p<.02$ for high-tier portfolio brands and $Ms=98.57$ and 44.07, $F_{1,54}=6.99$, $p<.01$ for unfamiliar portfolio brands). This effect is qualified by a category x featured brand interaction ($F_{1,64}=5.03$, $p<.02$ for high-tier portfolio brands and $F_{1,61}=7.25$, $p<.009$ for unfamiliar portfolio brands). Simple effects tests show that the effect is greater for watches than for jeans. Specifically, for high-tier portfolio brands, the effect is marginally significant for jeans ($F_{1,70}=2.81$, $p<.09$) and highly significant for watches ($F_{1,69}=5.51$, $p<.02$), while for unfamiliar portfolio brands, the effect is significant for both categories, but larger for watches ($F_{1,67}=4.98$, p<.02

for jeans and $F_{1,64}=7.38$, p<.008). As can be seen in Table 4, a similar pattern is apparent for medium-tier portfolio brands.

Also as expected, there is main effect of category with valuations being lower for jeans than for watches (Ms=39.75 and 404.71, $F_{1,59}=12.27$, $p<.0009$ for high-tier portfolio brands and Ms=19.49 and 123.15, $F_{1,54}=25.30$, $p<.0001$ for unfamiliar portfolio brands), and a similar pattern is apparent for medium-tier brands.

Store Perceptions

As predicted by H2, perceptions of store quality are higher when a high-tier brand vs. a medium-tier brand is featured ($F_{1,73}=12.12$, $p<.0008$) and this effect does not vary across categories ($F<1$; Ms=4.00 and 3.57 for jeans and 4.32 and 3.80 for watches). Because the overall store portfolios are not the same in the high-tier-featured versus low-tier-featured conditions, the effect cannot be entirely attributed to giving the featured brand precedence; that is, effects could be due partly or in total to presence of the featured brand, independent of how it is displayed.

We next examined whether the effects of the featured brand on brand valuations were mediated by store perceptions. Our analysis suggests that store perceptions mediate the effect of the featured brand on ratings of high-tier portfolio brands, but not on ratings of unfamiliar brands. According to Baron and Kenny (1986), three pieces of evidence are required to establish mediation: (a) the independent variable must significantly affect the proposed mediator, (b) the proposed mediator must significantly affect the dependent variable, and (c) when both the independent variable and the proposed mediator are regressed on the dependent variable, the proposed mediator must remain significant while the independent variable becomes nonsignificant (for complete mediation) or is reduced in effect size (for partial mediation).We have already shown that the independent variable, featured brand, significantly affects the proposed mediator, store perceptions. Further, the proposed mediator, store perceptions, also significantly affects the dependent variable, ratings of portfolio brands ($F_{1,150}=11.19$, $p<.001$ and $F_{1,143}=9.76$, $p<.002$ for the high-tier and unfamiliar portfolio brands, respectively). Finally, when both featured brand and store perception are regressed on ratings of portfolio brands, store perceptions remain significant for both high-tier and unfamiliar portfolio brands ($F_{1,149}=8.49$, $p<.004$ and $F_{1,142}=6.73$, $p<.01$), while the effect of the featured brand becomes nonsignificant for high-tier portfolio brands ($F_{1,149}=2.05$, $p>.15$), but remains marginally significant for unfamiliar portfolio brands ($F_{1,142}=3.47$, $p<.06$).

GENERAL DISCUSSION

This experiment is the first step in showing how a featured product affects valuations of other products in the portfolio. We show that when a well-known brand is featured, the price and quality positioning of the brand is used as a cue to evaluate other products in the portfolio. Featuring brands of higher quality and price (high-tier brands) increased the willingness to pay for both high-tier and unfamiliar brands in the portfolio. In this study, participants were willing to pay between 15% and 257% more for brands when a high-tier brand was featured. These findings were robust across two product categories. While the results were less consistent for medium-tier portfolio brands, the findings were in a similar direction. For the medium-tier brands we observed differential transfer. Valuations of medium-tier brands may be most susceptible to judgment order because of a less clear natural anchor for making such judgments. In contrast, it is possible that store perception anchors the judgments of unfamiliar brands, while existing brand perceptions anchor perceptions of the higher-tier brands.

The findings replicate and extend earlier research by Buchanan et al. (1999) and Simmons et al. (2000), who provided evidence that featuring a well known brand can result in higher valuations of another brand in the portfolio. In their research, the featured brand is given precedence by displaying it first in a layout and in a headline. We show similar effects when a brand is given precedence via a larger display. In addition, we extend their findings to a situation where more than two brands are included in the product portfolio.

Our findings also suggest that at least for high-tier brands, the effect of the featured brand is mediated by perceptions of store quality. In other words, featuring a high-tier brand has a positive effect on perceptions of overall store quality, which increases willingness to pay for the high-tier brand. The featured brand appears to have a direct effect on valuations of the unfamiliar brand. Our examination of the mediating role of store perceptions was exploratory in nature, but suggests that the way in which display precedence operates on value judgments may depend in part on brand familiarity and whether the consumer is constructing a judgment for the first time or updating an existing judgment.

In this experiment, we examined the effects of featured brands in a relatively impoverished information environment. Respondents saw only a photo and a brand name. An important issue for future research is how additional product information may moderate these effects. When more information is provided, there may be situations in which featuring a high-tier brand (versus a medium-tier brand) results in lower valuations of the portfolio brands. Providing additional information could affect perceptions of similarity, depending on the level of detail and concreteness of the information. Thus, portfolio brands could be categorized separately from the featured brand, resulting in contrast effects. Future research could also examine the impact of different forms of display. Featuring brands via certain types of displays (i.e., end-of-aisle displays, versus unique signage) may hold specific meanings for consumers, resulting in different effects on valuations of portfolio brands. In addition, we did not provide the name of the retail outlet, which is likely equivalent to providing an unfamiliar name. While this scenario does not seen unrealistic in the current online environment, future research should address the role of existing store image and whether it enhances, diminishes or changes the nature of the featured brand effects observed here. Additional information about either the products or the retailer may lead to *expectations* about the outlet and the types of products that might be featured in the outlet. Consumers' expectations about brand relationships (or strategic equivalence) may affect the likelihood that a featured brand serves as a standard of comparison against which other brands are evaluated (Simmons et al., 2000).

Another possibility is that consumers' search goals (exploratory versus goal-directed) may moderate the effects of display precedence on brand valuations. Search goals moderate the effects of display characteristics on attention (Janiszewski 1998) and thus may also affect perceptual processes such as those reported in this study. In particular, goal-directed search may increase consumers' likelihood of making comparisons on salient attributes, resulting in contrast effects on valuations.

We focused on the effects of a featured brand on brand valuations. The effects on perceptions of other product attributes or brand choice may differ, however. For example, featuring a high-tier brand may increase the favorability of store perceptions and brand valuations, but reduce the likelihood of choosing high-margin brands in the portfolio. In the long run, managers want to build equity in a store's image or perceived quality, while in the short run, they hope to increase sales and profitability (via con-

sumer choice of high margin brands). Future research should address how display structure affects these sometimes competing goals, particularly since the effects of context are not always the same on choice and purchase likelihood measures (Nowlis and Simonson 1997).

Finally, an issue of growing importance to retailers is how to build equity in the store by featuring private label brands. For example, Macy's is prominently featuring its own I.N.C. brand in hopes of building a unique store identity (White 2002). Future research may provide guidance to retailers in using display structure to create more value for their own products and for the outlet itself.

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The 99 Price Ending as a Signal of a Low-Price Appeal

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

There is evidence that the use of 99 in the rightmost two digits of a retail price may create a low-price image in the minds of consumers (Quigley and Notarantonio 1992; Schindler 1984; Schindler and Kibarian 2001). This result contrasts with the surprising finding, replicated in two separate studies, that prices with 99 endings are both less likely to be the lowest prices for the item and are, on the average, further above the item's lowest competitive price than are prices that do not end in 99 (Schindler 1997; 2001). One possible explanation for this discrepancy is that 99 endings are used when retailers are making a low-price appeal, such as claiming that the item is being sold at a discounted or otherwise low price. Such a claim does not necessarily mean that the item's price is low with respect to what other retailers are charging for the item. However, consumers may make that generalization. The goal of this paper is to test whether this possibility is viable by examining if the presence of a 99 ending in an advertised price is related to the presence of a low-price appeal.

Data from two large systematic samples of price advertising, together comprising over 2400 price ads, are used to test for the occurrence of this relationship. Each price's two-digit ending was based on the rightmost two digits that actually appeared in the ad. The ad was considered to be a low-price appeal if it had one or more of the following: an external reference price, a number indicating the size of the savings claimed, or any words suggesting the lowness of the selling price or describing the savings that the selling price was claimed to represent.

In both price samples, the most commonly occurring two-digit ending was 99, followed in order by 00 and 95. In the first sample, the incidence of the 99 ending was 70 percent greater in ads with low-price cues than in those ads without low-price cues. This 99-ending/low-price-appeal relation was statistically significant and did not interact with the level of the price. In the second sample, relation between the 99 ending and low-price appeals was even more pronounced than in the first sample—99 endings occurred more than twice as often in the ads that made low-price appeals than in the ads that did not. Although this 99-ending/low-price-appeal relationship was stronger in lower prices than in higher prices, the relationship was still large and statistically significant among the higher half of the prices in the sample.

These data from two separate studies of price advertising converge to indicate that there is a strong relationship between the use of the 99 price ending and the presence of cues for a low-price appeal. Further, this relationship appears to be robust over price level. These results indicate that the 99 price ending is indeed a valid signal of a low-price appeal. Particularly considering the salience of advertising that makes a low-price appeal, this relationship seems sufficient to account for a low-price image of the 99 ending despite the evidence that the 99 ending is not a valid signal of a competitively low price.

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Measuring Cultural Adaptation on the Web: An Exploratory Analysis of U.S. and Japanese Web Sites

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INTRODUCTION

Should companies build standardized web sites to effectively reach global audiences, or should they adapt their web sites so as to attract and keep global visitors? The academic literature offers few studies that have looked into the issue of web site standardization or localization (Fock, 2000; Ju-Pak, 1999; Sackmary and Scalia, 1999), and there is little research to support either emergence of global Internet culture, or a localized-specialized approach to communicating on the web. Thus, the aim of this research study is to provide a cultural framework to analyze the depiction of cultural values on the web, and use the proposed framework to measure the level of cultural adaptation reflected on U.S and Japanese web sites.

THE CULTURAL VALUE FRAMEWORK

To develop the cultural categories for web cultural analysis an extensive review of major cultural typologies in the business literature was done. Meanwhile, the literature pertaining to the use of these cultural typologies was reviewed to see how cultural value dimensions have been operationalized and empirically tested in subsequent studies. Based on consistency with literature, exhaustiveness of the cultural value categories, and analytical flexibility, four cultural value dimensions proposed by Hofstede (1980) were incorporated in the study. The next step was to develop cultural-coding categories for the four cultural dimensions of Hofstede (Individualism-Collectivism, Uncertainty Avoidance, Power Distance, and Masculinity-Feminity). To generate operational cultural value categories reflective of the web content, the first step was to develop a list of all major interactive or multimedia features commonly present on the web sites (clubs, newsletters, FAQ's, Security policy, Privacy policy, hyperlinks, and others), and evaluate which features would be preferred more in which cultures. To help this conceptualization the work of Albers-Miller and Gelb (1996) was consulted, as they have empirically tested which of the 42 cultural values appeals by Pollay (1983) are reflective of each of the Hofstede's four dimensions. Some examples of cultural categories to measure Uncertainty avoidance dimension on the web included, depiction of tradition theme, use of local terminology, customer testimonials, and toll free numbers. Similar conceptual categories were generated for collectivism, power distance, and masculinity dimensions proposed by Hofstede (1980). To test the reliability of the cultural categories, four doctoral students in a U.S. based business school were asked to assign a random list of category items under the cultural dimension they best represented. A total inter judge reliability of 85 percent was achieved. Furthermore, authors tested the internal consistency coefficients (Cronbach's alpha), and the coefficients ranged around .40–.70 for the four main cultural dimensions. Secondly, correlations of cultural categories to their corresponding cultural dimension were also calculated.

METHODOLOGY

Content analysis was used to systematically analyze the cultural values, depicted on the web pages of U.S. and Japanese web sites. The degree of depiction of each cultural value category was evaluated as "Not Depicted" to "Prominently Depicted" on a five point likert scale. Two Doctoral students at an AACSB Accredited Business School in a mid-west U.S. university coded the U.S web sites, and two graduate Japanese Students, fluent in English and Japanese, coded the Japanese web sites. The inter-coder reliability for U.S. web sites was 82 percent and Japanese web sites was 81 percent. The sample for this study was generated from the list of top Forbes 500 U.S. and top Forbes 500 International companies featured at www.forbes.com. To control for the industry only Automotive and Retail company web sites were selected for analysis. In total 31 Automotive and Retail Company web sites were found for Japan and 34 company web sites were found for U.S. It was hypothesized that Japan being high on collectivism, uncertainty avoidance, power distance, and masculinity will depict similarly high cultural value orientation on the web sites, while U.S. web sites will score low on all the four dimensions.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A simple one-way ANOVA was used to test the differences in depiction of cultural value appeals between U.S. and Japanese web sites. It was found that Japanese web sites significantly differed from U.S. web sites and more prominently depicted collectivism dimension (U.S.=2.4 vs. Japan=3.03, F (1df)=23.4, p<.000) and power distance (U.S.=2.46 vs. Japan=2.84, F (1df)=7.5, p<.008). But contrary to the hypotheses Japanese web sites were low on depiction of uncertainty dimension and Masculinity. A close look at the coding sheet on Uncertainty avoidance dimension revealed that in U.S. web sites customer service option, secure payment option, and toll free number option were standard features in all the web sites. This could be because certain features on the web have become a part of national "web culture" rather than an expression of cultural difference. Japan being a highly masculine society depicted very low levels of masculinity oriented cultural categories. This forced us to closely study the literature and discuss the results with some Japanese students. Past studies in advertising have found that Japan is a very high context culture (Cho et al., 1999; Cutler and Javalgi, 1992; Hall and Hall, 1990; Mueller, 1987). In high context cultures advertising and communication emphasize more on emotions, soft sell approach (Mueller, 1987; 1992), use of indirect and harmony seeking appeals (Cho et al., 1999), and use of implicit meanings (Hall and Hall 1990). Thus it can be reasoned that Japan being a high context culture did not prominently depict cultural categories like hard sell approach, explicit comparisons, and use of superlatives used to operationalize masculinity.

The findings from this study confirm that web is not a culturally neutral medium. Instead, there are significant differences in depiction of local cultural values on the web. In conclusion, this research can be seen as a starting point for further enquiry into the issue of web site standardization versus localization.

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The Anthropology of File Sharing: Consuming Napster as a Gift

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ABSTRACT

This research seeks to inform our understanding of the consumption meanings and communal activities surrounding file-sharing systems. In the present netnographic analysis of Napster consumption meanings, we develop a theoretical framework that conceptualizes file-sharing systems as gifting communities. Within this framework we discuss the gifting structure, describing the mode of exchange and the ways in which it constructs community. We then employ four predominant metaphors to conceptualize gifting motivation as realization, purification, participation and renovation. This netnography is based on cyber-interviews, emails, homepages and entries on message boards. The research can also be explored at http://www.napsterresearch.com, http://www.markus-giesler.com and http://mali-pohlmann.com.

> "The real is produced from miniaturized cells, matrices, and memory banks, models of control–and it can be reproduced an indefinite number of times from these. It no longer needs to be rational, because it no longer measures itself against an ideal."

Jean Baudrillard, Simulacra & Simulation

Napster.com is the premiere example of an information exchange technology referred to as peer-to-peer file sharing. Aggregating more than 10 million users in six months and attaining a growth rate of 200.000 new subscribers in a single day, Napster became the noisy center of a new social reality that struck terror into even the most sturdy of music entertainment executives. Behind this threatening new reality stands a software combining the convergence of mp3 music files with an Internet relay chat feature. Together, they enabled not only community, but free access to and download of a up to 2 million copyrighted songs archived on the private hard drives of 60 million subscribers world-wide.

Based on peer-to-peer music-sharing using a particular software format, Napster presents a transferable site of an online subculture of consumption acknowledging Schouten's and McAlexander's (1995) definition as "a distinct subgroup of society that self-selects on the basis of a shared commitment to a particular product class, brand, or consumption activity." In fact, Napster's file sharing system suggests the creation of a complex and contradictory subculture of consumption challenging the interrelations between technology, culture and consumption. In his study of the surfing subculture, Irwin (1973) proposes that a subculture of consumption exhibits a life cycle consisting of four stages: articulation, expansion, corruption, and decline. Northeastern University's first year student Shawn Fanning invented Napster in 1999 because of "frustration not only with MP3.com, Lycos, and Scour.net, but also to create a music community" (articulation stage). In order to prevent further damage to signed artists, Napster was sued by America's Recording Industry Association (RIAA) in August 1999 and finally forced to stop the sharing of copyrighted material after a preliminary injunction plus a lawsuit marathon in March 2001 (corruption stage). Although the principle of file sharing has irretrievably penetrated into current cyberspace consumption culture, Napster itself seems destined to resemble an abandoned beehive in the very near future.

Napster's decline from the bad boy to the toothless tiger seems preordained. Yet its "outlaw mystique" hearkens back to the later Jean Baudrillard and society's transformation into hyperreality (Baudrillard 1981 and 1988). Following Baudrillard virtuality retranscribes everything in its space as a "satellisation of the real." "That which was previously mentally projected, which was lived as a metaphor in the terrestrial habit is from now on projected entirely without metaphor into the absolute space of simulation," writes Baudrillard (1988), making the computer screen a "depthless surface" of representation. In this reversed image the Internet offers a virtuality which resists our attempts to totalize it as a world, presenting instead loci for playing with the assumptions that we have taken for granted in modernity: community, information, liberation and self. Napster's subculture of consumption entails a correlative transformation in human relations contrasting mainstream society, and it is these new relations that become the relations of Napster consumption waiting to be interpreted.

Over the past decade, qualitative consumer research has broadened its domain of inquiry to incorporate different cyberspace consumption phenomena. An increasingly diverse set of research methods has been developed, including socio-cognitive analysis (Granitz and Ward 1996) and netnographic analysis (Sherry and Kozinets 2000). Finally, a lot of research energy has been devoted to the analysis of online gatherings including e.g. Turkle's (1995) immersion into "Life on the Screen", Tambyah's (1996) treatment on self and community online, McMellon's et al. (1997) analysis of cyber seniors, Kozinets' (1997) netnographies of the X-Philes and Star Trek fan subcultures or Okleshen's (1998) analysis of Usenet groups, to name just a few. However, our understanding of the ideological and consumption practices of online communities consuming file sharing has yet to be informed.

This article has two objectives. First it presents a netnographic analysis of one file sharing community, Napster, operationalized as the totality of people using the Napster software to exchange mp3 files. Secondly, it argues in favor of a new form of gift giving in networks having precedence here as a powerful analytic category for understanding the objects and consumption meanings within Napster and other file sharing communities. We begin with a methodological description of the project and then discuss our findings in terms of two major concerns: (1) the structure of Napster as a gifting economy and (2) its motivation understood as the underlying values and their expression and maintenance.

METHOD

Following Kozinets (1997), netnography presents "a fusion of established and innovative ethnographic techniques adapted to the naturalistic study of virtual communities, and their research representation" striving for the profound experiencing of digital sociality (Sherry and Kozinets 2000) and enabling immersion into Napster's virtual consumption cortex. Terms and conditions of data gathering evoked by this netnographic research are given further account in the following section.

Data and Analysis

The data used in this study was gathered by the authors throughout a period from October 2000 until February 2001 and includes cyber-interviews, emails, board postings, homepages, functional and historical writings as well as the authors' own observations using Napster.com. All data was electronically catalogued and stored. As was suggested in previous research (Kozinets

1997) all informants' names were changed in order to guarantee confidentiality. In addition, informants' permission for direct quoting in this paper was explicitly sought by email resulting in participants' unanimous agreement.

Cyber Interviews. A primary data set is used including 40 cyber interviews virtually recorded on Napster's Instant Messaging System documenting the normative expectations of behavior and the ideology attending the consumption of Napster.com. In order to find potential informants the authors occasionally entered Napster's instant messaging system as ordinary subscribers "knocking on other online subscribers' doors" projectively tasking potential informers for a "friendly talk about Napster" in service of an in situ, conversational semi-directive individual interview. Contacting potential informants, contacting the authors by informants and meeting was perceived to be simpler than in meatspace. In order to attract potential informants' attention an intrication homepage (Kozinets 1995) presenting research questions and offering ways to contact the authors was used (http://www.napsterresearch.com). Though facing financial restrictions in accessing technology and information (Dougan 1997) integration and participation are simplified due to the participatory egalitarian ethics of the Internet originating in its early ARPANET days (Castells 1996) and anonymity (Slevin 2000). Conducting interviews and analysis were done in tandem. Interviews were commented upon and comments and interviews were again read and commented upon at a distance. In the familiar iterative process of grounded theory formation, analysis and data were integrated with each other before being presented for member check feedback by informants whose email addresses had been provided. This was done in order to achieve maximum trustworthiness, representativeness and informed consent (Lincoln and Guba 1985).

The cyber interviews represent both the richest and most sensitive set of data and are given interpretive primacy in this study. However, the broad and structured, participative, observational and interview procedures of ethnographic research in face-to-face situations (for an account see, e.g., Belk, Sherry and Wallendorf 1988; Fetterman 1989; Hammersley and Atkinson 1995; Hirschman 1986; Jorgensen 1989; Lincoln and Guba 1985) are uniquely inflected in cyberspace due to the somewhat "textual" reality of computer-mediated-communication (e.g., Williams et al. 1988; Rice 1990, 1992). While overcoming the spatial and temporal boundaries of meatspace new boundaries arise in cyberspace constraining and extending (1) the nature and degree of social representation, (2) integration and participation, and (3) accessibility of social information of available data (Kozinets 1997) within our netnographic study. Hence simulation of or *self-fragmentation* to, a higher or lower social status, age, gender or language gestus (Reid 1991; Hall 1992; Stone 1992; Witmer 1997; Smith and Kollock 1998) were commonplace. This "reconstruction" (Turkle 1995) or "refashioning" (Gergen 1991) of self in postmodernity draws special implications for netnographic inquiry: cyber interviews not only comment on how things are remembered by informants (Thompson, Locander and Pollio 1989) in terms of a *perspective of action* (Gould et al. 1974) but how things are actively constructed (Firat and Venkatesh 1995) suggesting researcher's increasing acknowledgement of a *perspective of simulation*.

Additional data. (1) Information on 35 emails, 56 homepages as well as 40 entries on a number of online message boards were gathered serving as a second experiential channel adding to our analysis the observational part as a supplementary to participation, as was suggested by Tedlock (1991). This observational data was read approximately five times and reviewed. Although being recommended by Lincoln and Guba (1985) we did this without authors' feedback due to the somewhat escalating size and variety

of data combined with the impossibility to trace every author ex post. (2) A third experiential channel was carved out by the authors including basic economic and legal information on Napster.com and its direct environment with respect to the last two years since its foundation in 1999. (3) In order to provide firsthand immersion in the phenomenon gathering and "close reading" (Sherry and Carmago 1987) of data as a text also concerned our own embedded existence as Napster consumers during the last two years. Embeddedness is crucial in that it increased our acuity as the pre-eminent instrument of research (Murray 1943) while both exalting and harnessing our own idiosyncrasies (Sherry and Kozinets 2000).

STRUCTURE

At its core, Napster's software combines the convergence of mp3 music files with an Internet relay chat. Although forms of textual communication between members are inherent to the system and also possible on Napster's website message boards, Napster's primary function is the sharing of mp3 files. Each member's computer functions as a node presenting a certain amount of mp3 files which can be accessed and copied to any other member's computers. This principle suggests the mp3 transaction to be classified as a gift transaction between donor and recipient. However, it is one that requires some technical broadening that acknowledges four important consequences of digitized information in digital networks. First, a gift is always a perfect copy of an mp3 file stored on the donor's hard drive. Second, a donor is usually a recipient and a recipient is usually a donor at the same time but not to each other. Third, it is the recipient and not the donor who initiates a gift transaction. Fourth, donor and recipient are anonymous and gift exchange is usually not reciprocal. "Jeff's" (connected via cable, sharing 352 files) comment, however, hints at yet another form of reciprocity:

> Actually I'm one of [60] millions of anonymous people accidentally spread all over the globe but involved in the same thing–sharing. I'm part of a community to which I contribute with my stuff and which showers me with music in return.

A different form of reciprocity occurs introducing the third "virtual exchange partner," the "community" which itself simultaneously assumes the role of donor and recipient relative to any connected member. Instead of constructing Napster's gifting economy as one that takes place in between individuals, Jeff's statement suggests that some informants see it from an individual consumer's perspective as a reciprocal giving to and receiving from the "community." This is in line with an earlier anthropological understanding of gift giving behavior. Mauss (1924) has presented it as a way of creating social networks and individual integration. Reciprocity in social networks does not necessarily involve total reciprocity between two individuals, but the social obligation to give, accept, and "repay"–which means to reciprocate within the network (cf. Gouldner 1960; Levy 1959). An individual Napster user evaluates the single transaction in the context of multiplicity. In contrast to Sherry (1983), multiplicity is not reduced to transactions between one donor and one recipient but is embedded in transactions within the whole Napster community.

A Parasitic Gifting Economy

As a way of conferring material benefit on a recipient, gift giving at Napster opens up a different avenue in that it entirely brackets away negotiation of equivalent or formal return discussed e.g. in Sherry's (1983) treatment on the economic dimensions of the gift in favor of a more communal contribution. Contrasting "economical equality" underlying most of western gift giving ideology,

a basic principle of fairness at Napster states, as "Nina" (connected via 56k, sharing 65 files) puts it, to "have at least a few mp3 files on one's own drive whenever downloading from another member's." A frequent complaint in postings and interviews was directed to the existence of "fellow travelers" or "ignorants" violating this etiquette by benefiting from Napster's vast collection of music without contributing to it. Hence when one of the authors tried to download a file from another member, he instantly received the following emphatic note from "Tom" (connected via cable, sharing 639 files) via instant messaging:

> Hey, asshole! Don't see a single file on your drive! No sharing, no Napster! Either you immediately add some or I kick your ass…

However, a study conducted by the Palo Alto Research Center (Adar and Huberman 2000) testing the basic principle of fair use at another music community named Gnutella found that almost 70% of Gnutella users share no files, and nearly 50% of all responses are returned by the top 1% of sharing hosts. The authors of the study argue that, as these communities grow, users will stop producing and only consume up to a state in which the system collapses due to the fact that files are only provided by an extremely small number of hosts. Fellow traveling as observed by Adar and Huberman seems to be reflected in the statement of "Chris" (connected via ISDN, sharing 0 files):

> Let me put it this way: we are in a self-service shop here and I'm not one of those bloody idiots who gives access to their private hard drives to complete strangers. I mean it's not a security issue but one of just sucking the latest mp3s from the Internet.

Napster's ideology of exchange may be better understood employing Michel Serres's (1980) concept of the parasite. "To be a parasite means to eat at somebody else's table" (p. 17). This does not only apply to the Napster phenomenon as a whole regarding its relation to the recording industry in general but to Napster's mode of exchange in particular. Parasites, following Serres in his relevant study, are indispensable whenever the noise of new conditions has to be translated into a system of relationships. They are lured by the noise and usefully produce a usable sense in a previously senseless environment (Baecker 2001). "The parasite is 'next to', it is 'with', it is detached from, it is not sitting on the thing itself, but on the relation. It has relations, as one says, and turns them into a system. It is always mediate and never immediate. It has a relation to the relation, it is related to the related, it sits on the channel." (p. 64-5) In Napster's parasitic economy driven by gift exchange consumers enrich themselves; they assume the role of host, troublemaker and parasite at the same time.

Constructing Community through Giving

The Internet embodies the compression of time and space (Ellul 1964; Gergen 1991; McLuhan 1964) and fluid social situations, which contributes to the feeling of "no sense of place" (McLuhan 1964; Meyrowitz 1985). These two dimensions make it possible for Internet users to create new forms of action and interaction challenging the ways in which culture, technology and consumption interrelate. The permanent techno-cultural reconstruction reifies and reinforces the postmodern principle of "double-coding" (Jencks 1986) by embodying a variety of existential tensions and paradoxes. For instance, a well-known paradox includes the tension between the tendencies of technology to solve problems versus creating others (Mick and Fournier 1998). Napster's

subculture of consumption is built on individual contribution, big or small, of enough members and maintained by their gift exchange leading up to a state of "communal prosperity". The basic paradox underlying Napster consumption invokes the notion of maintaining through giving. Following Weiner (1992) all gift exchange is a search of permanence in a social world that is constantly changing. As Malinowski ([1922] 1961) remarked in his analysis of the tribal economics of Trobrianders of Papua New Guinea, there is a "fundamental human impulse to display, to share, to bestow," a "deep tendency to create social ties through exchange of gifts." If we follow Mauss' (1924) fundamental interpretation of giving of gifts as a prototypical contract (van Baal 1975) and Barlow's (1995) idea that the traditional community as we know it is "largely a wraith of nostalgia", and that it is possible to create a community in cyberspace (Rheingold 1993) with the human spirit and the basic desire to connect, then in fact, Napster's gifting economy constructs a parasitic gifting *community*. It is important to note that the concept of community at Napster is neither based on intense textual communication nor on physical contact. Solely uniting over exchanges and transactions points to a continuous not necessarily moral connection, but an economic *linking value*, as was suggested by Cova (1997) in a framework of the metamorphosis of social link from tradition to postmodernity. Recognizing the economic underpinnings of marketing[1] in general and the fact that the study of Napster concerns gifting as a special category of exchange, different *consumer values*, for example, defined "as an interactive relativistic preference experience" by Holbrook (1999) referencing Hilliard (1950), point to individual gifting motivation.

MOTIVATION

To distinguish the strategy that prompts exchange from the structure of exchange itself it is essential to gauge the motivation of a member to consume Napster's gifting economy relative to the community. Two basic conceptual distinctions can help to organize these motivations at Napster–the purpose of action (cf. Holt 1995), which is gifting here, and the addressee of gifting. In terms of purpose, gifting behavior can be both ends in itself (autotelic) and means to some further ends (instrumental). In terms of addressee, gift giving may range from agonistic, where the consumer uses gift giving as "a vehicle for self-aggrandizement" (Sherry 1983) to altruistic where the consumer attempts to enrich "other(s)". Crossing these two dimensions yields a 2 x 2 matrix placing four metaphors used to describe the predominant modes of gifting motivation at Napster: gifting as realization, purification, participation and renovation (see Figure).

Gifting as Realization. The gifting-as-realization metaphor refers to the motivation of consuming Napster's gifting community simply translated in "for myself and the song". The primary motivation is the *functional* benefit of Napster (Levy 1959); it is more or less a strictly individualistic utilitarian purpose (Foxall and Goldsmith 1994). Realizational gifting draws on a consumption experience appreciated as the satisfaction of primary file sharing needs such as finding a rare Beatles record as an end in itself. Consider, for example, "David" (ISDN, sharing 144 files):

> Napster is a great way to discover new music, or check out music before spending the money. At the same time you also find a lot of music that is just not available anymore or that has

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[1]Although being widely criticized as a core concept outside the Kotlerian sphere of marketing theory (e.g., Foxall 1984, Firat 1984, Martin 1985, Hirschman 1986, Belk and Coon 1993), the marketing=exchange analogy has been found wanting.

FIGURE
Four Gifting Metaphors

ADDRESSEE OF ACTION

	Agonistic Actions	Altruistic Actions
Autotelic Actions	**GIFTING AS REALIZATION**	**GIFTING AS PARTICIPATION**
Instrumental Actions	**GIFTING AS PURIFICATION**	**GIFTING AS RENOVATION**

PURPOSE OF ACTION

never been published. I found life cuts of Root Boy Slim and a rare odd flipside of a 45. Root Boy was never released on CD and it is nice to find high quality recordings available. I was listening to John Lennon's last interview two hours before he was shot, which I found on Napster and I also put the music of my band online and hope someone will download it!

Gifting experience for gifting's sake is accompanied by self-orientation. Though one's Napster consumption may also provide value to others, the primary source of value lies in the capacity to contribute to one's own consumption experience, either being given to or giving.

Gifting as Purification. Also a personal rather than communal motivation is represented by the gifting-as-purification metaphor. This metaphor predominantly points to gifting as a form of resistance against the influence and impacts of the contemporary music entertainment regime. The critique against modern music marketing is evident in the picture drawn by "Laura" (ISDN, 45 files shared). Her statement suggests a correlation between pop stars and fashion ideals like Britney Spears and being pressed by the "mass media dictatorship":

Whenever you switch on the TV today they just poison you with this army of Britney Spears girls and tomorrow you may dress up like her. A day later you are hanging over the toilet and puking yourself to the shape of Britney and so on. So what has Napster got to do with it? It just gives me a way to boycott this whole mass media dictatorship for the rest of my life!

Here self-orientation means self-extension (Belk 1988, Kozinets and Handelman 1998) in that gifting is used as an agent through which a personal violation of moral values is indicated, the differentiation from a surrounding evil is given form. Personal dissatisfaction with dominant structures or predominant practices affecting oneself rather than others, e.g. artists or society, is the motor for critical positioning. Consuming Napster's gifting economy is prized for its functional instrumentality in serving as a means to accomplish deliverance from the evils of mainstream music consumption culture, as a quest for personal harmony and ethical

hygiene. Kozinets and Handelman (1998) have also stressed the importance of "symbolic personal significance as a vehicle of self-realization and personal harmony" as a dimension of resistance. Gifting serves as a way to come closer to one's "ideal" self. The ideal "music fan" in the case of "Thomas" (ISDN, sharing 357 files), seems to hearken back to their discussion:

Boycotting the business is an issue for any real music fan! It's not fellow traveling some crazy fashion, it's for yourself!

Holbrook's typology of customer value posits that ethics (including justice, virtue, and morality) is one of eight kinds of value that may be obtained in the consumption experience. Smith (1996) has suggested a distinction between altruistic and agonistic motivation of consumption experiences. Thus gifting as a means of boycotting at Napster can here be understood as an agonistic act of ethical purification for oneself.

Gifting as Participation. The gifting-as-participation metaphor emphasizes those motivations that are drawn from the impulse to belong and to integrate. Typically, participation in a community here is an end in itself maintaining social ties while being only perfunctorily interested in the central consumption activity. For example, "Sarah" (ISDN, sharing 72 files) illustrates her happiness about participating:

It feels good to be part of such a powerful movement. Isn't it strange that people all over the world have somehow the same feelings?

The community is seen as a movement, which one wishes to join in order to add value to others. At this end, altruism is used here not to denote selflessness, but rather to indicate a primary intention to please one's exchange partners in the first sense and thus becoming "a part of it" in the second sense. The individual benefit of file sharing via Napster may at the same time act to represent consumers to other consumers, expressing their membership (Foxall and Goldsmith 1994) in Napster's file sharing community.

Gifting as Renovation. A fourth dimension, gifting as renovation, emphasizes Napster's role as a locus of communally enacted

social change. Gifting is attached to a political matter of concern, as a means of liberation from the former limitations set by the old order of music business in capitalist society. Consumers often refer to the perils of copyright which, following "Derek" (cable, sharing 693 copyrighted files), *"has eaten those art species that are not accepted by the masses"*, while at the same time offering alternative ways to think about the status and value of information as *"a free resource for all of us"*. It is a widespread practice to attach socialistic, anarchist and revolutionary metaphor to the gifting economy of Napster. For instance, visual proof is found in old socialist poster and graffiti nostalgia as in "Napster–la revolución", subtitling the portrait of Che Guevara on the background of rebellious labor class workers (see http://www.napsterresearch.com) as well as a fake "reminder of the Recording Industry Association of America" warning "When you pirate MP3s you are downloading communism", accompanied by a scene showing diabolical accomplice Lenin encouraging an obviously American white male student surfer to consume MP3. The "Napster Manifesto", an anonymous call for "net communism" even makes use of Marx's and Engel's Communist Manifesto while plugging in the term "music industry" and "capitalism" for terms like "bourgeoisie", "bourgeoisie class" or "agriculture and manufacturing industry":

> We see then: the means of production and of exchange, on whose foundation the music industry built itself up, were generated in a capitalistic society. At a certain stage in the development of these means of production and of exchange, the conditions under which capitalistic society produced and exchanged, the capitalistic organization of the music industry, in one word, the capitalistic relations of property became no longer compatible with the already developed productive forces; they became so many fetters. They had to be burst asunder; they were burst asunder.

Where Marx and Engels cried "Abolition of property!" some Napster users cry "Freedom of Information!" today. Gifting becomes a tool for the collapse of the old capitalist system and the end of capitalist market hegemony while serving as an alternative consumption activity at the electronic frontier. However, it is important to carve out the insuperable paradox in this observation: Napster itself is driven by market forces and products while intensively refusing the market's validity in search of a self-reflexive otherness. Consuming resistance against well-established market and industry structures at Napster, both in the case of gifting as renovation and purification is like going with the parasite against the parasite. Returning to the early work of Baudrillard (1968), Napster seeks to build up and communicate an alternative to the regime of signs, and in doing so, it still resides in its center.

CONCLUSION

In this paper we have developed a theoretical framework that offers the concept of the parasitic gifting community to understand consumption meanings of file sharing systems such as Napster et aliud. Within this framework we discussed the structure, describing the gifting economy and the ways in which it constructs community. Moving our focus to the motivation of gifting at Napster we developed a schema of four metaphors describing the predominant motivations attached to Napster's gifting economy.

Under acknowledgement of the above mentioned methodological restrictions caused by the nature of textual communication in cyberspace and the crisis of representation (Sherry and Kozinets 2000), the study of Napster can hold several important insights for consumer behavior research in the fields of gift giving, community

in cyberspace, consumer resistance and emancipatory consumption (Giesler and Pohlmann 2002). Digital technology in networks yields a new information economy based on gift giving. Gifting unites consumers in parasitic gifting communities, which serve as a locus to celebrate alternative and emancipatory modes of consumption. The "parasitic" offers at least two different perspectives. First, consumers engage in the gifting community to overcome the parasitic outside inside contemporary consumption culture through different forms of resistance. Second and in doing so, consumers are hosted by exactly those parasitic entities they wish to overcome.

The concept of parasitism also promises further enlightment in, for example, Holt's (2002) suggestion to see Marketing in postmodernity as a parasitic cultural machine "that pilfers from public culture to cycle through commodities valued meanings and pleasures at an ever increasing velocity". Napster's parasitic gifting economy also draws on previous attempts to define marketing which, following Kotler (2000) involves exchanges of value, as a transaction between two parties in which each party gives something of value in return for something of value. Conversely, exchange within parasitic gifting economies is multidirectional. Relations are established in the community and it is impossible to offset the one against the other. Hence another concept of value is needed, adding to our understanding the ways parasitism evolves consumption.

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Flow in Individual Web Sites: Model Estimation and Cross-Cultural Validation

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The Internet has become a medium used by consumers world-wide to search for information, to make purchases, or merely to seek entertainment. However, research on what makes a web site effective and appealing to customers is still in its infancy. Few empirical investigations have examined the factors that may lead to an optimal navigation experience for site visitors. Little is known about whether and when consumers' navigation experiences when visiting a web site will translate into positive marketing outcomes.

In the present research, we operationalize and extend previous frameworks (Hoffman and Novak 1996; Novak, Hoffman and Yung 2000) modeling consumers' optimal network navigation experience or flow on the world wide web. Our research is unique in that we create a model of flow applicable to the navigation of a specific web site. We hypothesize that a web site which facilitates achieving an optimal navigation experience may result in desired consequences for e-marketers.

Our model of flow for a specific web site incorporates constructs examined in the existing literature and includes others previously unexplored in the context of web site navigation. In particular, flow is modeled as a function of consumers' perceptions of two site characteristics, interactivity and challenge, and two psychological constructs, focused attention and attitude toward the site. Interactivity, challenge, and focused attention have been components in previous web navigation models of flow (Hoffman and Novak 1996; Novak, Hoffman and Yung 2000). Our model introduces attitude toward the site as an antecedent of flow that mediates the impact of those three components on flow for a specific web site. In our model, the experience of flow is expected to result in greater intention to purchase products from the site and to revisit the site.

One of the characteristics of the internet that make it a unique medium is its global reach. Individuals all over the world can access web sites regardless of where they are hosted. It is of considerable importance, therefore, to examine whether similar models of web site navigation and effectiveness can be applied to consumers from different cultures. Consequently, our model of flow will be tested with three independent samples to examine its cross-cultural validity–two from Europe and one from the U.S. Also, to examine our model's validity, we will apply it to different web sites. We begin our investigation by defining the flow construct. Then, we estimate and validate our model of flow for a specific web site.

In this research we construct a model of flow which includes the two types of antecedent components of flow reported in the literature: cognitive and affective. We hypothesize that attitude toward the site mediates the relationship between cognitive factors and flow, which is itself an experiential, or behavioral, construct (Hoffman and Novak 1996; Privette and Bundrick 1987). Our research explores two consequences of flow that are important to assessing marketing effectiveness: intentions to revisit and to purchase from a site. Our hypothesized model is depicted in Figure 1.

The model fits the data well (χ^2=178.27, d.f.=155, RMSEA=.037, CFI=.98, GFI=.86). Because the GFI and AGFI statistics tend to underestimate the fit of models with smaller samples (Durvasula et al. 1993), we will focus on the RMSEA, CFI and Chi-square statistics in the rest of this paper. Parameter estimates are reported on Table 3.

To validate our model, we collected data from two additional samples. Sample 2 validates our model with the same population as sample 1 but a different web site. Sample 3 validates the model cross-culturally with a different population but the same site as sample 1. The methodology used to validate the model was adapted from Byrne (1998), Durvasula et al. (1993) and Jöreskog and Sörbom (1996). Hence, the model we first estimated with sample 1 was estimated again using multiple group procedures. First, we compared the model as it fitted sample 1 and sample 2. Then, we compared the model fit between sample 1 and sample 3. If the results of our comparisons indicate that the model fits the three samples equally well, we will accomplish a validation of our model across cultures and web site designs. In particular, we tested whether (a) the factor structure fits the estimation and validation samples well when estimated conjointly; (b) the covariance structures of each of the two validation samples are equal to the estimation sample, and (c) the estimated structural parameters in the estimation sample are equal to the parameters in each of the validation samples.

The results of our model validation indicate that our structural model applies to two populations and two different sites, since constraining (a), (b), and (c) above did not result in a significantly worse fit that the unconstrained models.

Conclusion

Our model of flow highlights the important role of attitude towards the site. We find that A_{site} mediates a great deal of the influence of interactivity, challenge and focused attention on flow. This finding is of particular relevance considering that prior research on flow in e-commerce had not explored this effect. It is also significant that we found flow to mediate the effect of A_{site} on intentions variables. Altogether, the successful integration of flow with more traditional measures of marketing effectiveness in one single model may constitute an important step forward in our understanding of the flow construct and its influence on consumer behavior.

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FIGURE 1
Hypothesized Conceptual Model
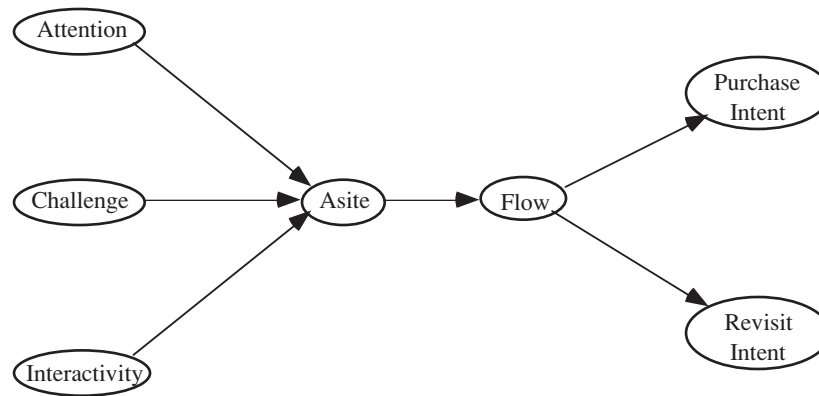
TABLE 3
Estimation Results

Path	Parameter Estimate	Hypothesis	Supported?
$A_{site} \rightarrow$ Flow	.28**	H1 (+)	Yes
	(.11)		
Attention $\rightarrow A_{site}$	.29**	H2 (+)	Yes
	(.11)		
Challenge $\rightarrow A_{site}$	.22*	H3 (+)	Yes
	(.10)		
Interactivity $\rightarrow A_{site}$	.38***	H4 (+)	Yes
	(.10)		
Flow $\rightarrow$ Purchase Intent	.40***	H5 (+)	Yes
	(.10)		
Flow $\rightarrow$ Revisit Intent	.37***	H6 (+)	Yes
	(.09)		
Attention $\rightarrow$ Flow	.41***		
	(.12)		
Interactivity $\rightarrow$ Purchase Intent	.36***		
	(.10)		
Interactivity $\rightarrow$ Revisit Intent	.53***		
	(.10)		

* $p<.05$
** $p<.01$
*** $p<.001$

Toward a Cultural Theory of Class Consumption: The Social Construction of the Turkish Hand-Knitted Sweater

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

In this essay, we use an ethnographic case study to extend theories that explain how social class patterns consumption. Existing theories propose that two mechanisms cause social class to structure consumption. Economists, influenced by Veblen's (1899) classic work *The Theory of the Leisure Class,* have focused on how classes use consumption as an economic signal. They propose an emulation mechanism: classes seek to rise to a higher status (trickle-down theory) and conversely, to avoid being left behind by one's own class (keeping up with the Joneses). Economic signaling is generally a more reflexive and strategic mode of class consumption.

Alternatively, sociologists, also influenced by Veblen, emphasize the social conditioning of tastes. Most influential is Bourdieu's Distinction (1984), which argues that class-based tastes become naturalized to reflect historical social relations and material conditions as experienced in family upbringing, education, and work. These consumption patterns are reproduced, pragmatically, as the outcome of tastes and desires.

This study draws upon ethnographic fieldwork conducted in a squatter neighborhood outside of Ankara, Turkey. A squatter is a ramshackle home quickly constructed from cheaply available materials. Squatters formed in Turkey, just as they did in many other global cities in less-developed countries, as rural peasants migrated in large numbers. These dynamic diasporas formed by the forces of globalization, have become a dominant aspect of social life for the world's poor. But this new globalized lower class formation is rarely studied in consumer research.

Our case examines the immense popularity and value assigned by women in the squatters to making and dressing in hand-knitted sweaters. We analyze the social construction of the hand-knitted sweater, tracing its uses and meanings from village life to the squatters. We trace the uses and meanings of sweater-making from previous life in the village to new life in the squatters.

From the ethnographic analysis, we build a formal model consists of four social constructionist processes:

1) Historically-specific class conditions create particular class contradictions that are experienced by the class as existential dilemmas and as alienation. The migration of villagers to a large city, sequestered in squatter neighborhoods, is a class-specific consequence of the forces of globalization.

2) These historic conditions and contradictions lead the class to collectively construct an ideological framework that makes sense of their new reality. This framework is organized into a discourse built around the city:village binary. The squatters' idea of themselves as "villagers" was constructed in large part only after the squatter migration began, which created an external point-of-comparison to objectify how they had once lived. This result is analogous to Wilk's finding that the Belizians' reflexive construction of a Belizean identity through culture, began with the onset of dynamic migration patterns. Ideas of "village" and "city" were produced based upon the comparisons forced by their new class-based experience of Ankara from within the squatters. The ways in which the squatters understand and experience Ankara—as a threatening space that strips them of their identity and traditions, as a place of strangers, of overwhelming diversity— accentuate particular aspects of the village that had once been taken-for-granted (e.g., intimacy of knowing people and places well, behavior norms as a form of security). Squatters use the discourse as a key resource to make sense of their new lives, and guide their actions within (i.e., it serves as a cultural model). This construction of city:village differs considerably from the discourse that predominates amongst the classes above the squatters.

3) The contradictions of the new social context of the squatter life likewise creates particular ideological desires that seek to reconstruct a viable class identity. Squatters use the city:village discourse to impute new types of value to things and activities. Through this process, particular consumption objects (and associated practices) are selected to perform symbolic work.

4) Consumption objects and practices are chosen based upon their viability as a symbolic resource to fulfill ideological desires. The squatter women collectively "selected" hand-knitted sweaters over other possible goods and activities that were also part of their former village lives because sweaters signified the village in a particular way based upon their historical uses. The meanings of sweaters shift as the women moved from village to squatters. But, this doesn't mean that the previous village meanings are irrelevant. Rather the particular associations of making sweaters in the village served as a crucial cultural "raw asset" that squatter women used to create a powerful ritual "antidote" to the alienation of city life. What Barthes calls myth—second-order connotations in which are buried potent socio-political content—proves crucial in the creation of class consumption patterns. Squatter women selected hand-knitted sweaters as an object with which to perform symbolic work, not because the sweaters embodied the village, but because they do so in particular ways.

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Creolization or Prodigalization?
The Many Avatars of an Indo-Singaporean Food Consumptionscape

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ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on the effects of post-slave labour migration between India and -Singapore and the resultant cycle of deculturation-reculturation of the Indo-Singoporean migrants as observed in their food consumptionscape. In the post-colonial period, these were altered by creolization, and in more recent times (through remigration) of prodigalized consumption settings. Historical and geographic changes as reflected in socio-cultural shifts and mirrored in these ever evolving food consumptionscape are explored. The example of a South Indian vegetarian restaurant is used to illustrate this complex, constantly shifting and multilayered consumption context.

Much work has been done in studying the effects of immigration on caste and cultural systems of Indian migrants (Grieco 1998, Khan 1994, Chandra 1997). Studying these movements of culture across borders and the subsequent creolization of consumption patterns is an important area of enquiry. Creolization of culture is an aspect of the melding and fusing of colliding cultures that is constantly happening in today's globalized cultural and consumption contexts. In the context of Indian migrants to North America and the UK, such creolization has been documented and the subsequent transformation of consumption patterns has been focussed on, (Fisher 1980, Furnham & Bochner 1986, Helweg 1979). The cultural and consumption exchanges that have been documented so far are mostly unidirectional–flowing from the transfer of aspects of consumption between source to adopted country. Increasingly, with open borders and globalised commercial exchange becoming easier, such flows have become multi-directional. This paper focuses on one such example. The creolization of one aspect of South Indian culture–the 'Mcdonaldization' of traditional vegetarian restaurants.

In South Indian state of Tamilnadu, where a predominantly caste Hindu population traditionally adhered to strict caste based eating practices, many changes have taken place in the aftermath of the globalisation of markets and palates. The traditional Hindu attitudes to eating were governed by the Brahminical rules of 'Shudth' (purity) and 'Juthaa' (pollution). The traditional brahminical household followed strict rules with regard to food preparation and consumption. Food had to be prepared from specified ingredients, using specified utensils and served in a specified order by caste Hindus. Non- caste Hindus were not allowed to eat from the same dish or even sit down to eat with caste Hindus. The person who cooked had to be a caste Hindu and had to be 'shudth' or 'pure'–which state was symbolised by the freshly washed clothes and just bathed person. Thus, in traditional pre-colonial times a caste Hindu could rarely eat outside his/her home. Eating out and at restaurants were for non-caste Hindus or non-Hindus. To overcome this, from about the 1930s there was a growth in the number of 'Brahmin-style pure vegetarian' restaurants where the chef was always a caste Hindu and where food was served in the traditional fashion. The turnover of tables in such restaurants was always high, and it attracted an increasingly non-caste clientele. This feature of urban quick eating, was epitomised by the 'Woodlands, Dashaprakash' snack, mini meal ('tiffin') type eateries were the earliest form of 'fast food' in South India. The raison d'etre of such restaurants was to cater to the 'office-goer' who could not be at home for every meal and therefore risked breaking the food consumption rules of his caste. These were therefore 'safe' places to eat.

During the Colonial period (especially in the post-slavery era), large numbers of Indian labourers were moved to British plantation colonies in Malaya (Singapore), the Pacific and the Caribbean (Jain 1988). These early Indian immigrants to Singapore were concentrated in and around the city centre. These early immigrants were mostly from the trader castes (such as the south Indian Chettiars) as well as many non-Hindus such as Tamil Moslems, Sindhi, Sikh and Jain groups. In a trying to keep up with the nostalgic palates of this disparate Indian immigrant community, many Indian style restaurants opened doors in the 1940s. In catering to these groups the main issues of maintaining caste distinctions and practices were eschewed in favour of simply providing a consistently authentic and affordable culinary alternative to these immigrant groups. This lead to the creation of creolised forms of such eating places. The Komalas chain was one of these. It started off as just another traditional South Indian 'Dosai and Idli' restaurant, but evolved over the years into a McDonaldized version of the original vegetarian South Indian type restaurant combining the idea of authentic and relatively cheap food with the more 'western' notion of a fast food chain. While maintaining the quick turnover and wide variety of fast moving snack type product lines, Komalas adopted the McDonald type queues, capped and uniformed staff, disposable cutlery and a modernised setting. This change was quintessentially Singaporean, with the blend of (take the best of both worlds / meeting point of many cultures approach) East and West creolization.

In 1999, the Komalas creolization was re-exported to India. Today the creolization and prodigalization of the fast food concept has come a full circle. To enter a Komalas outlet in Chennai (Madras) is to step into a McDosai experience. This is where the 'dosai' or the ubiquitous south Indian lentil pancake has been transformed by the consumption context into the creolized version of the McDonald burger. The traditional vegetarian South Indian type eateries still co-exist, but are being abandoned by the new generation of the MTV/Star TV generation of younger Indian consumers who retain their taste for traditional food, but prefer the Western 'spin' on old favourites.

This invention and reinvention of the consumption/cultural context is symptomatic and representative of the Indian consumer today. The changes in patterns of consumption amongst Indian consumers have been greater in the last 2 decades than in the past 100 years (Venu 2001). The influence of British colonisation on the cuisine of South India has been minimal, and restricted in some pockets of the society. The globalisation of markets and the movement of Indian migrants between adopted countries and India has had significant social and cultural effects. The changes and impact on the culture of consumption patterns is therefore a significant change, especially when considered in the context of the close relationship that South Indian Brahminism has had on the food consumption habits of the average consumers. To fully understand these changing consumption patterns, one needs to study the historical context and geographic movement of people that have created and nurtured such creolizations. Only when such historical, geographic, and cultural transformations are scrutinised can hybrid social effects on aspects of consumption such as eating habits be fully understood.

Phase 1 Immigration and Deculturation

The Indian diaspora of the British colonial period, unlike that of the later immigration to the Middle East, UK and the US was marked by the characteristic of recruited labour migration to man the British colonial sugar, tea and rubber plantations in South East Asia, the Caribbean and the Pacific islands. The nature of forced or 'indentured' migration under these colonial circumstances was of three distinct types. The recruitment and the subsequent immigration of these labourers determined the nature of the social and cultural structures that were built in the new country. Greico (1998) explains the differences between the migrant groups with regards to the social and cultural structures developed in the new country on the basis of the nature of the initial recruitment, suggesting that some forms of labour migration facilitated the reformation of caste and other social/cultural structures more than others. In her study of the Fijian Indian migration, she identifies three distinct types of labour migration that took place in the British colonial period. The indentured labour migration that took place between 1852-1937, the Maistry form of immigration which took place to Burma and the Kangany form of labour recruitment that helped man the colonial plantations of S.E Asia, the Pacific and the Caribbean. These three forms differed in the method of recruitment and contracts that were made between the various agents of the colonial powers and the immigrants. They had a lasting impact on the ability of the immigrants to reform and preserve the cultural and social structures that were required in their new country. Under the forced or indentured system, the disruption of the immigrants' original lives and systems, was so severe that they had difficulty in restructuring and rebuilding them. Much of the contracting under this system involved the recruitment of individual workers from all parts of the country and from all social strata. This meant that they arrived as isolated, individual immigrants bereft of caste or family members resulting in a deculturation that was absolute. In such a context restructuring or reinventing of original cultural systems was near impossible. However under the third system of labour immigration- the Kangany system, recruitment was carried out in groups by recruitment agents who approached the headman of a village in a particular part of the country (notably in South India) and family and caste members migrated in large, culturally intact groups. This meant that they were able to reform or reinvent their cultural/social networks and structures including that of caste with greater ease than the individual, dispossessed labour migrant. The Kangany form of labour immigration included recruitment of labour to the South East Asian plantation colonies of (Singapore) Malaya and Sri Lanka. This paper focuses on the effects of such immigration to the former colony of Singapore and its impact on food consumption habits.

In many of the cases of labour immigration to (Singapore) Malaya, the estate headman would return to India, usually to his home village to recruit whole groups of labourers and their families. They were advanced their travel and other expenses and after they arrived in Singapore in debt to the headman, they had to work to pay off their dues. Some returned to India at the end of this period, many more would stay and settle down close to existing groups of Indian immigrants forming communities which then collectively and actively set about recreating cultural/social networks and structures. This process of deculturation (when the immigrant leaves their home country for a new country without similar cultural and social environments has been documented (Greico 1998 and Khan 1994). The process of recreating or even reinventing such cultural and social structures has also been studied by these authors. This paper studies this process with reference to a specific example of changing food consumption patterns as mirrored in the evolution of one type of Indian restaurant. The central theme here is that the

deculturation-reculturation process that accompanied the Indo-Singaporean immigration resulted in the changing and Sanskritization (Srinivas 1978) of food preparation and consumption rules as practiced by the mostly non-caste Hindus among this group of immigrants.

This tracing of the historical roots of Indian migration is important to understand better the subsequent socio-cultural structures that were created and maintained by the immigrant groups. Critical to this discussion is the preservation and in many cases the reformation of such socio-cultural structures such as the caste system and embodied in such principles of purity or 'Shudth' and 'Juthaa' or pollution.

This paper makes the argument that the cycles of migration and remigration in the Indo-Singaporean context has resulted in a cycle of deculturation–reculturation from the original migration, which then has been overlaid in later post colonial periods by creolization and most lately through a process of remigration, of prodigalization. The historical and geographic changes have been reflected in socio-cultural shifts that have been mirrored in evolving food consumption scapes. The example of a South Indian Vegetarian restaurant is used to illustrate this complex and constantly shifting and layered consumptionscape.

Phase 2: Settlement and Reculturation/Sanskritization

In 1828 Thomas Raffles decided to organise the burgeoning population of Singapore (between 1819 –1839 the population grew 100% .The Raffles town plan of 1829 (Yee 1996) shows a careful zoning and localization of ethnic groups in a ghettoization quite common to British colonial town planners. In this plan the two largest ethnic groups- the Chinese and the Indians were located to the south of the Singapore river adjacent to the mercantile and commercial business district of Raffles place. Raffles conception of Singapore involved more than a purely racial/ethnic zoning –it was also an occupational zoning. Such segregation the early immigrants resulted in a preservation of socio-cultural structures amongst them. Within the Indian immigrants groups this was especially true reinforcing the 'strong ties' (ties between existing caste and kinship groups) and weakening 'weak ties' (those with external communities in the host country)–see Granovetter M.S (1973). Thus the group/ caste/family labour migration patterns combined with the early ethnic segregation practiced by the host country to help and foster caste recreation within the Indian immigrant groups in Singapore.

In the post-colonial period this policy of 'ethnic zoning' was dropped in favour of Lee Kuan Yew's melting pot model of town planning where all residential buildings would have a proportionate mix of ethnic and racial groups. However the early zoning and isolation is apparent today in the existence of little urban enclaves that still serve as tourist drawcards. The Little India, Chinatown and the Arab Quarter are reminders of such ghettoization. These ethnic zones originally served as cradles of cultural 'survivals' (see Khan 1994). They served as comfort zones for the uprooted immigrants going through a phase of deculturation and uprooting from their mother country. As Yee (1996) suggests these were contexts 'allowing a continuation of traditions such as language and diet and shields the immigrants from the shock of change of milieu and landscape" Additionally, these enclaves served as a conduit for cultural transformation and exchange between the host country and the 'old' country resulting in a discourse of culture that even today is constantly altering the consumptionscapes of both countries.

In Singapore, enclaves of early Indian settlement concentrated around or within the city centre in a number of distinct subgroups each of which were relatively homogeneous in linguistic and occupational terms. The South Indian Chettiars and Moslem Tamils

established an enclave adjacent to the Central Business District forming a community of financiers, moneylenders, petty traders and quayside workers. Sindhis, Gujaratis and Sikh textile traders concentrated in the High Street area and the South Indian dock side workers and railway workers settled in the neighbourhood of the docks. The Tamil shopkeepers moved into the Serangoon Road area and this became the heart of the enclave known today as 'Little India'. Serangoon Road was originally inhabited by Indians engaged in cattle-rearing activities, which in turn attracted the wheat grinders, gingelly oil processors and the pineapple preservers to the area. This economic nucleus was soon transformed into a thriving retail centre which it continues to be today.

It is in this setting that in 1947 that Indian immigrant entrepreneurs opened a number of 'pure vegetarian South Indian eateries'. As described earlier these were primarily an attempt to cater to the 'nostalgic' immigrant palate. These restaurants were not however merely an attempt to satisfy the Indian immigrants need for 'authentic Indian cuisine', it was also an attempt to recreate and in this case 'reinvent' a socio-cultural system related to 'caste structure'. The traditional Hindu caste structure with its rigid food preparation and consumption rules only bound caste Hindus, of whom there were few among these mostly trader, non-caste and Muslim groups of immigrants. Through a process of Sanskritization, however, they adopted and reinvented these food consumption rules to abide by strict vegetarianism and food preparation methods (see discussion of sanskritization of religious practices among Malayasian plantation Indians in Jain 1988). Most of these eateries were very similar to the original South Indian notion of a 'pure vegetarian South Indian eatery', but very often with one important difference, the original Indian version always had a Brahmin or caste Hindu who would oversee the overall food preparation and serving, to ensure that the rules of purity or 'shudth' were maintained. In the Sanskritised version in Singapore this was no longer the case, pure vegetarian food was served, but not necessarily cooked by a caste Hindu. Vegetarianism was carefully followed (not even the consumption of animal fats or eggs was acceptable). To many of the immigrant sub-castes (apart from Gujarati Jains and caste Hindus), vegetarianism was not an original part of life in India. However in the new reculturation process they adopted this hallmark of the caste Hindu and carefully preserved it in the recreated cultural milieu.

This incarnation (avatar) of the new and revitalised South Indian vegetarian restaurant helped in reinventing the Indian immigrant culture in addition to catering to the palate of the Indian immigrant. Thus, in this form the original cuisine and menu remained largely unchanged, but the rules of 'shudth' (purity principle of food preparation) were eased considerably. It catered to the nostalgia of the Indian immigrant's memory of what South Indian Vegetarian restaurant food was, without adhering to the original raison d'etre of their existence (the need for restaurants that served food prepared in keeping with the principles of 'shudth', so the caste Hindu could practice food consumption rules). It was therefore a recreation by the Indian immigrants of something that was never really a part of their own caste tradition. This was the second stage in the evolution of the modern day South Indian Vegetarian restaurant in which a migrant group attempted to reform shattered or disrupted cultural structures using changing eating habits to reinvent socio-cultural identity. This stage is seen as part of the larger attempt by the decultured immigrant to re-establish lost cultural traditions, this process being fostered by the early ethnic zoning and ghettoization of the colonial period in Singapore.

Phase 3 Creolization in the Post Colonial Period

In this stage the influences of the post colonial period are seen, especially that of the 'new cultural colonization' by the American and other 'western' cultures. During this time the creolization of food consumption habits and consumptionscapes of the Indo-Singaporean immigrant group changed in keeping with an increasingly 'westernised' Singapore. This is characterised by the rising 'Asian Tiger' economies which combined the 'Western' work habits with the traditional 'Eastern' values. The result of this collision and melding of cultural values and consumption patterns resulted in a creolization of food consumption (the term 'creolization of consumption' is used in the sense that Arnould, Price and Zinkhan define it as 'consumption patterns that combine elements of the local and foreign consumption traditions' 2002 p.167) or a 'Mcdonaldization' (Ritzer 2000) of the recreated and already reinvented forms of South Indian Vegetarian restaurants and the services they offered. The fast-food phenomenon overtook the traditional recreation and resulted in a new and distinctly different form of food consumption-scape. Gone were the traditional sit-down fast service and emphasis on the 'traditional' aspects of the food. The new Komalas restaurant is an example of this. The cuisine remained the same with the essentially 'Indian'. However creolization has added to the range offered on the menu to include North Indian specialties in addition to the traditional 'South Indian Tiffin' type dishes. The clearest aspects of creolization can be seen in the consumption-scape itself. The uniformed staff and the self-service queues are the most obvious change. Standardisation and use of disposable plates and cutlery were also changes from the original form. Kids' meals and value menu 'combo' deals are obvious creolizations of the more traditional vegetarian restaurant. This form became very popular with the Indian immigrants as well as among non-Indian Singaporean population. The fast food form is popular among the Singaporean business customer, whose daily lunch options include the International food courts and other such quick lunch options. Thus, from the recreated and reinvented form of the Indian vegetarian eatery used to re-establish cultural structures amongst an immigrant population, the Indian vegetarian restaurant evolved into a transformed Indian fast food restaurant, combining the essential Indian cuisine with the central vegetarian theme, but with a modern and 'western' spin on it to appeal to a wider and younger market. It also reflected the needs and tastes of the new generation of Indo-Singaporeans who grew up in communities that valued traditional Indian culture, while embracing the mixing of Eastern-Western market value systems.

Phase 4 Post modern Prodigalization

This stage has been fostered by the remigration and the deregulation of commercial exchanges between India and Singapore which encouraged Indo-Singaporean business people and entrepreneurs to look toward the ever burgeoning, and newly consumerist Indian markets. These nascent consumer markets beckoned to such entrepreneurs who strengthen the channels of cultural exchange and re-exchange. In this phase the Indian vegetarian fast food restaurant returned to India in a prodigal form, different from the original export, but embraced by the parent culture with enthusiasm. The prodigal has returned in a transformed but popular new avatar.

Komalas cultural roots lie in the early 20th century emergence of the 'brahmin style pure vegetarian eatery' in South India, notably in Tamilnadu (Madras) state. Under the British Colonial rule Brahmins and caste Hindus (who had been co-opted by their rulers into the lower echelons of administrative power) would spend most of the day away from home and temple where they had hitherto practiced the traditional pre-colonial occupations of priests and administrators. The traditional 11o'clock main meal of the day that had to be cooked by a Brahmin who had ritually bathed before cooking and consumed under strict rules of purity ('shudth') was no

FIGURE1

Phases in the Transformation of an Indo-Singaporean Food Consumptionscape

Historical Context	Geographical movements	Cultural Transformation	Social Changes in food Consumption
1. Colonial Labour Migration 2. Colonial Ghettoization and Ethnic Zoning 3. Post Colonial (new colonization) 4. Post-Modern remigration	1. India-Singapore 2.Singapore 3. Singapore 4. India	1. Deculturation 2. Sanskritzation (Reculturation) 3. Creolization 4.Prodigalization	1. Loss of traditional food consumption scapes 2. Food consumption rules (vegetarianism) reinvented 3. McDonaldization 4. Export of the McDonaldized consumptionscape

longer possible under the new colonial workday. Eating outside the home in a restaurant would break the purity rules of food consumption. To meet this need a new class of eatery emerged. These were manned by brahmin cooks who would prepare traditional 'Tiffin' (the lunch box carried by those who carried food prepared at home to work) and regular meals for the (mostly) Brahmin and caste Hindu clientele.

In 1947 an Indian immigrant Murugiah Rajoo in Singapore opened such a 'Traditional South Indian Vegetarian' restaurant in Singapore. This was the inception of the Komalas group of restaurants in Singapore. This was a reinvented version of the original Brahmin style vegetarian, in that it was vegetarian, but did not maintain the more complex caste-related aspects of food preparation. They were there to accommodate the mainly non caste Hindus and Moslem Indian immigrants. The Chettiar and other trader castes who inhabited Little India and surrounding areas were in most cases Hindus who were of the trader castes who did not necessarily have to maintain the strict food preparation and consumption habits of the Brahmins or caste- Hindus. In some cases (as with some subgroups among the Chettiars) even vegetarianism was not required by the caste group rules. However in an attempt to preserve and invent or in an act of cultural 'survival' early Indian immigrants established the Indo-Singaporean version of the 'pure vegetarian South Indian 'restaurant. This could be seen as a result of a process of cultural 'Sanskritization' (Srinivas 1972) and an attempt to overcome Indian immigrants' initial sense of deculturation and cultural loss. This process of reculturation or reformation has been described by (Grieco 1998) in the context of labour migration and the Fijian Indian community.

In 1995 Komalas was set up by R.T Sekar and R.S Sekar (sons of M.Rajoo)in the heart of 'Little India' at Upper Dickson road (subsequent branches were opened in N.Bridge road and Orchard Road). This was the next step in the evolution of the present day Komalas. The creolization of the original South .Indian Vegetarian restaurant was apparent in the 'vision of the founders' statement (http:www.komalasweb.com) "To Make Quality Indian Vegetarian Food Readily Available Internationally At Affordable Prices". It goes on to "Offer traditional food at affordable prices in a modern setting. It harnesses the strengths of the universal acceptance of vegetarianism and the convenience of fast food". The clear difference and distinction made from the original conception of the restaurant is the switch to the 'western notion of fast food' and the more global menu- North Indian, South Indian, Chinese food are available as are vegetarian burgers, fries and the more 'western' fast food items. This creolization is seen as being very characteristic of the Singaporean National culture itself. It lends itself very aptly to the officially expressed ideal of national identity of 'essential Asian values, with a world view' (see Chua 1998). The Singaporeanization of McDonalds is used by Chua as an example of the need for 'western' consumerist ideas needing to bow to the political ideology that critiques 'excessive westernization'. Thus this avatar (incarnation) of Komalas is no longer one that is aimed at the immigrant Indian market but at multi-ethnic Singapore which is merely a window to a larger globalised world market.

In the present avatar, the restaurant has returned to India in an act of prodigalization. Here the creolized form created in Singapore is presented to the market-place of its origins. Komalas in Chennai (Madras) is very different from the 'Brahmin-style Pure Vegetarian' restaurant of the early 20th century. It must be pointed out that there has been a parallel evolution of the 'Brahmin style pure vegetarian' restaurant in India. These have evolved into chain style restaurants with some modernization (Woodlands, Sharavana Bhavan and Sangeeta's), but they all retain the sit down, service at the table type of approach and have all been forms that evolved from purely local roots. While Sanskritization and modernisation has occurred, creolizations of the kind that the Komalas restaurants display are not seen.

The Chennai Komalas advertises itself as the 'First International Indian Vegetarian Restaurant in India' and describes itself as 'an Indian Vegetarian Restaurant originating in Singapore' (source: Komalas Chennai Menu Card). Thus it is offering itself as a Singaporean restaurant which serves Indian Vegetarian food in a fast food setting to the Indian market where the Indian Vegetarian Restaurant already exists in many forms and variations. The entrance of the restaurant is graced by an anthropomorphized rolled up Dosai (the South Indian lentil pancake). This creature is one of the

clearest attempts at McDonalization (Ritzer 2000), being a kind of Ronald McDonald icon (or a Rolled McDosai). It stands with cartoon eyes and arms extended in the typical Ronald McDonald gesture of welcome. The restaurant is located up a flight of steps, which brings you to a wall bearing many plaques and honors including the 'employee of the month' (again the Mc Donald parallel is obvious. Turning from this wall there is an 'order point'. This consists of a number of the Komalas employees standing behind cash registers in caps and green striped shirts and solid green trousers (again the McDonaldization is apparent). Behind the cash registers are laminated walls bearing bright (rather lurid) pictures of the menu accompanied by English names of menu items. This is a touch of the Singaporeanization and very like the laminated picture menus seen in the All South East Asian food courts. This is especially clever seeing that children too young to read and older possibly non-English speakers/readers may be part of the clientele. The menu has 215 separate items including Chinese and International items (fried rice and French onion soup are hot favorites along with the Madras filter coffee and the Masala Dosai). The McDonaldization continues with offers of the Kids meal deals, burgers, fries and a drink offers along with combo deals and Mini meals (mini dosais fries and a drink type offerings). The meal is ordered and paid for and the customer than proceeds to the 'self-service pick up counter' located opposite the order point. Here the tray with the standard issue paper place-mat with advertising is filled up with the trade mark simulated banana leaf pattern plastic plate with plastic dishes for the dipping chutneys and pickles, and plastic cups for the Madras filter coffee. The food is carried over to the plastic/ laminated tables with the high chair option. There is a refill point (for refills of dipping chutneys and accompaniments) and in one corner a digital CD jukebox with a difference. It belts out the latest Tamil movie hits that are best sellers in the Chennai and Singapore markets. The children play in the 'kiddie corner' with climbing frames and other play equipment. The 'wash point', is another unique creolization, a row of taps to wash hands before and after eating. This is a concession to the Indian customers' preference to eating the dosai with their fingers. There is an almost self-conscious recognition of the creolization of this consumptionscape. This is manifest in the careful arrangement of the 'authentic' scenes of traditional South Indian food preparation all around the eating area. One shows the traditional Brahmin cook (clad in white cotton sarong style garment called the 'dothi' and wearing the caste identifier of the sacred thread over the left shoulder and across the chest leaning over a hot dosai 'tawa'(griddle). In another a 'tea kada' (street-side tea stall) scene, where the tea stall man is seen cooling the customer's hot tea in the traditional fashion- pouring it rapidly and in a series of 2 feet long arcs between two hot steel 'tumblers'(mugs), without spilling a drop. The pictures are all painted in a nostalgic sepia style colors and are clearly to be seen as depicting the cuisinary origins of Komalas itself. This is the present–day avatar of Komalas.

Phase 6 Exported Creolization?

In the constant flux of creolization and recreolization that is a feature of the globalized markets and consumptionscapes today, the Komalas phenomenon does not stop with the prodigalization of the creolized form. Komalas plans on exporting their creolized idea to the Middle East (Oman), to Sri-Lanka, Malaysia and Australia. These are all countries with large expatriate Indian communities and in addition, have large non- Indian communities with a taste for Indian food. The next phase in this may well be the export of such a creolized form. Thus the movement of the cultural and social transformation surrounding this particular food consumptionscape is still evolving.

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SPECIAL SESSION SUMMARY
Mixed Emotional Experiences: Reactions to Affective Reality
Aimee Drolet, UCLA
Loraine Lau-Gesk, University of Minnesota

Three papers were presented, each of which sought to understand how consumers respond to mixed emotions. The first two papers aimed to identify factors influencing the effectiveness of mixed emotional persuasive appeals. The paper by Williams and Aaker suggested that realism underlies the effectiveness of mixed emotional appeals. For example, results of one experiment showed that consumers with a higher versus lower propensity to accept duality perceived mixed emotional appeals to have higher levels of verisimilitude, and thus had more favorable attitudes toward the appeal. And, in two other experiments, consumers with a lower propensity to accept duality were made to perceive mixed emotional appeals as having high degrees of verisimilitude and in turn evaluated them more favorably.

Lau and Meyers-Levy argued that, alternatively, persuasion depends on the resources and goals consumers bring to bear when processing a mixed versus single emotional appeal. They examined the persuasiveness of a single (low resource demands) or mixed (high resource demands) emotion message when ambiguity inherent in the ad appeal's visual elements defied processors' attempts to confirm the emotion(s) discussed in the message. Under these conditions, they showed that the persuasiveness of the more resource demanding mixed emotion message was greater when the ad appeal's visual and verbal elements were physically separated rather than integrated. Yet, they also showed that the persuasiveness of less resource demanding single emotion messages was relatively low and constant regardless of whether such ad elements were separated or integrated.

The third paper by Griffin, Drolet, and Aaker complemented the other two papers by examining consumer remembrance of mixed emotions. In one experiment, the authors found that memories of mixed emotions decay much more rapidly than that of pure emotions. In particular, memories of mixed emotions tended to become memories of pure emotions, and memories of pure emotions became even more polarized over time. In a second experiment, they explored more closely this process of the decay of mixed emotion memories. And, in a third experiment, they examined the extent to which individuals were aware of their tendency to redefine emotional events in more pure emotional terms.

The discussant, Michel Pham, synthesized the three papers and addressed their distinct contributions, as well as the contribution of the session as a whole in the light of additional work in psychology and consumer behavior that focuses on mixed emotions.

So Many Choices, So Little Time: Measuring the Effects of Free Choice and Enjoyment on Perception of Free Time, Time Pressure and Time Deprivation

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the effects of free choice and enjoyment of activities on perceptions of free time. The study focuses on subjects' perceptions of the amount of free time available to them, perceptions of time pressure, and perceptions of time deprivation. Emotions elicited by perceptions of free time are also explored. The results suggest that having many choices for discretionary activities can by itself lead to feelings of time pressure, time deprivation, and a perceived shortage of free time. Reported time pressure and time deprivation were least when subjects thought of activities they have to do and do not enjoy.

INTRODUCTION

Increasing time pressure among Americans is a topic that appears frequently in the media and in research. The relationship of time pressure to work and family time has been extensively researched (Crawford 1997). The number of hours worked in a typical week is generally believed to have increased, resulting in decreased time for other areas of life (Schor 1991). Also, as two income families have become the norm, perceived free time has decreased and time pressure has increased.

In response to time pressures, consumers may purchase time-saving products (Voss and Blackwell 1975), and even products which represent hoped-for leisure lifestyles (Hochschild 1997). How and where consumers shop may also be affected by the amount of time consumers perceive as available (Maher et al. 1997). Internet purchasing is widely believed to be at least partially driven by perceived time pressure. Rather than spending time only shopping, consumers are willing to spend extra money so that they may take care of other tasks while goods are delivered to their door.

Consumers often think of work, chores, family care, and other obligations as the reasons for felt time pressure. However, some argue that felt time pressure is not from any absolute increase in work, and that Americans actually have increasing amounts of discretionary time (Robinson and Godbey 1997). Hawes (1987) found the same, and in some cases a slight increase, in time reported spent in leisure time activities among Americans over an eleven-year period.

A recent article attributed the perception of increased time pressure to the abundance of choices available to consumers (Sipress 2000). The perception may also be due to an intentional choice of work over family time (Hochschild 1997). Time diary studies suggest it may be somewhat due to increased time spent watching television (Denton 1994; Robinson and Godbey 1997). The present study examines some of the dimensions of and reasons behind the time crunch so widely felt in affluent societies.

One problem with any study of time is that perceptions of time vary depending upon the individual and the context (McGrath and Kelly 1986; Hornik 1984; Lewis and Weigert 1981; Cottle 1976). Two people experiencing the same span of clock time will often perceive its passage and estimate its duration quite differently (Kaufman and Lane 1990). One situational factor that may effect such perceptions is mood (Kellaris and Mantel 1994; Carmon 1991). Another is the number of ways that a person can envision how the particular time period could have been spent (Cotte and Ratneshwar 2000).

Satisfaction with goods and wealth, and perceptions of abundance, do not always correspond to absolute levels (Sweeney et al. 1990; Stouffer et al. 1949). Rather, they are influenced by comparisons with others. Seeing affluence and an abundance of goods available to others can arouse feelings of dissatisfaction among consumers whose absolute levels of wealth have not changed (O'Guinn and Schrum 1997; Richins 1995). This may also be applied to time.

The study reported in this paper suggests that an abundance of desirable choices as to how to spend free time can in and of itself lead to feelings of time scarcity because of the number of choices that must be left undone. It also suggests that thinking about obligated activities such as chores may actually relieve feelings of time pressure. This paper makes two contributions. The first is the application of the notion of phantom alternatives to the context of forgone choices in the consumption of free time. The second is an exploratory analysis of the emotional dimensions of time pressure and time deprivation.

Definitions

Based on a review of time literature, we concluded that three dimensions of time perception shed light on consumer feelings of time scarcity. The first is the perception of *available free time*. This is defined as a consumer's perception of how much time is open within a certain period for discretionary activities. The second is *time pressure*. The time literature generally refers to time pressure as a form of stress expressed in the perception of being hurried or rushed (Denton 1994; Miyazaki 1993). Time pressure influences specific consumer behaviors such as shopping and the substitution of goods for time, as well as consumers' general sense of well being. The third is *time deprivation*. Dictionary definitions refer to deprivation as the condition of having lost or being prevented from having something essential or vital. This construct has been used in psychology (Bernstein and Crosby 1980; Crosby 1976) and in management (Sweeney et al. 1990). In applying this to time, we define time deprivation as the perception of having been prevented from devoting enough time to chosen pursuits. This implies there is desire for more time for an activity or pursuit, but circumstances hinder individual consumers from using time in that way.

Mentally Undoing How We Spend Our Time: Forgone Fun

Phantom alternatives are choices that appear to be real but actually are unavailable (Pratkanis and Farquhar 1992). For example, faced with an unpleasant experience or outcome, we frequently mentally "undo" actual experiences and imagine more pleasant phantom alternatives (Kahneman and Tversky 1982). We can apply the concept of phantom alternatives to free time. Choices as to how to spend free time that consumers can visualize, but which are actually unavailable, can be thought of as phantom alternatives.

Except under limited circumstances when consumers are able to do two things simultaneously, time spent in one activity is time not available for other activities (Kaufman et al. 1991). Thus, any way in which a consumer spends time eliminates potential alternative activities. These forgone choices become phantom alternatives for free time. For example, the choice to play golf one afternoon means that same block of time cannot be spent playing tennis.

Could an abundance of alternative leisure activities impact a consumer's perceived time deprivation? The number of choices for how to spend leisure time increases as societies become more affluent. It has been argued (Robinson and Godbey 1997; Robinson

1977; Linder 1970) that Americans are pressured by the abundance of consumer goods and leisure alternatives.

Having many desirable options may lead consumers to perceive themselves as rushed or time pressured. As the number of ways to spend leisure time increases, so does the number of phantom alternatives. The choices may be enjoyable activities, lifestyles, or roads not traveled, but they are not available simply because time is finite and the supply of leisure time is already being devoted to other pursuits. Thus, the abundance of choices in affluent societies may lead to a perception of time deprivation. Conversely, if these desirable choices are not available, or if consumers simply are not thinking of them, consumers will be less likely to mentally undo the time used in their actual pursuits.

Consumers should also feel more time pressure when there are many alternative activities that they have a strong desire to do and that they are free to choose. Under these conditions, consumers are likely to feel pressured to manage their time so as to engage in the desirable activities. Thus, we expect to see an interaction effect for time pressure. Time pressure will be perceived as greatest when consumers are actively thinking of activities that they are free to choose and that are enjoyable, and less when consumers are thinking of less enjoyable activities that they must do.

Similarly, consumers should feel deprived of free time as they see more and more desirable activities they must forgo. It has been demonstrated that when an individual's ability to engage in a certain behavior is restricted, the threat to freedom heightens the desirability of the behavior (Rummel et al. 2000; Brehm 1989). This theory of psychological reactance can be applied to free time. Because time is finite, as the number of choices for how to spend time increases, the number of forgone alternatives also increases. This limits one's perceived freedom to engage in desirable activities. As such, an abundance of choices is, in and of itself, a barrier to freedom. Thus, we expect to see a main effect for time deprivation. Time deprivation will be greater when consumers think of activities that are discretionary than when they think of activities they are obligated to do.

Emotions and Time Consumption

Positive and negative emotions and moods are known to affect the perception of time duration (Kellaris and Mantel 1994; Carmon 1991). The emotion literature suggests that perceptions of time can be further understood by examining specific emotions evoked by time pressure and time deprivation. The consumption experience literature (e.g., Richins 1997; Holbrook and Hirschman 1982) provides evidence that a variety of emotions may be associated with consumption. Thus, we expect that consumers will feel various emotions when they experience time deprivation, time pressure, and time consumption. For example, time pressure has been identified as a source of stress and anxiety (Denton 1994); deprivation has been associated with emotions such as anger and envy (Crosby 1976); and counterfactual thinking about what might have been has been linked to the emotion of regret and desire for another outcome (Landman 1987).

METHOD

The present study was conducted in a classroom context with students at a large university in the southwestern United States. Many of the students work full-time or part-time as well as take classes, and so offer a reasonable representation of various degrees of time pressure and time deprivation. To induce realistic circumstances, students were asked to think about activities they were doing or could do and to write them down. It was expected that perceived time pressure and perceived time deprivation would be greatest when students thought about activities regarded by them as not compulsory and as enjoyable. As a result, a 2 (compulsory\not compulsory) X 2 (enjoyable\not enjoyable) between-subjects design was used.

A total of 135 students were randomly assigned to one of four experimental conditions (30-35 subjects per cell). Subjects were told they were completing a survey about how people spend time. Subjects in the experimental conditions were asked to list five activities at the top of the survey. In the "no free choice" (compulsory) condition, subjects were asked to list activities that they "have to do." In the "free choice" (not compulsory) condition, subjects were asked to list activities they "do not have to do." To manipulate the enjoyable versus not enjoyable conditions, subjects were asked directly to list activities they "enjoy" or "do not enjoy." Thus, subjects either listed activities they enjoy and have to do (e.g., "gardening," "cooking"); enjoy and do not have to do (e.g., "hiking," "eating dinner with friends"); do not enjoy and have to do (e.g., "cleaning," "doing homework"), or do not enjoy and do not have to do (e.g., "ride on roller coasters," "go to parties where there is loud music").

A time frame was not specified because it would be impossible to keep it exactly the same between the "free choice" and "no free choice" conditions. Compulsory activities often must be done on an ongoing basis but noncompulsory activities can be done at any time. In any case, the purpose was to measure the effects of thinking about these activities, not the budgeting of time to perform them.

Additional subjects participated as a control group and were not asked to list activities. A pretest had found that asking subjects to list just one activity was not enough to elicit differences from a control condition of no manipulation.

Measurement

Manipulation Checks. A manipulation check measured the degree to which subjects felt they had a choice over whether they do the activities they wrote down. This measure was a two-item, seven-point scale anchored by "strongly agree" and "strongly disagree." The items were "I must do these activities," and "I have to do these activities" (M=4.96, α=.81). Another manipulation check measured the degree to which subjects regarded the activities they listed as enjoyable. This was also a two-item, seven-point likert scale. The items were "I really enjoy these activities," and "I really like these activities" (M=4.49, α=.98).

Time Measures. Time pressure was measured by the sum of three items, "I feel a lot of time pressure in my life," "I really feel the pressure of time passing in my life," and "I am always in a hurry." Subjects answered on a seven-point likert scale anchored by "strongly agree" and "strongly disagree" (M=4.98, α=.80). Time deprivation was assessed with items measuring subjects' perceived adequacy of available free time. It was measured as the sum of three items answered on a seven-point scale, and reverse scored. The reverse scored items were "I have enough free time," "I don't need any more free time," and "I feel as if I have all the free time I need" (M=4.68, α=.86). Lastly, perception of free time was measured with a single-item asking subjects to fill in, "On average, I have __ hours of free time each week."

The dimensionality of the items measuring time pressure and time deprivation was examined through confirmatory factor analysis to assess discriminate validity. A two factor model that explained 75 percent of the variance had the best fit (χ^2, df4=2.86, p=.59). Using varimax rotation, all time pressure questions loaded cleanly on one factor, with rotated loadings ranging from .80 to .93. All time deprivation questions loaded cleanly on a second factor, with loadings ranging from .78 to .87.

TABLE 1

Perceived Free Time, Time Pressure, and Time Deprivation by Enjoyment of and Compulsion to Engage in the Activity

	Enjoyable		Not Enjoyable		
	Compulsory	Not Compulsory	Compulsory	Not Compulsory	Control Condition
Perceived Free Time (hrs./week)	11.33	11.40	18.78	12.57	16.72
Time Pressure	5.63	6.07	4.04	5.29	4.59
Time Deprivation	4.78	5.23	4.44	5.19	4.63

Emotions. The survey instrument also asked subjects to think about their free time and respond to 16 emotion items drawn from the emotion inventories of Richins (1997) and Burke and Edell (1989) and modified for this study. A seven-point scale anchored by "strongly felt" and "not felt at all" measured each emotion. Cluster analysis identified five emotion clusters. These were happiness (M=5.50, a=.86), anger (M=2.35, α=.90), embarrassment (M=1.74, α=.79), desire (M=2.81, α=.74), and envy (M=2.06, α=.81). Regret and longing loaded on the factor for desire.

RESULTS

Manipulation Checks. Manipulation checks confirmed that the levels of enjoyment and perceptions of free choice varied between the conditions. The subjects in the two "enjoyable" conditions liked the activities they listed more than did those in the "not enjoyable" conditions ($X_{enjoyable}$=6.30, $X_{not\,enjoyable}$=2.57, t=15.64, p<.01). Similarly, subjects in the two "compulsory" conditions indicated they "must do these activities" more than did subjects in the two "not compulsory" conditions ($X_{compulsory}$=5.80, $X_{not\,compulsory}$=4.04, t=6.25, p<.01).

Time Measures. Results presented in Table 1 indicate that time-related measures were affected by the manipulations of free choice (compulsory versus not compulsory) and enjoyment (enjoyable versus not enjoyable). There was also an interaction effect for free choice and enjoyment on the amount of free time perceived (F (1,130)=6.59, p<.01), and a main effect for free choice on time deprivation (F (1,130)=4.99, p<.01).

Subjects in the "compulsory/not enjoyable" activity condition perceived that they had the most free time available ($M_{compulsory/not\,enjoyable}$=18.78, $M_{not\,compulsory/not\,enjoyable}$=12.57, t=2.84, p<.01). In contrast, the amount of perceived free time was lowest when subjects thought of enjoyable activities, regardless of whether the activities were compulsory or not ($M_{compulsory/enjoyable}$=11.33 hours, $M_{not\,compulsory/enjoyable}$=11.40 hours, t=.06, p>.05). Thus, thinking about enjoyable activities resulted in subjects describing themselves as having less free time.

There was a significant positive relationship between thinking about enjoyable activities and feelings of time pressure (r=.24, p<.01). Results for time pressure show an interaction effect between free choice and enjoyment (F (1,130)=6.62, p<.01). Reported time pressure was lowest in the "compulsory/not enjoyable" activity condition ($M_{compulsory/not\,enjoyable}$=4.04, $M_{not\,compulsory/not}$

$_{enjoyable}$=5.29, t=-2.91, p<.01) and highest in the "not compulsory/enjoyable" activity condition ($M_{not\,compulsory/enjoyable}$=6.07, $M_{compulsory/enjoyable}$=5.63, t=2.59, p<.05).

Freedom of choice impacted time deprivation. Subjects reported higher levels of time deprivation when they thought of activities that were not compulsory than when they thought of those that were, regardless of how much they enjoyed them ($M_{not\,compulsory}$=5.22, $M_{compulsory}$=4.61, t=2.97, p<.01).

There were also significant differences between the experimental groups and the control condition. As compared to those in the control group, subjects in the "not compulsory/enjoyable" condition reported less free time ($M_{not\,compulsory/enjoyable}$=11.40, $M_{control}$=16.72, t=3.18, p<.01); more time pressure ($M_{not\,compulsory/enjoyable}$=6.07, $M_{control}$=4.59, t=6.54, p<.01); and more time deprivation ($M_{not\,compulsory/enjoyable}$=5.23, $M_{control}$=4.63, t=2.40, p<.05). In contrast, those in the "compulsory/not enjoyable" condition reported more free time ($M_{compulsory/not\,enjoyable}$=18.78, $M_{control}$=16.72, t=3.00, p<.01); less time pressure ($M_{compulsory/not\,enjoyable}$=4.04, $M_{control}$=4.59, t=2.17, p<.05); and less time deprivation ($M_{compulsory/not\,enjoyable}$=4.44, $M_{control}$=4.63, t=3.35, p<.01).

Emotions. Regression analysis results suggest that desire may be an important element of both time deprivation and time pressure. The study found a positive relationship between the emotion of desire (which represented a cluster of reported emotions including desire, regret, and longing) and both time deprivation (B=.24, t=2.64, p<.01) and time pressure (B=.28, t=3.11, p<.01). There was also a positive relationship between embarrassment and time deprivation (B=.25, t=2.72, p<.01). No significant effects were found between the other emotions and the time measures.

Discussion

These results are provocative for several reasons. First, contrary to popular perception, it was found that it was not the compulsory activities such as work, chores, errands, and other obligatory tasks that led subjects in this study to perceive themselves as time deprived or time pressured. Rather, subjects instructed to list "compulsory/not enjoyable" activities indicated feeling less time pressured, less time deprived, and as feeling they have more free time than did subjects in other conditions. In contrast, when subjects thought of leisure ("not compulsory") and "enjoyable" activities, they reported more time pressure, more time deprivation, and less free time. Thus, the findings suggest it may be

leisure options, not work, that most contribute to perceptions of time poverty.

The results also suggest that the abundance of choice experienced by consumers in affluent societies is not an unmitigated blessing. Though the number of options for how consumers may spend time has expanded, time remains finite. Thus, whether or not consumers today spend more hours working than in the past (e.g., see Schor 1991 versus Robinson and Godbey 1997), the abundance of leisure choices may itself be enough to promote the feelings of time pressure and time deprivation so commonly experienced in affluent societies.

Finally, the results of this study suggest that emotions, especially desire, may play a role in time deprivation and felt time pressure. Higher levels of desire (which includes elements of regret and longing) were positively related to both time deprivation and time pressure. This supports the idea that the time scarcity felt by consumers is related to increased choice in terms of desirable activities. Although the effect of desire on perceptions of the amount of free time was not significant in this study, desire did seem to affect how consumers perceived the impact of time on their lives.

Conclusions and Limitations

These results have implications for satisfaction with leisure activities (Hawes et al. 1975). They suggest that more is not necessarily better. Perhaps fewer and simpler pursuits lead to less time pressure and more feelings of satisfaction with time spent.

It has long been observed that people living in large metropolitan areas seem to feel busier and appear to have less time for social relations than do those living in smaller communities. Perhaps this perception is related not solely to work and other obligated activities but also to the greater number of entertainment or leisure choices available in these areas. Similarly, anecdotes abound about technology speeding the pace of life in affluent societies, but it is hard to believe that consumers in technologically advanced societies have less free time than those struggling to survive in subsistence or agrarian economies. Rather, it may be suggested that increasing affluence in societies produces stress as consumers endeavor to experience all the desirable choices for how they may spend time. In discussing the very wealthy, (Aldrich 2000, pp. 67-68) noted that an abundance of choices does not always produce positive outcomes in peoples' lives.

With lots and lots of money, all options are available ... always having the power to choose something else, to move on, they never have to pay any price for what they've chosen... Slowly, but surely, however, a huge price emerges from all these ephemeral, evanescent encounters with the world, all these consequences escaped and forgone. By degrees, they become people who do not know themselves–their limits, strengths, capacities, loves, hates: people, therefore, who lead profoundly restless lives and end them, too often in futility, fatigue, and frustration.

There are some limitations to the findings presented. First, the manipulations were simply assessments of whether the activities were compulsory and enjoyable. The study did not measure prior experience or the time frame of the activities. Future research could look at whether it matters if a consumer has prior experience with an activity. Specifically, is the activity something the consumer has tried in the past and liked or disliked? Or is it something that person hopes to do in the future? Research could also look at whether the time frame for activities (e.g., five years, five weeks, five days) will make a difference as to how much time pressure is elicited.

Second, the study was done with students in a classroom setting. Due to age or to the relatively unscheduled nature of student life, subjects may have had a different perception of time and obligations than they will have later in life. McGuiggen (1999) has shown that personality and demographic factors affect leisure preference. Perhaps they can affect the time factors examined in this study as well. Replication across a broader range of ages and life experiences is therefore suggested.

Third, the study was not able to examine the process by which type of time use affects time pressure, time deprivation, and the perception of free time. Future research could benefit from collecting verbal protocols and using these to examine subjects' thought processes in each of the conditions.

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Memory for Advertising and Information Content: Comparing the Printed Page to the Computer Screen

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Increasingly, the Internet is used for marketing communication, making one wonder how the Internet compares to other marketing media with respect to traditional measures of communication effectiveness–i.e. memory, attitude, and intention to buy. Frameworks for research on online advertising have highlighted the importance of interactivity (Pavlou and Stewart 200, Rodgers and Thorson 2000), consumer control (Pavlou and Stewart 200, Rodgers and Thorson 2000), and consumer tasks (Rodgers and Thorson 2000) for driving needed changes in measuring effectiveness of online advertising. Essential differences notwithstanding, these models continue to acknowledge the roles of traditional measures, including memory for information.

Firms clearly benefit from the breadth of reach and immediate access to their target audiences but few studies have measured differences for identical content and layout disseminated in a paper versus an online form. Conflicting results for the effect of medium (online advertising versus print) on memory emerge from recent studies. In lab settings, there is evidence for no memory differences (Gallagher, Parsons and Foster 2001a) and also for memory differences (Sundar, Narayan, Obregon and Uppal. 1998). Field settings show memory differences (Gallagher et al. 2001a, Gallagher, Foster and Parsons 2001b), particularly for less experienced users (Gallagher et al. 2001b). None of these have isolated the display medium itself. Further, advertising responses and responses to product information have not yet been clearly distinguished, although Sundar et al. 1998 found that a blended measure of recall and recognition showed a difference for ads but not informative content. Thus, it is unclear whether one medium is superior to another for evoking consumer responses and whether this would differ, depending on the type of information –persuasive or informational. A third question of note arises from the aftermath of the September 11 terrorist attacks, when many firms took advantage of the Internet's immediacy to allay fears and deliver important information. A key feature of that time period was the natural state of heightened fear, raising the question of whether consumer information processing in fearful states would show that memory from the Internet is equal to the traditional print media.

Memory for information has been linked to a variety of factors that influence encoding and retrieval. Research comparing the screen medium to print has addressed a number of factors, which might mediate the effect of medium on memory measures–vision and feelings (Gould and Grischkowsky 1984), skimming (Muter and Maurutto 1991), fatigue ((Dillon, McKnight and Richardson 1988), and reading speed (Muter, Latremouille, Treurniet, and Beam 1982, Wright and Lickorish 1983, Gould and Grischkowsky 1984, Gould, Alfaro, Mills and Weldon 1987, Barnes, Finn, Grischkowsky and Minuto 1987, Dillon et al. 1988, Smith and Savory 1989, Dillon 1992, Smart, Whiting and Detienne 2001). There are also factors, which might moderate the effect of medium on memory measures–experience (Faccoro and DeFleur 1993) and preference (Murphy 2000, Smart et al. 2001). Greater encoding effort yields better memory, recognition and recall, for information, chiefly through the elaboration of a more detailed network of associations (Craik and Lockhart 1972). Structural differences between screen and print might be expected to reduce or interfere with the amount of elaboration dedicated to screen information and might account for the preponderance of evidence that suggests that print recall will be superior to screen recall. Different patterns between recall and recognition results may shed light on the differences between print and screen.

The prevailing view is that the threatening message ("fear appeal") should be segregated from the effect it is designed to produce, an emotional arousal (Hunt and Shehryar 2002, Keller and Block 1996, LaTour and Rotfeld 1997). Emotional arousal is posited to trigger elaboration to justify or complete the picture for the experience of emotion (Clore and Gasper 2000, Frijda and Mesquita 2000), so one might expect recall and recognition to be higher for information examined in a fear aroused state and this would overcome the poor performance of screen information in memory tests.

The research questions were examined in a small (n=48) experiment designed to test recognition and recall for information and ad claims about a cold medication. Medium (print versus screen), fear message condition (an anthrax warning versus no anthrax warning), and order of viewing (ad first versus information sheet first) were the three manipulated variables.

The recall results show an effect for medium (print versus screen) on both ad and information recall measures. Memory for print was higher; supporting Hypotheses 1 and 2. Additionally, brand name recall was higher for print, supporting Hypothesis 3. Fear did not produce any significant effects on recall.

The number of items recognized was always higher than recall, implying that subjects recalled only a portion of what they had really examined. Recognition results for ad content and product-related information were as expected–equal across print and screen media. Hypotheses 4 and 5 were supported.

Although Hypothesis 6 was not fully supported, the fear message raised recognition for the health information but not the ad (persuasive) information. No interactions were significant and there is no support for Hypothesis 7–that fear arousal would diminish memory differences between print and screen.

The results of this study highlight the role of marketing goals in applying results to marketing activities. For tasks requiring consumers to retrieve information for *offline* purchases, print media might perform better than screen media but the retrieval constraint might disappear for consumers purchasing *online*, making screen and print seem equally suitable. Similarly, using the Internet to disseminate post-terrorist-attack information was an appropriate choice; the results suggest that consumers would have absorbed the essence of it and there was clear value in being able to deliver and update information quickly.

For the future, stronger tests of the processing differences between print and screen would be valuable. Differences not due to display quality and familiarity may not go away easily, leaving ongoing effectiveness differences for print and screen. Two, the focus on the functional qualities of screen (i.e. interactivity) has directed attention away from structural qualities that remained largely unexplored.

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Compromising Between Information Completeness and Task Simplicity: A Comparison of Self-Explicated, Hierarchical Information Integration, and Full-profile Conjoint Methods

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ABSTRACT

This paper compares hierarchical information integration (HII), full-profile (FP) conjoint and self-explicated (SE) approaches to preference measurement in terms of equality of preference structures, predictive abilities, and task load. HII is a method to accommodate larger numbers of attributes in conjoint tasks by structuring the task in a hierarchical fashion. The three approaches are compared in a residential preference study that involves thirteen attributes. The results confirm that conjoint approaches result in better choice predictions than self-explicated measures. No significant differences in performance are found between FP and HII with this number of attributes though there are indications that HII can outperform FP if a suitable hierarchical structure is selected. Finally, it is found that SE is the most quickly completed task but only if it is the first task that a respondent encounters.

INTRODUCTION

Conjoint measurement approaches have been popular techniques for preference modeling since the late '70s and a vast literature is available on the theory of conjoint measurement and the issues involved in the application of conjoint approaches (Green, Krieger and Wind 2001). One recurring theme in the literature is the added value of conjoint relative to the typically more easy to implement self-explicated approaches. The early literature already suggested that self-explicated (or compositional) methods may result in unreliable measurement scales and, more importantly, lead to biased results, as they typically overestimate the importance of less important attributes and underestimate the importance of the most important attributes (Slovic and Lichtenstein 1971) and are more sensitive to social biases (Green and Srinivasan 1990). Research by Srinivasan c.s. suggests that the self-explicated approach is able to yield reliable results in specific applications (Srinivasan 1988; Srinivasan and Park 1997), however in other recent research it was found that self-explicated tasks perform less well than full profile conjoint tasks (Pullman, Dodson and Moore, 1999).

There are at least two major reasons why conjoint approaches can be expected to perform better than self-explicated approaches: 1) conjoint approaches force respondents to make trade-offs between attributes, and 2) conjoint approaches allow more control over the inferences that respondents make about the remaining attributes of an alternative (cf. Johnson, 1987). Given these arguments there is surprisingly little insight in the conditions under which full-profile (FP) conjoint results are superior to self-explicated (SE) approaches, especially when it comes to assessing the total benefits and costs of research designs (cf. Leigh, Mackay and Summers 1984; Huber et al. 1993; Srinivasan and Park 1997). One condition that is of particular interest is when many attributes are relevant. A common belief among researchers is that profiles with more than, say, ten attributes are too difficult to handle for respondents (e.g., Green and Srinivasan 1990). Respondents cannot oversee and trade-off so many attributes and/or they become tired and thus will ignore and attend attributes in random and uncontrolled ways, or they will tend to use heuristics that lead to biased preference measures.

To solve this problem researchers generally rely on self-explicated methods or hybrid combinations of self-explicated and conjoint approaches. These methods often involve the use of partial profiles and some bridging mechanism to combine the partial profile results (e.g., Chrzan and Elrod 1995). When partial profiles are used, the breakdown of attribute sets into smaller sets is often done on a fairly ad hoc basis that does not control for possible inferences that respondents make about the non-displayed, or missing attributes. An approach to the creation and administering of partial profiles that in principle avoids this problem is the method of Hierarchical Information Integration (HII). Originally proposed by Louviere (1984) this approach uses theory and other insights from the field of interest to divide the set of attributes into smaller groups, for each of which a partial profile conjoint task is designed. In the original HII approach respondents rate the partial profiles on summary constructs (or dimensions) and in addition receive a bridging task that consists of designed profiles describing alternatives in terms of how they score on these dimensions. In the extended HII approach (Oppewal, Louviere and Timmermans 1994) the bridging factors are administered as attributes in the partial attribute profiles, which makes a separate bridging task superfluous. In each case the total data collection allows estimating preference functions 'as if' one full profile design had been administered without the information load of such a large FP task.

The idea underlying HII is that a proper hierarchical structure of the task helps the respondent to cope with complex alternatives and that the resulting increase in reliability and validity outweighs the increased number of responses that need to be collected. In fact, the HII approach is based on two assumptions: 1) that by organizing the attributes into meaningful subsets the respondent can produce more consistent and hence, more reliable profile judgments, and 2) respondents can combine dimension judgments into overall profile evaluations, such that these evaluations reflect the respondents' true preference structures.

Though HII has been around since the eighties, no tests of the ideas underlying HII seem to have been performed. Pullman et al. (1999) recently compared various methods for handling larger numbers of attributes in conjoint tasks, but they did not include HII as a possible method. Molin et al. (1999) compared the predictive ability of FP and two versions of HII and found that the HII version using integrated experiments outperformed the other two methods. This study however focussed specifically on the measurement of group preferences. Van de Vijvere et al. (1999) compared residential preferences obtained from HII and FP choice tasks but found no significant differences in preference functions. They however did not compare different HII structures. Neither of the studies investigated task load or compared FP with HII and SE in one study. None of the previous studies has compared the effectiveness of different HII structures for the same set of attributes.

The purpose of this study is therefore to compare SE, FP and HII in terms of predictive ability and task load. We assume that the three formats (SE, FP, and HII) all measure the same theoretical construct (preference) and focus our analysis on the following questions:

1) How well do the tasks measure preferences that people express when making choices;
2) How well does each of the formats perform in terms of predicting choices;

3) How do these methods compare with respect to task difficulty as perceived by the respondent and as measured in terms of the time it takes a respondent to complete the task?

To answer these questions we implement the three task formats as preference tasks. Their order is systematically varied and they are compared on their ability to predict holdout choices observed in the experiment. Because the holdout choices resulted from a separate design, we are able to estimate a choice model and compare its results with the methods. This study involves thirteen attributes, a number that most researchers will consider as fairly large but not impossible to present in one full-profile. All implementations incur the same set of attributes and attribute levels. The application is about residential preferences.

In the following section we detail our hypotheses. Then we present the empirical study. The paper ends with a section in which we discuss the results and their further implications.

HYPOTHESIS DEVELOPMENT

SE versus FP

Over the years no conclusive evidence seems to have been provided for the claim that conjoint approaches in general predict consumer behavior better than self-explicated approaches. In some cases conjoint approaches were found to predict consumer behavior better than self-explicated methods, in other studies it was vice versa. Leigh, McKay and Summers (1984) found no evidence that conjoint has better reliability or validity than SE–however this may be an artifact as the conjoint task always preceded the self-explicated task. Huber et al. (1993) demonstrated that self-explicated methods can perform almost equally well as conjoint approaches and found that the best results are obtained if both approaches are combined. They however did not control for task order effects. Results by Srinivasan and Park (1997) suggest that SE can perform better than conjoint but in this study different methods of administration were used. However, Pullman et al. (1999) find evidence that FP performs better than SE.

The literature is therefore not conclusive. However, as outlined, FP requires trade-offs and specifies the remaining attributes, where SE does not. We therefore posit that *FP preference models perform better than SE in terms of predicting a set of holdout choices*. We also expect that *preference structures estimated from FP tasks better represent preference structures as derived from a choice model than those based on SE tasks* (Hypothesis 1).

HII versus FP

The essential assumption underlying all HII-applications is that in the sub-experiments part-worth estimates are obtained 'as if' all attributes were presented in one full profile and 'as if' the respondent were able to respond without the limitations associated with information overload. In the HII approach all sub-experiments are independent and self-contained conjoint experiments; the various sub-experiments are only combined after the data has been collected. When the HII approach is employed that uses integrated experiments (Oppewal et al., 1994), there is not any principal difference between HII sub-experiments and full profile conjoint experiments because each of the constructs is 'just another attribute'. This attribute is however selected and defined to capture as much as possible a set of remaining determinant attributes in the choice problem. Each profile in the sub-experiments essentially is a complete (full-profile) description of the alternative. So, the conventional and HII-based conjoint tasks are all assumed to measure the same theoretical construct of preference. We therefore expect that *in a task with a moderately large number of attributes, HII and FP conjoint tasks will result in similar preference structures and levels of predictive ability* (Hypothesis 2).

Differences between HII structures

The hierarchical structure in HII tasks preferably is natural and easy to understand for respondents, such that it helps them cope with complex alternatives. Defining the hierarchical structure involves the allocation of attributes to subsets and labeling the subsets in terms of a construct or generalized attribute. The allocation of attributes is based on literature research, pilot work and more of less extensive pretests. One can also perform post hoc tests of the hierarchical assumptions underlying the experiment (Oppewal et al. 1994).

Thus, the purpose of HII is to guide the respondent through the decision process by structuring the task while avoiding errors that might otherwise arise due to missing attributes or task overload problems. Given this, we expect that the performance of HII-models is dependent on how the hierarchical structure is defined. Hierarchical structures that are more intuitive and natural for respondents and that, hence, are perceived as more easy, will better support the decision-making process than structures that are less natural. We therefore posit that *the structure of the HII task affects the predictive ability of HII-based models such that a hierarchical task structure that is perceived as easier to do results in a preference structure that more closely corresponds to the 'true' preference structure as derived from a choice task, and also better predicts choice responses* (Hypothesis 3).   .

To test these hypotheses we implement two different structures on the same set of attributes and collect respondents' task impressions, and in addition collect data for the conventional FP format. This is a novel approach as to our knowledge previous applications have always involved the use of only one hierarchical structure.

Task load

The above three hypotheses focus on the model performance in terms of predictive abilities and equality of preference structures. In deciding which method to employ one should however also look at the cost of data collection associated with each of the methods. To get further insight into this matter we investigate the task load of each method. For each method we collect data on how much time it takes respondents to complete the task and we measure how they perceive the task load in terms of task difficulty and interestingness.

Expectations with respect to completion times are that SE tasks can be completed most quickly because they require very little reading per stimulus. FP and HII tasks both require much reading but FP requires fewer responses, so we also expect that respondents will complete FP tasks more quickly than HII tasks. Our hypothesis is therefore that *SE tasks are completed more quickly than FP tasks, which in turn are completed more quickly than analogous HII tasks* (Hypothesis 4).

With respect to perceived task difficulty we expect that the SE tasks are perceived as easiest to do, again because they require little reading. We expect that HII is perceived as easier than FP because HII is assumed to support the decision making process and to help respondents to cope with the large number of attributes. So, we posit that *SE tasks are perceived as easier to do than HII tasks, which in turn are found easier to do than FP tasks* (Hypothesis 5). Finally, we will also explore task interestingness, however we do not have clear expectations about differences between methods in terms of interestingness.

METHOD

Procedure

Participants were seventy architecture students in a course on computer-assisted design methods. Students had to complete the experimental tasks before they could start on their architectural assignment, in which they had to design a semi-detached house for a 'standard' family with one child. We thus measured students' perceptions of the preferences of the family for whom they wanted to design their dwelling. Students had no knowledge about methods of preference measurement and were unaware of our research goals; they were debriefed in a later session. The students could complete the experimental tasks at their own time and speed at any available personal computer that was linked to the campus network.

Attributes

Based on the literature we generated thirteen housing attributes that appeared as the most relevant for architects and future residents. We defined three levels as shown in the right-hand columns of Table 1 for all attributes except 'position of hallway', which had two levels. Rent was not included, as students had to focus on the design quality of the dwelling.

Full Profile and HII Conjoint designs

We designed three conjoint experiments that all involved this same set of thirteen attributes. One experiment was a regular conjoint preference experiment in which respondents rated full profile descriptions of houses one at a time. The other two were HII implementations in which the attributes were organized according to hierarchical structures as shown in the left-hand column of Tables 1a and 1b. In the FP tasks we used the same attribute order as in HII-1. Figure 1 shows an example HII-1 profile. The figure shows a composite of four HII partial profiles that together constitute one total full profile. Note this layout is not typical for HII; in most applications of HII the subtasks are separately administered and sometimes even different respondents receive different subtasks. In our application for each partial profile a rating of the corresponding construct is collected, as is standard in the conventional approach to HII (Louviere 1984); we used a 9 point rating scale for each construct. The HII bridging task is similar in layout except that no attribute levels are shown. Instead, construct scores (levels '2', '5' or '8') are presented that inform respondents how they would rate the partial profiles if they had been displayed. In each conjoint task a rating out of one hundred is obtained for the total profile. Under the assumptions of HII these latter ratings are, directly or indirectly, based on the same attribute information as the ratings obtained in the FP tasks. Indeed, the screen layout in the FP tasks was identical to the HII screens, only the information about constructs was not present in the FP task.

For all three experiments, 81 attribute-profiles were generated from a main-effects fraction of the 3^{15} full factorial design. Each of the thirteen attributes constitutes one factor; the two additional factors were used as blocking factors to split the set of 81 profiles into nine blocks of nine profiles. Each participant was randomly assigned to one of these blocks. HII bridging tasks were designed consisting of nine-treatment fractions of the 3^4 full factorial. In these designs we used the levels 2', 5', and '8' for all constructs.

Self-explication of preferences

The fourth task type was a SE task in which respondent received the attributes one at a time on their screen. They were allowed but not obliged to browse through the screens before giving their answers. For each attribute all levels from the design were shown and respondents were asked for each level to evaluate a dwelling with this level on a scale with extremes '1 (very poor) and '9 (very good). They rated the importance of the total attribute on a rating scale with extremes '1 (very unimportant) and '7 (very important). The order of appearance of the attributes was randomized for each respondent.

Choice tasks

The choice tasks constituted pairs of alternatives that were randomly selected from design fractions that were not part of the respondent's experimental HII and FP treatment blocks. Respondents had to indicate which alternative they expected their 'client' would choose. The design ensured that across respondents choices were observed for all 81 profiles, which would allow the estimation of a discrete choice model. The order of the attributes in these choice tasks was the same as in FP and HII-1.

Between-subjects Master Design

Because it was not feasible to have respondents participate in all different task types, we used another experimental design to allocate tasks types and task orders to subjects. By design each respondent received three out of the four task types (HII-1, HII-2, FP, SE). The order of these tasks was systematically varied. Respondents always started with a choice task and received an additional choice task after each task. Choice tasks consisted of two choice sets, hence each respondent completed eight validation choice sets.

Task evaluations

After completing a task from the design respondents were asked to rate on 9-point category rating scales the easiness (1=very difficult, 9=very easy) and interestingness (1=very boring, 9=very interesting) of the completed task. The computer program recorded the start and completion time of each task without respondents being aware.

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

We used OLS regression to estimate aggregate preference functions from the FP and each of the bridging and sub-experiments in the two HII implementations. The model fit (adjusted R^2) of the FP model was .38. For HII-1 the fit of the bridging model was .67 and the range of model fits for the sub-experiments was between .21 and .54. For HII-2 the fit of the bridging experiment was lower (.55) but the range of fits of the sub-experiments was fairly similar to the HII-1 setup (between .24 and .52). We next substituted the predictors in the two bridging functions with the regression functions from the corresponding sub-experiments to obtain one preference function for each HII implementation (Louviere 1984).

To analyze the self-explicated data we multiplied the level evaluation scores with the attribute importance scores to obtain SE-derived part worth estimates. Though this procedure is not well underpinned with theory it is a common way of handling compositional measures. The choice data were used to estimate an MNL choice model. The fit of this model was satisfactory (McFadden's Rho-square .23).

For each model we next derived the relative importances of the attributes in the conventional way, that is, by calculating each attribute's maximum part worth difference and expressing these differences as a percentage of the sum of differences across all attributes. The importances derived for each method are displayed in Figure 2. We next used the estimated preference functions to predict the choices that were made in the choice tasks by using the highest-utility-is-choice rule and calculated the hit-rate for each model as the percentage of choices that was correctly predicted.

TABLE 1A
HII-1 Structure, The Attributes and Their Levels

HII-1 constructs	Attributes	Level1	Level 2	Level 3
Size of living quarters	1. Size of living room	Small (18m2)	Medium (30m2)	Large (45m2)
	2. Size of kitchen	Small (6.3m2)	Medium (10.8m2)	Large (15.3m2)
	3. Size of hallway (including staircase)	Small (4.5m2)	Medium (7.2m2)	Large (9.9m2)
Size of sleeping quarters	4. Size of largest bedroom	Small (9.3m2)	Medium (12.4m2)	Large (18.6m2)
	5. Size of bathroom	Small (7.2m2)	Medium (9.0m2)	Large (11.4m2)
	6. Size of 2nd bedroom	Small (5.7m2)	Medium (8.6m2)	Large (13.0m2)
Room positions	7. Position of living room	Front	Back	Front to back
	8. Position of kitchen	Front	Middle	Back
	9. Position of hallway	Front	Sidelong	(none)
	10. Position of largest bedroom	Front	Sidelong	Back
Sunlight	11. Sunlight in living room	Morning only	Afternoon only	All day
	12. Sunlight in kitchen	Morning only	Afternoon only	All day
	13. Sunlight in largest bedroom	Morning only	Afternoon only	All day

TABLE 1B
HII-2 Structure (Attribute Names and Levels are Identical to HII-1)

HII-2 constructs	Attributes
Living room	1. Size of living room, 7. Position of living room, 11. Sunlight in living room
Kitchen	2. Size of kitchen, 8. Position of kitchen, 12. Sunlight in kitchen
Hall + 2nd bedroom	3. Size of hallway (including staircase), 6. Size of 2nd bedroom, 9. Position of hallway
Bathroom + largest bedroom	4. Size of largest bedroom, 5. Size of bathroom, 10. Position of largest bedroom, 13. Sunlight in largest bedroom

Similarity of utilities

To investigate the similarity of the utilities derived from the SE, FP, HII-1, HII-2 and choice setup, we first calculated the product-moment correlations between the (mean) part-worths as derived from the different tasks. The FP part-worths are more similar to the choice-derived part-worths (r=.90) than the SE part-worths (r=.44). They are however less similar to the choice part-worths than those derived from HII-1 (r=.95), which is the hierarchical task that had an identical ordering of attributes than the FP task. The HII-2 based model performs less good than HII-1 or FP as it displays a p.m. correlation of .85 with the part-worths derived from the choice model.

To further investigate the equality of the FP, HII-1 and HII-2 based utilities, we estimated one regression model across these tasks from the FP and partial profiles HII screen ratings (as in the bottom of Figure 1, hence excluding the bridging tasks) and added attribute by task type interactions. No significant improvement was observed when interactions for differences between HII and FP were added ($F_{(25,1328)}$=1.354, n.s.), which supports the idea that there is no significant difference between the FP and HII-based preference structures. Similarly we find no differences between the HII-1 and HII-2 task structures ($F_{(25,1328)}$=1.226, n.s.), which suggests there is no difference between the HII-1 and HII-2 based parameters.

Predictive abilities

The comparison of the predicted and observed choices resulted in the following hit rates: SE .61; FP .77; HII-1 .81; HII-2 .82.

So, the FP-model predicts the choices substantially better than the SE-based model and the HII-based models predict the choices better than the FP-model. The FP versus SE difference is statistically significant (t_{99}=1.81, p<.05, one-sided), however not the HII versus FP difference (t_{109}=0.35, n.s.).

Task load

To see whether and how the methods differ in terms of respondent time, we derived the mean and median seconds per response in each task across the respondents who received this task as their first task and, separately, across all task orders (see Table 2). We next derived the completion times for one complete replication of each design type.

In an ANOVA we find the mean response times to the first task to be significantly different ($F_{5,260}$=19.807, p<.001). The quickest responses were obtained in the SE tasks; the median time to complete all attributes and levels in the SE condition was 10 minutes and 16 seconds, however across all task orders the median time for SE was the highest of all (18:50). In the FP tasks, the median time to complete all nine profiles was 5:07 when FP was the first task. Note though that these profiles involve only one-third of the total FP design. If the remaining profiles had also been administered and if we assume that each of these profiles on average would require the same time, then the total time required for one replication of the FP design would be 15:21, which is much more than the SE time. It should however also be noted that additional profiles may be completed more quickly and that respondents who received the SE tasks as their second or third task required much more time

FIGURE 1
Example Profile for HII-1 Task Layout

DWELLING NUMBER: ##		**HOW WILL THE FAMILY RATE THIS DWELLING IN TERMS OF:** (1 = very poor … 9 = very good)

Size of living room	**Large (45m2)**	**SIZE OF**
Size of kitchen	**Small (6.3m2)**	**LIVING QUARTERS**
Size of hallway (including staircase)	**Medium (7.2m2)**	**[…]**
Size of largest bedroom	**Large (18.6m2)**	**SIZE OF**
Size of bathroom	**Large (12.4m2)**	**SLEEPING QUARTERS**
Size of second bedroom	**Small (5.7m2)**	**[…]**
Position of living room	**Front side**	
Position of kitchen	**Front side**	**POSITIONS OF**
Position of hallway	**Sidelong**	**LIVING QUARTERS**
Position of largest bedroom	**Front side**	**[…]**
Sunlight in living room	**Morning sunlight**	
Sunlight in kitchen	**Afternoon sunlight**	**SUNLIGHT**
Sunlight in largest bedroom	**All day sunlight**	**[…]**

HOW WILL THE FAMILY RATE THE DWELLING AS WHOLE?: [……]
(0 = very unattractive … 100 = very attractive)

FIGURE 2
Attribute Importance Derived with Different Methods
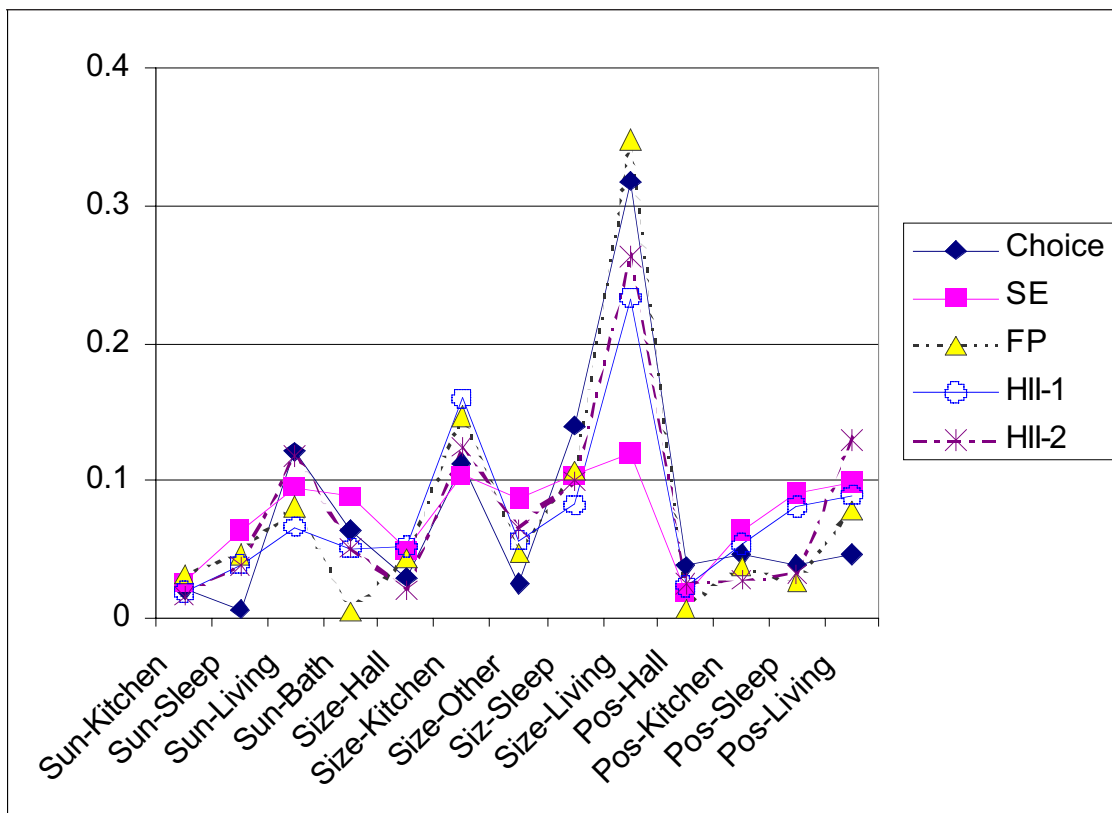
TABLE 2
Task Loads, Completion Times, and Evaluations

Task type	One complete task per respondent involves:	Median time (seconds and mm:ss) to complete if first task only	Median time (seconds and mm:ss), across all task orders	Easiness (9=very easy), after first task	Interestingness (9=very interesting), after first task
Self-explicated	13 attributes + 38 levels	10:16	18:50	6.67	5.13
Full profile[a]	9 full profiles (27 full profiles)	5:07 15:21	5:05 15:15	5.78 n.a.	4.67 n.a.
HII-1 subexp	9 * 4 partial profiles	13.22	9:31	5.23	4.95
HII-1 bridging	9 bridging profiles	4.39	4:17	5.86	4.95
HII-2 subexp	9 * 4 partial profiles	9:14	9:58	6.47	5.80
HII-2 bridging	9 bridging profiles	n.a.[b]	n.a.[b]	6.60	5.33

a) In the FP task each respondent received only nine profiles whereas observations for 27 different profiles were required to estimate the assumed preference model. For an HII comparable FP task we therefore assume a total time for one replication as equivalent to three times the observed response time for nine profiles.
b) Completion times for HII-2 bridging task had accidentally not been recorded

to complete this task. Caution is therefore required regarding this result.

It took respondents more time to complete the HII-1 partial profiles (13:22) than to complete the HII-2 partial profiles (9:14). The completion of the HII-1 bridging task took the median respondent 4 minutes and 39 seconds; unfortunately, due to a recording error this data is not available for HII-2. Assuming equivalent completion times for the HII-1 and HII-2 bridging tasks, the data thus suggest that the HII-2 format resulted in quicker completion of one replication than the FP and HII-1 tasks and that, as expected, FP tasks are completed more quickly than HII tasks that have an identical attribute order. Note however that this may not be true if the task follows upon other tasks.

The final columns in Table 2 present the averages of the ratings that respondents provided for how easy and interesting they found the task. The means that are presented are based on the ratings that were given immediately after completion of the first task. An ANOVA reveals that the easiness scores are significantly different between the conditions ($F_{5,296}$=3.456, p<.01). Respondents find SE tasks easier than the FP tasks, but they do not find HII-1 easier than FP. HII-2 is perceived as easier than FP or HII-1, which suggests that the attribute order and hierarchical structure in HII-2 is more natural to the respondents. There were no significant differences between the task means for interestingness ($F_{2,296}$=.805, n.s.).

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

We compared SE preference measurement with HII and FP conjoint methods in terms of similarity of derived preferences, ability to predict choices, and task loads. The findings confirmed our first hypothesis that FP predicts choices better than SE and that the preferences derived from FP are more similar to choice-based preferences than SE based preferences. Conjoint thus outperformed the self-explicated method. Moreover, whereas we expected that respondents complete SE tasks much more quickly than conjoint tasks, we only find mixed evidence for this. When SE tasks are administered prior to other tasks, they are completed more quickly

but when they are administered after one or more conjoint tasks, respondents require more time to complete a SE than a conjoint task that measures the same preferences. A possible explanation is that the conjoint task makes respondents more aware of the trade-offs that underlie the assessment of attribute importance (cf. Huber et al. 1993).

Our second hypothesis was based on the idea that FP and HII measure the same underlying construct, hence there will be no difference in preference except for measurement error. This was confirmed. The estimates for FP utilities were not significantly different from the estimates for HII utilities, nor were there significant differences in predictive ability. FP tasks were completed more quickly than HII tasks with a similar attribute order but less quickly than HII tasks with an alternative, more easy to process attribute order.

Our third hypothesis concerned the performance of HII for two different hierarchical structures that were defined on exactly the same attributes. We expected no difference in the preference structures derived from two different HII structures. This idea was confirmed. We also found no difference in predictive ability. Though the easier HII task displayed the highest hit rate, the difference with the predictive ability of the other HII version (and also FP) was not significant, hence the methods seem fairly robust for differences in presentation format and hierarchical structure. We therefore conclude that the differences in hierarchical structure can result in task load differences but that these differences do not necessarily result in measurement or model performance differences.

These conclusions are derived from a study that used 'only' thirteen attributes, which is generally considered as large but not impossible for FP but is a relatively small number for HII—other HII studies have used up to forty attributes. Hence, HII provides estimates that are at least as good as FP for a case where FP can be expected to still perform reasonably well. When HII is used to study larger numbers of attributes the same principles of 'decision support' apply. We therefore suggest that researchers consider using HII instead of FP for cases with larger numbers of attributes than

studied here. The results also reconfirm the importance of proper pretests and efforts to develop the tasks such that they maximally correspond to the respondents' perception of the decision problem.

To our knowledge, this is the first study to compare FP conjoint and different HII structures. Despite the encouraging results this is clearly only a first test and more work needs to be done to assess in which situation SE, FP or HII is the most proper method to use. Future studies could focus on testing the effects of differences in the number of attributes (cf. Pullman et al. 1999) and further effects of differences in the way the attributes and their hierarchical structure are presented. It would also be useful to extend this work to comparing ratings and choice data. Though we find clear evidence that conjoint tasks overall perform better then SE in terms of data quality, the choice of method will eventually depend on the total research design and budget–and, of course, theory. Regarding this latter it should be noted that the three methods are quite different in their theoretical underpinnings and that choice models based on random utility theory often seem preferable (Louviere et al. 2000).

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The Role of Reference Points in Evaluating Price Information

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The importance of reference points in price perception and evaluation has been underscored by numerous researchers (e.g., Alba et al. 1994; Heath et al. 1995; Herr 1989; Lichtenstein et al. 1988; Mayhew and Winer 1992; Urbany and Dickson 1991). The influence of reference points on consumer price evaluation was examined from multiple theoretical perspectives: (1) How do consumers evaluate prices across different retailers when multiple reference points are available? Do motivational factors directionally bias evaluations of pricing outcomes? (2) How do consumers integrate their social knowledge with reference points to form purchase outcome evaluations? Are the effects of reference prices and script-based inferences additive or multiplicative? (3) Do consumers prefer to generate (name) or to select a price in a reverse auction? How does availability of reference points affect consumer preference for these price elicitation strategies?

The first presentation by Meyvis and Cooke examined how consumers evaluate and learn from prices when pricing information is inconsistent across retailers. For example, how will people evaluate a store's price for a product when the same product is cheaper at a second store, but more expensive at a third store? The effects, the authors discovered, are driven by consumers' motivations. Across five studies, the authors found that consumers who are motivated to learn and improve their choices tend to focus on the unfavorable comparisons, resulting in an often unwarranted belief that the chosen store is more expensive than the other stores.

The second presentation by Wheeler discussed how social inferences combine with externally presented reference prices to determine how consumers evaluate purchase outcomes. In a series of three studies, he showed that script violations can change how people evaluate the negotiated price paid for an object, even when the objective outcome itself is constant. This effect is robust even in the face of salient and unambiguous external reference prices indicating the actual value of the object and is not mediated by value perceptions. This suggests that script-based inferences can exert a strong and relatively direct influence on price outcome evaluations.

The third presentation by Chernev compared two reverse auction price-elicitation strategies: price generation (i.e., "name your price") and price selection (i.e., "select your price"). Contrary to the common assumption that naming a price will be preferred by consumers because it offers the most precision in articulating one's willingness to pay, this research demonstrates that consumers often prefer to select rather than to generate a price. In a series of three experiments, the author showed that the potential unfavorable effects of the price generation task are associated with the absence of a readily available reference price range. He further demonstrated that internally generated pre-choice reference prices can also eliminate the potential negative effect of the price generation task and strengthen consumer preferences. These findings support the author's proposition that a pre-choice articulation of reference points can simplify consumer decision making by imposing a structure consistent with the nature of the decision task.

At the end of the session, Dipankar Chakravarti led the discussion and engaged the audience participants in a dialogue exploring the multiple means by which reference points influence consumer evaluations of pricing information and their implications for consumer choice.

"Learning from Mixed Feedback: The Biased Processing of Store Price Comparisons"
Tom Meyvis, New York University
Alan Cooke, University of Florida

Consumers interpret price information by comparing it to salient reference points (Mayhew and Winer 1992; Niedrich, Sharma, and Wedell 2001). For instance, consumers can learn about a store's pricing policy by comparing the price charged at this store to the prices they would have paid had they gone to other stores. Often, this feedback will be *mixed*: the same product may be cheaper at a second store, but more expensive at a third store. The goal of our project is to examine how consumers learn from such mixed feedback. Do consumers assign equal weights to both types of comparisons or do they process the reference points in a selective fashion?

A first possibility is that consumers will set out to test the hypothesis that their chosen store is the cheapest store — and that they will test this hypothesis in a confirmatory manner (Hoch and Ha 1986). Consumers may focus more on those reference points that confirm that they made the correct choice (i.e., the favorable comparisons), either because of affective concerns or because of attention biases. Thus, this perspective suggests that consumers will selectively attend to the *favorable* reference points and will perceive the chosen store as cheaper than the other stores.

A second possibility is that consumers will focus more on those reference points that can help them improve their choices. Research on social comparisons and counterfactual comparisons has indicated that unfavorable comparisons can help decision makers prepare for the future. Similarly, consumers in a store choice context may selectively attend to lower prices charged at other stores because these comparisons reveal opportunities for future improvement. Thus, this perspective suggests that consumers will selectively attend to the *unfavorable* reference points and will perceive the chosen store as more expensive than the other stores.

In a first experiment, subjects were presented with three stores and with preliminary price information that was either consistent or inconsistent with their priors. Subjects then either freely selected a store, or the computer selected a store for them. They then made 36 shopping trips to the selected store, on each of which they were shown the price at the chosen store, as well as the prices they would have paid for the same product at the other two stores. These price comparisons provided mixed feedback: sometimes the chosen store was cheaper, sometimes it charged the same price, and sometimes it was more expensive. Overall, the three stores had completely equivalent price distributions. Finally, subjects indicated which store they perceived as the cheapest store across the shopping trips.

In three out of four conditions, subjects showed a strong hypothesis confirmation bias. When subjects had received consistent preliminary price information *or* when subjects did not have control over their store choice, the great majority of subjects indicated that, overall, the chosen store was cheaper than the other two stores. However, when consumers had made a free choice based on inconsistent information, the majority of subjects selected an alternative store as the cheapest store. These results suggest that only when consumers feel the *need* to improve their decisions and believe that they have the *means* to improve their decisions, they

will focus on unfavorable rather than favorable comparisons. However, these results can also be accounted for by a regret-based explanation. The regret that is often associated with unfavorable comparisons could make these comparisons more salient and increase their relative impact. Furthermore, consumers may not feel regret when they had good reasons for their choice nor when they did not have control over their choice (Gilovich and Medvec 1995), which would explain why the focus on unfavorable comparisons only occurred in the inconsistent information/free choice condition.

The second experiment directly manipulated consumers' motivation to learn to improve their choices and also tested whether the experience of regret was a necessary mediator of the increased impact of unfavorable comparisons. There were three conditions. In the *experiential* condition, subjects were simply asked to select a store and experience the 36 shopping trips to that store. The *learning* condition was similar to the experiential condition, with the exception that subjects expected having to make a second store choice and expected to be paid based on their performance on both sets of trips. Finally, in the *practice* condition, subjects also expected a second choice, but only expected to be paid based on the second set of trips. Thus, subjects in both learning and practice conditions should have been motivated to learn how to improve their choices, but only subjects in the learning condition should have experienced regret following unfavorable comparisons. The results show that subjects in both the learning and practice conditions perceived the chosen store as more expensive than did subjects in the experiential condition, consistent with the learning motivation account, but not with the regret-based account.

The third and fourth experiments confirm that the increased impact of unfavorable comparisons results from a selective attention effect rather than from a selective retrieval effect. Finally, in the fifth experiment, we show that the effect of learning motivation on the impact of unfavorable comparisons depends on consumers' beliefs about the stores' pricing policies. The previous effects are replicated when consumers believe that one of the stores is cheaper than the other two stores, but disappears when consumers believe that one of the stores is more expensive than the other two stores. It is argued that learning motivation can also increase the impact of *favorable* comparisons when consumers are trying to avoid a particularly bad alternative rather than just trying to improve on their current situation.

Together, the results indicate that when consumers are trying to learn from their previous choices (e.g., because they expect similar choices in the future) they will focus more on unfavorable reference points than favorable reference points, resulting in an unwarranted belief that the chosen store is more expensive than the other stores.

"Scripts and Reference Points as Determinants of Transaction Outcome Evaluations"
S. Christian Wheeler, Stanford University

Research on reference prices suggests that individuals evaluate prices by comparing them to a salient standard. In some cases, the standard is externally provided (e.g., by indicating a "regular" and "sale" price), and in other cases, the standard is internally provided (e.g., by recalling past purchase prices; Kalyanaram and Winer 1995). Prices lower than one's reference price are typically evaluated more favorably than prices above one's reference price. These reference points sometimes exert greater influence on evaluations than does the absolute price itself.

Reference prices are not the only means of evaluating prices, however. Individuals bring a wealth of abstracted and generalized social knowledge structures to the marketplace. These generalized knowledge structures are referred to as schemata or scripts (Schanck

and Abelson 1997). For example, people have event scripts concerning how different consumer transactions and consumption experiences typically occur (e.g., Smith and Houston 1985). Individuals also have negotiation scripts (Thompson 1990), and research shows that even novices exhibit high levels of agreement about the content and order of events typifying negotiation processes (O'Connor and Adams 1999).

Scripts could influence how individuals interpret transaction outcomes. For example, if the seller in a bargaining situation fails to counter the buyer's initial offer with a counteroffer (as scripts would suggest should occur), the buyer could conclude that she made an inappropriate opening bid. Had the same final price been reached by means of a lengthy negotiation, the buyer might conclude that she received the product for a very good price. Hence, the script and script-based inferences, but not the outcome itself, would be what shapes the buyer's evaluation of the outcome in this situation (see Thompson 1990). Schema-based inferences could potentially influence how people evaluate transactions even when salient contradictory reference points are available.

The three experiments in this paper tested the effect of consumer negotiation scripts on purchase evaluations. Participants read scenarios in which they were to imagine themselves purchasing an antique coffee table. In the scenario, they make an offer for $75 below the listed price, and in all outcomes, their offer is eventually accepted. For some participants, the offer is accepted quickly without any haggling or negotiation. For other participants, the offer is reluctantly accepted after much negotiation. Obtaining an object for less than the marked price and for one's desired purchase price should presumably lead to positive evaluations of the outcome. However, despite equivalent, positive outcomes and favorable external reference prices across the two conditions described above, the participants' evaluations of the outcome were predicted to be lower in the former scenario because it violates the script such that it implies that the buyer paid too much for the object.

A pretest established that participants had expectations in this scenario that a bargaining opponent would not accept their initial offer without further negotiation. Experiment 1 tested the influence of these expectations on transaction evaluations. Participants read one of the two scenarios described above and indicated their evaluations. Participants in the "reluctant acceptance" condition rated the outcome more positively than participants in the "quick acceptance" condition, despite the fact that the outcomes across the two scenarios were equivalent.

Experiment 2 confirmed that the outcome was due, not to the script violation, but instead, to its implications for the buyer. If there is an external reason for the quick acceptance of the vendor, the script violation should not carry negative connotations and should not negatively affect evaluations. Experiment 2 replicated the two conditions in experiment 1 (i.e., quick acceptance or slow acceptance) and added a third condition in which the initial offer was accepted quickly because the store was about to close. It was hypothesized that this explanation for the quick acceptance would eliminate the effect of the script violation. Results supported the hypothesis. Participants in the "quick acceptance with no reason provided" condition reported lower outcome evaluations than participants in both the "reluctant acceptance" and the "quick acceptance with reason provided" conditions, which did not significantly differ from each other.

In experiments 1 and 2, there was ambiguity regarding the actual value of the table. It is possible that schema-based inferences would influence evaluations only in situations characterized by uncertainty. In experiment 3, the impact of script violations was tested when accurate and unambiguous reference points for evaluating the purchase were provided. Participants in experiment 3 read

the scenarios described in experiment 1. Crossed orthogonally with the script violation manipulation was the presence of an alternate external reference point. Half of the participants read that an antique book indicated that the actual value of the coffee table was $100 over the marked price, whereas the other half of the participants did not receive this information. Availability of this salient reference price should eliminate any ambiguity about the actual value of the table. After reading the scenario, participants reported their outcome evaluations and their perceptions of the actual value of the table.

Replicating experiments 1 and 2, participants reported higher outcome evaluations when the dealer reluctantly, rather than quickly, accepted the offer. Additionally, participants reported higher outcome evaluations when they knew, versus didn't know, that the object was worth more than both the marked price and the final sale price. However, value knowledge did not moderate the effect of acceptance speed on outcome evaluations.

Participants' value perceptions followed a similar pattern. Estimates of the table's value were higher when the dealer reluctantly, rather than quickly, accepted the offer. Similarly, estimates of the table's value were higher when participants had, versus did not have, knowledge of the object's value. Paralleling the analyses on outcome evaluations, the interaction between acceptance speed and value knowledge did not approach significance. Hence, acceptance speed did not moderate the impact of value knowledge on value perceptions.

When price perceptions were covaried from outcome evaluations, the value knowledge manipulation was no longer significant. The acceptance speed (script violation) effect, on the other hand, remained highly significant. Hence, the script violation appeared to directly override the salient external reference prices.

"Price Elicitation Strategies in Consumer Choice"
Alexander Chernev, Northwestern University

This research examines how consumers set prices in the context of reverse auctions (e.g. Priceline). Specifically, I compare two elicitation strategies: price generation (i.e., "name your price") and price selection (i.e., "select your price"). In price generation, consumers are simply asked to state the price they are willing to pay for the product under consideration. In price selection, consumers are presented with a set of possible prices and asked to select the price they find most acceptable.

The price generation scenario is clearly more flexible than the selection scenario because it allows consumers to precisely articulate their willingness to pay. Indeed, in the generation scenario consumers have virtually unlimited degrees of freedom to state their price, whereas in the selection scenario they are restricted by the set of prices presented to them. Viewed from an economics standpoint, this flexibility is one of the reasons why the "name your price" strategy would be considered superior to the selection strategy, assuming that consumers have established preferences that can easily be translated into monetary terms.

Yet, because price generation assumes established preferences and predetermined willingness to pay, it can be argued that its impact on the consumer decision process will depend on the degree to which consumers are able to articulate their product utility in monetary terms. Building on this notion, I propose that in the absence of a readily available reference point (e.g., reference price range), the generation strategy is likely to be associated with a greater degree of uncertainty and cognitive effort and, as a result, will be perceived inferior to the simpler price selection task. It is further proposed that this effect is moderated by the presence of readily available reference prices. These propositions are examined in a series of three studies.

Experiments 1 and 2 examine how the nature of the price elicitation task (generate vs. select) is moderated by the availability of a reference price. Respondents were presented with a hypothetical scenario in which they were asked to purchase airline tickets from two online agencies. Both agencies employed reverse pricing but used different price-elicitation strategies: one agency asked consumers to generate (name) a price, while the other asked consumers to select from a list of ten available prices. Participants were randomly assigned to the conditions of a 2 (price-elicitation task: generation vs. selection) X 2 (reference price: available vs. not available) mixed factorial design. They were asked to indicate the price they were willing to pay and were told that if their bids were not successful they would have the option to purchase the ticket at the regular price (provided to all respondents). Participants were asked to indicate their confidence in the decision as well as their expectations of the likelihood of success of their bid.

The data show that individuals felt more confident in the outcomes of a selection task than a generation task. This effect was also significant, although less pronounced, in the presence of a readily available reference price. Furthermore, individuals perceived the selection task to have a higher likelihood of success compared to the generation task, an effect more pronounced when a reference price was not readily available. Participants' evaluations of the likelihood of success of their bid followed a similar pattern: respondents expected prices derived from the selection task to have a higher probability of being accepted compared to prices elicited through the generation task. They also predicted a higher success probability in conditions where a reference price was present compared to conditions where a reference price was not readily available.

Building on the data from the first two studies, experiment 3 shows that the reference price range does not have to be externally provided to impact consumer preferences for a selection vs. generation pricing strategy. Internally generated reference prices can as well strengthen consumer preferences for the price generation strategy. In this study, participants were asked to state their expected price range *before* articulating their willingness to pay. This manipulation allows respondents to have reference prices readily available for use as benchmarks in the price-elicitation process. The data show that internally generated reference prices had a significant effect on consumer preferences for a selection vs. generation task and that the direction of this effect was consistent with the effects reported in experiments 1 and 2.

More generally, this research demonstrates that price elicitation is moderated by the presence of a readily available reference price. Furthermore, this reference price can be either externally provided or internally generated, which points to a more general construct underlying the differential impact of the selection and generation tasks.

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Doing Gender in the Family: Household Production Issues

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ABSTRACT

Gender issues have been investigated in many domains, including the workplace, the marketplace, and leisure activities. An assertive female may do gender quite differently in the workplace than at home. We argue that the most basic form of gender is observed within the family, where issues of attraction between the two sexes are prominent as are the expectations for the fulfillment of various household obligations. This paper reviews literature investigating the interface between gender issues and spousal household production issues, and ends with a call for expanded research on this critical issue.

INTRODUCTION

We examine the family literature (primarily from North America) in Consumer Research to see how gender differences have been observed (measured) in terms of household production and consumption behaviors. Given the paucity of work in consumer research on any household type other than married couples, our focus will be on married couples. We will examine behavior that may not be indicative of the underlying decision processes in the family and on the role that gender plays in these processes. Next we look at family conflict, and its gendered nature. In both the marketing and sociology literatures, we find evidence that healthy families attempt to suppress conflict, and we review literature covering these processes. Finally, we end with a section pointing out needed research improvements that will allow us to understand how doing gender in the family is changing at this point in history.

ARE GENDERED ROLES CHANGING?

In nearly all societies, there has been an inside/outside dichotomy in terms of the roles assigned within couples. Women, due to the stronger link to young children because of the birth process and to their generally smaller physiques, have been assigned roles inside the home, while men have been responsible for the outside roles, whether it was the provision of fresh meat, financial dealings with others, or, more recently, yardwork. Thus men have fulfilled the more instrumental family roles while women have traditionally fulfilled the more nurturing, supportive roles. To a great extent, these sex-differentiated roles have become inculcated without being questioned sufficiently as to their appropriateness to modern (or post-modern) society. By following conventional notions of gender, marketers often perpetuate sex-differentiated roles, which help substantiate segmentation strategies. But if women are the primary financial providers for the household, should they also be expected to fulfill the nurturing role as well?

Evidence of Women Changing Roles

The changing work status of women in the 1970s and 1980s stimulated a great deal of research concerning decision roles and shifts in role responsibilities. In part, this research may reflect the assumption that roles within the family were expected to change as the wife entered the outside domain. Much of the research dealing with the wife's changing work status was based on the fairly simple premise that working wives would be more time crunched, and would seek "time-saving" products and services in order to fulfill traditional gender roles. Some research did find shifts in wives' traditional roles. As reviewed in Commuri and Gentry (2000), it has been found that working wives spend less time in the supermarket, that working wives take fewer shopping trips, that wives in the labor force use more time saving (preparing fewer meals at home, reduced time for leisure) and time buying (child care, disposable diapers) strategies, and that working wives do less housework.

The preponderance of research, however, found no differences between working and non-working wives in terms of their purchases of timesaving goods (see Commuri and Gentry 2000 for a review). To the contrary, Bryant (1988) and Joag, Gentry, and Ekstrom (1991) found that non-working wives are more likely to buy timesaving durables. It appears that rather than changing gender roles through the shift of traditionally female activities to men, what we are seeing is the decline of the total incidence of household activities. Those doing them want to do them more efficiently, but others find overall time efficiency by changing the expectations regarding such activities. As Commuri and Gentry (2000, p. 11) noted, "household decision making not only involves he versus she, but also 'them' and 'no one.'"

Evidence of Men Changing Roles

As noted in the previous section, little evidence has been found to indicate that husbands have taken on additional household responsibilities or traditionally "female" household roles, consequently providing little incentive for marketers to change gendered marketing strategies A relatively consistent finding (Commuri and Gentry 2000) has been that husbands' behavior regarding household production to be the same regardless of the wife's working status. In fact, DeVault (1997) found that working wives reported doing more housework than did single mothers. In terms of decision roles, Green and Cunningham (1970, 1975) found that husbands of employed women made significantly fewer decisions by themselves than did husbands of non-working wives. However, the roles were not given over to wives by themselves, but rather were shared.

Again, there is little very evidence to indicate that men are doing more domestic labor. Thompson and Walker (1989, p. 857) concluded that, "in spite of all the talk about egalitarian ideology, abstract beliefs about what women and men 'ought to do' are not connected with the division of family work." Allen and Walker (2000, p. 7) made an even stronger conclusion concerning the division of domestic labor: "There is no better predictor of the division of household labor than gender. Regardless of one's attitude about 'gender' roles, the resources one brings to the relationship, and the time one has available, there is nothing that predicts who does what and how much one does in families than whether one is a woman or a man." Most men do so little in the way of housework that Miller and Garrison (1984, p. 328) called research in this area "much ado about nothing."

Even when men report doing more domestic work, an emphasis on household behaviors may not represent a true picture of household responsibilities. Komter (1987) argued that the focus on observable outcomes diverted attention from the underlying processes. Even if women receive help from family members, many report that the help must be supervised (Berheide 1984). Some found it easier to do the housework themselves than to get other family members to do it and meet their standards. DeVault (1997) noted that even in households in which husbands did most of the cooking, the wife was still the household manager and controlled most planning functions related to cooking. Coltrane (1989), in a study of fairly "egalitarian" dual-career couples, found that women

were more likely than men to be managers of household duties and that "helper" husbands often waited to be told what to do even though duties were supposedly shared.

Other studies that point toward a need to examine the underlying processes include Ehrensaft's (1987) study, who found that women usually bought the children's clothes and made sure they looked presentable, even when the father actually dressed the child. Hertz (1986) found that, even in high earning couples that hired housework done by others, the ultimate responsibility for household management still fell to the wives. Twiggs, McQuillan, and Ferree (1999) found that in cases where men do participate substantially in household chores, they must cross a series of hierarchical gendered thresholds in order to become high participators. For example, the lowest level tasks, or those that appear to be more gender-neutral, include doing dishes and going grocery shopping, while at the high end is cooking meals. Grocery shopping being a low-level task could have serious marketing implications, especially for those consumer researchers concerned with changing role expectations. Overall, these studies indicate that there is a need to look beyond outcome-based research to that which looks more closely at the underlying processes.

CONFLICT OVER HOUSEHOLD PRODUCTION ISSUES

The topic of "family" has long been associated with "conflict." Scanzoni (1979) noted that the greater the relationship is, the greater is the inevitability of conflict. From a research perspective, this association of "family" and "conflict" has no doubt been exacerbated by what Hirschman (1993) referred to as the prevailing masculine research paradigm in consumer research, one that focuses on competition as opposed to cooperation. Commuri and Gentry (2000) argued that most family research has been undertaken from a fairly sterile, competitive perspective, implying an "either/or" mentality on the part of the spouses. For example, Qualls (1988, p. 443) stated, "Influence is defined in the present study as the perception of the action taken by one spouse to obtain his or her most preferred decision outcome while simultaneously stopping the attainment of their spouses' most preferred outcomes." As a result of this competitive perspective, love, intimacy, and other related constructs have been largely ignored in consumer family research, with exceptions such as Park, Tansuhaj, and Kolbe (1991) and Park et al. (1995).

The consumer literature on family conflict in purchase contexts is somewhat limited, and the incorporation of gender perspectives within it is even more limited. There were strong early efforts (Granbois 1963; Pollay 1968) to develop frameworks for studying conflict resolution in families, but little subsequent work was undertaken. Further, the models discussed several strategies with little coverage of how they varied by gender. However, some strategies such as Pollay's (1968) discussion of the use of sex as a bargaining tool did have gender implications.

Household Production Issues

A major focus of family conflict research has been the allocation of household production responsibilities. This is a very relevant topic for marketers given the concern about who uses household products and about who makes the purchase decisions for them. Marketers have conventionally targeted women as the decision makers. DeVault (1997, p. 190) asserted that "overt conflict over who will do housework is surprisingly rare." Yet, when researchers place couples in tasks dealing with the allocation of domestic labor, conflict is very evident. Pleck (1985) found that, when asked about it, one-third of the wives in his sample expressed

the desire that husbands do more housework, and over one-half of the husbands sensed that wives expected more of them.

The inequity in the distribution of domestic labor (or the "benefits of marriage" as described by Allen and Walker [2000, p. 16]) leads men to strive to maintain the status quo and women to strive for change. This is analogous to the finding that the more traditional the division of household labor, the higher the marital satisfaction is among men, and the lower it is among women (Schwartz 1998). Commuri and Gentry (2000) cite several studies as to how men and women use different strategies to resolve conflict. Many of these studies reflect an attempt by men to use conflict-avoidance strategies, which involves being more passive, calm, and rational, whereas women are noted as being more aggressive, confronting, and demanding. These findings are consistent with a gender perspective that suggests that those in power will do less to rock the boat in order to maintain their privileged status.

Ball, Cowan, and Cowan (1995) found three phases of negotiation concerning a self-selected problem concerning the division of family labor. Both spouses (78% of husbands; 85% of wives) agreed that wives were more active during the initial mobilization phase. There was also agreement (78% for both sexes) that the husband had the "final say" over whether a decision was reached in the third phase, that of outcome determination. However, in the second phase, each spouse (85% of husbands, 78% of wives) singled himself/herself as having the most influence in the way his/her interaction was structured. In particular, it was found that men and women differed with respect to the meaning of keeping their problem-solving discussions "focused." In their accounts, 81% of the men and 67% of the women saw themselves as the one who contributed more to "focusing" their problem talk. Most men defined "focus" as the ability to stay on the topic *originally raised*, whereas most women described "focusing in" on the real issues and getting to the bottom of things.

Is Conflict Prevalent?

Some evidence suggests that most married couples disagree about issues concerning sex, children, money, in-laws, household duties and responsibilities (Worthington 1991). DeVault (1997), however, noted that there is relatively little evidence of overt family conflict over household production issues. She further inferred that what conflict was observed may have been induced at least in part by intrusive researchers. Confrontive scenarios are largely inconsistent with actual family processes. Sillars and Kalblesch (1988) concluded that explicit decision making occurs in families only when implicit adjustment does not occur smoothly. Highly implicit transactions are more common in more homogeneous and stable relationships where shared experiences fill in considerable taken-for-granted meaning.

Despite research frameworks likely to induce conflict in husband/wife consumer decisions, there is not a rich body of evidence to indicate that such conflict exists. The researcher-imposed search for conflict may be in part due to a failure to consider decision history, a concern with the broader perspective of family decisions and not just one purchase task (Corfman and Lehmann 1987). Equity may be very unlikely to occur in every purchase decision; however, marriages are unlikely to continue if there is no semblance of equity in purchases over time.

Further, as Park (1982) and Sillars and Kalbflesch (1987) noted, there is reluctance to challenge family harmony through explicit argumentation. Sillars and Kalbflesch (1987) noted that some purchases result from "silent agreements," and that these agreements often reflect standards learned from reference groups and, thus, from implicit gendered-roles. Rather than a "he said/she

said" scenario that could conceivably be observed by a researcher, what may exist is a "he/she does, she/he accepts" reality that is unobservable possibly even to the spouses involved. Understanding specifically why and which products and decisions are susceptible to silent agreements can offer valuable insight into the consumer decision-making process.

DEEPER INVESTIGATION OF FAMILY CONFLICT SUPPRESSION

Work in sociology has progressed beyond the simplistic tone of that in consumer research ("who does what") to shed light on the reasons why the male/female divisions of domestic labor have changed so little, despite the huge change in the gendered role of paid work.

In her in-depth study of 60 couples in the Netherlands, Komter (1989) found that few wives attempted to change their relationships in a clear and direct (and presumably observable) manner. She further noted (p. 196) that the fact that few conflicts were reported is not necessarily an indication of contentment with the existing situation. A spouse may see that further quarreling is pointless because he/she will lose in any case. Or, a spouse may anticipate sanctions that might ensue if he/she were to start a dispute. Komter (1989) concluded that the conflicts that did arise were not very effective in producing desired changes.

One reason that spouses find reasonable levels of fairness is that they have very different "emics" concerning several key issues. What is "equitable" might be seen quite differently by family members. For example, in the Ball et al. (1995) study discussed earlier, both husbands and wives may be content with the second phase of the negotiation process because they saw themselves as being more influential. Similarly, Ferree (1990) argues that, while resource models tend to see housework as an unmitigated "bad" that anyone with power would avoid doing, from a gender perspective, doing housework may be understood as an expression of love and care. Thompson and Walker (1989, p. 859) note that many women view the home as the woman's dominion, and they may be reluctant to share control over the one domain in which they have power. Thus, for marital conflict, more important than actual spousal time discrepancies are differences among women in their feelings about housework and their perceptions of the division of labor as fair or not (Blaire 1993). Understanding the gendered meanings attached to domestic and paid work is important in determining fairness (Twiggs et al. 1999; Wilkie, Ferree, and Ratcliff 1998).

Thompson (1991) suggests that to understand women's sense of fairness, researchers need to consider (a) valued outcomes other than time and tasks, (b) between- and within-gender comparison referents, and (c) gender-specific justifications for men's small contribution to family work. First, she includes interpersonal outcomes of family work rather than labor time and tasks as valued outcomes, suggesting that relationship outcomes such as care are more important than task outcomes. Second, concerning comparison referents, Thompson (1991) suggests that women make within-gender comparisons when they judge the fairness of family work and also make within-gender comparisons of their husbands. This indicates that satisfaction with the relationship is influenced to a greater extent by the perception of being better off than same-sex others than by the perception of being equally well off with the partner. Finally, Thompson (1991) suggests that women experience a strong sense of injustice when they find justifications unacceptable for the reasons and circumstances underlying their husbands' failures to contribute more to family work. Hawkins et al. (1995) found evidence that deciding together how things would be divided is an indicator of wives' perceptions of fairness.

Steil and Weltman (1991) found that, even when wives earn more, there is pervasive evidence that both spouses define the man as the primary provider. Rosen (1987) found that working class wives and husbands agreed that husbands are the primary providers for their families, largely due to the notion that a man's pride and manhood is based upon that role. One way that couples try to maintain the image of wives as secondary providers is to use husbands' salaries for the essentials and wives' salaries for extras.

Commuri (2001) found similar results in a study of wives who make at least $10,000 money than her spouse. Specifically, he found that such couples have a tendency toward "normalcy," in that they want to establish that their marriages were not unlike anyone else's. The husband played the traditional male role in public, picking up dinner checks and, in one case, paying the mortgage by mail from his account after his wife deposited that amount for him. Most couples had three accounts: his, hers, and the joint one. The majority of the funds in the joint account came from the wife's salary, and this account was used for family obligations and activities such as house payments, saving for education costs for the children, and vacations. One example of how "traditional gender" was played among these couples was through gift-giving. The majority of the expensive gifts in the household went from the man to the woman, though they were most often purchased using funds from the joint account. Thus, equity was achieved (the person contributing the most got the most), but in a manner that prevented harm to the male ego. Understanding the full nature and expanse of decisions used to preserve traditional gender can help marketers interested in establishing gender equality. For example, creating images of the woman paying for the dinner check can help alleviate embedded notions of gender.

Meaning of Leisure

A second issue that apparently has very different emics across the sexes is "leisure." Prior to 1982, researchers did not acknowledge these differences because it was assumed "that leisure was leisure and what applied to males also applied to females" (Henderson 1990, p. 230). Men see leisure being constrained by the level of paid work whereas women, even those in the work force, see leisure as being constrained by domestic labor responsibilities (Firestone and Shelton 1994). This is known as the "double day" or the notion that women are still the primary caretakers of the household irrespective of outside work duties. Henderson (1996) suggests that the incentive for leisure among workingmen is more of a motivator than it is for workingwomen because workingwomen must contend with housework first. Thus, women are less likely to see a work/leisure dichotomy, and are likely to combine "leisure" with family activities (Henderson 1990). Women's leisure activities (such as crafts, sewing, knitting, gardening, reading, cooking, and crocheting) are often associated with short time blocks that fit with domestic labor, whereas men's leisure, such as golf, hunting, or fishing, is usually associated with much longer time blocks. Women's leisure may be found in the community or time spent with family, and is perceived to be less free from constraints, while men's leisure is more self-involving and free of constraints. Addressing the underlying gender constraints involved in golf, hunting, and other traditionally male-dominated leisure pursuits can create opportunities for marketers as well as new topics for consumer research.

While domestic labor is not leisure, there are positive elements to it. Women's family work conditions are such that they are unsupervised and rarely criticized, under their own planning and control, and have to meet only their own standards (Allen and Walker 2000). This is not true in all domestic domains; for example, leisure is one aspect of women's lives that is closely monitored

(Henderson 1990), as it is often seen as a patriarchal pursuit. On the other hand, housework is worrisome, tiresome, menial, repetitive, isolating, unfinished, inescapable, and often unappreciated (Allen and Walker 2000; Berheide 1984). When men "help" out, they usually do so by selecting some of the nicer household tasks such as playing with children while wives prepare meals or clean up. A biased selection of tasks may also be observed with women, as DeVault (1997) noted that the flexible definition of "domestic labor" allows women to avoid some tasks that are disliked.

NEEDED RESEARCH ON HOUSEHOLD PRODUCTION AND GENDER

Conflict is not a highly sought goal for most people, especially those in a relationship based on love. We see the need for more research based on the goal of investigating how conflict over consumer issues, including household production, is suppressed, rather than on how conflicts are resolved. More specifically, we see the need to continue to examine why conflict is suppressed, which types of couples are most susceptible to this behavior, and what kinds of purchase decisions or household issues are most likely to be suppressed. Based on our review, it might appear that men are more likely to suppress conflict because they have an interest in maintaining the status quo, but it is not clear in which cases or types of decisions this behavior might be more likely.

Another area worthy of study is looking at trends in decision making and predicting how under conditions of supposed egalitarianism what purchases will be made by which partner. Our review indicates that with couples where the wife is a high-income earner or makes more than the husband, conventional notions of gender are still upheld; the husband still protects his ego by playing the provider role, while the wife often plays the traditional role of nurturer and the primary caregiver. These results are puzzling given the fact that one would expect husbands in these arrangements to be predisposed to being open-minded and thus more susceptible to egalitarianism. Therefore, it would be interesting to determine which marital partner has more influence in sustaining gendered relations. The gender perspective (see Risman 1998) might predict that the one in power, which in patriarchal societies is the man, would have more interest in sustaining hegemony. However, future analysis might reveal that women, more than men, desire "normalcy," which leads to the traditional purchasing behaviors noted by Commuri (2001). In other words, it would be valuable for marketers to know whether maintaining a man's "masculinity" is more important to wives or to husbands. Is the wife thinking that she is doing a favor for her husband by protecting his manhood when in actuality the man is far removed from such feelings?

Another area needing further work is in the area of "peer marriages" or those marriages where partners are social equals, have careers, share equal responsibility for finances and other decision making, and where the husband assumes far greater responsibility for child-rearing (Schwartz 1998). Will the influence of such marriages change the overall nature of purchasing behavior among all couples or will traditional norms continue? Will such marriages, which are on the rise, change the gendered meaning of housework? Will such marriages neutralize gendered relations, which are so prevalent and powerful within the family?

As consumer researchers, we also have an obligation to investigate which men in particular are likely to become involved or excel in peer marriages or exhibit behavior that is consistent with egalitarianism. For example, it might be hypothesized that men coming from single-parent households are more likely to progress through gendered hierarchies (Twiggs et al. 1999). Similarly, it might be hypothesized that men waiting longer to get married or those getting remarried might be more predisposed to egalitarianism and therefore more likely to cross the gendered boundaries.

The focus of this paper has been on how spouses have done and do gender now. A broadened focus is needed that also investigates how the younger generation is seeing "gender," as Risman (1998) referred to the family as a "gender factory." John's (1999) systematic review of consumer socialization in the family does not delve into issues of learning gender, no doubt in response to the lack of work in consumer research dealing with the development of gender structures among the young. Such a literature should exist. For example, what influences will the increase in female participation in sports (usually with the explicit support of family members) have in terms of future gendered roles in the family?

Many family studies have relied on large-scale secondary data bases involving thousands of households, investigating the division of labor for preparing meals, washing dishes and meal cleanup, cleaning the house, child care, and shopping. Twiggs et al. (1999) note most of the quantitative studies in this area focus on the amount of domestic work done by men and women rather than the kinds of work they do. Focusing on the latter will tell a more complete picture of what is considered gender appropriate tasks, whether barriers are being crossed, and perhaps what trends to expect in the future. Further, as noted earlier, there is need to look beyond the reported behavior to see who has the planning responsibilities, as that individual may be more likely to be the actual decider and/or purchaser.

Most family research has investigated the views of only one spouse or, at best, the perspectives of two spouses measured independently. Kenny and Acitelli (1989, p. 51) noted "much of supposedly dyadic research is really the study of individual processes." Future research needs to capture the interactions of at least the spouses, and hopefully of the entire household. Further, research should also try to capture the interface of the family with institutions in order to understand better the sanctions faced when gender is done "inappropriately" according to institutional standards.

Overall, the need for family research in Consumer Behavior is on the rise due to the dramatic shifts of family meaning and unit of analysis. While great change in some purchase and household behaviors is being experienced, other domains are seeing relatively little change. The gender perspective (see Risman 1998) used in sociology is just one way researchers in Marketing can gain a better grasp of why some things are changing in this area and others are not. Family research in these areas has never been needed more.

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No Consumer is an Island—The Relevance of Family Dynamics for Consumer Welfare

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"No man is an island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent a part of the main"
John Donne, English poet 1572-1631
(Bartlett's Familiar Quotations, 16th Edition)

ABSTRACT

In this paper we advocate the use of the family as a unit of analysis in marketing research. In doing so we introduce the term "Lifescapes", which is used as basis for identifying four structural properties of the family: 1) Interpersonal dependency, 2) Interdependency of multiple roles, 3) Interdependency of consumer decision domains, and 4) Decision/event load. Variations in these structural properties influence the family's decision capacities, which subsequently determine consumer welfare. An in-depth study of the decision histories of eight couples are used to explore our model empirically.

INTRODUCTION

The family or household is a basic unit of production, reproduction and consumption in all societies (Netting et al. 1984). The family has therefore attracted substantial interest in disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, social psychology, and economics (see Netting et al.. 1984). In spite of the obvious importance of the family as a unit of analysis in other disciplines, interest in family research in marketing has been in decline for a long time (Commuri and Gentry 2000, Bazerman 2001). However, contributions by Thompson (1996), Miller (1998), and Commuri and Gentry (2000) introduce new perspectives on the family as a unit of analysis in marketing research. They see the family and its members as embedded in a larger social and historical context and show how this is important for understanding consumer welfare.

In this paper we will put issues related to the dynamics of modern family life on the marketing research agenda. In doing so we will build and expand on the insights from Thompson's (1996) contribution on caring consumers and follow up the recommendations for new opportunities for family research in marketing made by Commuri and Gentry (2000). According to these researchers, a major challenge is to understand the internal dynamics of family life and the relationship between the family and other social institutions. Commuri and Gentry (2000) claim that since we have asked the wrong questions, family research in marketing has so far been inconclusive and has not brought us many new insights.

Family research in marketing. Inspection of past family research in marketing reveals some particular characteristics. First the great majority of this research reflects an "individualistic approach" (Bazerman 2001). Even though the roles of family members have been examined, the focus is predominantly on individual roles rather than the interplay between multiple roles and family members. "Role" in the mother discipline, sociology, is a relational concept. A role has meaning only in the social structure in which it is embedded. It is related to norms and tasks within a social structure. In contrast, within marketing, role has been used to characterize or "profile" whom to target in the family for a particular decision domain (Davis and Rigaux 1974, Commuri and Gentry 2000, Grønhaug 2000). In other words, the structural properties and dynamics within the family have been overlooked. A relational perspective on family roles also represents methodological challenges, as it requires information from more than one person in the household (Phillips 1985). In addition, time series data is necessary in order to capture the dynamic interaction between family members and events over time (Kleppe 1990). To our knowledge, there is a lack of time series studies of family decision making in marketing.

Secondly, the perspective of the embeddedness of the family in a larger societal context suggests that the multiple roles of individual family members represent interdependency between family roles (the parent role) and roles outside the family (working roles). This means that family members operate in and are influenced by activities and events in spheres outside of the family. In marketing, the focus has mostly been on the family detached from its greater context (Commuri and Gentry 2000).

Thirdly, family life cycle studies typically focus on more or less locked trajectories (Murphy and Staples 1979, Wilkes 1995). More attention to *transitions* between family life cycle stages has been called for (Gentry 1997). In particular we need a better understanding of how major life-event transitions, e.g. marriage, the birth of a child, and divorce, change the nature of the family unit and how it works. During the course of their lives, most families are exposed to major internal and external, planned and unplanned events. For example, if a family member falls seriously ill or becomes unemployed, such events can influence decisions about commitment to work, housing, household demography and economy, which at the end of the day also determine consumer welfare in the family.

Changes in social institutions outside the family also influence family functioning. There is, for example, a vast literature in occupational psychology on the impact of changes in work norms on the functioning of the family (see for example Fouad and Tinsley1997). This literature studies the "work-family interface", which describes challenges people face in balancing their working and family roles over their lifetime and the consequences this has for family well-being. The "family life cycle" paradigm (Wilkes 1995) used in marketing reflects a linear model with more or less deterministic trajectories. Although recent revised life cycle models try to capture different family trajectories, this perspective is in our view inadequate for capturing modern families as dynamic social units and how they work as units of consumption.

Another aspect is the dominant focus on low involvement consumption in current marketing research (Bazerman 2001). From the marketers' perspective, this focus is understandable since there is usually fierce competition in most markets for consumer goods. However, from the consumers' perspective, it is the high involvement and high-risk consumption domains that are of most importance. Major decisions, such as residential moves, which often involve buying a new house and change of daily routines such as where to shop, where to get social services, and schools for children, have more significant impact on consumer welfare than choosing between different brands of a low-risk consumer good.

Finally, most of the current literature in marketing sees consumption as an activity that is mostly motivated by individual utilitaristic and hedonistic concerns. New perspectives on consumer behavior suggest that other motives, such as care or love for others and meaning creation in everyday life, are very important motors in family consumption (Thompson 1996, Miller 1998). This means that consumption in a family setting must be studied within the context of the multiple concerns, which are relevant for family consumption.

The family as a unit of analysis. The concepts of "family", "household", and "home" are three powerful notions in Western culture since they represent primary social institutions. Needless to say, families and households vary across cultures and time. However, the nuclear family consisting of a mother, a father, and children is, in one form or another, a basic social unit in most societies (Allart and Littunen 1970, Netting et al.. 1984) and it is the dominant form in Western societies. A household is usually defined in terms of task and residence, while family is defined in terms of kinship. The family in Western societies is described as neolocal, which implies that the family and household are in practice overlapping units (Laslett 1984).

Selecting the family as a unit of analysis for marketing research has both practical and theoretical justifications. Since most people grow up in some type of family and continue to live in such a social unit, the family is of great importance for people's everyday lives. Family life is also of great importance at the macro level of society. The effects of family decisions emerge in aggregated patterns of behavior, which are of great interest to governments for targeted action. Given both popular and scholarly concern about the family and the accessibility of this unit to available research methods, it is remarkable that we know so little about how modern families or households work as units of buying and consumption.

This paper attempts to remedy some of the weaknesses and limitations of past family research in marketing. In doing so we will bring in the importance of the context and structural dynamics within the family. Marketing researchers have a great opportunity to increase our knowledge and understanding of family dynamics. A better understanding of the family as a consumption unit is relevant both for marketing practitioners and the consumers themselves. For example, studies of households with financial problems (Poppe and Borgeraas 1992, Borgeraas and Tufte 1998) reveal that financing institutions, such as banks and financial brokers, do not have the necessary insight and routines to help families to cope with financial stress. Even the consumers themselves were unable to communicate their problems and needs to the financial service providers. We, therefore, agree with Bazerman (2001) that there is a need for a more consumer-focused approach in marketing research. Major decisions during the early stages of family life would be such an area and are the focus of this paper.

LIFESCAPES–STRUCTURAL PROPERTIES OF THE FAMILY

In this section we present a model that captures relational dynamics within the family and the implications of these dynamics for family consumption behavior. The term "Lifescape" is a metaphor reflecting the "landscape" that the family as a social unit represents for its members. The Lifescape as a focal unit of analysis captures the characteristics of the family in relation to its environment, roles within the family, and links between members of the family.

The Lifescape metaphor is also used to capture a more holistic picture of the family as a social unit, since it can be studied at different levels. Roles reflect social relationships and can be seen as the "building blocks" for the family (Brown 1971, Grønhaug 2000). However, relationships and structures are more than the sum of their parts. To capture the dynamics of the family as a complex social unit, it must be studied at an aggregate level (Kleppe 1987, Lundberg et al. 1968). For this study we have identified four structural properties, which we suggest are of significant importance for the functioning of modern families. These structural properties are: 1) *Interpersonal dependency*, 2) *Interdependency of multiple roles, 3) Interdependency of consumer decision domains,* and 3) *Decision/event load.*

Interpersonal dependency. "The concept of social interdependence conveys the notion of an individual's social embeddedness" (Elder 1995, p.112). Here we define interpersonal dependency as the degree to which the life trajectory and life events of one member of the family influence the life trajectory and life events of other family members (Elder 1985, Elder 1995). To illustrate interpersonal interpersonal dependency, we can see the family as a role budget system within which the members must coordinate their roles according to a joint pool of resources defined by available time, labor, and energy (Goode 1960, Moen and Erickson 1995). In the modern dual-earner family coordinating, synchronizing, and balancing work-family roles is a major challenge (Frone et al. 1997).

Entry into parenthood is a transitional event that leads to increased interpersonal dependency. One of the most difficult decision dilemmas in modern family life is whether both parents should continue their working careers undisturbed by the birth of a child. Orensten's (2000) conversations with young unmarried career women revealed that this was a future dilemma her young female subjects had given considerable thought. Interestingly, most of the respondents said that they were prepared to adapt to motherhood by reducing their commitment to their work role even if this would increase their economic vulnerability and economic dependency on their partners.
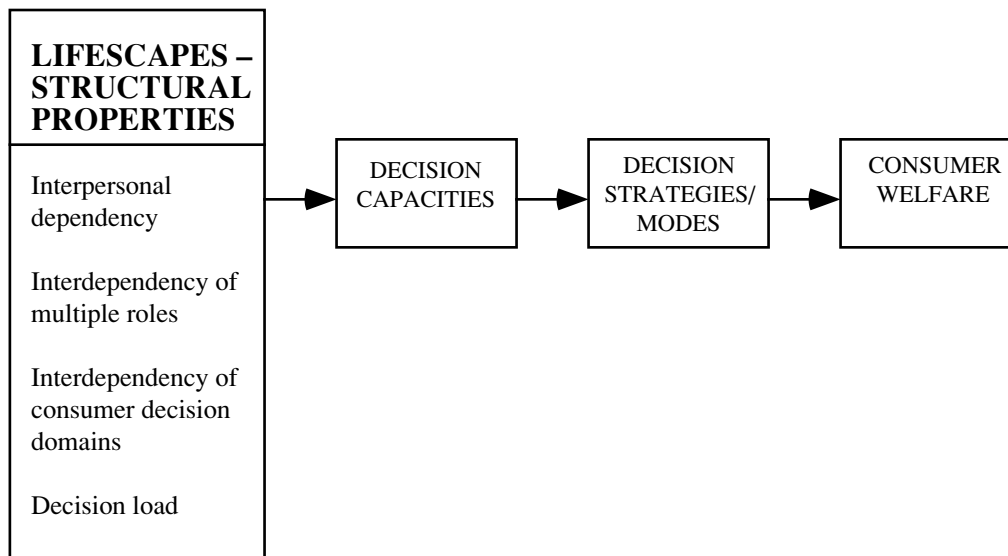
Interdependency of multiple roles. Interdependency between multiple roles reflects the degree of conflict between the roles in the role set of the individual family member (Frone et al.. 1997). The passage from single adult to married partner and parent implies entering a complex role set, which can be experienced as a "cultural chock" (Lopata 1971) or an "awakening" when parents come to realize how much effort is needed in caring for an infant (Hall 1995). The parent role entails the roles of economic provider, caretaker, partner, and consumer (Kleppe 1981).

In consumer research, Thompson's (1996) insightful phenomenological study shows how working mothers struggle to make sense of their "conflicting" roles. These women invested substantial effort in their everyday activities in order to manage competing expectations between their roles as workers, parents and competent consumers. A major concern was to maintain a feeling of integrity as a person and a mother. One way to maintain a role balance was to engage in compensatory shopping for their children to reaffirm their role as mothers. Another strategy was to enhance the personal rewards that came from work and the way their work roles enabled them to enrich their children's lifestyles. Interestingly, the consumption object itself was of less interest in caring consumption (ibid.).

Interdependency of consumer decision domains. The interdependency of multiple decision domains is defined as the degree to which events and decision outcomes in one domain of life affect other decision domains. Consumption decisions may be placed in a hierarchy (Gredal 1964, Arndt 1976, Grønhaug, Kleppe, and Haukedal 1987) in which strategic decisions represent the highest level and are characterized by long-term commitment of resources. Typical strategic decisions are, for example, decisions about education, commitment to work, and buying a house. Strategic decisions influence consumer decisions at lower levels, such as budget allocation decisions, product category and brand decisions (Arndt 1976). Furthermore, decisions at the higher levels in the hierarchy normally occur before and less frequently than decisions at the lower levels. As such, strategic decisions can be characterized as high-risk investments, where most of the consequences will be realized in the future. In the vast literature on perceived risk, the emphasis is on negative consequences as perceived by the con-

FIGURE 1

The effect of structural properties of the family on consumer decision-making and welfare

LIFESCAPES – STRUCTURAL PROPERTIES			
Interpersonal dependency	DECISION CAPACITIES	DECISION STRATEGIES/ MODES	CONSUMER WELFARE
Interdependency of multiple roles			
Interdependency of consumer decision domains			
Decision load			

sumer prior to the purchase (Bauer 1960). Consequences may, however, also be realized as *ex post facto* surprises.

During the early stages of family life, couples normally have to make many strategic decisions of which they have little or no experience (Oppenheimer 1985), and evidence suggests that financial stress in families is often related to strategic household decisions (Gulbrandsen 1991, Borgeraas and Tufte 1998). Particularly young households tended to overconsume consumer goods, such as housing, and became indebted beyond their financial capacities. One coping strategy for the indebted household was to pay bills early in order to make sure they had money to pay (Borgeraas and Tufte 1998). Heath and Soll's (1994) study of mental budgeting and consumer decisions also suggests that people typically overconsume goods that are easy to categorize and keep track of while more discretionary consumption (leisure, entertainment, daily consumption) is deferred. Since regular payments on loans are easy to track, this may explain why these expenses get priority.

Decision load. Decision load is defined as the number of major events and decisions that take place within a limited time frame. For instance, college graduation, career changes, marriage or entering a relationship, and parenthood are seen as major transitions in a person's life (Elder 1985, Oppenheimer 1985, Noble and Walker 1997), and are in many cultures associated with social *rites de passage* to mark the change of role status. Over the last century, however, everyday ideas about what constitutes the "normal biography" have become less clear (Settersten and Meyer 1997). Roles have been prolonged, the sequencing of roles over the lifetime has become more varied and complex, and family relationships have become more varied.

Still, the first years of family life are seen as a period characterized by important events and major transitions in several life domains (Oppenheimer 1985). Andreasen (1984) and Noble and Walker (1997) both focus on how consumer behavior is related to major life transitions. Transitions imply liminal stages, and the greater the quantity of life status change, the greater the change in lifestyle, which again implies greater change in consumption patterns (Andreassen 1984). Since virtually all households experience some changes, changes in consumption patterns are to some degree

predictable. However, since all major life events can cause stress, each family's resources to cope with stress make a difference. The distribution of coping resources may be less predictable (Lavee et al. 1997).

METHODOLOGY

The above discussion supports the suggestions in our model that structural characteristics of the family affect decision-making capacities within the family. The reviewed studies also suggest that families work hard to find coping strategies to secure family welfare during difficult times. Since our perspective is new, we found it most purposeful to apply an exploratory approach. An in-depth study of the decision history of eight couples' first ten years of marriage or cohabitance was conducted. In order to comply with limitations of space, we will only report in-depth information from one case. The summary is based on insights from an aggregated analysis of data from all eight couples.

Sample. At the time of the interview the couples lived in a middle-sized town on the west coast of Norway. They were all dual working couples with pre-school children and had been living together for approximately ten years. The age distribution at the time of the interviews was from 31 to 43 years of age. There were no dramatic age differences within the couples. Both blue-collar and white-collar couples were included in the sample. With the exception of one couple, the husbands and wives had similar levels of education. The number of children varied from one to three. The sampling of couples was driven by the research purpose of gaining insights into the early stages of the family life cycle as this period entails many decisions, transitions, and adaptations. All the couples had stable and healthy relationships, which made it possible to conduct interviews on sensitive issues such as how they had dealt with high load periods.

Data collection. To capture the structural properties in our model, we needed information on multiple roles, decision domains, and the timing of events. All interviews took place in the couples' homes. To avoid gender bias on either side, two interviewers, one female and one male, first interviewed each couple jointly. The interviews started with the couples' latest decision and then worked

backwards to discuss major decisions retrospectively. The interviews were modestly structured to make sure that all major aspects were covered. All interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed, each resulting in 20 to 35 pages of transcription. The interview setting was informal and relaxed, and all the couples reacted very positively and openly. The couples also corrected and supplemented each other, indicating that recall and response biases were reduced.

During a second visit, an interviewer of the same gender interviewed the men and women separately. During these interviews a structured questionnaire was used covering topics such as the planning of events, division of labor, roles played with regard to economic matters, and evaluations of the couples' relationships. Both direct and projective questions were used. The purpose of the second interview was to ensure the reliability of the timing of events and decisions, and to get an accurate picture of the chronology of the family history. Based on the data collected, a chronological event calendar was constructed for each of the couples.

Recall bias and recall distortions will always be a danger when using retrospective techniques. However, major and very salient events, such as the years the children were born and the years when they bought a house or moved to a new town, are easy to remember and date (Flagan 1954). Since we also used multiple recording techniques, we feel confident that the resulting lifescape calendars are reliable.

Lifescape calendars. The portrayal of lives as a sequence of switches back and forth in many role domains is a useful way to understand multiple interdependent social careers (Smith 1985). Each couple's time was organized into yearly intervals. The years were ordered chronologically. The Lifescape of one couple is depicted in Figure 2.

The choice of the four life event domains–a) household demography; b) residential moves; c) education, and d) employment–are supported in the literature on life events (see McLanahan and Sørensen 1985). The decision and event domains constitute the rows in the table and are recorded for each year, which constitutes the ten columns in the table. The event domains for education and employment are recorded individually for both partners, since these two domains are important both for interpersonal dependency and interdependency of roles within the family. The resulting Lifescape calendar depicts the timing and sequencing of events. We made similar Lifescape calendars for all the eight couples, which also made aggregated analysis possible.

The calendars give a picture of how the family fares on multiple trajectories and make it possible to see how different event and decision domains are related, how the female and male roles are related, and how the timing and sequencing of events contribute to the pattern. We analyzed the calendars at two levels. First we will discuss the findings of one representative case. Then we will discuss findings at an aggregated level where the data is summarized across cases.

CASE ANALYSIS–AN ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLE

We have chosen Tarjei and Louise as an illustrative case since their event history is in many ways typical of modern dual working families. Another reason is that they were very articulate and provided us with very good insight into the phenomenon under study.

Tarjei has an MSc. in biochemistry and works in a multinational medical firm. Louise is a college lecturer for preschool teacher trainees. They got engaged when he was twenty-eight and she was thirty-two and married a year later. Since their engagement ten years previously they had both finished their university degrees, had three children, both pursued demanding working careers, sold

one apartment and one house, bought and renovated two houses, and the husband had also attended continuing education.

The Lifescape calendar visualizes how loaded the first years of the family life cycle can be. Getting married (or becoming *de facto* partners), becoming parents, starting a working career, and making major life style choices all take place within a very limited time span. Noble and Walker (1997) studied transitions and liminal states in relation to *one* event domain. The event calendars for the couples in our study show that they experienced liminal states in several event domains and roles simultaneously and over an extended period of time. The depiction of Tarjei and Louise's Lifescape illustrates the structural dynamic of interdependency between multiple roles, events, and consumer decision domains.

Interpersonal dependency. During the first five years of their relationship Tarjei and Louise became parents twice, became owners of a new home twice, and experienced several changes in their work status. With the arrival of the first child, Louise took maternity leave and reduced her work commitment to part-time employment. This resulted in greater pressure on Tarjei to sustain their material lifestyle, and consequently he had to increase his working hours, which for long periods involved commuting to another town. At the time of the interviews, this had become a decision dilemma involving many aspects of the well-being of the family. They could comply with the terms of Tarjei's employer, sell the house and move to the location of Tarjei's employer's headquarters. In this case Louise would have to quit her job and enter the job market in a new town, and the children would have to change school and get new friends. Or Tarjei could quit his job and try to get a similar job in the town where they had established themselves. Both decision alternatives involved risks in which economic concerns, job satisfaction, and the welfare of the children and parents were at stake. It could be described as a zero sum game, and at the time of the interview they had not made the final decision. However, after many discussions they managed to set their first priorities, which were "being together" and "the welfare of the children". This example demonstrates how interpersonal dependency between family members makes it necessary to set priorities according to the well-being of the family as a whole. Winning and losing according to individual interests is usually not a viable strategy in the long run for family decision making (Corfman 1987).

Interdependency of multiple roles. Louise had adapted to her family role set by reducing her commitment to work. The parent role had the highest priority, and this was never questioned in the family. However, she stated very clearly that this role set balance was only temporary. Tarjei, on the other hand, experienced severe family-work role conflicts. He took the heat away from Louise in a way. Tarjei had to be a very competent consumer or prosumer (home renovation), a high-income breadwinner (to mange high home loans), and an attentive father and partner (according to their ideals of family life). In the last few years, work and the maintenance of a desired lifestyle had become more demanding for Tarjei than he was comfortable with. This had resulted in a polarization of the couple's family roles, which was in conflict with their parenting ideals and goals.

Interdependency between consumer decision domains. During the first ten years of marriage Tarjei and Louise had moved three times and invested heavily in their lifestyle, financially, energy wise and emotionally. They lived in their first house for only a couple of years, but it proved to be a very good investment. This enabled them to improve their housing standard by investing in a bigger house. However, they were not prepared for the renovation costs and the labor they had to put into it to make it work according to their needs and standards. This was a very hard time but they managed to look back at it with some humor.

FIGURE 2

Lifescape calendar for Tarjei and Louise

Event domain	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Year 5	Year 6	Year 7	Year 8	Year 9	Year 10
Household demography	Engaged	Married	**First child**	→	Second child			→	**Third child**	Considering buying a less expensive house
Residential moves		Separate student flats	**Buy house together**	→	**Move— buy an old house**				→	
Education° :										
• **Man**		Finish MBS					Part time education at work	→	**Part time education at work**	
• **Woman**	Finished BSc									↑
Work° :										
• **Man**	First job	New job				New job	→	New job within same firm – commuting	→	Commuting not sustainable
• **Woman**		First job – full time	**New job**	→	**Reduce current job to part time**			Full time in current job	**Maternity leave**	Considering changing job

Tarjei: "Just after we bought it (the house) I went down one day to look at what we had bought–and I was shocked. It looked awful without the furniture. I thought that I would not be able to handle it when I saw how much work it would be. Then *you* (Louise) wanted to sell it. But then I started to work on it."

Louise: "I was pregnant with number two. If you really thought it was too much we would not have gotten into it. You started to work like crazy."

Tarjei: "Yes I started to work like crazy… and since then we have not agreed." (laughter)

Louise: "…The problem has been that Tarjei has started very big renovation projects such as the wooden floors. I would just have painted them but he had them polished to perfection. In hindsight we are glad he did it but it was too much work. I could not help him. I was tired with three small children. We are a typical family with small children and two jobs and–everything happens at the same time."

The setting is a very good example of the interdependency of decision domains and how changes in one domain affected the other. The two driving forces here were the couple's desire to have a house in a particular area (lifestyle) and the fact that a baby was coming soon (family). This heavy load limited their mental capacity and available time to search in the market and put pressure on them to make a decision rather fast. Just after they bought the house they realized that it would cost them a lot in several ways and they considered selling it and finding a less expensive house. However, due to the short time left before the arrival of their second child, they decided to give it a go. Renovating the house put a lot of strain on the family and Louise explains that they managed because they were relatively mature and were not afraid to discuss the conflicts.

Most of the couples in the study had similar experiences in house-buying situations. There was too little time to collect adequate information and too little time to evaluate alternatives and calculate different outcomes. The economic consequences only became apparent *ex post facto*. The common response to this overconsumption of housing was to work more to increase the household income. In many cases this generated conflicts with other roles and needs in the family, which can be described as a domino effect. Overconsumption in one domain led to compensatory activities in other domains and roles, which at the end of the day affected job satisfaction, life satisfaction, and consumer welfare.

Decision load. Tarjei and Louise's event history qualifies for the description of overload or "door in the face". Even though this is a couple with an explicit desire to establish a full family, the "door in the face" situation surprised them a couple of times when major events just seemed to happen simultaneously. Analysis across the eight couples suggests two coping strategies to reduce the event load. These were having only one child and deciding not to pursue a career. In general it seemed that conscious timing of children in relation to other domains (especially work) was difficult. Since so many things happen during this stage of family life in any case, the birth of a child will always imply some "disturbance". One example is another couple, Ole and Ruth, a doctoral student and his successful journalist wife, who never found time to have a second child although they wanted one. Tarjei and Louise's door in the face approach seem to be one way to fulfill the desire to have several children.

The three event domains having children (family), the amount of time spent on income-generating activities (work), and lifestyle choices (consumption) were often brought into the same decision context because they could not be kept apart in strategic family decisions. At other times the mere timing of events made it necessary to consider all three domains simultaneously.

SUMMARY

High scores on all the structural dimensions put extreme pressure on the decision-making capabilities of the couples in the study. In the ideal world rational decisions require clear goals, access to and the ability to process all necessary information, the capacity to evaluate all available alternatives, and the ability to envision the exact consequences (March 1995). In our study most of the ideal world conditions were in jeopardy.

Sometimes the well-being of the family as a unit was in conflict with individual goals. Tarjei and Louise had discussed the decision dilemma regarding Tarjei's work situation for at least two years and they still had problems sorting out their priorities. Conflicting goals, alternatives that are not obvious, competing decision domains, and consequences that have to be experienced before they can be appreciated often characterize major decisions in families. All the couples expressed the view that house buying was a very difficult consumer task, which for most of them became more expensive than assumed prior to purchase. Overconsumption of housing therefore became a driving motivation for commitment to work and consumption in other areas. This interdependency between decision domains and roles was a new experience that the couples had problems sorting out and illustrates how complex the internal dynamics of a family can be. Most of the couples had postponed investing in furniture and consumed less leisure activities than desired. The couples that experienced the least load tended to place a high priority on leisure time. The husband in a leisure priority family said that they traded reduced income for more leisure time. In the families that gave priority to career and housing, unexpected consequences and accumulation of events often stretched the families' coping resources to the limit. It seemed harder to reduce or change career ambitions than to reduce day-to-day consumption. Against this background it was not surprising that all the couples in our study thought they would have been better off if they had received professional advice on many of the decisions they had made during the early stages of their family lives.

IMPLICATIONS

The focus of this study has been to capture decision making from the consumer's point of view. The early stages of the family life cycle are so loaded with major decision tasks and transitions in people's lives that insights into structural properties of the family as a unit of analysis should be of interest to marketing researchers, marketers, consumer agencies, and for the consumers themselves. The analysis also suggests that an interdisciplinary approach is necessary since "everything seems to happen at the same time" and because life events and their associated consequences are interdependent. Career adjustments seem to require psychological counseling, while house buying requires economic counseling. For example a professional advise in a house purchasing situation, only based on the income potential for one spouse, does not provide enough information to evaluate the outcome for the family as a whole. Such strategic decisions are not easy to reverse, and therefore people tend to stick to them even if they have to operate on the limit of the family's time and financial margins.

If we are looking for excitement in consumer research, the family represents a rich reservoir of complex and emotional properties. Theoretical concepts from relationship research have been used as metaphors to make low-involvement products more inter-

TABLE 1

Consequences of high interdependency of multiple roles and events, high interpersonal dependency, and high decision load on decision capacities, decision modes and consumer welfare

Decision capacities	Decision modes	Consumer welfare
Capacity to deal with: • Interdependent and competing goals • Preferences and priorities that have to be negotiated and/or emerge over time • Lack of experience • High risk and long term consequences	• Breakdown/Door in the face • Negotiations • Muddling through • Sequencing of events through strict planning • Learning ex post facto	• Collective –time margins –economic margins • Interpersonal –degree of conflict • Individual – life satisfaction

esting from a marketing perspective. Products or brands are seen as having personalities (Aaker1997) and the consumers are seen as having personal relationships with brands or products (Fournier 1998). Products are ascribed almost human capacities. The relationship paradigm is useful for enhancing the importance of low-risk and low-involvement consumer behavior. However, from a consumer perspective, the important relationships in life are not to brands but to real persons. The family is a setting where the individual relates to significant others and lives out the true joys and challenges of relationships. Knowledge of families as units of consumption can be of real significance for the well-being of many consumers, as such knowledge is necessary to improve both public and private products and services on which the family depends.

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The Effects of Partnering with Good Cause on Corporate and Organization Image

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SESSION OVERVIEW

A recent survey of 25,000 people worldwide showed that 56 percent formed opinions of a company based on its social behavior (The New York Times March 24, 2002). Also, 40 percent of respondents said that they had boycotted or considered boycotting companies they thought as irresponsible. Despite increasing interest on the effects of CSR on consumers' attitudes, it is not clear when and how CSR activities influence consumer evaluations. Previous research suggests that if the degree of perceived congruence between the CSR campaign and the company's core business is high (vs. low), consumers are likely to evaluate the company more favorably (Brown and Dacin 1997; Sen and Bhattacharya 2001). This session seeks to extend the existing literature in the CSR area by identifying other important factors (e.g., perceived intention, effort, and motives) that affect cognitive processes that underlie the outcomes of CSR activities. In addition, this session discusses the effects of CSR activities on evaluations of both the company that supports CSR activities as well as the partnering organization. Furthermore, the session extends previous research by examining when CSR activities may backfire. All three papers present completed empirical work. Overall, the session suggests that in addition to the perceived congruence between the CSR campaign and the company's core business, prior company reputation, perceived intentions and motives, and perceived level of CSR activities may affect consumer evaluations.

EXTENDED ABSTRACTS

"Pure or Mixed Motives: Consumer Attributions for Corporate Prosocial Marketing Programs"

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Marketers face a daunting task in developing and implementing prosocial strategies that garner consumer trust in today's business environment. In a 2001 Gallup survey, only 10 percent of respondents said they have a 'great deal' and only 18 percent said they have 'quite a lot' of confidence in big business. This lack of confidence is not surprising in light of consumer discontent with the role and conduct of business in America as revealed in a Business Week/Harris Poll (Bernstein 2000). Two-thirds said that companies care more about making large profits than about selling safe, reliable, quality products.

Interestingly, it is in this environment that marketing campaigns with a social dimension have found their way into mainstream marketing (Drumwright 1996). While academicians are finding support for the soundness of prosocial marketing strategies (Brown and Dacin 1996, Handelman and Arnold 1999, Lafferty and Goldsmith 1999, Osterhus 1997), research suggests there are critical moderating influences that determine whether such strategies achieve the intended effects or backfire (Osterhus 1997, Handelman and Arnold 1999). Consumers' trust in the firm (Lafferty and Goldsmith 1999, Osterhus 1997), and more specifically, whether consumers attribute the firm's behavior to egoistic (self-interested) or altruistic (other-interested) motives (Handelman and Arnold 1999, Webb and Mohr 1998) are important determinants of the outcomes of prosocial marketing programs.

The purpose of our research is to examine the motives that consumers attribute to companies that participate in prosocial marketing programs. Specifically, we examine whether consumers attribute purely altruistic or purely egoistic motives or reconcile mixed motives for company participation in a variety of cause marketing programs.

Attribution theory has long been used to understand the causal inferences individuals make in their attempts to understand and control their environment (Folkes 1988). According to Kruglanski (1975), endogenously attributed actions are ends in themselves and infer intrinsic motivation. In contrast, exogenously attributed actions are a means to an end, whereby the action provides an avenue to accomplish a further goal. In this context, consumers may perceive prosocial corporate behavior simply as a means to the end of furthering the firm's profit objectives (egoistic). On the other hand, consumers may perceive the firm's prosocial action as an end in itself aimed at helping others (altruistic). Alternatively, consumers' may attribute prosocial marketing programs to a combination of these motives. If so, how are these dual motives reconciled by consumers, and how does this reconciliation influence their attitudinal and behavioral responses?

In the first study, our goal was to discover the variety of motives consumers attribute to companies' socially responsive behaviors. To generate maximally different attributions, student respondents (n=281) were exposed to hypothetical radio scripts requesting consumers' charitable donations through different store types, to different causes (e.g., disaster-relief or an on-going local cause) and with different participation requirements (e.g., cash or product donations; matched or not matched). Respondents were asked to record their thoughts about why the company would make such an offer. Following interpretive procedures, a descriptive coding system was developed and used to code the resulting 651 thoughts (Miles and Huberman 1994). Informed by the theoretical perspectives from the attribution and motivation literatures, interpretive coding was used to aggregate the 23 descriptive categories for why companies would make the offer into three more inferential and explanatory categories: altruistic motives, such as they care, they want to help, or they identify with the beneficiaries (34.5% of responses, 56.2% of cases); egoistic, such as for public relations, more profits, or a tax write-off (63.7% of responses, 85.1% of cases), and other responses, such as everyone benefits (1.8% of responses, 4.0 % of cases). The average number of attributions made by respondents was 2.28. While 42.8% attributed pure motives to the company (all either egoistic or altruistic), 28.7% made equally mixed attributions. Interestingly those reporting equally mixed motives evaluated the offer itself more highly (M=6.05) compared to either group attributing pure motives (M=5.43-5.50).

The first study only allowed us to look at altruistic and egoistic dimensions but not at differences within the dimensions or their relative impact. Using the categories developed in Study 1, a 21-item Likert-type scale was developed to assess firm motives. Adult respondents (n=163) were exposed to fictitious print ads in which a firm offers to make a donation to a nonprofit organization (NPO) each time a consumer makes a purchase. The offers varied on issues such as the length of time of their relationship with the NPO and the nature of the donation. Evaluation of the offer, the firm and

purchase intent were measured. Factor analysis and structural equation modeling revealed four dimensions of consumers' attributions, accounting for 66.7% of the variance. The four dimensions are altruism (7 items including "they care"), normative expectations (3 items including "customers expect" and "stockholders expect"), egoistic (2 items including "taking advantage of the cause"), and accepted business strategies (2 items including "getting more customers." Overall, evaluation of the offer and evaluation of the firm were positively affected by attributions of altruism and accepted business strategies. Purchase intent was also affected positively by these same attributions and negatively by egoistic attributions.

Across these methods and contexts, participants attributed mixed motives to companies making prosocial offers. While evaluations of the offer and firm, and purchase intent were high overall (M=5.22, M=5.02, M=4.68 on 7-point scales, respectively), different attributions did affect response to the offer. Importantly, participants differentiated between company-oriented motives that are seen as acceptable and those perceived as negative and/or manipulative. Consumers seemed to believe that getting and keeping more customers is an acceptable reason to make such offers. Only when they judged the company as "taking advantage" were intentions to participate in such programs diminished.

This research highlights the complexity of consumers' processing of prosocial marketing stimuli. Further analysis will examine whether the elements of the prosocial marketing programs or the characteristics of the respondents elicited the mixed versus pure causal attributions and the impact of these attributions on consumer responses.

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"Negative Consequences of Doing Good: The Effects of Perceived Motives Underlying Corporate Social Responsibility"

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Corporate social responsibility (CSR) activities have been used to address consumers' social concerns, create a favorable corporate image and develop a positive relationship with consumers and other stakeholders. However, a poorly planned CSR activity does not help a company to achieve its goals and can sometimes hurt its existing image and business. This research investigates under what circumstances a company's CSR activity may not achieve any desired effects. Even worse, engaging a CSR activity can backfire on the company (e.g., boomerang effects) if consumers perceive that the company's true motives for the CSR activity is only to improve its image to sell more products than to act for the sake of consumers. This research examines how perceived motives and attributions mediate the effect of CSR activities on company evaluations.

Attribution literature suggests that people make attributions by identifying behavior to the target person's corresponding disposition and by correcting the corresponding disposition with contextual information (Gilbert and Malone 1995; Trope 2000). Contextual information may include other cues in the immediate context, prior knowledge about the target, situational demands, etc. This suggests that in the context of CSR, consumers may evaluate a firm based on not only its CSR activity but also other accessible contextual information, such as prior knowledge about the company and its products. If contextual information is salient, people are more likely to consider it along with dispositional information in evaluating the behavior (Trope 2000). When the perceived thematic relatedness between the CSR activity and the company's core business is high, prior knowledge about the company becomes highly accessible. Under high accessibility of prior knowledge, consumers are more likely to question the company's underlying motives for the CSR activity when prior knowledge contradicts with the implications of the CSR activity.

We employ two experiments to examine how consumers' prior knowledge about the company and its products affects perceived motives for a CSR activity, and how perceived motives may evaluations of the company. In experiment 1, we identify three key factors that moderate the effects of CSR on company evaluations: a company's prior reputation, the degree of perceived thematic relatedness between the CSR campaign and the company's core business, and the source which introduces the company's CSR activity to consumers. The study employs a 2 (company reputation: good vs. bad) X 2 (CSR issue: close vs. far) X 2 (source: corporate advertisement vs. PR) between subjects design. We used a fictitious tobacco company as a company with a bad reputation and a fictitious tobacco patch company as a company with a good reputation. Supporting the National Cancer Associations and supporting the National Environment and Conservation Association represent closely and distantly related CSR campaigns, respectively. The source of CSR is either from the company (e.g., corporate advertising campaign) or from an independent source (e.g., the Corporate Social Ratings Monitor, an independent and non-profit organization that provides unbiased evaluations of corporate activities). Our results suggest that consumers do not evaluate the tobacco company more favorably when it supports the National Cancer Association. More importantly, when the information about the CSR activity comes from its own corporate advertising campaign vs. the Corporate Social Ratings Monitor, consumers are likely to attribute its true motives purely to the purpose of improving image and evaluate the company even more negatively than before the campaign.

In experiment 2, we seek to enhance the findings from experiment 1 by demonstrating that consumers evaluate a company with a good reputation negatively if they perceive that its CSR effort is not adequate or substantial. Specifically, we hypothesize that the degree of a company's effort to support CSR activity relative to its effort to advertise the same CSR activity will moderate the effects

of CSR on company evaluation. We expect that if the company spends more money on corporate advertising featuring its CSR activity than on contributions to the CSR activity, consumers attribute the company's motives only to improving company image. Consequently, it can backfire on the company with a good reputation. The second study employs a 2 (company reputation: good vs. bad) X 2 (perceived CSR effort: high vs. low) between subject design. Again, we used a fictitious tobacco company as a company with a bad reputation and a fictitious tobacco patch company as a company with a good reputation. The CSR campaign for this study is supporting the National Cancer Association and other cancer-related organizations. The amount of effort for CSR is either contributing $18 million to the cancer-related organizations while spending $2 million to advertise about it (high effort), or spending $18 million for advertising while contributing $2 million to the CSR activity (low effort). Consistent with our expectations, we found that when perceived CSR effort is low (vs. high), consumers evaluate the company more negatively than before the campaign regardless of prior reputation.

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"The Effect of Corporate Partnership on Consumer Reactions to Non-Profits"

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Today, more companies than ever before are backing corporate social responsibility (CSR) initiatives such as corporate philanthropy, cause-related marketing, minority support programs and socially responsible employment and manufacturing practices, with real financial and marketing muscle. The Web sites of more than 80% of the Fortune-500 companies address CSR issues, reflecting the pervasive belief among business leaders that CSR in not only an ethical imperative but also an economic one it today's national as well as global marketplace. In making their CSR contributions, companies often partner with or sponsor one or more nonprofit organizations that work on issues/causes the companies are interested in supporting. However, while we are learning much about the effects of a company's involvement in various CSR domains on consumers' attitudes towards the company and their willingness to buy its products (e.g. Brown and Dacin 1997, Sen and Bhattacharya 2001), little is understood about the effect of such involvement on consumers' reactions to the partnering non-profit. Aside from the theoretical relevance of understanding whether, how and why a company's CSR activities can affect consumers' reactions to its non-profit partners, insights into these research questions can not only aid non-profits in selecting optimal corporate partners but also assist companies in better assessing the full impact of their CSR efforts.

Prior research suggests that consumers' generally positive reactions to a company's CSR activities not only depend on a variety of company-specific (e.g. the specific CSR issues the company chooses to focus on, product quality) and consumer-specific factors (e.g. general beliefs about CSR, personal support of CSR issues) but are also driven, at least in part, by their perceived relationship with the company. This paper draws on this contingent picture of consumer reactions to CSR to examine the effects of a company's partnership with a non-profit organization on consumers' reactions to, and more specifically, willingness to support, the

non-profit. In an experiment involving a non-profit organization focused on AIDS prevention and care, we examine the effects of a corporate sponsor's (i) level of involvement (two levels; 1=low (financial support amounting to<10% of nonprofit's current operating budget), 2=high (financial support amounting to>500% of nonprofit's current operating budget as well as marketing support)), (ii) perceptual "fit" with the non-profit (two levels; 1=low (computer company), 2=high (pharmaceutical company)), and (iii) reputation (two levels; 1=low (absent from Fortune's list of Most Admired Companies), 2=high (top of Fortune's list of Most Admired Companies)) on respondents' (a) attitude toward the non-profit, (b) willingness to support the non-profit, in terms of both monetary donations and volunteer work with the organization, (c) attitude toward the company, and (d) causal attributions about the company's support of the non-profit. We also examine the moderating effect of respondents' beliefs about the relationship between companies' CSR efforts and their ability to make high quality products, and the mediating effect of consumers' identification with the sponsoring organization. In line with our expectations, we find that a company's involvement with a non-profit has a positive effect on both consumers' attitudes towards and their willingness to support a non-profit, but only under certain company involvement, fit and reputation conditions. More specifically, consumers' support of the non-profit is more sensitive to the level of a company's involvement when the fit between the two organizations is low than when it is high. On the other hand, sensitivity to involvement level is greater when the company reputation level is high than when it is low. Finally, consumers' willingness to donate money to the non-profit or do volunteer work for it do not seem to be affected in the same manner by corporate involvement. While willingness to donate money seems to parallel consumers' attitude towards the non-profit, their willingness to donate time (i.e. volunteer) seems to be more affected by their beliefs about the CSR-product quality relationship.

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An Introduction to *Politician-Targeted Marketing* and the *Political Customer* in the United States

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ABSTRACT

Mounting evidence suggests that a significant proportion of corporate profitability arises out of idea-based marketing efforts directed at political officials (i.e., *political customers*) in the United States. Despite this evidence, consumer researchers have been at best reluctant to address the behavior of *political customers*. This exploratory inquiry serves as a first step toward remedying this situation by examining the *political customer* via the historically informed application of superordinate inquiry.

I can do more for General Electric by spending time in Washington and assisting in the development of responsible tax policy than I can by staying home and pricing refrigerators.
- Former General Electric CEO Reginald Jones
(quoted in Birnbaum 1993, p. 197)

I have tremendous respect for them [lobbyists], I have confidence in those people. I believe them. They are serious people who aren't coming in to waste my time... And, importantly, they have a good product to sell.
- Former U.S. Senator John Chafee
(quoted in Birnbaum 1993, p. 203)

The amount of money being spent in this town [Washington, D.C.] on lobbying today is at least 100 times more than it was when Bill Clinton came [into office]... It's—it's a lot—it's a lot of billions [of dollars].
- Preeminent Washington Lobbyist Thomas Hale Boggs, Jr.
(quoted in *CBS News 60 Minutes* 1999, p. 3).

Consumer research is concerned with understanding human behavior in the marketplace. More often than not, this behavior is examined with a view toward improving the ability of practicing marketers to both market their goods and services and, ultimately, maximize profitability. One important means by which marketers maximize profitability involves the marketing of ideas to U.S. political officials (i.e., *political customers*). Consumer researchers, however, have essentially ignored this important realm of marketing and consumption activity.

This exploratory inquiry serves as a first step toward remedying consumer research's neglect of the *political customer*. Below, we first both discuss the pervasiveness and importance of marketing efforts directed at U.S. political officials and address the limited manner in which disciplinary scholars have dealt with this type of marketing activity. We then discuss superordinate inquiry, a methodological approach developed in sociology to examine the nature and consequences of the behavior of societal elites, as a potential means by which to generate knowledge pertaining to both the behavior of *political customers* and the manner in which they are targeted. Finally, as an example of superordinate inquiry's promise in this regard, we historically examine the consumption behavior of one prominent (former) *political customer*.

POLITICIAN-TARGETED MARKETING ACTIVITY AND THE *POLITICAL CUSTOMER*

Politician-targeted marketing is here defined as marketing efforts strategically directed at political officials (i.e., *political customers*) with the objective of increasing net resources flows to the firm as a result of either: 1) receiving direct benefits (e.g., subsidies or tax breaks) and/or 2) having macro-level competitive/consumption environments structured or restructured in a manner favoring the interests of the marketer. The process is founded on the marketing of an ideological product to the *political customer*. The sales effort is supplemented via the offering of some form of valued *political product*[1] to the *political customer*.

As a case in point, consider the example of Microsoft and the Software Export Equity Act (SEEA).[2] In the mid 1990s, Microsoft was reportedly looking to boost its profits by simultaneously increasing non-domestic sales and decreasing its tax liability to the U.S. government. Toward this end, in 1996, the company invested $1.1 million in *politician-targeted marketing* efforts, hiring a seasoned team of lobbyists (i.e., *politician-targeted marketing* agents/salespeople) to market its self-serving ideas to key U.S. politicians (i.e., *political customers*) in both political parties. As a result of these and other marketing efforts, *political customer* behavior was greatly influenced. Specifically, targeted politicians, namely members of the House Ways and Means Committee, bought Microsoft's ideological product by restructuring the U.S. tax code so as to grant software exporters a tax break worth an estimated $1.7 billion over the next ten years (Silverstein 1998). The SEEA, inserted surreptitiously into the 1997 Tax Bill, benefits less than 100 companies, with Microsoft being far and away the primary beneficiary (Silverstein 1998).

The case of Microsoft is but the proverbial *tip of the iceberg* when it comes to *politician-targeted marketing* in the United States. The importance and pervasiveness of the phenomenon is evidenced at a more systemic/macro level by considering several key facts. Firstly, lobbying—the commonly used, obfuscatory term employed in the mainstream U.S. media for this marketing practice—is a 1.5-3.0 billion-dollar industry (see: Bates 2001; *CBS News 60 Minutes*

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[1]Common thinking holds that money, in the form of campaign contributions "donated" directly into the campaign coffers of politicians, is all that corporate marketers "give" to their *political customers*. However, campaign contributions are but one of many *political products* routinely offered to *political customers* in exchange for buying the ideological products of the marketer. Although a more detailed discussion of the nature of the "things of value" exchanged in *politician-targeted marketing* is beyond the scope of this paper, note that other *political products* frequently provided to *political customers* include: 1) *soft money* (i.e., money given to political parties [rather than individual politicians]), 2) assistance in writing legislation, 3) various forms of information, 4) blocks of loyal voters, 5) vacations, 6) reasons to use to publicly legitimate the making of marketer-friendly decisions, and 7) visibility and prestige associated with being part of particular causes (see: Choate 1990; Clawson, Neustadtl, and Scott 1992; Greider 1992; Birnbaum 1993; Phillips 1994; Boller 1997).

[2]Numerous examples of other firms and industry associations successfully using *politician-targeted marketing* to increase their profitability in ways quite similar to Microsoft can be found in any of the following: Choate (1990); Clawson, Neustadtl, and Scott (1992); Greider (1992); Birnbaum (1993); Phillips (1994); Bovard (1995); *Mother Jones* (1995); Boller (1997).

1999).[3] Further, it is estimated that up to half of all Congressional legislation in the U.S. is written directly by either corporate lobbyists or corporate employees (see Sidener and Mayes 1996). Finally, the importance and pervasiveness of *politician-targeted marketing* activity is suggested in the fact that the (usually conservative, pro-corporate) Cato Institute estimates that in 1995 alone more than $85 billion in U.S. taxpayer money was given to transnational corporations (TNCs) and other corporate entities as part of *corporate welfare* programs (see Moore and Stansel 1995).[4]

Why do U.S. politicians give corporate representatives the opportunity to write legislation? Why do they hand out billions of dollars of taxpayer money to often massively profitable companies? The concept of *politician-targeted marketing*, which views politicians as the *political customers* of corporate marketers, suggests that these and other benefits accrue to their recipients not by sheer coincidence but rather as the result of carefully formulated, targeted, and implemented marketing strategy. Unfortunately, as discussed below, marketing researchers and, to an even greater extent, consumer researchers have paid but scant attention to addressing: 1) the manner in which corporations market themselves to political officials, and 2) the manner in which *political customers* behave in response to these marketing efforts.

MARKETING AND CONSUMER RESEARCH'S COVERAGE OF *POLITICIAN-TARGETED MARKETING* ACTIVITY AND THE *POLITICAL CUSTOMER*

Consumer research's contribution to *politician-targeted marketing* and *political customer* knowledge is largely limited to Jones and Venkatesh's (1996) discussion of how the large financial resources of massive TNCs have enabled these entities to disproportionately reap the benefits of increasingly standardized global corporate operating environments. Several marketing researchers, however, recognize that corporations can and do influence the behavior of politicians. Terms used by marketing researchers to describe what is here termed *politician-targeted marketing* include *environmental management* (Zeithaml and Zeithaml 1984; Varadarajan, Clark, and Pride 1992), *power*, *megamarketing*, and *political marketing* (Kotler 1972, 1986), *macroenvironmental change* (Varadarajan, Clark, and Pride 1992), *standard setting*

(Prahalad 1995), and *firm-level political behavior* (Keillor, Boller, and Ferrell 1997).[5] However, these researchers, while suggesting that firms do indeed market themselves (and key issues affecting their profitability) to political officials, typically deny that (quid pro quo) exchange, arguably the central concept of marketing, transpires between corporations and their *political customers*.[6] As an apparent result of the claimed absence of exchange, *politician-targeted marketing*, as well as the associated behavior of *political customers*, is seldom if ever looked at in detail as strategic marketing activity in marketing scholarship. In turn, also ignored are the responses of the targets of this "non-marketing" activity.

In summary, marketing researchers and, to an even greater extent, consumer researchers have largely ignored both the manner in which marketers target politicians and the behavior of *political customers*. We are left to erroneously believe that corporations are prohibited from influencing, and therefore cannot significantly influence, the behavior of politicians. We are left to believe that there is no such thing as a *political customer*. As the examples of Microsoft and other firms suggest, this is a highly invalid and extremely naive perspective.

Below, we discuss one largely unexplored methodological path disciplinary scholars might take in an effort to remedy our unfortunate neglect of *politician-targeted marketing* activity and the *political customer*. This methodological approach, superordinate inquiry, is, as discussed below, particularly well suited to generating knowledge pertaining to the nature and consequences of the behavior of societal elites such as *political customers* and the corporate executives who target them with their marketing efforts.

SUPERORDINATE INQUIRY

The superordinate research approach originates from the field of sociology and is based primarily on the work of Galliher (1973, 1980). Most generally, it entails situations in which the researcher "studies up" in the social hierarchy by examining the behavior, for example, of members of the political and corporate/economic elite. Galliher (1980) contends that social scientists have not only neglected their responsibilities to members of civil society with regard to examining and reporting elite behavior but may also be implicitly endorsing social inequality. As Galliher (1980) suggests, the fact that researchers seldom if ever investigate the activities of superordinate people and groups implies the at best questionable assumption that these parties have the public's best interest constantly in mind and will not seek to abuse the power that their positions bestow upon them. According to Galliher:

> ... calls for accountability do not necessarily assume that public officials are inherently evil but merely that their high position gives them power which can be abused. Publicly, social scientists have not objected to the general idea of such research, but simply ignored it (1980, p. 298).

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[3]It should be noted, at this early stage of our discussion, that it (unfortunately) appears highly unlikely that recently approved or currently debated campaign finance reform legislation will do much to curtail the level of exchange taking place in the lobbying/*politician-targeted marketing* industry. This assertion is based on the fact that: 1) this legislation will soon face stiff opposition by powerful parties who claim it is unconstitutional (Hansen 2002), 2) previously enacted legislation similarly designed to curtail industry activity has failed miserably (*CBS News 60 Minutes* 1999), and 3) the new/proposed legislation may open as many doors/loopholes as it closes for *politician-targeted marketers* and their *political customer* targets.

[4]It should be noted that it is not only critics of what is here termed *politician-targeted marketing* that recognize the existence, importance, and pervasiveness of the phenomenon. The case could be easily made, for example, that TNC executives (i.e., the sponsors of *politician-targeted marketing* activity) and *political customers* are the best salespeople for the notion that TNC success is often predicated significantly on this type of marketing activity. See Birnbaum (1993) and Bradley and Howells (1994) for discussions highly supportive of this assertion.

[5]Management researchers, while not referring to such activity as marketing, have similarly recognized that corporations engage in strategic activity aimed at influencing the macro-level environments in which they compete (see: Baysinger 1984; Keim and Zeithaml 1986; Boddewyn and Brewer 1994; Dean and Brown 1995; Hillman and Keim 1995).

[6]Most exemplary is Varadarajan, Clark, and Pride's (1992) contention that although "environmental management is surely one of the most effective ways for companies to compete" (p. 47) Philip Morris' effective politician-targeted marketing-based defense of its (and the cigarette industry's) interests is best viewed as "no-strings-attached philanthropy" (p. 39).

Further, Galliher (1980) holds that: 1) the public's "right to know" the details of elite behavior, 2) a reluctance on the part of elites to discuss their behavior, and 3) the potential magnitude of the harm done to members of the lower ranks of civil society via abuse of superordinate power not only warrants far greater academic attention but also often overrides the need for informed consent—thus justifying clandestine inquiry and other forms of researcher deception. Finally, Galliher (1980) strongly contends that (rarely conducted) investigation of the behavior and motivations of superordinate/elite persons is necessary to attain both scientific adequacy and complete phenomenon description in the social sciences.

This exploratory inquiry, in a modest attempt to move consumer research in the direction of *scientific adequacy* and *complete phenomenon description*[7] adopts the superordinate perspective to generate knowledge pertaining to the manner in which political officials: 1) are the targets of corporate marketing activity, and 2) are influenced by this marketing activity. Our discussion is based largely on analysis of unobtrusively gathered historic data drawn from publicly available sources in the late 1980s and early and mid 1990s.[8] The use of historic evidence in this manner circumvents potential ethical problems inherent in collecting data on elite behavior via other (e.g., clandestine or deceptive) means. Further, consistent with Galliher (1980) and in accord with standards of interpretive/ humanistic inquiry forwarded by Lincoln and Guba (1985) and inculcated into consumer research by Hirschman (1986) and Wallendorf and Belk (1989), our unobtrusive historical approach to superordinate inquiry lends itself to relatively high levels of both research integrity and trustworthiness as a result of the fact that our discussion is not based on direct questioning of *political customers* and the corporate elite who target them with marketing efforts.[9] We now historically examine the consumption behavior of one prominent, archetypal *political customer* (turned *politician-targeted marketing* sales agent).

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[7]Questions have been raised as to whether these objectives are either realizable or worthy of pursuing (see Brown 1996). The terms *scientific adequacy* and *complete phenomenon description* are employed here in an effort to: 1) be consistent with the spirit of Galliher's original call for superordinate inquiry, and 2) communicate clearly the value of superordinate inquiry to consumer researchers, the vast majority of whom appear to believe that *scientific adequacy* and *complete phenomenon description* are both possible and salutary.

[8]Note that historical analysis need not be confined to the study of social phenomena of the distant past. Tuchman (1994), for instance, contends that "we all live history" and suggests that researchers should pay greater attention to the historical significance of their own *epoques* (p. 313). Similarly, Atkinson and Hammersley (1994) assert that "perhaps the most distinctive feature of the twentieth century... is the increasing recognition that the problem of understanding is not restricted to the study of past times and other societies—it applies to the study of one's own social surroundings too" (p. 250).

[9]This assertion is based on: 1) Galliher's (1980) contention that the elite are often unwilling to give honest or complete answers to sensitive questions, and 2) the fact that the issue of corporate marketing efforts targeted at political officials with a view toward influencing the direction of politician behavior and, therefore, public policy is likely to be considered as highly sensitive by both *political customers* and the corporate elite who target them.

(FORMER) SENATOR BOB PACKWOOD, THE QUINTESSENTIAL *POLITICAL CUSTOMER*

On October 1, 1995, Robert (Bob) Packwood resigned from the United States Senate. The official reason widely cited in the U.S. media for his resignation was his desire to avoid forced expulsion as a result of apparent sexual misconduct. Although Packwood's at times comical and/or disgusting sexual escapades received considerable media attention, Senate Ethics Counsel findings suggest that his decision to voluntarily relinquish his long-held, high-level Senate post was also based on a keen desire not to have the details of his life as an active *political customer* publicly revealed.

Our following discussion of Packwood's behavior as a—perhaps *the*—quintessential *political customer*[10] focuses on both the official findings of the Senate Ethics Counsel (as published in *The Packwood Report* [Senate Ethics Counsel 1995]) and on various other reports of his questionable dealings with corporate lobbyists. Although many corporate marketers effectively influenced Packwood's behavior in their favor, particular success was experienced by: 1) Japanese electronics and industrial conglomerate Mitsubishi, 2) Dutch oil mega-TNC Shell, and 3) the National Cable Television Association (NCTA). These marketing entities, like others, attained their *politician-targeted marketing* objectives by hiring former U.S. government officials—Packwood's personal friends and/or former employees—to act as salespeople for their ideological products in Washington, D.C. The specific manner in which each marketer strategically targeted Packwood as a *political customer* is described below.

Mitsubishi

According to the official findings of the Senate Ethics Counsel (1995), Steve Saunders had for many years been a close personal friend of both Senator Packwood and the Senator's estranged wife Georgie. From 1977 through 1981, Saunders was a high-ranking staff member in two Congressional committees chaired by Senator Packwood. In May of 1982, Saunders established his own political consulting firm. In testimony before the Senate Ethics Counsel investigating Packwood's alleged improprieties, Saunders recalled that his consulting firm was retained by Mitsubishi "in the 1980s" to provide advice "on various trade issues" (Senate Ethics Counsel 1995, p. 252). Saunders testified that in 1987 or 1988 his firm began working with Mitsubishi's Washington, D.C.-based lawyers, lobbyists, and public relations advisors regarding negotiation of a settlement of a Japanese patents rights dispute between Mitsubishi and Fusion, a small U.S. high-tech company headquartered in Maryland. Fusion's president, Don Spero, discussed the issue with representatives of the U.S. Trade Representative (USTR). The ultimate result of this discussion was that the Deputy USTR suggested to Mitsubishi executives that they should settle their dispute with the American firm "on terms favorable to Fusion because the issue had become political in the United States" (Senate Ethics Counsel 1995, p. 253). Saunders testified before the Counsel that the most effective way to deal with the publicity generated by

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[10]The assertion that Packwood is perhaps the quintessential *political customer* is based on numerous reports that his behavior is not atypical of many of his past and present colleagues in high political office in the United States. See any of the following for specific discussion of how Packwood's behavior is by no means unique: Fasciocco (1995); Goldman (1995); *Palm Beach Post* (1995); Smith (1995). For other accounts of the similar behavior of other *political customers* see: Choate (1990); Clawson, Neustadtl, and Scott (1992); Birnbaum (1993); Hilton (1995); Moore and Stansel (1995); Lewis (1996).

Spero would be to present information about both the Japanese patent system and the Mitsubishi/Fusion dispute to members and staff of the Senate Commerce and Finance Committees (Senate Ethics Counsel 1995). Saunders was directly involved in this presentation because it became apparent to Mitsubishi's Washington lobbying firm that "they needed to contact Senator Packwood, who was a senior member of the Commerce Committee..." (Senate Ethics Counsel 1995, p. 253).

Mitsubishi was indeed able to contact (and influence) Packwood through its *politician-targeted marketing* agent. Based on Senate Ethics Counsel findings, it appears that Mitsubishi was able to sell the ideological product of acting on its behalf by providing the (former) Senator an opportunity to appease his estranged wife with both money and a job opportunity. The situation is addressed in a November 3, 1989 diary entry[11] made by Packwood.

> Saunders arrived and he and I went over to the Tortilla Coast or whatever that place is for beers. I drank two quickly and I said, "Steve, I need to talk about the purpose of the meeting." Steve said, "I think I know. You and Georgie are splitting." I said, "Well, I think we're going to separate and I kind of want to know if you could be of some help." He said, "In what fashion." I said, "I don't know how much your firm makes." He says, "We're doing $600 to $700 thousand a year now." I said, "I wonder if you can put Georgie on a retainer." He says, "How much?" I said, "$7500 a year." He says, "$7500 a year???" I said, "Yeah." He said, "Consider it done..." (Senate Ethics Counsel 1995, p. 245).

Three days later, Packwood wrote the following passage in his diary.

> At a request of Steve Saunders I stopped in at the Finance Committee to read two questions which I wanted asked of a man named Spero, the President of Fusion something or other. This guy's been carrying on a vendetta with the Japanese about patents for years... I said of course I'd go and ask the questions (Senate Ethics Counsel 1995, p. 246).

Fusion President Don Spero, speaking with regard to Packwood's appearance before the Finance Committee, states that: "Halfway through his first question, I said, 'Mitsubishi wrote this, he's reading this, why has this happened?' Then he left and didn't even listen to our answers" (Tackett 1995). Shortly after being questioned, Spero thought he had figured out why Packwood had acted on Mitsubishi's behalf when he discovered that the Japanese firm had given about $2,000 in campaign contributions to the Senator (Tackett 1995). However, it was not until the involvement of Saunders and Packwood's solicitation of a position for his estranged wife was announced by the Senate Ethics Committee in late 1995 that Spero had a complete explanation. Ethics Committee Chairman Mitch McConnell, commenting on Packwood's behavior in the Fusion-Mitsubishi case, states that: "It was completely unexplainable. Now it's pretty obvious. It's a clear, flagrant abuse of power and it's wrong" (Tackett 1995). The Senate Ethics Counsel's official conclusion on the issue reads as follows:

> Senator Packwood and Mr. Saunders engaged in discussions about job offers and income for the Senator's wife at a time when Mr. Saunders was actively representing a client with a

specific and direct interest before Senator Packwood's committees... Counsel finds that Senator Packwood rearranged his schedule at the last minute to personally attend the November 6, 1989 hearing at Mr. Saunders's request, within three days of the meeting where a job offer for Mrs. Packwood was discussed. Additionally, Counsel finds that the questions asked by Senator Packwood at the hearing, directed to Fusion's president, were virtually identical to the questions submitted by Mr. Saunders on behalf of Mitsubishi (Senate Ethics Counsel 1995, pp. 269-270).

Shell Oil

In the late 1980s, Shell faced what Packwood, then the Senate Finance Committee's senior Republican, termed in his diary a "special problem" regarding taxation on property transferred between the company's partners (Engelberg 1995). The Dutch oil TNC hired long-time Packwood personal friend and Washington lobbyist Ron Crawford to market its interests in Congress. Crawford was hired because, according to a Shell spokeswoman, "he did have a way to get in and meet with" Packwood (Engelberg 1995).

Packwood and Crawford first met in 1968 during the recount of Packwood's first Congressional election (Senate Ethics Counsel 1995). For the next 25 years, Crawford, who describes the former Senator as "one of his best friends," was an active fundraiser for every one of Packwood's successful reelection campaigns (Senate Ethics Counsel 1995, p. 299). Beginning in the early 1980's, Crawford was employed as a registered lobbyist for a long list of corporations and trade associations including General Motors, the National Cable Television Association, the Pharmaceutical Manufacturer's Association, the National Rifle Association, the National Restaurant Association, and the American Iron and Steel Institute (Senate Ethics Counsel 1995). In this capacity, he successfully marketed the interests of these clients, and others, directly to Packwood (see: Engelberg 1995; Senate Ethics Counsel 1995). Packwood discusses Crawford's distinctive competency in accessing the powerful Senator on behalf of his clients in the following excerpts from his personal diary.

> But Ron wanted me to meet with them [pharmaceutical firm representatives] because they want to retain Ron because, as Ron says, "People hear that you're tough to get to and they know how I can get to you." I said, "Well, that's a happy relationship for all of us" (Senate Ethics Counsel 1995, p. 300). [bracketed text added for clarity]

> The advantage Ron brings to me in the Washington PAC [Political Action Committee] scene is that much of his income is dependent upon his relationship with me (Senate Ethics Counsel 1995, p. 299). [bracketed text added for clarity]

On September 13, 1989, (then) Senator Packwood recorded in his diary that Mr. Crawford called on him on behalf of Shell Oil. According to diary entries, the following conversation transpired:

> Crawford: "I know how much you hate the oil companies."
>
> Packwood: "... I still hate the oil companies but I'll do you a favor" (Senate Ethics Counsel 1995, p. 299).

Shortly thereafter, the Senate Finance Committee and Congress passed into law a "special tax bill avidly sought by Shell" (Engelberg 1995) which, through important loopholes, provided the company with "a tax break worth millions" of dollars (Fasciocco 1995).

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[11]Packwood's personal diary, kept to chronicle his 25 years as a legislator, was the central source of evidence against Packwood in his Senate Ethics Counsel hearing.

The National Cable Television Association

On June 7, 1990, a Commerce Committee vote took place concerning re-regulation of the cable television industry. The National Cable Television Association (NCTA), represented in Washington by long-time Packwood friend Ron Crawford, strongly opposed the bill. The bill was passed by the Committee with but one dissenting vote—that of Senator Bob Packwood (Senate Ethics Counsel 1995). Although Packwood testified before the Senate Ethics Counsel that his dissenting vote was simply a result of his position on the issues in question being consistent with that of the cable industry, the Counsel concluded that the *political customer's* vote had indeed been influenced by Crawford's marketing efforts on behalf of the NCTA.

Once again, as was the case with Mitsubishi, the ideological product of the marketer (i.e., the notion that the Senator/*political customer* should behave in a manner favoring the interests of the marketer) was successfully sold on the basis of the provision of job opportunities and money to appease Packwood's estranged wife. Packwood diary entries dated October 18, 1989 chronicle a discussion he had had with NCTA lobbyist Ron Crawford: "Talked to Ron Crawford. He'll put up $7500 a year for Georgie" (Senate Ethics Counsel 1995, p. 300). In a late March 1990 diary entry, Packwood again documents the discussion of employment opportunities for Mrs. Packwood between himself and Crawford.

I said, "Well, if you're going to support Georgie in the style to which I'd like her to become accustomed..." and he laughed. He says, "Yeah, I'll guarantee the $7500 for five years." And he said, "If you're Chairman of the Finance Committee I can probably double that." We both laughed (Senate Ethics Counsel 1995, p. 303).

A diary entry of April 15, 1990 documents Packwood's desire to have Crawford submit to his estranged wife a letter regarding employment opportunities.

... at least we have the ducks lined up... I'll have Ron Crawford send her a letter that says "Georgie, I'd be willing to talk with you about employment," perhaps having put in the letter in the magnitude of $7500 a year (Senate Ethics Counsel 1995, p. 304).

Crawford drafted and sent to Mrs. Packwood a letter discussing employment opportunities in the manner suggested by Senator Packwood. It was dated June 13, 1990, just six days after the Senator had cast the lone dissenting vote on a bill strongly opposed by Crawford's client, the NCTA. The Senate Ethics Counsel concluded that this series of events had transpired as a result of more than mere coincidence.

Senate Ethics Counsel finds that Senator Packwood did in fact solicit or otherwise encourage an offer of personal financial assistance from Mr. Crawford, an individual representing clients with particularized interests in matters that the Senator could influence... there is evidence to suggest that there was some connection between Senator Packwood's official position and his relationship with Mr. Crawford (Senate Ethics Counsel 1995, pp. 311-312).

Overall Counsel Conclusions and Packwood's Resignation and Transformation

Contradicting his diary entries, Packwood, in his personal testimony before the Senate Ethics Counsel, vehemently denied being influenced by the marketing efforts of Mitsubishi, Shell, the

NCTA, and other corporations and trade associations. However, in accord with their individual case findings discussed above, the Counsel concluded that:

Senator Packwood abused his United States Senate office and engaged in improper conduct which has brought disgrace upon the United States Senate, by inappropriately linking personal financial gain to his official position, in that he solicited or otherwise encouraged offers of financial assistance from five persons who had a particular interest in legislation or issues that he could influence (Senate Ethics Counsel 1995, p. 320-321).

After briefly contesting the Counsel's conclusion and stating that he would not resign, Senator Packwood shortly thereafter stepped down from his Senate post. Although Packwood was roundly praised by colleagues as a model Senator, his saga and appeal to marketers such as Mitsubishi, Shell Oil, and the NCTA was perhaps best summarized by an *Investor's Business Daily* reporter just days after the Senator's resignation.

Packwood was a solid member of the Washington establishment, in part because he was the swing vote everyone needed. His deal-making earned him a reputation as a master of the details of legislation... But it's clear that Washington often respects what the rest of us see as corruption... Bob Packwood epitomized the way such business got done (Fasciocco 1995).

Several months after his resignation, Packwood joined a long line of other well-known former *political customers* on the other— far more lucrative—side of the *politician-targeted marketing* fence with the establishment of his own Washington, D.C. lobbying firm. When interviewed shortly after the office's opening, Packwood, while declining to name any of his customers, stated that: "... the clients are starting to come in... I love the privacy... The wonderful part of this position is I no longer have to reveal (details)" (Burger 1996). Packwood's early business dealings were reported to be in the areas of taxation, trade, telecommunications, and health care— all issues he had dealt with extensively in his top posts on the Finance and Commerce, Science, and Transportation Committees (Burger 1996).

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Consumer researchers concern themselves most typically with understanding and describing human behavior in the marketplace with a view toward improving the ability of practicing marketers to both market their goods and services and, ultimately, maximize long-term profitability. What is here termed *politician-targeted marketing*, an important means by which marketers seek to maximize long-term profitability, has been essentially ignored by disciplinary scholars. Neglected, as a component of this phenomenon, is the consumption behavior of members of the target market—the *political customer*. This neglect not only detracts from the discipline's ability to attain honorific scientific status and achieve complete phenomenon description but, as Galliher (1973, 1980) might contend, supports and perpetuates both elite abuse of power and its deleterious consequences.

Several implications for marketing and consumer behavior research, as well as public policy, emerge from this exploratory inquiry. As for future (marketing) research direction, suggested is the opportunity and need to revisit the commonly held notion that firms can do little if anything to impact the macro-level environments in which they compete. One possible avenue for future consumption research emerges from the fact that our data suggests

that much present day *political customer* consumption behavior can be viewed as a form of *surrogate consumption* (see Solomon 1986) "gone wrong" wherein surrogates (i.e., governmental officials elected to spend/distribute money wisely on behalf of those who have elected/hired them) end up serving mainly themselves (e.g., to stay in office/power) and but a very small group of highly privileged constituents. Public policy implications include the basic notion that correcting the balance of democracy back toward mass civil society begins, perhaps, with an understanding that the marketing efforts of TNCs and other corporate entities have done much to tip the scale in the favor of but a few (already privileged) persons.

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The Elicitation and Generation of a Script for the Acquisition of Major Household Appliances Within a Consumer Decision-Making Framework

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INTRODUCTION

Despite the overwhelming impact of technology on household appliances in recent times, research that intends to explain consumers' choice processes in this regard, is limited. Consumer decision-making models that are generally used to comprehend consumer decision-making and to structure consumer behavior research, do not satisfactorily address the problem because they were never intended to reflect specific purchasing events[1] (Burns & Gentry 1990).

CONSUMER DECISION-MAKING MODELS

Some of the best-known consumer decision-making models were developed during the 1960's and 1970's by marketers as part of a developing discipline of consumer behavior within the dominant research perspective of the time, namely logical positivism (Engel *et al* 1995:G11). The popularity of model building decreased around 1978 and when the models were later revised, it was difficult to ascertain whether the contemporary models were accurate and whether they have predictive value (Du Plessis *et al* 1991:18, 19, 39).

CONSUMER DECISION-MAKING MODELS CRITICIZED

Since the 1980's several objections against the indiscriminate use of traditional consumer decision-making models and argumentation for careful premeditation of the context and purpose within a model is used, have been raised, for example:

- *The assumption of rational consumer decision-making behavior*. Allegations that these models reflect highly subconscious matter in a consciously oriented information paradigm (Solomon 1996:287) are based on evidence of haphazard and opportunistic consumer decision-making processes (Hayes-Roth 1982), the use of heuristics such as "trusted" brand names to direct choice processes (Bozinoff 1982). Evidence that a repertoire of consumer decision-making strategies may be used depending on the product, situation, context and previous experience came to the fore amidst concerns over an over-emphasis of external influences (Solomon 1996:269, Bettman 1993).

- *A generalization of the decision-making process over different product categories and situations*. Details included in traditional models may give the impression that extended buying behavior is the norm (Dhar 1992).

- *Critique against a presumed serial approach to consumer decision-making*. In contrast, models in the field of cognitive science depict information processing in a more *parallel* way to provide for some stages of decision-making to occur simultaneously (Martin & Kiecker 1990), while Stewart (1990) proposes a continuous model without beginning or end. Research to bring about a closer fit between theory and practice is thus suggested.

- *Presumed decision-making strategies*. Consumers often take *decision short cuts* or apply hybrid strategies when they find it difficult to prioritize product features (e.g. emphasis on recommendations of trusted sources such as friends). Bettman (1993) agrees that traditional models fail to acknowledge decision-making strategies that aim to reduce cognitive effort.

- *Logical positivism used as theoretical approach*. Although contemporary models of consumer decision-making have been enriched with especially psychological rationales (Du Plessis *et al* 1991:5), they are still dominated by the theoretical approach of logical positivism and predominantly reflect a technological-managerial approach within the philosophy of classical economics. It is proposed that consumer decision-making models reflect *consumption* behavior rather than *buyer* behavior.

SUGGESTIONS FOR ALTERNATIVE FRAMEWORKS

Suggestions for the development of alternative theories and conceptual frameworks have been raised on several occasions (Schiffman & Kanuk 2000:6, Du Plessis *et al* 1991:4, Harrel 1990) to inter alia acknowledge behavior with underlying cognitive structure and to implement a subjectivist approach with inclusion of qualitative research techniques to allow for more than the obvious in consumer behavior research. Scripts as an alternative to consumer decision-making models have certain structural characteristics that offer potential in this regard (Puto 1985). Unfortunately, since the introduction of scripts within the area of consumer behavior in the late 1970's, and the first script-elicitation studies (Whitney & John 1983, Stoltman *et al* 1989), little has been done to implement the script concept in practice.

THE POTENTIAL OF SCRIPT THEORY FOR CONSUMER BEHAVIOR RESEARCH

Bartlett, a psychologist, introduced the "schema" concept in 1932 as a mental representation of experience. He postulated that an individual's experiences undergo processes of rationalization, elaboration and distortion within pre-existing schemata in memory (Shute 1996). Schank and Abelson (1977 in Eysenck 1994) extended the idea of schemata to explain how knowledge of more complex "event sequences" is represented in memory. These were referred to as "scripts". By definition scripts–if elicited and generated for specific events–could be used to describe and even predict consumer behavior in specific circumstances. Several definitions for scripts exist: Puto (1985) for example defines a script as a coherent sequence of events expected by an individual in a particular context, involving him either as participant or as an observer. A script represents the action sequences, participants, and physical objects found in a situation (Abelson 1981 in Schurr 1986). Scripts as form of declarative knowledge refer to the structural nature of scripts and also refer to how scripts are organized in memory (Matlin 1998). Scripts have certain *properties* (Bower *et al* 1979 in Bozinoff & Roth 1983) and specific *structural characteristics* that differentiate them from other memory presentations (Thorndyke & Yekovich in Smith & Houston 1986).

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[1]Rousseau developed a model of adult purchase decision-making process for furniture (Du Plessis & Rousseau1999:91).

A script enables an individual to act on previous experiences instead of relearning the steps of appropriate buying behavior with every purchase (Martin 1991). Because scripts contain generic information, are temporal in nature and are sequentially ordered, they open the prospect of exploring scripts as representations of specific events–even purchasing events (Whitney & John 1983)–that could result in concept formation and theory building within the domain of consumer behavior. A major advantage of a script is that it is compiled from the perspective of the consumer and presents a more realistic scenario of a specific event. Script theory could shed light on consumers' expectations, pro-active planning, situational decision-making processes and behavior.

SCRIPTS AS A SPECIFIC FORM OF SOCIAL SCHEMATA

Schemata are regarded as the building blocks for cognition and have been proposed as a means whereby individuals deal with the overwhelming amount of information in the environment (Leigh & Rethans 1983). A schema enables selective perception in everyday living by focusing attention on a limited portion of stored knowledge that is used to conclude appropriate subsequent behaviors (Taylor *et al* 1991, Schurr 1986). Scripts are a specific form of schemata (*event* schemata) that are temporally and sequentially ordered (hypothetical knowledge structures) in long-term memory and contain series of actions, which are arranged in hierarchical order (Whitney & John 1983). A script consists of interconnected elements and the actions in one slot affect the contents of another (Schank & Abelson, 1977 in Whitney & John 1983). Through experience the application of scripts in real life situations becomes automatic so that they are activated in situational context to direct behavior (Sutherland 1995).

RATIONALE FOR THE ELICITATION OF SPECIFIC PURCHASING SCRIPTS

A script contains a sequence of events from the point of view of the consumer (Abelson 1981) and ultimately has the potential to offer valuable insights into consumer behavior (Taylor *et al* 1991). In contrast to consumer decision-making models, scripts categorically identify principle actions, the people (actors) and the objects involved in a recurring event and consequently facilitate the study of individuals, objects and roles within specific decision-making contexts (Speck *et al* 1988). Because scripts reflect consumers' mental representations of an event, they could provide guidelines on how to go about changing/adapting consumer behavior. Scripts further serve as a reminder that consumers tend to act on what they are familiar and comfortable with (Bozinoff & Roth 1983): an important consideration during consumer education and facilitation processes.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVE

In an effort to generate an alternative to traditional consumer decision-making models that would reflect consumers' buying behavior, a project was designed to elicit and organize a script for the acquisition of major household appliances as an example of complex, high risk decisions.

DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

Following an ideographic approach, no assumptions were made regarding the various elements of decision-making to be expected, the concepts pertaining to the phenomena relevant to the study or their inter-relationship. These were to be elicited during the research process by allowing participants to share their cognitive representations of the event irrespective of any resemblance to existing theories on consumer decision-making. Broad non-spe-

cific concepts that coincide with the objective of the research and basic script theory were however identified to set the parameters for the study:

- The *acquisition of household appliances* was considered relevant *from the point where the need to replace an appliance is acknowledged until the appliance is installed at home*.

- *Major household appliances* include cooling, cooking, baking and laundry appliances (*white goods*). *Washing machines* were used as an example as one of the most frequently purchased major appliances that are seldom purchased without prior deliberation (Cox et al 1983). According to script theory, a script for one event (e.g. the acquisition of a washing machine) can eventually be applied to a related event in the same product category (e.g. stoves, refrigerators).

- *A script* was regarded as the written portrayal of the purchasing event, including the relevant schemata, as reconstructed from the view of experienced consumers.

- *Script norms* refer to the characters (*people*), their respective roles, the props (*objects*) and actions that are present in the script in the form of person schemata, role schemata, object schemata and action/decision-making schemata respectively. Their integration and ordering eventually reflects the specific event (Abelson 1981).

RESEARCH PROCEDURE

Theoretical approach

A script-elicitation study is explorative in nature. The research maintained the voluntaristic assumption that consumers are active agents who interact with their environments and consequently gain experience, generate knowledge, beliefs and intentions that affect and direct subsequent consumer behavior (Hudson & Murray 1986). An emic (insider view), ideographic approach of enquiry was used (Denzin & Lincoln 2000:10, 158). This required the use of a smaller sample and the rigorous analysis of the specific decision-making event through multiple data-collection techniques in an attempt to formulate interpretive statements pertaining to the class of phenomena represented by the event (major household appliances) (Denzin in Corsini 1994:205). Research techniques were selected to construct the event from the point of view of the consumer. Techniques used are typical of the post-positivist paradigm: projective techniques, interviews and focus-group discussions (Denzin & Lincoln 2000:9). The implementation of multiple techniques facilitated triangulation.

Sample

Experienced men and women (volunteers), irrespective of marital status, between the ages of 30 and 60 years who were responsible or co-responsible for their own households were recruited from middle and higher socio economic levels to ensure adequate experience of the purchase situation (Du Plessis & Rousseau 1999:54-62). An effort was made to include an even distribution of individuals over different age and socio economic status levels.

Data-collection site

Data-collection stages 1,3, 4 and 5 were conducted in a laboratory setting at the University of Pretoria to provide an intellectual atmosphere for the activation of data-laden schemata

and to have some control over environment and context (Mouton 1996:149).

Data-collection and analysis

Because schemata are stored as declarative knowledge in long-term memory and are difficult to retrieve, multiple, less structured data-collection techniques were used (Huberman & Miles 1994). The researcher conducted the data-collection personally and hoped that the affiliation of both researcher and assistant as lecturers at a tertiary institution would contribute to participants' perception of their contribution towards the study (Mouton 1996:149).

Data-collection was done in five stages. *Data driven* as well as *conceptually driven* strategies were used. This included *written* and *oral techniques*; *group* and *individual sessions*; *reconstruction* as well as *discrimination techniques*. Data analysis was done immediately after every data-collection stage for results to be used to direct subsequent data-collection stages (Huberman & Miles 1994).

Script-elicitation was done in the following order:

• *Stage 1: The concept driven, written, reconstruction technique*

Fifty-seven participants described in writing, in their own words and style, *how people in general go about to replace a washing machine that has broken down after ten to twelve years of service (*method adapted from Bower *et al* 1979). To capture a very specific range of statements the *starting* and *concluding points* of discussion were clearly indicated. A minimum of 20 statements including primary actions, people, role descriptions and objects in participants' descriptions of the purchasing event, was required.

• *Stage 2: The concept driven, oral reconstruction technique*

The same instructions as for stage 1 were used. Individual interviews with 25 new participants provided the opportunity to capture detail that seemed to have been under-reported in stage 1. With participants' permission, interviews were recorded.

• *Stage 3: The data driven, discrimination technique*

The intention with the discrimination technique was to evoke contextually rich data and to minimize cognitive load (Donoghue 2000). Responses of stages 1 and 2 were used to design visual stimuli (clip art drawings) to reflect different scenarios of the decision-making event. The pictures conveyed realistic but minimal clues to induce scripts from memory. A pre-test was done with five individuals. They were requested to *select a minimum of 15 pictures* (the average number of statements calculated for the previous data-collection stages) *to construct a scenario depicting the purchasing of a new washing machine* and to arrange pictures in sequence before giving a written description of what was happening in every scene. Some of the individuals in the scenes were identified by captions and the rest had to be identified by the participants. The researcher and assistant thereafter selected 35 pictures for the final procedure. To allow for triangulation, all 25 participants from the stage 2 procedure participated.

• *Stage 4: A data driven, written reconstruction technique to elicit sub-actions*

To address possible neglect of subtle aspects of the decision-making process *clued recall* (Stoltman *et al* 1989) was used: 25 participants from the stage 1 sample were asked to describe a specific scene of the decision-making process (*in-store activities*. Thereafter *actions that preceded that scene* as well as the *financial decision-making process* had to be described (Schurr 1986). Assuming a hierarchical order for script elements, it was expected that final reports would correspond with the sequential description during previous stages but that certain activities might be more detailed due to the nature of the instructions.

• *Stage 5: Focus-group discussions*

Focus-groups were used as collective brainstorming sessions to evoke active discussions on certain elements of the purchasing process to confirm the contents and structure of the final script. This further provided an opportunity for triangulation (Macun & Posel 1998). A phenomenological approach to focus-group discussions was used to uncover *everyday knowledge* and *everyday language* and to expose generality of ideas (McQuarrie & McIntyre 1988). Discussions were aimed at reaching consensus statements on specific topics within the groups. Conversations were tape-recorded for transcription. Two sessions were held with a total of 18 participants from the stage 1 sample. Strangers were grouped together (Macun & Posel 1998).

RESULTS

Isolation of script norms and elements and ordering of actions

Data of stages 1 to 3 were used to identify and integrate script norms and elements. Stage 4 intended to illustrate the set quality of the script while focus-group discussions served to confirm conclusions and to clarify issues of uncertainty.

• *Stage 1: Concept driven, written reconstruction technique*

Actions mentioned were coded and then clustered into related categories (e.g. needs assessment) in accordance with concepts relevant within consumer decision-making theory. This coincides with script theory that postulates that scripts contain *generic action statements* rather than detailed descriptions of an event. This reduced the number of actions mentioned from 42 to 20. Action statements were coded in the order as indicated by the participants: 10 to 21 actions (an average of 15) were mentioned per participant. Content analysis and coding was done by the researcher and independently repeated by a trained assistant. Inter rater reliability was calculated by comparing their interpretation of the responses (Touliatos & Compton 1988): [n/ (n+a)] x 100=% agreement[2] ➡ $[832/(832 + 23)] \times 100 = 97{,}3\%$ (Reflecting high inter rater reliability).

A coding form was designed and actions were transferred onto it *in the specific order* as identified by participants for statistical analysis. Statements were coded in terms of their respective positions as mentioned. Frequencies were calculated and the mean positions of the generic statements were then determined to position them in sequential order in the script protocol. Table 1 indicates the mean position of every generic action as well as the frequency of mention from which main concepts and the strength of actions were determined. The procedure was repeated for stages 2 to 4 although limited space unfortunately prevents the publication of all data. The stage 1 protocol provides a clear indication of *decision-making schemata* (e.g. *store visits*) and *object schemata* (e.g. *non-personal information sources*). Despite clear instructions, data on *role schemata* was disappointing. This shortcoming was addressed during the following stages.

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[2]*n*: number of agreements; a: number of disagreements

TABLE 1
Results: Stage 1 (Concept Driven, Written Reconstruction Technique)

Mean position	Variable (action)	*n=57*	%	Std dev	P-value*
3.6	Use of non personal information: written form	24	42	2.31869	0.4678
4.1	Needs assessment	38	67	2.50064	0.0567
4.5	Use of personal information sources: friends, family	33	58	3.61715	0.1037
5.5	Use of personal information: phoning stores	33	58	2.41370	0.1815
5.6	Store visits: to acquire product information	50	89	2.62752	0.9767
5.7	Store visits: to compare products	35	61	3.12431	0.5036
5.8	Store visits: to compare prices	29	51	3.28040	0.4137
6.4	Use of non personal information: product specifications	20	35	3.21130	0.9388
6.65	Financial decisions	44	77	3.51655	0.8230
6.7	Making a shortlist of suitable alternatives	17	30	2.99509	0.0647
7.7	Evaluation of alternatives	24	42	3.65263	0.5044
7.8	Store visits: to compare retailer benefits	29	51	2.68903	0.9122
9.9	Final decision: product	53	93	2.96802	0.1499
10.2	Final decision: store	29	51	3.86980	0.2482
10.6	Store visit: to confirm decision	8	14	2.38671	**
12.0	Purchasing action	57	100	2.96100	0.7973
13.2	Delivery	54	95	2.92277	0.4797
13.3	Reconsider decision	6	10	2.33809	**
13.7	Study the manual	7	12	2.98408	**
14.2	Installation of appliance	49	86	2.98792	0.4183

* *These figures indicate the p-value for the two halves of the sample that were compared through the Mann-Whitney rank sum test for internal consistency (Discussion follows later)*
** *No calculations due to low response (n<15)*

To determine the trustworthiness of data, the sample was randomly divided into two groups (*n*=29; *n*=28), and then compared using the Mann-Whitney rank sum test (for independent groups) (Steyn *et al* 1994:594). No significant difference in responses and position of mention was found for any of the actions mentioned by the two groups (p [0,05), which indicated trustworthy responses.

• *Stage 2: Concept driven, oral reconstruction technique*

No new actions to those extracted during stage 1 were added, which confirmed the potential of a written technique to elicit detailed descriptions. The same coding schedule as for stage 1 was used. Inter rater reliability was calculated at 97,4%. Results were tabled in the same way as for stage 1.

Again, the Mann-Whitney rank sum test for two independent groups was used to compare stage 1 and stage 2 data. For all but one variable (NEEDS ASSESSMENT) no significant difference in the main positions of the script actions mentioned in the script

protocols could be found (p [0,05). The position of NEEDS ASSESSMENT possibly differed because participants had more time to think during the written procedure. A better response in terms of role actions was achieved.

• *Stage 3: Data driven discrimination technique*

Stage 3 eventually produced more detail on role actions, probably because the technique served as a reminder of experience. Only 22 of the 25 invited participants arrived for the data-collection session. Because of the intention to compare the results of stages 2 and 3 (the same sample, but different techniques) to determine trustworthiness of responses, no new participants were included.

The Mann Whitney rank sum test was used to compare the data of stages 1 and 3 (two independent groups). Except for NEEDS ASSESSMENT, there were no significant differences in the actions mentioned or the ordering of actions in the two script protocols (p [0,05). NEEDS ASSESSMENT probably differed for the two techniques because stage 1 required independent reconstruction of

TABLE 2
Parameters for Indication of Action Strengths in the Script Protocols

Indicative style of presentation	Frequency (%)
action	25-39
action	**40-59**
ACTION	60-74
ACTION	**75+**

the event, while a discrimination technique (where pictures might have served as a reminder of actions) was used in stage 3. Stage 3 results thus probably reflected the event more accurately. A comparison of the results of stages 2 and 3 (the same sample) confirmed this conclusion: responses were compared using the Wilcoxon rank sum test (Steyn *et al* 1994:594) and no significant differences in the positions of actions for the two script protocols (p≤0,05) were identified. This is indicative of trustworthy responses.

• *Stage 4: Data driven, written reconstruction technique*

Because stage 4 results only reflected a part of the script, it could only be compared to the other three versions on *face value*. The same sequence of actions was identified as in the stage 1 protocol (both of the written procedures).

• *Elicitation of role schemata in stages 1 to 4*

The projective technique (stage 3) was more successful in eliciting role schemata than the other techniques. It is recommended that a specially designed report sheet with columns to remind participants to specify all of the schemata, be used for stages 1 and 4 in future studies. Reported role actions were tabled and integrated for the final script protocol. Apparently friends and salespeople seem to be the only people consulted during the pre-purchase stages of information search, while salespeople seem to be influential in-store.

• *Stage 5: Focus-group discussions*

Data was transcribed and the contents were analyzed so that concluding statements could be used to confirm the script protocols of stages 1 to 4.

ORGANIZATION OF SCRIPT PROTOCOLS

Identification of strength of actions

Actions mentioned at frequencies below 25% were eliminated from the script protocol as being less prominent. Other actions were categorized (Table 2) and script protocols were then re-written in the relevant style to make actions more identifiable in terms of their prominence/strength in the *empirical* script protocols (a practice generally used in script studies) (Bozinoff 1982).

Organization of a single empirical script protocol

Table 3 reflects an integrated version of the results in terms of strength of actions to enable a comparison of data. To generate a single script for the event, the level of agreement of the various

script protocols was evaluated. NEEDS ASSESSMENT was placed in the first position based on stage 3 responses and confirmation by focus-groups. The strength of actions was determined by comparing the various script protocols on face value. Main concepts and elements within a group of related elements were analyzed to determine the *scene headers*. A scene eventually incorporates all related elements. Concepts identified in the initial procedure before a reduction of data from 42 to 20 statements were integrated with basic action statements to give more comprehensive expression of some *actions/elements* (Figure 1).

From the empirical script it can be concluded that someone with a less-developed script will probably conclude with the more prominent/stronger actions mentioned by 75% and more of respondents (the *common core* of the script) (Bozinoff 1982).

CONCLUSIONS

The script generated for the acquisition of major household appliances was evaluated to determine whether it could be accepted within the theoretical framework of the discipline:

In terms of the *basic properties of a script* (Bozinoff & Roth 1983), *action statements* were elicited in a very uniform and logical way in all four stages despite the use of different techniques. S*cript norms* were easily identifiable although the elicitation of role schemata posed some practical problems that was later resolved in focus group discussions. *Action sequences* were spontaneously grouped into *scenes/elements* and stronger actions to be identified as *scene headers* were easily discernible. S*cript elements were organized in a common order*.

All the structural characteristics of the script (Bozinoff & Roth 1983) were adhered to: only *generic actions* were contained; the script *possessed a set quality* (different parts of the script were rearranged in a common order); a strong *temporal sequence* of script activities was identified and confirmed in focus-group discussions and a *hierarchical structure* was evident.

Much can be learnt from how traditional decision-making models and the final script eventually *agree* but also how they *differ* in portraying the decision-making event. The script reflects a simpler approach to consumer decision-making for complex durables than what is suggested in traditional consumer decision-making models. While information search and product evaluation prior to purchasing seem particularly limited in terms of level of activity, other actions have been elevated. The contribution of informal personal information sources prior to store visits are particularly worth investigating: although it not necessarily reflects a situation of "the blind leading the blind", it exposes a reliance upon brand name information and friends' recommendations in terms of functional aspects. The decisive role of store visits in terms of information search and conclusion of a purchase decision is of specific

TABLE 3
Preliminary Empirical* Script Protocols for Stages 1 to 4

Adapted script protocol: Stage 1 (Table 6.3) (concept driven, written reconstruction technique)	Adapted script protocol: Stage 2 (Table 6.4) (concept driven, oral reconstruction technique)	Adapted script protocol: Stage 3 (Table 6.5) (data driven discrimination technique)	Results: Stage 4 (Table 6.6) (concept driven, written reconstruction technique)
1. use of non personal information: written form			**1. USE OF NON PERSONAL INFORMATION: WRITTEN FORM**
2. NEEDS ASSESSMENT	**1. NEEDS ASSESSMENT**	**1. NEEDS ASSESSMENT**	**2. NEEDS ASSESSMENT**
3. use of personal information sources: friends, family	*2. USE OF PERSONAL INFORMATION SOURCES: FRIENDS, FAMILY*		
	3. USE OF NON PERSONAL INFORMATION: WRITTEN FORM	**2. USE OF NON PERSONAL INFORMATION: WRITTEN FORM**	
		3. USE OF PERSONAL INFORMATION SOURCES: FRIENDS, FAMILY	
4. use of personal information: phoning stores	**4. use of personal information: phoning stores**	*4. USE OF PERSONAL INFORMATION SOURCES: PHONING STORES*	**3. Use of personal information: phoning stores**
			4. Use of personal information sources: friends, family **5. Evaluation of alternatives** *6. Use of non-personal information: product specific*
	5. STORE VISIT: TO COMPARE PRODUCTS		
		5. store visit: to compare prices	
5. STORE VISITS: TO ACQUIRE PRODUCT INFORMATION	**6. STORE VISITS: TO ACQUIRE PRODUCT INFORMATION**	**6. STORE VISITS: TO ACQUIRE PRODUCT INFORMATION**	**7. STORE VISITS: TO ACQUIRE PRODUCT INFORMATION**
	7. store visit: to compare prices		
		7. evaluation of alternatives	**8. store visit: to compare prices**
6. STORE VISIT: TO COMPARE PRODUCTS		*8. STORE VISIT: TO COMPARE PRODUCTS*	**9. STORE VISIT: TO COMPARE PRODUCTS**
7. Store visit: to compare prices			
8. use of non personal information: product specifications			
9. FINANCIAL DECISIONS	**8. FINANCIAL DECISIONS**	**9. FINANCIAL DECISIONS**	**10. FINANCIAL DECISIONS**
	9. final decision: store		
10. making a shortlist of suitable alternatives			
11. evaluation of alternatives			
12. store visits: to compare retailer benefits	**10. store visits: to compare retailer benefits**	**10. store visits: to compare retailer benefits**	*11. STORE VISITS: TO COMPARE RETAILER BENEFITS*
		11. final decision: store	
13. FINAL DECISION: PRODUCT	**11. FINAL DECISION: PRODUCT**	**12. FINAL DECISION: PRODUCT**	
14. final decision: store			
15. PURCHASING ACTION	**12. PURCHASING ACTION**	**13. PURCHASING ACTION**	**12. PURCHASING ACTION**
16. DELIVERY	13. DELIVERY	14. DELIVERY	
		15. study the manual	
17. INSTALLATION	**14. INSTALLATION**	**16. INSTALLATION**	
	15. STUDY THE MANUAL		

**Empirical script norms illuminate the properties of a script in terms of script concepts and their ordering indicating action strengths

FIGURE 1
Integrated Empirical Script for the Acquisition of Major Household Appliances

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| Scene 1: NEEDS ASSESSMENT |

NEEDS ASSESSMENT IN TERMS OF EXPERIENCE, PREFERENCES AND ATTITUDES IS DONE JOINTLY BY HUSBAND AND WIFE OR BY THE WIFE

| Scene 2: INFORMATION SEARCH |

WRITTEN INFORMATION SOURCES, MAINLY PROMOTIONAL MATERIAL SUCH AS ADVERTISEMENTS ARE USED JOINTLY BY HUSBAND AND WIFE OR BY THE WIFE;
PERSONAL INFORMATION, MAINLY RECOMMENDATIONS OF FRIENDS AND FAMILY, BASED ON EXPERIENCE IS GENERALLY OBTAINED BY THE WIFE OR JOINTLY;
Telephone enquiries are made to several stores (salespeople), mainly by the wife or jointly
Product specific information such as technical information is gathered mainly by husbands

| Scene 3: STORE VISITS |

STORES ARE VISITED JOINTLY BY HUSBAND AND WIFE:
TO LOOK AT IN-STORE DISPLAYS AS MAIN SOURCES OF PRODUCT INFORMATION WITH ASSISTANCE OF SALESPEOPLE
TO COMPARE PRODUCTS IN TERMS OF THE HOUSEHOLD'S NEEDS, PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERIENCE
To obtain price information by looking at in-store displays
To investigate product specifications by consulting appliance manuals (mainly by the husband)

| Scene 4: FINANCIAL DECISIONS |

FINANCIAL DECISIONS, INCLUDING AFFORDABILITY, MEANS OF PAYMENT, WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR PAYMENT AS WELL AS FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS ARE GENERALLY DELIBERATED JOINTLY BY HUSBAND AND WIFE IN-STORE OR AT HOME

| Scene 5: EVALUATION |

A shortlist of suitable alternatives is made jointly by husband and wife;[1]
Evaluation of product alternatives[2] is done jointly by husband and wife in-store, or at home;
Stores are compared jointly by both spouses in terms of benefits offered

| Scene 6: CHOICE |

Final decision of where to purchase the appliance is made jointly by husband and wife
A PRODUCT IS CHOSEN JOINTLY BY HUSBAND AND WIFE

| Scene 7: PURCHASING |

THE PURCHASE TRANSACTION IS EITHER DONE JOINTLY OR BY THE SPOUSE RESPONSIBLE FOR PAYMENT

| Scene 8: DELIVERY |

DELIVERY IS GENERALLY DONE/ORGANISED BY THE RETAILER

Scene 9: INSTALLATION

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importance in terms of the contribution that could be made by industry to facilitate consumer decisions. Financial decision-making was prominently identified as a scene rather than an element of a scene such as in-store shopping or pre-purchase planning. This is unique to the script and may be indicative of the degree of financial risk imposed that thus merits a better understanding by the parties involved and proper discussion within the consumer decision-making framework. The interaction of both spouses through out the decision-making event emphasizes the importance of a non-sexist approach to consumer behavior research, consumer education, consumer facilitation and marketing. This is especially important in terms of the formulation of marketing strategies and for communication in media while it inevitably also affects the general approach during consumer education and -facilitation.

Apart from portraying the decision-making event, the script sets the scene for an integrated approach by industry, retail and professionals in the field of consumer science to provide a general climate that reflects understanding, co-operation and can promote responsible and informed decision-making behavior.

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Negative Consequences of Mobile Phone Consumption: Everyday Irritations, Anxieties and Amgibuities in the Experiences of Finnish Mobile Phone Consumers

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ABSTRACT

This paper addresses irritations, anxieties and ambiguities of mobile phone consumption. First, an analytical approach for the study of mobile phones is outlined. Second, the methodology and data analysis procedures used are presented. Third, informants' experiences of irritations in mobile phone consumption are illustrated, followed by descriptions of experiences of anxiety, and finally experiences of ambiguity of control in mobile phone consumption are presented. In the discussion, the consequences of mobile phone consumption are viewed as products of particular local and contextual "ways of consuming" in the context of social space.

INTRODUCTION

What consequences do mobile phones have for consumers' everyday lives? Currently, little systematic understanding exists of the consequences of mobile phone consumption. While mobile phones have been radically diffusing across the Western European countries during the 1990's (OECD, 2000) and continue to do so today with increasing speed (Sohn and Choi, 2001), few studies appear to pay attention to these issues from the point of view of the consumer. Furthermore, the prevailing media conception is that technologies can improve and enrich life, for instance by reducing unnecessary travel and thereby enabling consumers to save time (Lang and Haddon, 2001). However, these utilitarian perspectives tend to ignore latent complexities and anomalies in consumption that express the everyday frustrations consumers have experienced with technologies such as the mobile phone.

Several shortcomings can be recognized. First, the research fails to distinguish everyday realities of technology consumption from their idealizations. The current technology research in consumer research lacks theoretical frameworks and models to account for the complexities in the use of technology and their general impact (Venkatesh, 1998; Venkatesh and Nicosia, 1997). Hence, there is an urgent need for exploratory approach that can capture complex, and perhaps even contradicting, realities of mobile phone consumption. Second, the previous approaches fail to relate to the consequences of technology use. Much research has been done to study the diffusion of mobile phones while the consequences of diffusion have been left without much attention (Venkatesh, 1985). In the realm of mobile phone studies, attention has been paid to lifestyles of mobile phone adopters (Leung, 1998), to satisfaction (Woo and Fock, 1999), learning (Honold, 1999), gender relations (Rakow and Navarro, 1993), structuring of public space (Kopomaa, 2000; Mäenpää, 2000; Wei and Leung, 1999), and to motivations and patterns of usage (Leung and Wei, 2000). However, only few studies in consumer research so far have addressed the consequences of technology in terms of the everyday paradoxes consumers live by (Mick and Fournier, 1998; Thompson, 1994). Third, technology cannot be approached merely as an instrument or as a deterministic system with its own dynamics (Christensen, 1999). Technology must be seen as a cultural and historical construction that is being shaped by culture and is shaping culture rather than seeing technology outside the sphere of culture. Fourth, while consumer researchers have studied addiction, compulsive and impulsive consumption (Faber, Oguinn, and Krych, 1987; Hirschman, 1992; O'Guinn and Faber, 1989; Rook, 1987), little attention has been paid to the negative aspects of everyday consumption, to the bulk of irritations, anxieties and ambiguities that consumers have to deal with during their daily consumption.

The paper sets out to investigate the irritations, anxieties, and ambiguities of mobile phone consumption in consumers' everyday lives and consumers relationships to these tensions. The paper begins by outlining a theoretical-analytic approach to conceptualize the study of everyday mobile phone consumption. Second, the methodology used to investigate mobile phone consumption in everyday contexts is described. Third, the empirical illustrations of consumers' negative everyday experiences with mobile phones are presented. Fourth, in the discussion section the findings are related to Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and capital (Bourdieu, 1984).

OUTLINING AN ANALYTIC APPROACH TO MOBILE PHONE CONSUMPTION

Two main requirements for the study of mobile phone consumption in everyday life can be recognized. First, the objective of the paper is to address the contextual nature of mobile phone consumption. Second, the objective is to approach the contradictions inherent in everyday consumption. Therefore, the approach should be contextually sensitive to everyday tensions and capable of addressing the complex dynamics of continuous interaction between competing (alternative) and potentially antagonistic consumption meanings.

In consumer research, Holt has recognized three major approaches that analyze the relationship between consumption objects and consumers: personality/values lifestyle research, object signification research, and what he defines as a poststructuralist approach (Holt, 1997). Personality/values lifestyle research presumes that consumption reflects the consumers' personality traits in terms of general and static psychological dispositions or universally shared values, with consumption patterns reflecting consumers' fairly stable and ahistorical cognitive structures. As such, it fails to relate to mobile phone consumption as contextual, socially negotiated and constructed, historical and contradictory phenomenon. The object signification approach on the other hand, presupposes that goods embody and convey a particular stable meaning. Consumption objects are means to stabilize cultural categories and consumption is the vehicle by which relations between cultural members are expressed (Douglas, 1996; Holt, 1997).

The focus of this paper lies in the complex and even perhaps contradictory aspects of mobile phone consumption that are subject to negotiation, change and contradiction. Hence, neither personality/values lifestyles approach or object signification approach can meet the requirements. For this objective, an approach built on the premises of what Holt describes as a "poststructuralist" approach is required, as it treats consumption as a context-specific activity and can address the potentially contradictory nature of consumption meanings that characterize the irritations, anxieties and ambiguities of everyday consumption.

What Holt understands as "poststructuralist" approach is emphasized by three major principles (Holt, 1997). First, the meanings of consumption objects are interactively negotiated and constituted. Meanings do not preexist outside consumers' "acts of consuming" as they are a product of ongoing daily negotiation. Meanings are not a fixed attribute of objects or an expression of (solely) individuals' cognitive structures (op. cit.). Second, the notion of meaning is historical, viewed as the contingent conse-

quence of particular intertextual relations between available cultural discourses in a given time and place. Third, meanings of consumption objects are considered to be the result of ongoing negotiation between various competing and potentially syncretic consumption discourses. Hence, meanings are by nature unstable and contestable to change.

The "poststructuralist" approach takes the "acts of consuming" as its analytical category, termed "consumption practices" (Holt, 1995). Bourdieu's cultural sociology represents a potential way of formalizing Holt's use of practices as "ways of consuming" as expressions of habitus. Habitus as a social-cultural system of durable, transposable, structured and structuring system of social dispositions are socially shared while individually expressed. Social dispositions organize consumers' cognitive operations of perception and appreciation, as well as guide behavior (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990). Consumption as a constitutive and constituted expression of structured, structuring social dispositions encompasses three interrelated dimensions of perception, appreciation, and action (op. cit.). However, rather than analyzing the substances of consumption, often understood, for instance, as the possession of certain types of goods, the approach focuses on the relation consumers have with the consumption objects. The focus of inquiry lies in the analysis of the ways objects are consumed rather than being focused on the particular objects being consumed. Hence, the analysis focuses on the patterns of "acts of consuming" and their underlying social "taste" (Bourdieu, 1984).

METHOD

In the spirit of market/consumer-oriented ethnography (Arnould, 1998; Arnould and Wallendorf, 1994), the current paper is based on an ethnographic participant observation study conducted in a small rural town in Finland, one of the leading countries in mobile phone consumption since the 1980's (OECD, 2000). The study involving interviews, autodriving, participant observation and photography was designed to investigate the meanings and consumption practices of mobile phones among a group of rural consumers. The informants were sampled across age and gender mobile phone ownership. Hence, all of the informants had owned a mobile phone for at least one year. Once the informants were contacted, they were explained that the purpose of the study was to investigate the everyday uses of the mobile phone. The interviewees did not receive any remuneration for their participation.

The data reported in the current paper consists of 10 long interviews conducted in a phenomenological manner with 11 consumers (McCracken, 1988; Thompson, Locander, and Pollio, 1989) as well as 5 subsequent autodriving sessions (Heisley and Levy, 1991). The interviews were framed as conversations about mobile phones in general, consumers experiences with their own and other consumers' mobile phones. Each interview began with a number of "grand tour" questions (McCracken, 1988) and continued to elicit consumers' consumption experiences with more specific questions regarding for instance experiences of pleasure, irritation and anxiety. During the interview sessions attention was paid to informants' emic terms, and the informants were frequently asked to elaborate on these terms. The interviews lasted from 45 minutes to several hours. All transcripts were subsequently transcribed in verbatim.

The analysis of interview transcripts underwent various iterations of main coding categories and their relations. The coding of the materials was done interactively with "theoretical sensitizing" of concepts (Corbin and Strauss, 1990; Glaser and Strauss, 1967). That is, the objective was to attempt to "sample" theoretically meaningful elements of the data and collapse codes into these partly emic and partly etic sets of categories. This was done by "sampling"

codes that dealt with the negative consequences of mobile phone consumption: irritations, anxieties and ambiguities. The overall coding and analysis process could be described as hermeneutic (Thompson, 1997), as the coded material was first decomposed into sets of open codes, and later reconstructed in the context of an emerging interpretation, also akin to the procedure in Grounded Theory (see Corbin and Strauss, 1990; Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

Furthermore, in accordance with the socio-cultural approach outlined here, the reader must be alert with regard to the specificity of these findings to the particular socio-historical context in which they have been generated. The findings of the study should be therefore treated with care with regard to their generalizability.

FINDINGS

A central emergent theme of the data relates to consequences of the mobile phone and its omnipresent nature (Kopomaa, 2000). Omnipresence refers here to the mobile phone's capacity and propensity to extensively involve consumers in various consumption practices directed at facilitating availability. The consequences discussed here center on consumers' experiences of irritation, anxiety, and ambiguity. It is noted that these illustrations are only some of the many complex and diverse ways in which these contradicting realities of mobile phone consumption were realized. That is, given that culture can be expressed in a multitude of potential ways there is theoretically not any fixed number of central cultural expressions. However, there are some central ways of relating to consumption and consumption objects.

Irritations

The informants in this study were very keen on "being available" for communication at any time and in any place. They tended to engage in practices related to sustaining their connection, or more likely to the potentiality of connection with other consumers through the extensive usage of mobile phones. While this availability was motivated by the self (being able to reach the significant others) as well as by a concern for others (being within reach for the significant others), a major discrepancy occurs when these competing requirements clash. This discrepancy emerged in particular when the informants' were asked about the situations where they feel irritated by mobile phones. Aaro, a retired male informant describes below his frustrations of the mobile phones that are terrorizing and dominating public spaces without concern for other people:

Aaro: well, it was just like yesterday...no, it was on Saturday at the jubilee meeting for the hunting society … they (the mobile phones) kept ringing and ringing, continuously. In that kind of …there were more than one thousand persons and they just kept on ringing and ringing there all the time…well, I had it switched off and everything but people, regular folks who were guests there…they didn't switch off their phones…many people do that…I don't know, maybe they were expecting a call or something or what but it is sort of annoying when somebody like Esko Aho (famous politician) has just started to talk and mobile phones begin to ring…so that is the kind of thing that people keep it switched it on everywhere and they never remember to switch it off. In that kind of places you could think that people would (switch it off). But people just don't respect the event that much and keep their mobile phones switched on…once you have a huge crowd of people there are always that kind of people and many do switch it off (the mobile phone). But there are always that kind of people so that is not comforting at all...it is one of the worst things about the mobile phone…sort of phenomenon…

While consumers tend to emphasize the importance of being "available", they do not see this omnipresence as a positive trait of other consumers' behaviors. Other consumers attempt to sustain a continuous contact with their significant others were conceived as disrespectful. While the above illustrated tendency to forget to switch off the alarm sound of the mobile phone when entering events, such as meetings, was a minor felony, a more pejorative and insulting way was to answer the mobile phone irrespective of the context. Birgitta, a woman in her mid 30s describes her frustrations:

Birgitta: For example, the meetings or when somebody is in the hospital using the mobile phone even you are not supposed to use it and people still tend to use them since they consider that it is so important, somebody trying to contact them and there is no other way to deal with it but to answer immediately. That is in my opinion a bad thing… but these meetings… that is when it makes me really angry if someone answers the mobile phone in the middle of the meeting…. it is not that long time ago that one of issue related to our organization–well to the other department–was discussed at a meeting and it was the head of this particular department that answered the mobile phone when it rang in the middle of the meeting and I said "Don't answer!" and he answered irrespective of that. I kind of got angry…

Notable in these discourses is the absence of cases where the informants themselves are to engage in such irritating and annoying practices. Characteristically, it was the opposition between oneself (one's need to be connected, importance of one's errands etc.) as well as the others who were systematically attributed the lack of any criterion to satisfy the conditions of proper, legitimized public usage of the mobile phone. Hence, the ambivalence between the competing understandings of proper, legitimate public uses of the mobile phone created contradictory experiences among the informants. Similar findings have also been reported elsewhere (Kopomaa, 2000; Wei and Leung, 1999), pointing out how consumers' one major response to other consumers' consumption practices is to criticize their public use of the mobile phone.

Anxieties

Apart from irritating experiences of mobile phone consumption, informants shared a number of tendencies described by anxiety. Spurring from the norm of availability, consumers were faced with continuous and even uncomforting needs to be able to reach others or to be reached at any time and in any place. The practices related to sustaining this connection with the rest of the world facilitated worries or even forms of pathologies among consumers. In the quote below Mika expresses this discomfort about the continuous need to sustain contact with other consumers:

Mika: Well, it is the kind of … continuous worry about whether the battery has enough charge and if the battery happens to run down and you don't happen to have a recharger with you so…you will lose something important or something like that… perhaps that is the biggest worry and that I forget it somewhere…and you kind of suffer financially…so…perhaps that is the biggest worry you could have…but it is not really a negative thing merely a worry for that matter….

These worries about mobile phones and the awareness of the everyday dangers and anomalies underlying daily consumption also tend to have consequences for the consumers' understanding of their chances to participate in social contacts. Their worries of missing the opportunity for social contact and of not being part of the communicating world as a participant were associated with almost paranoia-colored consumption responses, ideas during the moments one did not have the mobile phone along, they were being phoned to. Sofi, a female nursing student in her early 20s articulated her worries of missing of missing the potential of responding to the arriving phone call:

Sofi: Well, you just continuously have in your mind the idea that "someone must have phoned"… right then...when you have not been there next to the mobile phone…and then when you are there next to the mobile phone it never rings…at least it feels like that…

Consumers occasionally experience a form of nervousness provoked by the idea of being potentially left out of contacts in their social life, of being potentially abandoned by their friends. Like the Internet, mobile phone consumption tends to emphasize the instantaneity of perception (Hellemans, 1998). Unless consumers are there at the very moment that act of contacts occur they experience a strong fear that the world is simply passing by, leaving them the role of passive bystanders (Kopomaa, 2000). However, simultaneously, consumers' indications of self-awareness of these negative and contradictory aspects of omnipresence are also surfacing. Sisko, a woman in her early 40s describes the almost drug-like relationship that she has to her own mobile phone consumption, being a relationship of dependence or even–addiction:

Sisko: (…)…Coffee can be sort of a hardship of the civilization, since you always have to get more of it. So you get addicted…and then you stay awake all the time...when you drink a lot…so the mobile phone has a similar hardship of civilization...you always have to make sure that you have taken it along. You always have to carry it from one place to another. You can't leave it in the car, since for sure someone will phone then...if you leave it in the car when you go to the store. So it is that kind of…It is like someone had casted a spell so that someone will phone for sure...exactly at that time when you leave it in the car. For sure, someone will call...and it is sort of...it hasn't developed that way that it would be easy to carry it along without worries. You always have to check that it is there in the waist...you always have to check that it is there....

This quote resonates the anomalies that these totalizing consumption patterns create resulting in a dependence-relationship. Further, if we understand addiction as the inability to discontinue a particular consumption pattern, mobile phone could be defined as addictive: 1) the presence of drive, impulse or an urge, 2) the denial of the harmful consequences of engaging in this behavior, and 3) the repeated failure to control (Faber et al., 1987). It remains dubious whether consumers are able to be free from this relation even when they want to. Sirpa describes the ambivalent relationship she has with leaving home her mobile phone:

Sirpa: well, you kind of get bothered by as you always have to take it along or it is the sort of...and that is why I don't always take it along when I drop by the store...so that you don't necessarily need to get hold of me at all times...but on the other hand it is so nice to be contacted...but…(…)…Sometimes (she gets contacted) too well indeed….I almost feel sometimes like running away... to switch it off but.... On the other hand it is very nice to be reached...so...Sometimes it would be nice not be reached by anyone at all so that you could be on your own and stuff….

Life is not simple when you have to counter the controlling aspects of technology. Consumption simultaneously creates experiences ranging from the feeling of a loss of control to almost supernatural relations that the mobile phone might have in operating as a vehicle of consumption magic (Arnould and Price, 1993; Arnould, Price, and Otnes, 1999). Sirpa who had just recently acquired the mobile phone described how her experience of the omnipresent wireless communications had become more than a pleasant means of communication. The mobile phone had the capacity to impose an asymmetric relation that exerted on her feelings of anxiety, dependence and perhaps even powerlessness.

Ambiguities

The third major negative consequence of mobile phone consumption is related to the relationship of control that mobile phone technology facilitates. Control has been noted to be a central defining relation that western societies have with technology (Thompson, 1994). The ambiguity relates here to the inherent double relation that mobile phones have with control: a relationship of control never exists outside the potential of exercising control and furthermore of the possibility of one living in the shadow of control. Mobile phone technology with its ability, for instance, to recognize the origin of incoming calls (caller-ID) provided the means of recognizing the caller's identity and to serve as a basis for judgment whether the call need to be answered or not. Matti, a young electrician student describes how he uses the mobile phone's capacities to "filter out" unwanted responsibilities:

Matti: Well it was just about going to work at the church's community center…when they phone from the church's community center…you kind of know exactly what they have in mind or then when they phone from Walkers and offer me some work as a DJ…when you don't really feel like going or saying no…so you…. just don't answer the phone since you know that they will phone the next guy….

Hence, this visibility of identities in the mobile phone interface enabled the informants to manipulate their "availability", to take control of the suitability of communications. Apart from gaining more control of the everyday interactions by limiting interactions, informants could experience increasing control of significant, but minor everyday events. Informants could easily "check" where their friends or loved ones were at the time, manifested in various short phone calls concerning their location. Riikka, a housewife and a mother of five children, describes how the mobile phone is merely an instrument for her, an instrument of control. She can gain more precise and up-to-date information about her children's whereabouts and activities:

Riikka: …I need it when I'm traveling or like that, so I can get hold of the boys and ...or to reach the kids…so that I can reach them. I don't have any…I don't have anything else but…it is very necessary…it has made life a lot easier. …In particular I don't need to worry, since I can get hold of them right away…and I know that when they have a problem, they can get hold of me. So, it is simply that …still when Tapio is out there in the forest or somewhere ….I know that he has a phone with him and that if there will be some accident with the chainsaw or something… or…. you can get help then …

Although the quote describes a rather innocent form of control of events and other people's everyday lives, also more radical tendencies exist whereby the mobile phones are used mainly to probe and inquire the whereabouts and activities of boyfriends/girlfriends/spouses (Kopomaa, 2000). One additional way is to use a receipt function whereby once the SMS (short message service) message has been delivered to the recipient's mobile phone, the sender receives a notification from the operator. This is a way to be certain that the recipients have actually received the SMSs sent to them by the informants. However, when these means of control are disabled, for instance, when some consumers had denied their caller-Ids to be shown, confusion and puzzlement result, as illustrated by a quote from Mika:

Mika: Well, if it is not a secret number of anything or if the number recognition function is switched on…that is as well annoying when somebody is using it (the function disabling the detection of telephone number)…you don't know who is calling…

With an ability to manipulate the visibility of one's communication identity (caller-ID), from the known to the unknown, several and serious consequences are made to the context and conditions of successive interactions. Once the caller-ID has been an inherent everyday certainty, built-in property of the mobile phone, and when this certainty is gone, it is felt as almost confusing or even threatening. With a slight appearance of anger in their voices, the informants report their discontent with such anti-control measures. Given the virtual identity is erased, it is no longer obvious whether it will be the authorities, the neighbor or the spouse who make the phone call. It is no longer clear what is the social context of the respective phone call, resulting in an ambiguous situation.

DISCUSSION

This paper has been investigating the irritations, anxieties and ambiguities of mobile phone consumption. The analysis carried throughout the paper took place on the level of consumption practices, expressed and existing through a set of social dispositions (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984). In relation to conventional approaches studying objects of consumption, this paper has attempted to demonstrate the importance of an alternative approach that analyses the acts of consuming, and not merely the possession of particular items (mobile phones) or use of certain functions (caller-ID), but consumers' particular ways of consuming the mobile phone.

Probably the most important point about the consequences of technology is that the negative consequences are not an inherent feature of the technology itself but an expression and an outcome of the consumers' social understandings of technology. The negative consequences of technology, such as a) the irritations with other consumers' practices understood as inconsistencies between competing definitions of legitimate uses, b) the anxieties evoked by consumption practices that foster and facilitate the potential of continuous contact, and c) the ambiguities in control(ling) practices, their certainties and the consequent potentialities for being controlled that these practices themselves foster and enable, are all examples of culturally constructed understandings of technology as well as actions pursued by consumers on the basis of these understandings.

Consumers utilize "the social stock of knowledge" (Berger and Luckmann, 1967), a set of certain cultural categories to relate to the opportunities as well as threats of technology. The first theme, irritations, exemplified by the way in which a particular definition of "public" and "appropriate use" become the vehicles by which situations are perceived and appreciated, being examples of socially constructed and negotiated definitions. The apparent contradiction in the definitions used in the first and second theme exemplified the context-specificity of these definitions. When

consumers described the very same practices they once regarded as disrespectful, their interpretations of these practices in another social context vested an entirely different interpretation on them. Hence, the schemes of thought used to construct technology are restricted as much as they are local: "*The habitus makes possible the free production of all the thoughts, perceptions and actions inherent in the particular conditions of its production–and only those.*" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 55). The social stock of knowledge that is available for consumers is limited and specific to the position that consumers occupy in social space.

However, what is perhaps even more descriptive in the experiences of mobile phones is that consumers use their definitions tactically, to position themselves in the social fields as part of the social game (Bourdieu, 1992). While it is obvious that technology is a socio-cultural construction, the point is that these particular constructions of technology reflect positions and relations in social fields where dominated positions such as those expressed among the informants in this paper are defined by subjugating experiences. As exemplified in the data, informants placed hierarchical categories (disrespect, inequality) to define, or even more so, to downgrade other consumers' practices as well as negations of their own practices (non-me) to position themselves in social fields. The distancing apparent in the first (irritations) theme illustrated how the use of hierarchical categories enabled the informants to level one's position upwards. On the other hand, when the very same practices that were once downplayed and ridiculed, were related to oneself, they were defined through another set of categories, emphasizing again a very particular, contextual understanding of the meanings of the very same consumption practices. These interpretations enabled the informants to victimize themselves, and consequently, to decline their capacities in escaping or resisting the negative effects of mobile phone consumption. As noted, the tactics of interpretation reflect relations and positions in social fields in terms of capital structures, whether that be economic, educational, cultural, etc. (Bourdieu, 1984). It is no surprise that when defined through the informants own, their parents as well as their spouses' levels of education, the informants of this study can be described as "low cultural capital consumers" (Bourdieu, 1984; Holt, 1998).

I have argued here that the lived (negative) consequences of technology are not properties of technologies themselves but reflections of particular "ways of consuming" that embody a particular definition of technology and conceptualization of its uses. These definitions are socio-culturally generated consequences of particular social dispositions, not the properties or attributes of technologies themselves. While the mobile phones do participate in the fostering of negative everyday experiences, they merely do so in a set of the categories of thought and practice that enable and disable particular consumption practices and their experiences. Thus, in order to study consequences of technology, one needs to direct the attention towards the social dispositions that give rise to certain realities of technology. If one is capable of relating to the social conditions where certain consumption practices are created, it becomes possible to distinguish the negative consequences of technology from the triggers of the negative experiences. This again will enable a broader understanding of what the (negative) consequences mobile phones may have.

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Turning Shoppers into Sellers: Two Experiments on Member-Get-Member Campaigns

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Marketers have a strong interest in the management of customer referrals (Buttle 1998, Biyalogorsky, Gerstner and Libai 2001). Recently, this issue has achieved even more importance, due to the increasing popularity of customer relationship management (CRM).. What appears to be lacking, however, is an understanding of the consumer psychology of customer referrals. This paper attempts to provide a first step into that direction, and focuses on member-get-member (MGM) campaigns, which are popular tools for expanding customer bases. In MGM campaigns, customers are asked to persuade others into being a customer. This is generally paired with a premium for one or both parties. In other words: the marketer offers a reward for acquiring a new customer, which is divided between the current and the new customer. We investigate consumer evaluations of MGM campaigns in two empirical studies, that are used to test a set of hypotheses based on social psychological research on equity theory and fairness in general, as well as insights obtained in experimental economics. A first experiment, in which consumers are asked to provide a preferred distribution of rewards in MGM campaigns suggests that customers prefer sharing rewards, in stead of trying to maximize their own gains. Our results differ from earlier findings in experimental economics (cf., Güth 1995), as we find that preferences for distributions are affected by the size of the reward. Furthermore, we find that preferences are differ between proself and prosocial consumers (Van Lange et al. 1997, Pruyn and Riezebos 2000). The results show a complex interaction between reward size, consumer perspective (current vs. potential member), and social value orientation.

The second study more closely resembles the set-up of actual member get member campaigns, and seeks to answer two different questions, one managerial and one academic. The managerial question is whether member-get-member campaigns are most successful when the reward is given (a) to the current member, (b) to the potential member, or (c) shared between these two parties. The academic question is if and when consumers choose to refrain from profit, and prefer to share a reward rather than keep it to themselves. The results of our preliminary study suggest that consumers have a strong preference for 50/50 distributions in a setting when they can freely distribute rewards between themselves and another party. In addition, we find that consumers prefer to allocate a larger portion of the reward to current members. In MGM campaigns however, the distribution of rewards is determined by the marketer, leaving the consumer with only two options: participate or not participate.

We investigated consumers' responses to this situation in a 3 x 2 x 2 full-factorial design. The first factor pertains to the distribution of the rewards. We set three levels for this factor, that represent extreme but commonly used alternatives: 100% to potential member, 100% to current member, 50% to each party. We examine two scenarios that differ in the type of membership that is being offered (factor 2). Both scenarios involved a one-year membership that could be terminated or extended at the end of this period. The difference between the two types, however, is that one type of membership makes but one membership and both memberships provide (financial) benefits to the consumer. They differ however in terms of membership fees, that can be either absent or present

(i.e., free or paid membership). The third factor refers to the perspective taken by the participant, and has two levels: current versus potential member.

We find that potential members have favorable evaluations of MGM campaigns in which they receive higher rewards, regardless of membership type. For both types of memberships, the most attractive campaign for potential members is the one in which 100% is rewarded to themselves (although the difference with the 50/50 campaign is not significant for paid memberships). This preference is in line with the notion of profit maximization. For current members, a similar result is found for campaigns pertaining to free memberships. The intention to participate is highest for campaigns were 100% is given to the current member, and lowest for campaigns where 100 % is goes to the new member, with the 50/50 distribution falling in between. The results for paid memberships deviate from this pattern. Apparently, consumers find it inappropriate to get 100% of the reward when the other party (i.e., the potential member) has to make a substantial financial investment. For this setting, we find a clear preference for sharing rewards (64.2), and no difference between receiving 100% of the reward (48.6) and giving100% of the reward to the potential member (48.3). This latter pattern of results is in line with the preference for 50/50 distributions that was found in our first experiment. In addition to the preferences that served as dependent variables, we analyzed several measures to capture the underlying process. These data confirm that perceived fairness of the offer was an important mediator of consumers' likelihood to participate in the MGM campaign.

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The Perceived Effectiveness of Virtual Shopping Agents for Search vs. Experience Goods

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Internet commerce has boomed in recent years. The U.S. Department of Commerce recently estimated 2001 e-commerce sales at $32.6 billion. In addition to the convenience of shopping online, consumers also enjoy the depth of product assortment that many virtual stores provide. Not only are the product choices numerous, the amount of information available on the Internet about these products is astounding as well. In fact, in most cases there is so much information available that consumers may feel overwhelmed by its abundance and experience an "information overload." To help handle such a large volume of information, several online retailers and independent web sites now offer customers online "shopping agents." These agents help customers make a variety of choice decisions through "dynamic customization." Research shows that the use of shopping agents improves the quality as well as the efficiency of purchase decisions.

In this paper, we examine the perceived effectiveness of shopping agents in making purchase recommendations. Two types of recommendation agents are examined in this study: rule-based filtering (RF) agents and collaborative filtering (CF) agents. RF agents base their recommendations on customer-stated preferences for product attributes whereas CF agents recommend on the basis of what other buyers with similar tastes and preferences chose. RF agents typically ask buyers their self-explicated preferences for product features and the attribute level trade-offs they are willing to make. Using a conjoint-analysis type modeling, these agents recommend products that maximize utility for a given set of attribute ratings. On the other hand, CF agents match users with buyers who have similar profiles and preferences, and make recommendations based on shared likes and dislikes.

This study also examines perceived agent effectiveness for different types of products. The two types included in this study are: search goods and experience goods. For search goods, it is easy to verify and inspect product attributes before making a purchase. For experience goods, it is infeasible to verify or inspect the attributes without purchasing and consuming the product. We hypothesize that recommendation agents will be more effective for search goods than experience goods because it is easier to define, observe, and evaluate product characteristics for search goods. We also hypothesize that for search goods recommendations, an RF-based process will be perceived as more effective, whereas for experience goods, a CF-based process will work better. We measure perceived effectiveness on three dimensions: perceived quality of recommendation, satisfaction with the recommendation, and intent to follow-up on a recommendation.

A mixed model, computer-aided experimental design was used to test model hypotheses, where recommendation development process (RF or CF) was a between subject factor and product type (search or experience) was a within subject factor. Subjects were 109 undergraduate business students at a Midwestern university. Subjects in the RF group were told that the recommendation would be based on matching their stated attribute preferences with a vast database of products. Subjects in the CF group were told that their recommendation would be made by comparing their preferences with those of "thousands of others" in its database. After collecting information related to product attributes and personal preferences, the software made a recommendation. Once subjects got the recommendation, they were asked a number of questions regarding their perceived effectiveness of the agent.

Data were first tested to ensure appropriate scale properties. The first hypothesis, that agents are likely to be more effective for search goods (than for experience goods) was strongly supported. There were statistically significant differences on all three dimensions: perceived quality of recommendation, satisfaction with the recommendation, and intent to follow-up on a recommendation. Second, as hypothesized for search goods, the RF process was perceived as more effective than the CF process. Third, although the CF process did not turn out to be more effective than RF process for experience goods, the superiority of the RF process that was witnessed in the case of search goods, disappeared in case of experience goods.

The findings of this study have important managerial implications. First, it appears that recommendation agents will be received much better in the context of search goods with clear and concrete criteria for their evaluation. As these criteria become more experiential in nature, the effectiveness of recommendation agents is likely to decline. Second, regardless of the "actual" recommendation quality, subjects' assumption of the *process* by which the agent arrived at its recommendation makes a difference in their evaluation of the recommendation. For the search product in our study (camera), given identical final recommendations, subjects evaluated the recommendation based on individual attribute based (RF) process more favorably than the same recommendation based on the evaluations of similar others (CF process). Thus, online retailers should prefer an RF-based process if the agent is intended for making primarily search goods recommendations. We had hypothesized that subjects would prefer a CF-based process for experience goods recommendations. However, we did not see such a preference in our study. It is conjectured that "source credibility" may be an issue that moderates the perceived effectiveness of CF-based recommendations. Future studies should control for credibility to fully understand how the effectiveness of CF-based agents is determined.

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Measuring Implicit Self-Concept Domains with the Implicit Association Test

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ABSTRACT

Three experiments are presented that explore the existence and characteristics of distinct actual and ideal self-domains within the implicit self-concept. In each experiment, undergraduate participants completed idiographic implicit association tests (IATs) that measured strength of association between self-reported domain-specific attributes and various elements of the self-concept. Supporting the existence of distinct implicit self-domains, participants more strongly associated positive concepts (experiment 1) and self-related pronouns (experiment 2) with ideal self-attributes than with actual-self attributes. Experiment 3 revealed that these domain-specific associations are driven by the semantic meanings of the attributes and not just the perceived valence of the attributes.

Are Consumer Relationships Different?

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ABSTRACT

The distinctions of people's behavior in their various social and consumption roles has been newly elevated in priority for consumer behavior research (Folkes, 2001). Associated with a trend to consider relationships in marketing (cf. Fournier, 1998; De Wulf, et al., 2001) has been a renewed emphasis on understanding consumer satisfaction. Research on Attachment Theory (e.g. Bowlby, 1969; 1979; 1980; Ainsworth, 1989) provides a novel framework to consider both what affects satisfaction in marketing relationships, and how people's satisfaction varies across contexts. In this paper, we investigate and compare the role of attachment dimensions in predicting satisfaction with personal, brand, and service provider relationships.

Attachment Theory states that attachment styles are formed in childhood but continue to be shaped throughout a person's lifespan. Attachment styles have been found to be meaningful determinants of adult behavior in close relationships (e.g. Bowlby, 1980). Research has converged on the use of two dimensions, Avoidance and Anxiety, to describe attachment styles. In our study, we examine the individual and joint contributions of each as predictors of satisfaction across the three relationship contexts.

Attachment Theory focuses on close personal relationships while relationship marketing strives to achieve high levels of intimacy and closeness in consumer relationships (Fournier, 1998; Fournier et al., 1998). As such, similarities between personal and consumer relationships might be informed by the underlying dimensions of attachment that influence individuals in close relationships. For example, each of the relationship types (personal, service, and brand) will be emotionally significant and partner-specific, and will confer benefits and costs. However, personal and consumer relationships vary with respect to the directness of interaction, potential for rejection, frequency of interaction, realm of potential fulfillment of goals and needs, currency of relationship, and perceived cost of exit.

Overall, we hypothesize that consumer relationship satisfaction will be predicted by attachment style dimensions, based on the similarities of consumer relationships to personal relationships. However, based on the many differences that can be identified between brand, service, and personal relationships, the pattern of prediction, or the structure of the relationship, between attachment style dimensions and satisfaction is expected to differ.

We test our hypotheses using a survey of 208 respondents, and we employ structural equation modeling to analyze results. We measure satisfaction employing both a traditional, cognitive measure of satisfaction judgements (Westbrook and Oliver, 1991) and a measure of satisfaction emotions that is included to assess more holistic, affective evaluations of the relationships (Thomson and Johnson, 2001). The measure of satisfaction emotions is also more comparable to the measure of satisfaction used in research in psychology on attachment style (e.g. Collins and Read, 1990). Structural equation modeling is the appropriate method of analysis because it allows a test of the hypothesis that the structure of the prediction of satisfaction by attachment style will vary between the relationship types. In addition, it allows for estimation of the effects of the attachment style dimensions, and their interaction, simultaneously on both satisfaction measures, while controlling for measurement error and for correlations between the attachment dimensions and the satisfaction measures.

Results confirm both hypotheses, and demonstrate that attachment style has different implications for consumer relationships than for personal relationships. Service and brand relationships were found to be more similar to each other than to personal relationships. This is true both in the significance of the differences between constrained and free parameter models, and in the patterns of the prediction of satisfaction by attachment style. Confidence in the results is bolstered by the replication of the findings of prior research relating attachment style to satisfaction in personal relationships (Collins and Read, 1990).

With respect to service relationships, we find that high scores on the Avoidance attachment dimension predict decreased satisfaction when measured as a holistic, affective evaluation. This may reflect the importance of comfort with closeness and the ability to depend on others in determining individual consumers' emotional reactions to service relationships. One possible explanation for this is that service relationships involve a fairly high degree of closeness and disclosure with a person who is a relative stranger, at least in the beginning of the relationship, and consumers who are comfortable with that level of intimacy are likely to be more satisfied in the long run.

In examining the results with regard to satisfaction judgements, the most important finding is that the interaction of the attachment dimensions positively predicts satisfaction judgments in both types of consumer relationships, whereas the prediction for personal relationships is negative. This implies that consumer relationship satisfaction is likely to be higher than personal relationship satisfaction in certain types of individuals. It is likely that this disparity is due to the differences between consumer and personal relationships, but future research is needed to examine the reasons directly.

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Motivation and Language Processing in Advertising to Bilingual Consumers

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Several studies have examined differences in language processing between monolingual speakers of different languages (e.g., Schmitt, Pan, and Tavassoli 1994, Tavassoli 1999). However, the unique characteristics of bilingual language processing remain largely unexplored. The purpose of the present study is to apply and extend a psycholinguistics theory to an advertising context. This theory, the Revised Hierarchical Model or RHM (Kroll 1993), specifies the cognitive structure underlying language processes in the minds of bilingual individuals. The present study extends the RHM by identifying a moderator of the relationships predicted by the model: bilingual's processing motivation.

The Revised Hierarchical Model

The RHM specifies that verbal stimuli are easier to process in one's first language than in one's second language. The RHM, therefore, implies that messages in the consumers' first language will be remembered better than messages in their second language. This is mainly due to demands on processing capacity and attentional biases at time of encoding of second language messages and will happen even in the case of individuals relatively fluent in two languages. A question arises from this discussion: Will this prediction apply in all cases, or should we expect other variables to moderate the effects of language processing? Study 1 is a preliminary exploration of need for cognition as a moderator of language effects. Study 2 further tests the role of need for cognition and examines the effect of a manipulation of processing motivation on language effects.

Study 1

Hypotheses. The RHM would predict that, in general, a message in the individual's first language will result in greater recognition than a message in the individual's second language. On the other hand, Need for Cognition leads us to predict that high NFC subjects will tend to exhibit greater recognition of a complex stimulus than low NFC subjects. Both effects can be integrated into a single model characterized by a significant interaction.

H1:   Low-NFC individuals will remember ads in their first language better than ads in their second language.
H2:   High-NFC individuals will remember ads in their first language and ads in their second language equally well.

Results. The results show that the interaction between language and NFC was statistically significant (F(1,45)=11.48, p<.001). The pattern of the two-way interaction offers support for the hypotheses. Within the low NFC group, there was a significant difference between subjects in the L1 condition and subjects in the L2 condition ($\bar{x}$=5.64 vs. $\bar{x}$=3.90; F(1,45)=11.26, p<.001). This difference indicates that the recognition scores of low NFC subjects were higher when they were presented with L1 ads than when they were presented with L2 ads. Next, within the high NFC group, the recognition scores of subjects who had been exposed to L1 ads ($\bar{x}$=4.69) were compared to those of subjects in the L2 condition ($\bar{x}$=5.33). The analysis indicated a lack of a significant difference (p>.18). Hence, high NFC subjects did not remember ads in one language better than ads in the other language, as predicted by H2.

Study 2

Hypotheses. In this study we added another independent variable, the explicit manipulation of processing motivation, to examine its possible interaction with need for cognition. In particular, we expected that under low motivation, both low and high NFC bilingual consumers would not focus on the copy of the ads (Petty, Cacioppo and Schumann 1983).

H3:   Under low motivation, first and second language ads will result in similar levels of memory for the ad content for both low and high NFC individuals.

In the high motivation condition, however, consumers will presumably focus on the ads' copy. Hence, first language ads, which are easily processed and encoded into long term memory (Kroll and de Groot 1997), should result in greater memory than second language ads but only for low need for condition individuals. These individuals are not intrinsically motivated to process difficult messages, so we would not expect them to process L2 messages sufficiently as to remember them at a later time as well as they would remember L1 messages.

H4:   Under high motivation, first language ads will result in higher memory than second language ads for low need for cognition individuals.

On the other hand, high need for cognition consumers who are exposed to second language ads will be intrinsically motivated to process and elaborate upon these challenging messages. Therefore, we expect L2 memory to increase, reducing the L1 memory superiority.

H5:   Under high motivation, first and second language ads will result in similar memory for high need for cognition individuals.

Hypotheses 4 and 5 are consistent with the findings of study 1. Under high motivation, we expect a language superiority of L1 ads over L2 ads with respect to memory for low NFC subjects but not for high NFC subjects.

Results. In the low motivation group, both the recall and the recognition measures exhibited the predicted pattern. No differences due to language were found (F's<1). Hence, H3 is supported by our results. In the high motivation group, we found that for low need for cognition individuals there was a superiority of first language ads over second language ads for both measures (Recall: $\bar{x}$=4.20 vs. $\bar{x}$=1.09, F=13.14, p<.001; Recognition: $\bar{x}$=.89 vs. $\bar{x}$=.45, F=7.37, p<.01). This finding lends support to H4. Further, as predicted by H5, the L1 superiority disappears for high need for cognition individuals (F's<1).

Conclusion

By suggesting that cognitive factors play an important role on ad processing by bilinguals, our paper adds a new dimension to the existing body of consumer research. For example, one of the key findings of our research is that highly motivated, high NFC individuals can withdraw their attention from an ad's copy and turn it

toward non-verbal cues in the ad if the ad's copy is too unchallenging (L1 ads). However, if the ad's copy is perceived as relatively challenging (L2 ads), they will tend to elaborate and focus upon the copy. This may mean that the need for cognition construct has different implications for bilinguals and monolinguals.

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Creativity and Innovation: From Studying the Tribe to the "Aha's" to Evaluating the Ideas

Laurel Anderson, Arizona State University

"a(x4): A User-Centered Method for Designing Experience"
Paul Rothstein, Arizona State University

In today's marketplace, designing consumer experiences has become a critical challenge. This presentation described a(x 4), a method for researching, exploring and communicating scenarios about new consumer experiences. Structured around four key factors (actors, activities, artifacts and atmosphere), a(x 4) features ethnographic and creative exercises that development teams can use to transform field data into compelling speculations about new consumer experiences.

"Me and My Computer: Through Teen Eyes"
Laurel Anderson, Arizona State University

This research utilizes the user-centered methodologies of photo essays, metaphor development, textual and collage analysis to gain an understanding of teens (Gen Yers) and their computers. These methods are used to get at what teens "don't know they know." The focus is on the descriptive scenarios of the a(x4) framework and include actors, activities, artifacts and atmosphere. Different types of teen computer users were identified, including the Fly Me to the Moons.

"Federal Expressive: Generating the Design for the Tribe"
Steve McCallion, Ziba Design

Quality, as a product and service differentiator, is becoming increasingly commoditized. What's Next? Experience. What's new? Crave. Crave takes experience beyond the expected to the inventive. It starts with understanding customers on a deep and fundamental level. It doesn't ask customers what they want, it surprises them with what they need. Creating crave requires gaining deep insights into customer motivations, habits, practices, and perceptions; and translating these insights into actionable promises. It also requires understanding what visual identity makes these promises believable. ZIBA will present how it used a number of user-centered research tools, as well as descriptive and prescriptive modeling tools to help FedEx create crave for customers of its 1400 Retail Service Centers.

Baudolino at the Edge of History: Narrative Construction and Narrative Closure in a Heritage Museum

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Consumption of stories is a large activity in marketing (Levy 2001). Product and brand stories are found in advertising (Escalas 1998), movies, books and many retail environments. In all of these cases, marketing plays a major role in constructing and communicating stories for consumption.

While the story-creation responsibility in many cases lies in the hands of the marketer, there is a great number of consumption activities, where consumers encounter an array of events that are not complete stories, but are *story-like encounters*. In these cases, part of the responsibility for the construction of a story lies on the marketer and the communicative staging of the consumption experience (Arnould, Price, and Tierney 1998). Part of the narrative, however, depends on the personal involvement of the consumer in the construction of his/her market story. The purpose of this paper is to examine the role of the consumer in the construction of marketplace narratives.

We are using heritage museums as the selected context of our study, since heritage museums present historical accounts that can be seen as people stories (Macdonald 1997). In this work we adopt the position that *history is a selective interpretation of the past* (Fowler 1992). It is a widely accepted assumption in heritage literature that, no matter how successfully recreated and convincingly authentic, the past cannot really exist. (Fowler 1992, p. 81). The past is "a picture pieced together from the available accounts and artifacts remaining from the past" (Goulding 2000, p. 847) and the major challenge in offering an attractive link between heritage and consumption "lies in reconstructing the past in the present through interpretation" (Nuryanti 1996, p. 252). However, we claim in this paper that consumers have an active role in heritage interpretation that is justified by their need to bring a closure in cultural narratives (Chronis, Hampton, and Ball 2002). Our goal is to provide an explanation to the question of "how do consumers construct heritage narratives?"

The narrative way of thinking is contrasted to the rational world paradigm (Bruner 1986, 1990) that is based on the assumption that humans are essentially rational beings that make decisions based on logical argumentation in order to achieve a $\tau\epsilon\lambda o\varsigma$ (telos: final goal) (Fisher 1984). In an accelerated pace we are being told that "life comes to us in the form of stories, articulated through storytelling" (Gubrium and Holstein 1998, p. 163; Alasuutari 1997). In contrast to the rational world paradigm, the narrative paradigm assumes that "man is in his actions and practice, as well as in his fictions, essentially a story-telling animal" (MacIntyre 1981, p. 201). As Heidegger (1949) observes, "We are a conversation … conversation and its unity support our existence" (p. 278). The adopted theoretical background provides the basis for collecting, understanding, analyzing, and interpreting data collected in a Heritage museum in a Midwestern State.

The data collection and analysis approach that we adopted are based on the phenomenological tradition (Chronis and Hampton 2002; Husserl 1931, 1970; May 1961; Moustakas 1994; Thompson, Locander, and Pollio 1989, 1990), that, in its most general sense, intents to explore the essences underlying a particular phenomenon of interest. In accordance to the premises of phenomenological interviewing, we started our interview with the broad question of "Can you describe to me your experience as you walk through the museum?" Our informant was asked to provide a running commentary of everything that he had in mind during his visit into a particular section of the museum.

Based on insights acquired through phenomenological interviewing we shed light into the role of consumer in the construction of marketplace narratives. Our findings suggest that consumers go through a thee-stage process during their heritage experience:

Stage 1: Sensory input (the pieces of the puzzle).
Consumers investigate the environment and explore related and unrelated pieces of events.

Stage 2: Vicarious experience (filling the gaps of the story through imagination).
During this stage, various pieces of information are treated like pieces of a larger puzzle that consumers are trying to put together using their imagination.

Stage 3: Bringing a closure to the story (heritage connection).
In the last stage, consumers bring a closure to a consumption narrative that integrates their heritage experience.

The contributions of this study relate to the role of consumer in the construction of marketplace narratives and the creative use of consumer imagination. In existing literature, imagination: (1) moderates the relationship between consumption and identity, (2) constitutes a creative power that helps the subject pursue new ideas and accomplish plans, and (3) acts as an important antecedent of consumer desire (Giorgi 1987; Schau 2000). We add a fourth role that imagination can play in consumption experiences and this is as a "story completion" mechanism.

Based on the narrative mode of thought, Bruner (1987) asserted that "stories happen to people who know how to tell them" (pp. 11-12). Similarly we argue that (successful) museums experiences happen in those museums that know how to construct them. The steps we followed in this paper might provide a useful guideline for museum practitioners who want to facilitate a meaningful and memorable heritage experience.

While the narrative paradigm has been used to some extend in advertising, it has not been applied into other consumer-related phenomena. Consumer experiences, for example, is an area that can greatly benefit from the adoption of narrative thinking. Consumer narratives have the ability to both trigger consumer cognitive processes and elicit consumer emotions (Escalas 1998).

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Tourism, Modernity, and Heritage Production at the Alamo

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ABSTRACT

The interest in the Alamo as a place where history becomes visible coincides with the rise in tourism in the area, more specifically in San Antonio. It is during this time that the Alamo—the place—becomes *heritage* and earns its place in the American culture. The process is mediated by the contemporary discourse of modernity, opposing the historical and the modern, and thus culturally producing both. Tourist guides and brochures, as well as other tourism-related promotional materials from 1880s to late 1930s are examined.

Heritage is imagined, culturally produced. It gives the illusion of recovery, of discovery—without interpretation—of something that has existed in the past and now is made available to the public. It is surrounded by a discourse of preservation and conservation that reinforces its "found" quality. What is remarkable about heritage, however, is its power of working in the present in a way that has recourse to the past, in a way that interprets the past into something that we learn to understand as "history." It creates a special relationship not only between people and the heritage object, and in this paper I will focus on *place*, but also between people and history, it offers them a way to understand themselves as well as other people. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) calls heritage a "value-added industry," and she suggests that heritage is produced by adding value to a place: the value of having a past (and she cites L. P. Hartley[1] "The past is a foreign country"), the value of exhibition (of making it visible, of showing it), and the value of difference (from other places). Thus, the place becomes more than heritage—it becomes a *destination*, and from here the role of tourism—as "commodification and commercialization of local history, culture, ethnicity" (Wilson, 1994: viii)—in producing heritage by offering it for consumption shouldn't be hard to see.

The Alamo mission, located in San Antonio, Texas, is now considered heritage, but it had to be first culturally produced as such. Its journey in the public consciousness, fifty years after the siege, from commercial property and warehouse to "shrine of Texas liberty" is the focus of this paper. In mapping this journey, I will relate tourist promotional materials from 1880s to 1930s to their social, cultural, and historical context, and show how this context made the journey possible.

As most Americans are aware, the siege of the Alamo on March 6th, 1836 was crucial to Texas' winning its independence from Mexico. It was not the decisive battle, but it became the most famous. Close to 200 men—almost everybody in the fort—died fighting a much larger Mexican army, which won the battle but later lost the war. The event's interpretation has been at the heart of many controversies, some of them centered on gender and ethnicity, as well as ownership over writing the U.S. history (Flores, 1998).

After the siege, the chapel as well as the annexes were used by the army, then reclaimed and won back by the Catholic Church in 1861. The church rented out the property to the army and several commercial companies, and later sold everything but the chapel. The army and the commercial renters (later owners) kept some of the buildings intact, remodeled some (this is when the chapel earned its famous bell-shaped façade), demolished and built some from scratch. The largest building, the Long Barrack, was built in 1871,

after the demolition of all buildings but the chapel (Nelson, 1997).

In 1883, the State of Texas bought the chapel from the Catholic Church. In the following years, the plaza in front of it was remodeled, paved, and lined with trees and shops. 1893 brought in a fight over the fate of the mission, a fight that would last for the next twenty years and make the front page of the local newspapers almost everyday. The state, the City, the public, two chapters of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas (the current custodians of the mission), and some investors could not agree on the Alamo's development and preservation philosophy. The local investors, parts of the public, and the city officials saw the site in the context of a growing, modern town. Any efforts at the Alamo had to be in line with the systematization and sanitization of San Antonio, and be able to attract, and not turn off, visitors. Parks, a monument, a hotel, and even a vaudeville theater were wanted to replace the barracks and slums around the chapel. One angry reader even wrote a letter to The San Antonio Express in 1908 (March 3) naming the Alamo annexes "an eyesore and a disgrace to the city."

The Daughters of the Republic of Texas, on the other hand, were concerned with issues of authenticity, hoping to reconstruct the mission and bring it as close to its original shape as possible. They were descendents of those who fought in the war for the Texas independence, and most of them could claim ties to those that died in the Alamo siege. Preservation and authenticity at the Alamo were therefore political issues: "Those who control identities born at the Alamo receive ancestral ties to the past, ownership ties to the present, and, if calls to 'Remember the Alamo' remain intact, inheritance right to the future" (Brear, 1995: 3).

The apparent clash between the two sides was reconciled by *interpreting* authenticity in the context and as a response to the modernization and development of the city. What we see today at the Alamo is the result of the restoration efforts of the 1920s and 1930s and mimics a romanticized version of how the Alamo might have looked in 1836. In late 1930s, after a surge of funds from the state as well as some private donors (following the centennial anniversary of the siege) a library and a museum were built in the perimeter of the mission, and the wooden roof of the chapel was torn down and completely rebuilt in stone.

The 1880s marked a change in the history of the Alamo—the place. The nature and the intensity of its public interest came to be modeled after a new aesthetic, anchored in the larger contemporary discourse of modernity and mediated by tourism. From the neglect and physical exploitation before the 1880s, the Alamo moved to becoming heritage, a place in which history—as interpretation of the past—becomes visible and open to consumption.

Why that moment and why that change?

Alamo was visited in the years after the siege, and represented in paintings, illustrations, and photographs. The first photograph to be taken in Texas is an 1841 daguerreotype of the Alamo, now in the custody of the Center for American History in Austin, Texas. In the early 1840s, visitors could choose from paid guided tours at the Alamo mission, as well as buy souvenirs made out of stone from the "true walls" of the fortress (Schoelwer, 1985). In 1842 some entrepreneurs built a monument from stone from the Alamo and unsuccessfully tried to sell it to the Texas government. A few years later they took the monuments on exhibition tours charging 25 cents per person (Nelson, 1997; Schoelwer, 1985). Strangely, it wasn't until the late 1880s that Alamo was historically recognized as a memorial and focused the public's interest on a mass scale (Flores,

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[1] L. P. Hartley (1953). *The Go-Between*, London: H. Hamilton

1998). This period—late 1800s—coincides with a revival in tourism at the Alamo, made possible by the State's custody over the mission. In 1896, the municipality was paying a custodian to "protect the building from mischievous or vandal hands and to show visitors through it, explaining the many points of interest."[2] There was no charge for visiting the site. Later, the Daughters of the Republic of Texas, the new custodians, started charging 25 cents, but discontinued the fee after a while. They developed the site further, but adding some new historically looking walls as well as exhibits about the Texas' history, not only about the Alamo's. In the 1930, Alamo gained a library and a museum, and today has even an IMAX theater.

Tourism at the Alamo was also sustained by tourism in San Antonio, a popular winter resort at that time. The newspapers and the brochures called San Antonio "the sunny Italy of America,"[3] "the great tourist resort of America,"[4] and "the winter playground of America."[5] The resort kept thousands of tourists busy for the winter months—from October through April—with shopping, socializing, sightseeing, and sporting, and the tourist guides and brochures assured them that those that had visited the city in the past had done so for the mild climate, as well.

The attractions—as presented by the tourist promotional materials—were mainly pieces of architecture, rhetorically organized both visually and textually around the new/modern and old/premodern opposition. San Antonio was "a modern, yet picture-squalling—interesting, historically enthralling, yet up-to-date city,"[6] with modern urban architecture as well as colonial Spanish missions and villas. The Post Office, the Federal Courthouse, the City Hall, and the Hospital—all built at the end of the nineteenth century—were all nicely laid on the systematized and sanitized streets (one brochure said "San Antonio, the healthiest city"[7]), next to the public parks and plazas. A letter from a reader to a local newspaper speaks of the desire to see San Antonio in line with other great American cities (and Denver is given as an example) and the slums in certain districts disappear. That is, at least partly, the slums around the Alamo, as controversies in the local newspapers (*The San Antonio Express* and *The San Antonio Light*) showed. The city was to become a showcase for the triumph of modernity—"San Antonio, the commercial and industrial center of the Southwest"[8]—in line with the ideals of the rest of the country.

The colonial architecture—although in much worse physical shape than the new buildings—was not ignored at all. Most of the missions in and around San Antonio were prominently featured, with Alamo in the spotlight. Up until the 1910s, the brochures would include not only pictures of the Alamo, but also detailed and vivid textual descriptions of the siege and its legends, sometimes on as many as four pages. Of course, the publishing styles of the time were dense in text and rich in illustrations, amazed at the recent advances in printing technology that made photographic reproduction possible and printing cheaper. But, this also suggests that the period was a time of intense cultural production, when loose meanings and possible interpretations could be channeled towards

dominant themes, favored by the larger historical context. As the time moved by, the references to the Alamo tended to become more and more iconographic. In the 1920s and 1930s, often times no information was offered about the siege or the history of the mission, just one very recognizable picture. The image that came to be known as "the shot"—the bell-shaped façade—appeared in every brochure, usually on the cover or the first page, sometimes even without a caption. This hints at the Alamo's equity and place in the popular culture during the century that followed, the name being used for everything from movies to auto body shop ads (Schoelwer, 1985).

The information that was presented as well as its rhetoric were not necessarily intentional neither isolated in the American cultural landscape of the time, beginning with the 1880s. San Antonio was being positioned, through tourism and its texts, within the larger American nation and its contemporary search for identity. Tourism—by linking and relating remote places in the people's consciousness and on the imaginary map of a nascent nation—was crucial to this process.

Earlier tourism in the United States, and here I am referring to the first half of the nineteenth century, tended to reflect—in style and destinations—European tastes of the time, mostly paralleling the role of English landscape in painting and literature. New England and Connecticut seemed to be the preferred destinations (Brown, 1995; Sears, 1989). Mid 1800s and a new focus on the frontier in economy and politics brought to attention the majestic nature of the continent, very different from that in Europe and on the East Coast. Everything was at a much larger scale—the giant trees, the giant mountains, the giant waterfalls—and many tourists from the East came to admire them. It was more than just *discovery*, it was purposeful visits to well-established destinations, organized into packaged tours by touring companies (Sears, 1989). As we move towards the end of the century, tourism became closer and closer linked to "America's invention of itself as culture" (Sears, 1989: 4), to a search for what set United States apart from the rest of the world (mostly from Europe), for a way to shape its national character (Schaffer, 2001):

> Educated Americans desperately wished to meet European standards of culture and, at the same time, to develop a distinctive national image. Tourist attractions are a feature of all modern societies. But because of America's relationship to Europe and to its own past, because its cultural identity was not given by tradition but had to be created, tourist attractions have played an especially important role in America.
> (Sears, 1989: 4)

At the same time, and marking in writing the thinking of the time, Frederick Jackson Turner was proposing "American exceptionalism" as a way to think about the U.S. Driven by the move towards the West, pushing the frontier, America was different, distinctive, it was gaining its own character. U.S. was no longer an attachment—looked down to—of the Old World, it was now a power, an economic and cultural one (Turner, 1986). It was the end of the nineteenth century, from 1870s on, when the world witnessed a switch in economic and political domination. United States became the leader not only in technological innovation, but also in industrial production. The 1893 World's Columbian Exhibition in Chicago heralded this new era in world relations and gave the U.S. the impetus to lead the rest of the world into what became to be known as the Progressive Era, as well as legitimized its ideology (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998). U.S. came to be known as an urban-industrial nation-state (Schaffer, 2001).

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[2]*The San Antonio Express*, February 27, 1896

[3]*The San Antonio Express*, February 16, 1908

[4]*The Beautiful San Antonio, Texas*, San Antonio Printing Co., 1907

[5]*Sunny San Antonio: The Winter Playground of America,* Chamber of Commerce, ca. 1930

[6]*The Power of Pictures: A Prospectus for Visitors, Tourists, and Investors*, by E. A. Luck, Director of Publicity, San Antonio, The Higher Publicity League of Texas, 1916

[7]*Ibid*.

[8]*The Beautiful San Antonio, Texas*, San Antonio Printing Co., 1907

Both as ideology and direct causes, industrialization, technical progress, modernization replaced the fascination with the gigantic American version of nature in defining the American character. Tourism overall—in number of visitors and spending—grew in the years that followed, fueled mainly by an exploding network of roads and railways, growing income and leisure time among certain segments of the population (Wilson, 1994). Also, starting with the 1880s, more and more tourists moved their attention to the great, modern American cities, very different in character and look from the urban destinations of Europe. Tourism in San Antonio was part of this movement, called urban tourism, or "doing the town," (Cocks, 2001), a form of tourism that focused the visitors' attention to pieces of modern urban architecture, wonders of technology and modernizing thought: public buildings, hotels, plazas, boulevards, and monuments.

If tourism is part of the "process of self inscription, indigenous self-documentation, and endlessly reflexive stimulation" (Dorst, 1989: 24) that the culture of capitalism has known since its beginning, then tourism was for San Antonio a way to define its character and its place in the nation. Through tourism, San Antonio was taking part in this process, of building a modern nation, and it made sense to promote itself within a system of meaning that was dominant at that time. By understanding the present-time San Antonio as *modern*, the local was transcended, and reconstructed as national commodity (Cocks, 2001).

At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, the discourse of modernity took over the way the city was presented to its visitors—both tourists and possible investors. The focus was on *progress* as a desirable and inevitable trajectory from pre-modern to modern. The present was placed in the perspective of history, understood as a moment in history, qualitatively different from other moments, and similar to the "present" of the nation. This interpretation of the time and its traces were signified, made visible, in elements of the urban environment, with the colonial architecture of the 1600s and 1700s as the origin and the modern buildings and streets of the late 1800s as the peak of civilization. As one brochure put it: "the visitors enjoy … the Alamo and the Missions, beautiful in their ruins, telling of the days of the Empire-making two centuries ago, when the cross and the sword went together into the wilderness to bring civilization to the savage race."[9] By placing the two periods on the interpreted continuum of history, the difference in time was transformed in *evolution*, also interpreting people: "Anglo men represent the most productive, cultured inhabitants of the region, coming at the end of an evolution that began with Native Americans and was followed by Spaniards and Mexicans" (Brear, 2000: 302). Some of the contemporary political controversies of the area—in terms of history and ethnicity—have their roots in explaining San Antonio and its past in those terms (Brear, 1995).

Identity is not about some authentic essence, it is a discursive, positional activity, of identifying with or in opposition to (Hall, 1996). People could understand "modern" or themselves/the city as modern only in opposition to what was "not modern." This opposition was being reiterated throughout the tourist brochures about San Antonio by references to the styles of the buildings and employing an aesthetic that valued the products of technology and rationality, and appreciated the older architecture only as it offered a clear opposition to the modern one. In the case of the Alamo, the past—merely a few decades away—was pushed into a mythical time, legitimizing the present as substantially different from it:

"Thermopylae Had Its Messenger; the Alamo Had None" was the caption under an Alamo picture.[10] It also legitimized its past and its collective memory, as "the touristic journey must be morally justified by the home community" (Graburn, 1989: 28). In the same time, the past and the present were brought together, for comparison, into a realm that was accessible to people, and were translated into a language in which everybody was literate: the visual. People could look at both past and present—embodied in and understood as human creation—and see, realize the relationship between the two as well as to themselves as historical subjects.

In the years that followed the 1880s, the Alamo became *heritage*, a treasured reminiscence of a moment or event in the past, materialized in the ruins that acted as evidence. Made possible by the cultural context of the time, as well as by the City's active involvement, the Alamo moved from being a warehouse to a historical site. Tourism was instrumental: the ritualized, repeated visits to what had been officially declared a shrine transformed not only Alamo's meaning, but also people's relationship to it and the event it tried to represent.

It is important to understand that Alamo is not heritage in general, or outside particular ideologies or interpretations of the past. It is heritage because it selectively forecloses one moment and one interpretation, out of the many possible (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998), by operating within a discourse that explains the world to the general public:

> The reconstruction of the past, and the reinterpretation of the present are not confined to a museum or monument setting. Public culture is constructed on many different levels, including tourism, but its common denominator is that it stands as a series of texts that can be read by the general public. Each of these texts has qualities peculiar unto itself, yet all share a set of assumptions about the world. (Norkunas, 1993: 7-8)

Being shared, these assumptions become invisible, and therefore mostly unquestioned. In the case of the Alamo, they were also reinforced by a rhetoric of preservation, of salvaging the remains of history for the generations to come (Brear, 1995).

Alamo became heritage in a very special historical context, at a time when the production of national identity was intense and it provided the terms and the logic for interpreting the world, creating an understanding that reflected itself on the past. It became heritage by "being caught in a tourist gaze that organized its meaning in time and space," and that it could not escape at that time without abandoning its status as a destination (Hall, 1994).

Consumption is a way of relating people and the objects of their consumption, mobilizing, at various levels, meanings and understanding of place, time, and people. Meaning in consumption is not only a dialectic of expectations and performance, but also a continuous relationship with the larger historical and social context. I am hoping that this paper not only made that apparent, but also encouraged in you, as reader, a sensibility that will attend to the contexts and processes that make objects of consumption earn the place they do in our culture.

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[10]*Under Sapphire Skies in San Antonio*, Missouri Pacific Lines, ca. 1926

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Self Control and Personal Financial Management
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Personal financial management is a concern for virtually all consumers. Because the number of attractive ways to spend money almost always exceeds the money available, consumers must impose restraints on their own behavior to avoid negative financial consequences. This session examined the role of self-control in personal financial management from multiple theoretical and methodological perspectives.

The first paper, "Cultural Values Framing the Use of Revolving Credit" by Nina Diamond and Sue O'Curry, examined cultural beliefs about personal money management held by consumers who revolve credit card debt. Almost 60% of American households have revolving credit card debt with average balances over $8,000 (Manning, 2000). While indebtedness is the actual state of the majority of American consumers, debt has long been viewed as a sign of moral weakness. Conversely, thrift and avoidance of luxury have been viewed as virtues. This research used ethnographic interviews to understand whether traditional values of thrift still hold for consumers who revolve credit card debt.

The following themes emerged from the interviews:

"Life is for living"
Credit enables "life," limited means should not limit ability to consume things that are enjoyable and add meaning to one's existence.

Blurred meaning of credit
Credit has both positive and negative meanings: an indicator that one is doing well, a means to access the good life; but also a temptation, "the devil."

Budget construed as end, not means
Most indicated they would like to be able to budget, but found it too difficult. Both having too little money and having more money than one needed were seen as reasons to not need a budget.

Meaning of fiscal responsibility
As long as a bill is paid on time, one is being responsible, even if only the minimum is paid. For most, bankruptcy was something to be avoided at all possible costs.

Idiosyncratic bill paying practices
Few respondents paid the highest interest rate bills first, which would have been the optimal strategy from a financial perspective. Instead, many paid the smallest bills first, reporting that this gave them a sense of accomplishment. Others paid some fraction of the balance, or the minimum plus an extra $10 or $20.

Other findings were that respondents differentiated between personal money management and work-related money management: they knew how to do it, but didn't apply this knowledge to their own situations. Finally, most respondents saw their financial situations as temporary, although most of them had been revolving debt for years.

Overall, this study provided evidence that revolvers continue to hold traditional values about fiscal responsibility, but now define fiscal responsibility as making payments on time, rather than being debt-free.

The second paper," Debt Aversion as Self-Control: Consumer Self-Management of Liquidity Constraints" by Klaus Wertenbroch, Dilip Soman, and Joe Nunes studied the antecedents of consumers' decisions of whether or not to take on consumer loans and to carry revolving consumer debt from one period to the next

The authors developed and tested a multi-period mental budgeting model of consumer debt aversion as a self-control strategy. The model showed that financing current consumption of hedonic goods is more likely to lead to total consumption in excess of one's mental budget than financing current consumption of utilitarian goods. This is because financing current consumption artificially inflates the liquidity available for future consumption, and because hedonic goods are more likely to be over consumed in the absence of liquidity constraints. Consumers with a need for self-control impose liquidity constraints on themselves by avoiding financing purchases or selecting more stringent payment terms for hedonic goods. Evidence came from four experiments.

Experiment 1 showed that consumers with a higher situational need for self-control preferred not to finance current consumption. Subjects faced with more tempting pleasure-oriented consumption opportunities and immediate gratification preferred to pay by check, while those faced with less tempting and more instrumentally oriented consumption opportunities and more delayed gratification preferred to pay by credit card. Subjects in Experiment 2 self-imposed stricter payment terms in order to finance current consumption when financing could lead to excessive overall consumption. Experiment 3 showed that debt aversion depends directly on subjects' enduring need for self-control. Wertenbroch (1998) and O'Donoghue and Rabin (1999) have argued that consumers who pay a premium in order to impose constraints on their own choices are behaving strategically and that this provides direct behavioral evidence of self-control, much like a "smoking gun." Experiment 4 provided such evidence. Consumers were asked to imagine that they were considering buying a new car and induced a need for self-control of hedonic consumption by framing the car either as hedonic or utilitarian. Subjects were twice as likely to choose a shorter, more expensive loan option over a longer, cheaper one, both among those who wanted to pay cash or finance the purchase and among only those wanted to finance the purchase. This shows that subjects chose the more stringent loan terms strategically.

The last paper, "Addiction or Rational Investing? The Personality Profile and Emotional Lives of Frequent and Infrequent Traders" by Michal Strahilevitz reported data from a series of online surveys of investors examining the extent to which online investors feel in control or out of control of their trading behavior. Strahilevitz suggested that by Prelec's 1993 definition of addiction as a disorder of consumption rate (engaging in the addiction too often, without the ability to stop), extremely frequent trading could be considered a compulsive behavior, similar to compulsive spending, compulsive eating, drug use, alcoholism and binge eating.

Compared to infrequent traders, frequent traders reported more intense emotions when trading stocks. This included both positive emotions and negative emotions, such as worrying more about their investments, regretting a larger portion of their investment decisions and blaming themselves for bad executions. Frequent traders also reported having more regret and worrying more in their daily lives (in activities unrelated to trading stocks or investing). However, as compared to infrequent traders, frequent traders reported being more excited about buying stocks, selling

stocks and trading in general. They also rated trading stocks to be more stimulating and were more likely to consider a day without executions to be a dull day. Compared to infrequent traders, frequent traders consider realized gains to be more exciting and unrealized gains to be less exciting.

Frequent traders also appeared to suffer from overconfidence. They rated themselves as more informed about the market and more skilled as investors compared to the average person, as well as smarter with respect to issues unrelated to investing.

Frequent investors appeared to be aware that they might have a problem in their investing behavior. They were far more likely to say they were addicted to trading, and that a much greater proportion of American investors were addicted to trading, compared to infrequent traders. Frequent traders also thought they were less careful in the market relative to the average investor, less careful than the average person in their daily lives, and reported more out of control feelings with respect to both their investment behavior and their lives in general. They rated themselves as more impulsive in both their buying and selling of stocks, and also more impulsive in their daily (non-trading) lives.

Taken together, the studies show the importance of self-control in one of the most vital areas of consumer behavior: managing one's finances.

Weight and Height and Shape and Size: When Do Peripheral Cues Drive Evaluation and Consumption?

Brian Wansink, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
Koert van Ittersum, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

INTRODUCTION

A wide variety of factors influence purchase and consumption behavior. In this special topic session, however, we focus on how those less salient factors such as weight, height, shape, and size influence evaluation and consumption. Even if they are of little diagnostic or rational value (Rao and Monroe 1988), these peripheral cues may influence behavior because they offer cognitive shortcuts. For instance, weight may be used as an indicator of quality, and large product sizes may be perceived as "good deals." Besides providing consumers with cognitive shortcuts, peripheral cues also may influence evaluation and consumption by causing *visual illusions* that subsequently and unknowingly bias judgment and behavior (Chandon and Wansink 2002). In this session, we examine the use of peripheral cues as cognitive shortcuts, as well as the effect of two peripheral-cues induced, and well-known illusions on purchase and consumption volumes: the vertical-horizontal illusion and the size-contrast illusion.

BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES

Research on the effect of peripheral cues, such as the weight, height, shape and size of products, on evaluation and consumption is limited. Nevertheless, different studies suggest that peripheral cues may have a substantial influence on judgment and behavior. Raghubir and Krishna (1999) show that people believe taller glasses to contain more than shorter glasses. Raghubir and Krishna further show that as result of the misperception that tall glasses contain more than shorter glasses with the exact same capacity, people consume more when drinking from tall glasses, but also that they are less satisfied with drinking from tall glasses (i.e., dissatisfaction). Krider, Ragubir and Krishna (2001) show that people believe that circular tubs of butter contain less than rectangular butter tubs, which in turn causes them to take more tubs when confronted with circular tubs of butter, versus rectangular ones. Moving beyond perceptions of volume, we also know that package sizes can influence consumption volume (Folkes, Martin and Gupta 1993; Wansink 1996). Taken together, these studies strongly suggest that peripheral cues, such as the shape and size of serving containers unknowingly influence evaluation and consumption.

The objective of this session is twofold. First, we aim at increasing the awareness of the potential effect of peripheral cues such as weight, height, shape and size on evaluation and consumption behavior. Second, we want to increase the understanding of how these peripheral cues influence judgment and behavior. Being aware of and understanding the effects of these peripheral cues is important for academics, marketers, policy makers, health professionals, product designers, and consumers who are concerned with controlling purchase and consumption (Wynder, Winter, and Cohen 1997). First, our insights on the effect of peripheral cues on judgment and behavior need to be acknowledged in sensory, nutritional and for instance calorie studies. The size and shape of the plates or glasses used in these studies may influence judgment such that they affect final research outcomes and conclusions. People in the hospitality industry may use our insights to decrease costs (via serving size) without decreasing satisfaction, policy makers can use the insights to decrease waste (Wansink, Painter, and van Ittersum

2001). Health, dietetics, and consumers themselves, in turn, can use the insights obtained to decrease overconsumption (Painter, Wansink, and Hieggelke 2002). Further, for product designers, a better understanding of the effect of peripheral cues allows them to develop and design better and more 'efficient' products (e.g., products that are evaluated more favorable or simply are more profitable–"less for more").

RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS

To gain a better understanding of the effect of peripheral cues on evaluation and behavior, in this special topic session, three papers, testing the effect of different peripheral cues are presented.

The *first* paper by Swain demonstrates how consumers use peripheral cues as cognitive shortcuts by examining how "weight" influences product preference depending on whether a consumer holds the product (i.e. haptic weight information) or is merely provided with verbal weight information. In the *second* paper, Yang and Raghubir focus on the peripheral cue "height," and explain that the vertical-horizontal illusion caused by the elongation of beer bottles influences purchase quantities. The *third* paper by Wansink and Van Ittersum shows that the vertical-horizontal illusion explains why elongation positively influences the actual volume poured, but negatively affects perceived volumes poured.

The overall conclusion of the three studies is that peripheral cues have a substantial influence on evaluation and behavior. Second, people are generally unaware of the fact that and how their judgment and behavior is influenced by peripheral cues. Though the effect of peripheral cues decreases when the involvement in the judgment task is increased, the effect never is entirely eliminated.

"Weighing Your Options: The Effect of Product Weight on Preference"
Scott D. Swain, University of South Carolina

The present research examines the effect of the product weight on preference. Significant differences are demonstrated between preferences based on verbal weight information (i.e. labels indicating product weight) and those based on haptic weight information (i.e. weight perceived via active touch). The results suggest that modern cultural, technological, and industrial design ethos espousing the virtues of dematerialization and efficient structures may not resonate with consumers' intuitions about product dimensions.

In Study 1, participants viewed six visually indistinct pairs of products: cameras, push-button lights, outdoor floodlights, mini coffee grinders, food portion scales, and travel alarm clocks. Labels underneath each option indicated relative product weights (heavier or lighter). Consistent with a consumption imagery explanation, a significant percentage of participants preferred heavier outdoor floodlights, mini coffee grinders, and food portion scales (heaviness implies more power, stability) but lighter cameras, push-button lights, and travel alarm clocks (heaviness implies more burden). These results were replicated when the verbal labels heavier and lighter were replaced with ecologically conservative numerical differences (e.g. 5.5 oz. vs. 7.5 oz for cameras).

In Study 2, participants viewed and lifted the products used in Study 1. Objective weight differences were manipulated to be small

but noticeable (as determined through pretests). Heavier options were clearly preferred in all product categories including those where lighter options were preferred in the absence of haptic weight perception (i.e. cameras, travel alarm clocks, and push-button lights). Cognitive response data is consistent with the notion that consumers have an intuitive, positive response to heavier products that is driven more by the feel of weight than by specific beliefs about how weight translates into quality.

To establish more confidence these results, Study 3 used a new product class (headphones) where heaviness is clearly a consumption liability (confirmed in a pretest similar to Study 1) and where the options were visually distinct (different graphics, same shape and volume). Additionally, weight was varied at three levels: 1) 4.5 oz. vs. 4.5 oz., 2) 4.5 oz. vs. 6.0 oz., or 3) 4.5 oz. vs. 8.0 oz. Consistent with the first two studies, participants preferred heavier headphones during holding and lighter headphones during viewing.

Study 4 was similar to Study 1 except that participants were instructed to focus on the products physical properties (consider how the product works and why one brand might be heavier than another and consider the materials, parts, and the way things are made). Despite this attempt to force participants to associate product weight with the product and not with consumption consequences, the same pattern of preference revealed in Study 1 emerged.

Study 5 was similar to Study 2 except participants were instructed to mentally imagine using the product and were asked to imagine how satisfied they would be with the product in these scenarios. However, explicit instructions to engage in consumption imagery did not alter consumers preference for heavy options across all six categories.

Study 6 was similar to the lifting portion of Study 3 except that the brand names of the headphones were revealed (Sony and Maxell). Pretests revealed that Sony was perceived to be significantly higher in perceived quality than Maxell. Although Sony was preferred to Maxell in all weight conditions, it was preferred less so when it was lighter.

"Can Bottles Speak Volumes? The Effect of Package Shape on How Much to Buy"

Sha Yang, University of California
Priya Raghubir, University of California at Berkeley

This paper examines the effect of package shape on purchase quantity. Drawing from the literature on volume perception, we show that even when volume information is accessible on package labels, elongated containers are perceived to contain more than less elongated containers of equal volume. In the context of the product category, beer, this translates into bottles being perceived to contain more than cans. Three moderators are examined: product category experience, desired consumption level, and product consumption context. The paper contributes to the literature on volume perceptions, by demonstrating that higher experience with the product category, higher levels of desired consumption, and contexts where purchase quantity anchors are salient, moderate the effects of package shape.

The primary contribution of the paper to marketing is to demonstrate the consequences of differences in perceived volume on purchase quantity. The bias in volume perception translates into fewer bottles versus cans being purchased (controlling for other variables such as price, promotions etc.). The thesis of the paper is to demonstrate that the number of units purchased is contingent on the shape of a container, holding constant actual volume and price of the container. Studies using a range of methodologies, samples, and types of analysis, systematically test predictions of the consequences of this bias in volume perception on purchase quantity.

A pre-test replicates the elongation effect in volume perceptions (cf. Raghubir and Krishna 1999) in the context of differentially elongated bottles of beer. The pretest controls for package material (glass), and shows that the effects hold even when package label information is available to consumers to make a judgment. The remaining studies examine differences in bottles versus cans, where the former is more elongated than the latter. Study 1 experimentally demonstrates that beer bottles are perceived to contain more than beer cans, even in the presence of volume information on the package label. The moderating role of experience in attenuating this bias in volume perceptions is shown.

In Study 2, we analyze scanner panel data for light beer purchase, and show that beer bottles generate a lower purchase quantity as compared to beer cans. The average number of cans purchased per purchase occasion is 63.66% higher (15.99) than the average number of bottles purchased (9.77). Results hold while statistically controlling for differences in price, package size availability, and differential weight of bottles and cans. Heterogeneity in the sample is leveraged to examine the attenuating effect of the moderating factor of experience on purchase quantity decisions.

In Study 3, we report the results of a virtual shopping survey. These results replicate and extend the findings of Studies 1 and 2. The package shape bias (lower purchase quantity for bottles versus cans) replicates, but is found to be moderated by product category experience.

The theoretical contributions of this paper are to *(i)* demonstrate the effect of package shape on the purchase quantity decision; *(ii)* identify product category experience as a moderator of the effect of elongation on volume perceptions; *(iii)* identify consumption motivation, and product context, as moderators of the link between volume perceptions and purchase quantity.

"The Influence of Peripheral Cues on Consumption Volume"

Brian Wansink, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
Koert van Ittersum, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

When people serve themselves, how does the shape and size of bowls, plates, and glasses influence how much they consume and how much they believe they consume?

Along with being of interest to researchers, this issue is relevant to health professionals and to those on restricted diets (Wynder et al. 1997). We consume the vast majority of our food from bowls and plates, yet there is little evidence of how the size and shape of serving containers influence consumption volume when people are serving themselves in a single-serving context.

There is good reason to believe that the size and shape of serving containers bias consumption. Careful studies have shown that the size and shape of containers bias perceptions of capacity. Studies on volume perceptions show that people believe taller glasses to contain more than shorter glasses (Raghubir and Krishna 1999), and that circular tubs of butter contain less than rectangular butter tubs (Krider, Raghubir, and Krishna 2001). These biases may, in turn, influence the serving behavior and consumption volume of people. Moving beyond perceptions of volume, we also know that package sizes can influence consumption volume (Folkes, Martin and Gupta 1993; Wansink 1996). Taken together, these studies suggest that contextual stimuli, such as the shape and size of serving containers may unknowingly influence consumption volume.

Building on prior findings of volume perceptions and visual scanning (Piaget 1979), we explain the effect of contextual stimuli on volume perceptions and consumption volumes when people serve themselves. Four questions are examined: 1) How do contextual stimuli influence volume perceptions and consumption vol-

umes when people serve themselves? 2) Why do these influences occur? 3) Are people aware of them? 4) Do these influences result in normative over-consumption or under-consumption?

Field studies are conducted to examine the influence of the shape of serving containers on consumption in natural environments. In Study 1, a controlled field experiment was designed in which people were given either a tall, slender glass or a short, wide glass. Because people perceive the capacity of short, wide glasses to be smaller than tall, slender glasses (Raghubir and Krishna 1999), we expect and find that they pour more (19.9%) into short, wide glasses than into tall, slender glasses with the same holding capacity. Consumers believe they poured more (19.8%) into tall, slender glass than into the short, wide glass. Using a standard target volume and expert pourers (veteran bartenders), Study 2 shows that the bias found in Study 1 represents normative over-consumption for short, wide glasses but not normative under-consumption for tall, slender glasses.

Many want to help control a person's consumption of a product. Those in the hospitality industry want to decrease costs (via serving size) without decreasing satisfaction. Those in public policy want to decrease waste. Those in health and dietetics fields want to decrease over-consumption. Those on restricted diets want to decrease calories, fat, or sugar intake. While people can be consistently reminded be aware of how much they are using, this burdens their vigilance. Instead, there might be more structural changes that could make this easier for consumers.

The ubiquitous nature of pouring has a wide impact on not only on consumer research but also on sensory studies and nutritional research studies that involve tightly controlled consumption in lab conditions. Of particular interest to intake studies in biochemistry and human nutrition is the conclusion that contextual stimuli lead to over-consumption, and not to under-consumption. Because of the importance of this issue, future research should investigate if this conclusion can be generalized to other serving situations, or whether there are situations where contextual stimuli may lead to under-consumption.

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Doing *Good* Research: The Ethics and Regulation of Consumer Research

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Stricter requirements on all research involving humans motivated our attention to ethics regulation issues. More often than not, ethical reviews are mandatory rather than optional. The three presentations addressed experiential, theoretical and practical issues surrounding ethics reviews of consumer research.

Costley and Todd reported evidence that although proffered concerns consistently center on informed consent and non-injury, the processes and standards by which reviewers evaluate investigations vary. Accordingly, researchers' experiences with ethics reviews ranged from painless rubber-stamping to delay and frustration. Researchers' views on the process included both skepticism and acceptance. Regardless of ease or frustration, the strongest skepticism came from scholars who took much care with their applications because they considered their topic sensitive or controversial. They highlighted the need for transparency in the review process and education on both sides of the fence–researchers and reviewers.

Smith and Kimmel identified the use of deception as a main concern in consumer research. Summarizing the various points in research where deception might occur, they noted that there are often trade-offs between the soundest method and the most ethical practice. They further observed that the boundaries for acceptable deception depend on one's choice of theory. If constrained by rules of 'no deception'–a deontological approach–most consumer research would be impossible or unhelpful. Consequentialism permits deception if the benefits outweigh the costs, but the unpredictability of all costs and benefits limits its usefulness. They suggested a Social Contract Theory approach that delineates acceptable deception based on participants' expectations that deception might occur.

Moving from theory to practice, Klein and Smith investigated a specific Social Contract Theory protocol called 'forewarning.' In their experiments, forewarning amounted to telling people ahead of time that the researchers would not tell them who the sponsor was or the purpose of the study, or that they would tape the interview. They confirmed that deception bothers people and that forewarning helps. Forewarning did better than debriefing at reducing the negative consequences of deception such as negative feelings and reduced likelihood of future participation.

Paul Bloom's discussion noted looming problems–declining participation, regulation effects on research choices and publication opportunities–that make this topic a huge issue for consumer research. Given that institutional review boards do not appear to apply theory-based standards deliberately or consistently, researchers should provide theoretical justification for their research protocols in their applications. He strongly supported the development of opt-in approaches such as forewarning. Group discussion suggested implementing social contracts by giving an option for "only non-deception studies" as well as "yes" to people opting in to participating in subject pools.

Visual Rhetoric in New Product Design

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ABSTRACT

Visual rhetoric and visual communication have long histories in other fields yet are relatively new to consumer research. Scott (1994) has written about visual rhetoric in advertising and Floch (l988) wrote about the visual semiotics of retail design. The present paper builds on work which applies visual rhetoric to a new area, new product design. The relevance of visual rhetoric to product design is illustrated in an analysis of the design of the new Chevrolet SSR sport truck.

BACKGROUND

This paper reiterates the possibility that we can conceptualize and understand consumer perception and evaluation of new product designs –specifically, design form–by applying theories from a new field in consumer research, visual rhetoric.

Visual rhetoric is a type of non-discursive rhetoric which deals with the capability of a visual image to communicate a compelling message. There has been a large amount of visual communication research in other fields including architecture (see "The Portland Building" by Kanengieter-Wildeson in Foss l989), photographs (Schroeder l998), memorials (see Viet Nam memorial in Hart l996), paintings (Reid 1990), and sculpture (e.g., " The Dinner Party" in Foss l989). Some examples of analyses of visual rhetoric and visual communication in consumer- related subjects include work dealing with advertising (Scott 1994), retail spaces (Penaloza l998, Floch l988) and product design (Schmitt and Simonson 1997, Solomon l988,). Among the latter works, however, the Floch paper is restricted to looking at design communication in terms of the semiotic square, and the Schmitt and Simonson book touches design communication only briefly (e.g., that straight shapes communicate masculinity, curved ones, femininity). While the Solomon paper, like the present paper, indicates how a product design can be broken into interrelated units and how these units and interrelationships have special communicative capabilities, it doesn't go very far in describing the content of what is communicated. It stays on a very abstract level and provides limited illustrations. An interesting article which describes communicative properties of the Jeep Cherokee design was written by Meister (l977). While this article indicates how the design communicates "sustained passenger comport and protection from natural elements" and that protection of the natural environment is a (distant) secondary goal of the company, the bulk of the article is about environmental conservation rather than design communication.

Visuals have a great deal of rhetorical power. As Hart (l996) suggests, a picture of a shack in the Appalachians says a lot about poverty in the US, and the sharp rift the Viet Nam Memorial makes in the ground in the park in Washington D.C. is a stern reminder of how a nation can be split over a war in a foreign country. The powers of visuals in thinking, communication and memory are nicely discussed in Zaltman and Coulter's article on the Zaltman technique (l995).

The purpose of this paper is to review some of the basic concepts and theories from visual rhetoric and extend them to understand a new category of visual stimuli, new product designs. Designs of products can implicitly make certain statements and set symbolic tones. For example, the small, compact size, small wheels, aerodynamic wheel covers, and thin, fragile look of the body panels in the Toyota Prius and Honda's Insight hybrid (gas/electric) cars are implicit rhetorical statements about the importance of conserving energy.

This paper reviews some basic tenets of rhetoric, shows how they apply in visual rhetoric, and highlights examples of visual rhetoric in different product designs. It focuses on one particular design, the new Chevrolet SSR sport truck to show how one design might be interpreted in visual rhetoric terms.

Before we consider visual rhetoric, let us first consider rhetoric.

WHAT IS RHETORIC?
WHAT IS VISUAL RHETORIC?

Hart (1996) calls rhetoric "The art of using language to help people narrow their choices among specifiable, if not specified, policy options" (p.2). Scott calls it "an interpretive theory that frames a message as an interested party's attempt to influence and audience" (p. 252). And Foss calls it "the action humans perform when they use symbols for the purpose of communicating with one another" (p 4). Effective rhetoric is based on artistic considerations as well as logical ones. As Hart (1996) says, "Both the artist and the persuader use their imaginations to engage their audiences' imaginations.." (p. 10). As Campbell (l982) wrote, "Rhetoric is the study of what is persuasive…The issues it examines are social truths, addressed to others, justified by reasons that reflect cultural values." (p. 6) In all types of rhetoric, there are senders who select formal elements (arguments) and arrange them in terms of their expectations about how their listeners or viewers will perceive and interpret these elements (Burke l969, Corbett l965).

A common thread here is the intent to influence an audience. Historically, the message has always been verbal, although there is growing interest in visual persuasion and visual messages.

Visual rhetoric simply refers to "conveying information through visual aspects..rather than through verbal aspects. " (Brumberger 2002). For many years, it was assumed that while people expend considerable mental effort processing and interpreting verbal messages (written or oral), they are basically passive with regard to visual information, that they do very little with it other than receiving it into memory modes. In other words, it was felt that a whole visual image is simply dumped into the passive minds of viewers. Scott (1994) argues, however, that people often expend a great deal of effort interpreting messages in visual images and that the researchers' job is to understand how they interpret these messages.

In processing an image, for example, of a new house design, what do peoples' eyes focus on first? What next? If a person is seeing the separate elements of a house design in a certain sequence, what do the separate elements say symbolically? How do people interpret the combinations of elements? If a house is built very low into the yard or ground, would people interpret that the design is saying it is important to conserve energy? To be ready for bomb attacks? To be organic with the surroundings?

The popular artist Thomas Kinkade is presently assisting the design of a group of houses in a new subdivision in California. The houses will look like the sentimentalized cottages and English country settings in his highly successful paintings. Will people get it? Will they feel the same sentiments and emotionality they feel from his paintings?

Rhetorical criticism "is the process of systematically investigating and explaining symbolic acts and artifacts for the purpose of understanding rhetorical processes." (Foss p 6.) The purpose in this paper is to seek not only to understand visual design as a rhetorical process but also how to improve design effectiveness. I want to go

FIGURE 1

Key Players in the Creative Process and Where to Look to Understand Their Roles in the Interpretations of Creative Works

	Artist / Creator / Designer	Rhetorician / Critic	Receiver / Buyer
Overt, Conscious Meanings	A	B	C
Latent, Unconscious Meanings, Context Influences	D	E	F

beyond simple market research metrics such as design likeability and uniqueness to get at some new aspects of design in the experience of the beholder or audience which might improve design effectiveness.

I argue that in order to interpret meanings consumers might take away from a product design (or ad, brand name, retail design, etc.), an interesting source is to consider elements of the work and the rhetorical roles they might play as suggested by rhetoricians (or critics as in Ahuvia l998). In other words, in order to develop hypotheses about meanings in Cells C and F in Figure 1 above, a valuable place to start is Cell B which represents overt meanings and meaning systems used by rhetoricians and critics.

Cell B represents all the day to day working theories and terms used by rhetorical experts and critics. These often deal with meanings in Cells A and D as well as C and F insofar as these experts examine artist intentionalities and backgrounds or life contexts (Ahuvia l998). In consumer research, there are few studies of A and D although Kover (1995) wrote a very interesting paper on how advertising copywriters sense meanings as interpreted by their targets–and Durgee and O'Connor (1996) did research on product design messages as communicated from designer to end consumer.

CONCEPTS AND THEORIES FROM RHETORICAL CRITICISM WHICH APPLY TO PRODUCT DESIGN

All rhetoric involves a rhetor (message creator), message, an audience, a context, and, as indicated above, desired effects. There are many other issues to consider. The first of these is ideology or the world view, values, and norms that are argued for.

In order to illustrate these issues and the role they play in product design, we will review them in light of the design of a new vehicle to be introduced shortly by General Motors, the Chevrolet SSR sport truck (see Figure 2.)

1. Ideology

In examining examples of visual rhetoric, Hart (l996) asks of each example, "Does the visual image carry ideological force? Does it grow out of a systematically articulated belief system" ?(p. 189) The Viet Nam memorial in Washington reflects our feelings about the war noted earlier, and Chicago's large sculpture "The Dinner Party" is a statement about advances made by women throughout history.

Foss (l989) describes an ideology as "a patter or set of ideas, assumptions, beliefs, values, or interpretations of the world by which a culture or group operates". (p. 291) The SSR truck represents quintessential American values: consumption for its own sake, pleasure, fun, freedom, and indulgence. It has very limited practical value as the truck bed is only 5 feet long and 3 feet

between the wheel wells. It is an open car which only seats two people. Hart (l996) describes the recent trend in the US toward "Radical Individualism", and this truck supports this trend insofar as it will probably be driven mostly by single individuals. This is interesting insofar as many US car manufacturers are attempting to reflect foreign values and imagery in their new cars, in particular, in luxury cars. Ads for these cars proclaim "European Handling" and "German workmanship". An old theme in Chevrolet advertising, in contrast, is the USA and core American values. In that regard, the SSR is a return to a core American values.

2. Setting–Context–Presentation

Questions here concern where, when and under what circumstances the message takes place. Rhetorical critics suggest that in political speeches, it matters a great deal whether a politician gives a speech from his office or a homeless shelter. The message would come across very differently in the different contexts. Similarly, an advertisement sends a different message if it appears in one magazine versus another. Within the visual in an advertisement, it matters if the product is shown in a brightly lit setting versus a dark, mysterious one (Scott l994). Consider the designs of ice cream products and how they favor different presentations. The design of an ice cream sandwich makes it hard to eat and requires that it be held at a low angle. In contrast, an ice cream cone is designed so it can only be held upright. By it's shape and how it is held, the cone represents excitement and specialness, like the torch in the hand of the Statue of Liberty.

In the case of the Chevy SSR, given the strong trend in the US toward off-road vehicles, the SSR by definition seems like an *on-road* car, a car that is all about the road. Unlike the majority of new cars today, it doesn't have a massive body and four-wheel drive to get it through tough conditions of dirt, woods, snow and ice. Rather, it seems suited only to sunny dry days and black, dry pavement.

Kinetic sculpture moves, but a car can move from place to place. A car either sits or moves. In which context is the SSR's "message" the clearest? Sitting, the car would have a Sphinx-like quality, as attention would probably be drawn to its unusual body with its broad fender flares and unusual grille. Underway, the spinning, flashing large shiny wheels would call attention to themselves, like kinetic sculpture, like a working piece of machinery.

Obviously, during its lifetime, the SSR will be indoors and outdoors. Cars are big and need a large space to be properly displayed indoors. Car designs "speak" best to us outdoors. If we drove around in "tunnel cars", the car designs would say very different things to us. They would be shaped like pods or cocoons. In contrast, the SSR design says that it is for full, open-air enjoyment.

FIGURE 2
A Chevrolet SSR prototype vehicle

3. Elements

In formulating a speech, advertisement, editorial or some other piece of rhetoric, the rhetor carefully selects and organizes the separate elements or arguments. The selection, emphasis, combining, and sequencing of the arguments are critical to the success of the effort. Of special importance will be the use of special tropes or exaggerations or metaphors to bring artistry to the piece and get the viewer involved emotionally.

The remainder of this paper examines these issues, particularly as they relate to rhetorical capabilities of new product design issues in the SSR.

ELEMENT SELECTION

Our expectations are shaped by personal and culturally shared categories and meaning systems. We expect, for example, that a public lecture will have a beginning, middle, and an end. An academic presentation will involve a theoretical background, support in the form of research findings, and then a set of implications and recommendations.

All rhetors work with peoples' expectations of these types to select and combine separate parts which go into their texts.

So too with designers. When a designer designs something, he or she works with shared cultural expectations about elements we expect to see in that design. In the case of a car, we might expect a prototypical car such as the Chevrolet Malibu in Figure 3.

The Malibu has 4 doors, tires, wheels, a body, seats, an engine and windows, everything in our typical expectation of a "car." In fact, the Malibu is typical of what is called the "universal" automobile design. It is a front-engine car, mid-sized, four-door, four-seat sedan, the most common, least expensive, widely-manufactured car design in the world.

The designer of the SSR, however, diverges from this design. He or she takes away the roof (it is retractable), takes away two doors, two seats, most of the grille and ornamentation and adds a truck bed in the back. Rhetorical experts call this "detractio", that is, improving an argument by taking elements out (Ehses and Lupton l988). He or she is saying "this is all you need to have fun." In fact, the SSR reflects old 1950's hot rod themes insofar as young people then stripped down regular street cars to make custom hot rods and drive them for fun.

The SSR also has no bumpers, and a minimal lighting system just like a race car. Although this is a prototype car, these attributes might be interpreted by some as a lower concern for safety and a heightened "live for today" attitude or what Hart (l996) calls "Radical Presentism". Again, the stress is on fun and excitement.

ORDERING OF ELEMENTS

Rhetors have many different ways they can use to influence how their audience will sequentially process the points they want to make. To engage an audience's interest, a rhetor might order events in a chronological sequence or story form. For example, in an appeal for money for a nonprofit organization, a speech writer might include a story about events which over time took the organization deeper and deeper in debt. A speech might also order events in cause-effect sequence, or what Hart (1996) calls "ascending" sequence. Here, the most impactful arguments are placed first and last, insofar as the primacy-recency effect from psychology suggests that items coming first and last are most remembered. Also, a basic device all speakers know is repetition. If they repeat the same point or element over and over, it will have a much stronger impact on the audience.

All of these devices might also be true in visual rhetoric in design. To date, there are no known studies of eye movements pertaining to designs (other than graphics for websites, see www.prsresearch.com), so we cannot be confidant that we know how typical viewers see the separate parts of a design in sequence.

FIGURE 3
A Chevrolet Malibu

Certainly, an important sequence by which drivers process car experiences is 1. see the car, 2. get in, sit, then 3. drive. Years ago, Harley Earl (in Georgano 1995), the lead designer at General Motors argued that people first look at the grille (or "face") or a car, then along the lines, then finish up at the back. Certainly the dominant metaphor for automobile design in the 1950s was the rocket ship, and the rocket ship message was told at the front of the car with rocket-like grilles, along the side with long horizontal lines, then finished at the back with large tail fins. Designers of the new VW Beetle knew that the circle motif was a subtle theme in the first Beetle inasmuch as the car, from the side, looks like three half-circles (body and fenders) nested together. The circle motif, with its connotations of continuity, inclusiveness ("Peoples Car", Knights of the Round Table, etc.) therefore was repeated again and again in the new Beetle. It is seen not only in the shape of the car and the wheels but also the speedometer, other gauges, head and tail lights, the key, and various interior pieces.

Looking at the SSR, the body reflects the overall wedge-shape which became popular in the l960s. Therefore, a viewer's eyes would probably move, as Earl suggested, from front to back. In contrast, the new SUVs divert from the universal style mainly in terms of cab height, so viewers' eyes probably start at the high roof lines of these vehicles and then move down. In old 1950s hotrods, the engine was a very important part of the car, so it makes sense that attention in the SSR car goes from front to back. The front of the SSR has little ornamentation and looks very low and fast. There are no bumpers which reflects the basic fun message. Like a race car, the headlights are partially covered over.

The sides of the car are relatively high. Occupants sit low inside, so the door top is probably over their shoulders, just like a car in an amusement park ride–again, a fun image. As with the high slab sides of older era Rolls Royce sedans, the sides signal a type

of exclusivity, as in "we are inside enjoying this and you are outside."

The back of the truck has a sharp upward look, including not only the upward-sweeping truck bed cover but also the sweep in the rear fenders. In race cars, this adds aerodynamic downforce to the rear wheels which are usually the drive wheels. Along with the large head rest/ roll bars, the high back end provides a backdrop which accentuates the riders, like two thrones.

ELEMENTS AS TROPES

A lot of rhetoric deals with tropes. Tropes are "artful deviations," types of rhetorical figures people use to bring emphasis and drama to their arguments. These deviations include such things as metaphors, metonyms, and antitheses. These figurative expressions add what is called a "pleasure of the text" (Barthes 1985) as readers derive pleasure from interpreting what they mean. In arguing that upstate New York is a cold place, one can simply say it is cold or one can say that it is "so cold that the polar bears in the zoos went on strike." As McQuarrie and Mick (l996) suggest, "a rhetorical figure provides a means for making the familiar strange". (p. 426)

Designers use many such devices in new product design. To refer to an earlier example, the new VW Beetle includes an actual flower vase in the interior. This might make the interior seem a little strange–until one gets the metonymic connection between flowers and the 60's "Flower Children" culture of rock and roll, tie dye clothes, youth, long hair, and old VWs.

The SSR deviates from the prototypic car–the Chevrolet Malibu–in many ways.

A dominant metaphor would seem to be its toy-like image. The car has very large wheels and tires, and both are emphasized by the fenders which are apart from the body and highlight the wheels,

FIGURE 4
Side View of SSR

much like a toy car. In fact, the proportions of the wheels to the body are almost those of a roller skate, again, a fun image, and an image which says, "this can really roll". The wide stance of the wheels and fat tires suggests that the car has turtle-like stability. This broad stance is reflected again in the Chevrolet logo in the front which is low and goes across the entire front of the grille. The stability of the car is further highlighted in the ratio of the wheelbase to the cab. (see Figure 4). The small cab, and wheels mounted far in front and far in back highlight overall length, much like an old royal horse drawn carriage. The stress on the wheels reflects an old term which young people have used for years to represent their cars: "my *wheel*s".

Oddly, the ratio of the hood length to the total car length violates an old design message in cars. This message was that the longer the hood, the more powerful the car. In the case of the SSR, the hood is relatively short. It has a low forehead, however, which is somewhat dolphin-like in shape. This might give the car a more intelligent look although research would be necessary here as in all of these issues to see how consumers would really feel.

ANTITHESIS

McQuarrie and Mick (l996) refer to conflict between opposing elements in a rhetorical argument as "antithesis". This happens, they say, when a message structure includes both members of a binary opposite, for example, the shampoo slogan for Pert: "Easy on eyes–Tough on tangles".

The SSR embodies several such oppositions. First, is it a sports car or a truck? Is it for fun or work? Of the two images, the sports car image probably benefits from the truck image much more strongly than vice versa. Just as a big football player would look more rugged among a group of ballet dancers than on the field, the SSR comes across as much more fun given the truck image than without it.

Similarly, the conflict between and old-looking pickup truck body and ultra new, big (17 inch) wheels. While the body largely reflects a Chevy truck body from the 1950s, the wheels look very new, even down to the atomic energy design in the spokes. This, of course, highlights the wheels and tires, which were mentioned earlier. At the same time, to the extent that it represents new wheels propelling an old shape, it suggests new energy and excitement given to something old and loved, like I.M. Pei's glass pyramid inside the Louvre Museum in Paris.

Third, there is sharp dissonance experienced as one goes along the smooth lines of the body and fenders–and then suddenly ends at the abrupt, chopped-off tail of the car.

The tail reflects the abrupt Kamm- styled tail made popular in race cars in the l960s as this tail was thought to make the cars more aerodynamic. Also, as indicated throughout this paper, the car is also a truck. At the same time, without being too interpretive, the phenomenon as experienced by viewers as they look down the smooth sides of the car then come to an abrupt end might not be unlike the sensation of hearing an organ piece suddenly end in a large church. In some churches, as the organ stops, the sound continues for a brief moment. This brief moment of sound is called "cipher" among organists. Looking from the front of the car to the back, the feeling of smooth motion continues at the abrupt end, just as the sound of an organ continues after the organ abruptly stops.

CONCLUSION

Designs influence how we experience the world. As this paper suggests, they have might have important visual rhetorical properties. They exhibit many of the rhetorical figures–including tropes, sequencing of ideas, antithesis–found in discursive rhetoric.

They should be studied as pieces of text, just as speeches, advertisements and newspaper editorials are studied.

Visual rhetoric and rhetorical approaches in general appear promising insofar as they incorporate many other approaches such as semiotic theories as well as other theories and concepts from the social sciences (Campbell 1982).

Future research might investigate the roll of eye movement in sequencing thoughts or ideas in individual designs. It might also investigate alternate interpretations of visual design messages by people in different cultures.

Of course, a very important question concerns the extent to which consumers–on a conscious or unconscious level– receive and retain these types of messages. Ahuvia (l998) is correct in stressing the need for a many-sided approach to social criticism which includes not only critics but also authors and audiences.

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Consumer Strategies for Averting Negative Consequences of Failed Gift Exchanges: Is Honesty Ever the Best Policy?

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The giving and receiving of a gift is an exchange process that symbolizes the social bond between relationship partners. Thus, gift giving presents an opportunity for the gift to either positively or negatively affect the relationship's current status and its future trajectory, including future exchanges between the two parties (Ruth, Otnes, and Brunel 1999; Sherry 1983). Although gift givers often seek to delight recipients, not all gifts achieve this lofty goal. Gifts that fail to delight or surprise (Belk 1996; Durgee and Sego 2001), do not reflect the recipient's tastes or interests (Otnes, Lowrey, and Kim 1993), or are inappropriately matched to the relationship's status (Ruth et al. 1999) are hallmarks of failed gifts. However, as these characteristics suggest, the failure of a gift may more likely be attributable to the gift exchange process and the players involved, rather than the tangible properties of the gift itself. Because failure can be traced to any or all of the stages of gift-giving or either party involved (Sherry 1983), the failure of a gift to achieve its intended goals can aptly be termed a "failed gift exchange" (FGE).

Since evidence that a gift exchange has failed rests largely in the hands of recipients (Dodson and Belk 1996), they often resort to impression management techniques to disguise their disappointment with a gift, some of which necessitate dishonesty, and others, outright deception. Numerous studies in the gift-giving literature have suggested such strategies but questions remain. For instance, what factors influence choices of proactive versus reactive strategies in each stage of the gift exchange process? What factors prevent or facilitate recipients' ability to be *honest* with givers about their disappointment? Last, what are the consequences when recipients' attempts at managing relational outcomes fail? These were the key questions driving this exploratory study into the nature and consequences of FGEs.

Separate focus groups were conducted with 8 females and 12 males. Participants were either undergraduate or graduate business students or staff members of a southwestern university. Sessions lasted approximately one and a half hours and were both videotaped and audiotaped. Focus group participants were asked to respond to questions from the perspective of a gift recipient, although no restrictions were placed on the gift occasion or the relationship type. Participants were asked to think specifically about their reactions and responses to "failed gifts," which were defined as "those that for whatever reason 'missed the mark,' whether it be the gift itself or any aspect of the gift-giving exchange situation." Transcripts were coded using content analysis, with an emphasis on coding themes representing behaviors and underlying motivations accompanying each stage of the gift-giving process. Intercoder reliability was 90%. All disputes were later resolved by the two judges.

Our participants described various strategies to mask their disappointment with a gift, both immediately following its receipt and afterward. They also described attempts to influence the gift-giving exchange prior to actual receipt of the gift, which serves to reinforce the notion that recipients attempt to manage relational outcomes at all stages of the gift-giving process. For instance, during the prestation stage, they described such strategies as feigning satisfaction, expressing subdued "thanks," and diverting attention away from the gift. After the exchange (reformulation stage), participants described "serving time" with loathsome or unwanted objects by storing or hiding them, using them inconspicuously, or prominently displaying or using them only in the giver's presence. Disposal strategies included exchanging or returning unwanted gifts to merchants, re-gifting them, and trading or throwing them away. Participants also described strategies used during the gestation stage to ward off FGEs, such as giving hints, making lists, or offering third party observations about gifts received by others. A key factor that influenced the choice of strategies in all three stages was the expectation of future gift exchanges with the giver. Recipients appear to appreciate the fact that their responses to FGEs might come back to haunt them later, and therefore, they often manage their responses accordingly.

While gift recipients may resort to deceptive strategies in order to avert negative consequences, do they ever feel comfortable with simply being *honest*? If so, what factors facilitate or hinder honesty in FGEs? Findings suggest that recipients value honesty and regard the ability to be honest about failed gifts as the epitome of a truly close relationship. However, our participants cited several factors as important considerations for determining if and when they could be honest about a gift. These included: 1) relationship closeness; 2) relationship type; 3) the extent to which the giver appeared to have made significant investments in the selection, presentation, and symbolic meanings embodied in the gift; and 4) unique personality and individual characteristics of the giver. Overall, it was easier for recipients to be honest in close, non-romantic relationships and harder when givers had made significant investments or were thought likely to be offended or hurt. Gender differences also surfaced, as males appeared to be more reluctant than females to be honest under any conditions.

Despite diligent efforts, recipients reported episodes in which their attempts at pretense had failed. Some recipients failed to convince givers they were happy with the gift. More commonly, givers later embarrassed the recipient by asking about the gift when it was obviously not being used or displayed. In worst-case scenarios, recipients were caught "red-handed" disposing of the gift. Participants recalled such episodes reluctantly, and with evident remorse and guilt. Positive outcomes of getting "caught" included the opportunity to clear the air and establish better communications. Negative outcomes included strains on the relationship and heightened anxiety associated with future gift exchanges for both relationship partners.

Gift exchanges can strengthen social bonds, yet they present ample opportunities for both givers and recipients to disconfirm rather than affirm the relationship, either intentionally or unintentionally. The finding that recipients value honesty under certain conditions serves to further emphasize that relational dynamics rather than the gift per se can ultimately determine the success or failure of gift-giving exchanges.

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Thrill of the Hunt: Thrift Shopping for Pleasure

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

By taking a hedonic perspective this paper challenges the existing utilitarian conceptualization of thrift and thrift shopping in marketing. In general, thrift shopping is defined by participants of this study as shopping in second hand settings, such as estate sales, auctions, garage sales, but especially in thrift shops. Traditionally, thrift shopping is conceptualized in marketing as a shopping process with an economic function that takes place in formal retail settings. The image of thrift shops is one of a dark, smelly, disorganized junk stores. Furthermore, in the marketing literature on the concept of thrift, such as the literature on deal-prone consumer and frugal lifestyles, we find that the consumer is portrayed as a rational human being who only spends in order to satisfy basic needs. Thrift is only studied from the economic perspective on savings, deals and budgets where thrift consumption represents present sacrifices for achieving long-term goals. The hedonic aspects of thrift, especially in the context of spending (shopping) are missing from the existing literature.

The hedonic outlook in this study is influenced by the work of Miller (1998) and Campbell (1987). From the anthropological literature, Miller (1998) argues that shopping is all about savings: consumers go shopping to have the experience of saving money! As a result, he suggests that thrift should be studied in the experience of spending (shopping) as an end in itself. Campbell's (1987) theoretical conceptualization of pleasure as a quality of experiential consumption derived by consumers' imagination and fantasy is also used in analyzing the process of thrift shopping. Led by these two perspectives, thrift shopping and thrift are examined through a qualitative study conducted through observations and interviews in a thrift store in a Midwestern town. The data collection process and data interpretations are guided by Burke's dramaturgical framework. Overall the data is collected through twenty hours of observations and 3 in-depth interviews. The overall findings of this study present thrift shopping as a money saving activity from which consumers derive experiential and social benefits.

Based on Burke's dramaturgical framework, the findings of the study are presented in three stages. The first stage, the scene, represents the ways in which the retail store, through product placement, item categorization, product supply, and price strategies, structures the shopping activity and consumers' experiences within the store. Thrift stores display their items in broad generic categories. Items are first categorized on gender, then item type (e.g. coats, pants), and lastly on size. Further items are sometimes thrown randomly in the store one over the other. Disorder is also created by placement of products of different categories next to each other, e.g. glass wear next to women's wear. Debranding, the generic categories of product display, and the disorganized setting create a unique retail environment where certain aspects of products are hidden (e.g. brands, styles) representing the products as anonymous. These unknown aspects of the environment create stimulus for experiencing pleasure because it opens to the pleasure-seeker's imagination and day-dreaming. Furthermore, anonymity becomes useful in a second hand retail setting in order to help eliminate the 'past history' of these resale items and present them as neutral and new. Consistent with Campbell's (1987) the neutralization makes it possible for the product to always serve as novel stimuli, hence providing experiences not previously encountered in reality.

Price emerges as the center of the discussions surrounding thrift shopping. Because thrift stores are a formal retail environment, their prices are set and are not negotiable. But there are a number of weekly sales promotions that consumers take part in, such as a 50% discount keyed to the color tag of the week. Even more, at the end of the week each discounted item is priced at 99 cents. These sale promotions focus the thrift shopping process on searching for the best bargains and the best deals, a big part of which is the price discounts which are in average from $4 per item reduced to 99 cents.

The second stage is the act, the process of thrift shopping. Thrift shoppers engage in a number of activities while shopping, such as searching, examining, 'price games', aesthetic evaluations, socializing, and role playing. Consistent with previous work on flea markets (Sherry 1990), searching and examining are the two main thrift shopping activities where consumers engage in endless and systematic search of item's material, brand, style, color, price, etc. The disorganized, anonymous ambience in the thrift stores conditions thrift shopping as a search activity for what Campbell calls the "unknown object of desire" that is hidden among the garbage. Thrift shoppers tend to search every corner of the store each time they shop. The different price discounts offered weekly by the store provide the stimuli for 'price hunting games'. Thrift shoppers engage in what they call "hunting for the jewel" where searching, examining, and illegal hiding of clothes takes place in order to find the jewels of their efforts.

The last stage is the outcomes that consumers derive from thrift shopping. Thrift shopping is like shopping for surprise: "you never know what you are going to find". Thrift shoppers do not have a specific idea of what they are looking for when going shopping. The wide variety of anonymous items, displayed as new and neutral waits to be discovered by the thrift shopper, who hopes to be lucky to find the missing pieces of the puzzle. Moreover, thrift shopping allows consumers to indulge their fantasies for mass produced and premium brands, antiques and collectable items, special clothing materials, designs, and luxury items. These highly valued items purchased for little money are considered great bargains. Consumers are often attracted to thrift shopping because of "the thrill of the hunt", the endless search and longing for that particular "gem" hidden somewhere that the expert shopper manages to buy for just 99 cents.

The thrift store environment emerges as an autonomous field of action in which pleasure is related to the extent to which consumers are able to undertake the shopping as they please, providing them with the illusion of control. Pleasure in thrift shopping stems directly from the freedom which shoppers have in just looking as well as employing the other sensory registers. Thrift shopping is an activity where ends are discrepant from the means: from this money saving activity consumers derive experiential and social benefits. Thrift shopping emerges as a process that allows consumers to obtain both thrift and pleasure benefits, whereas normal shopping does not really provide these possibilities.

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Consumer Values and Attitude Toward Cause-Related Marketing: A Cross-Cultural Comparison

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

While cause-related marketing (CRM) has gained increasing acceptance around the world during the past two decades, anecdotal evidence suggests that consumers in different countries are not equally supportive or accepting of cause-related marketing. In addition to the relative newness of the concept in some areas of the world, it is possible that cultural differences in values and value structures may play a role in shaping attitudes toward cause-related marketing. This study investigates the relationship between values and consumer attitudes toward cause-related marketing, using samples from four countries from four different continents: Canada (North America), Norway (Europe), Korea (Asia), and Australia.

CRM in Canada, Australia, Norway, and Korea

The popularity of CRM in the United States appears to be spreading to other countries (Dwek 1992). For example, a survey in Australia said that 79% of Australian consumers are more inclined to purchase products from companies considered to be good corporate citizens (The Sunday Age 1997). In Canada, 41% said that they expect companies to have more involvement in the community (Menzies 1997). Canada's proximity to the United States and its high level of exposure to American media may have a role in shaping Canadian views towards CRM, resulting in views similar to those espoused by Americans.

Although CRM is more advanced in the United States and Canada, and making headway in Australia, it has received little attention in Norway and almost no attention in Korea. Consumers in the latter countries are less familiar with CRM, therefore:

H1a Attitudes toward cause-related marketing will be the most favorable in Canada.

H1b Attitudes toward cause-related marketing will be the least favorable in Korea.

Values (LOV)

Values are the core of personal identity and play a key role in shaping consumer attitudes and behaviors (Homer and Kahle 1988). Kahle (1983) developed the List of Values (LOV). LOV assesses the importance to individuals of nine values that can be grouped into three underlying dimensions: internal values (self-fulfillment, self-respect, sense of accomplishment, and warm relationships with others); external values (security, sense of belonging, and being-well respected); and interpersonal values (fun and enjoyment in life and excitement; Homer and Kahle 1988; Kahle 1983).

Impact of Values on Attitudes toward CRM

Values have been used to explain and predict consumer attitudes and behaviors because they provide an abstract set of behavior-guiding principles (Rose et al. 1994; Williams 1979). Values have the potential to shape attitudes toward donation behavior, helping behavior, and cause-related marketing. From the consumer standpoint, engaging in CRM behavior appears to have much in common with internal values and external values, but little in common with interpersonal values.

H2a People with a positive attitude toward CRM are more likely to rate internal values as more important than people with a less positive attitude toward CRM.

H2b People with a positive attitude toward CRM are more likely to rate external values as more important than people with a less positive attitude toward CRM.

Methodology

The questionnaire was administered to a set of university students in Canada (n=138), Australia (n=49), Norway (n=69), and Korea (n=196). The questionnaire was originally written in English, translated into Korean and Norwegian, then back translated into English. Attitude toward cause-related marketing is measured using a four-item scale developed by Kropp, Holden, and Lavack (1999). Values are measured using the List of Values.

Results

Attitude toward CRM. In comparing the four countries on the *Attitude toward CRM* scale, a significant difference was found between Canada and Korea (p<.01), as well as between Australia and Korea (p<.01). This provides support for H1a and H1b.

Values. No significant differences were found between Canada, Australia, and Korea on any of the three LOV subscales (internal values, external values, and interpersonal values). Significant differences were found between Norway and the other countries. Norway rated internal values and external values significantly lower than both Canada and Korea (p<.01). As well, Norway rated interpersonal values significantly lower than Canada, Australia, and Korea (p<.01).

Values and CRM. Those who had a highly positive attitude toward CRM were more likely to rate self-fulfillment, self respect, warm relations with others, security, and sense of belonging as being more important (p<.05). Both internal and external values were rated as significantly more important by the group with the most positive attitude toward CRM (p<.05), providing support for H2a and H2b.

Conclusion

This study has shown that attitudes toward CRM may be less positive in countries where CRM is less established. It appears that differences in attitude toward CRM are also linked with personal values, specifically with internal values and external values. The results of this investigation may be useful to global marketers in planning and implementing CRM promotions.

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Measuring the Brand Personality of Non-Profit Organizations

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Prior research regarding brand personality has focused primarily on the dimensions of brand personality of consumer goods and services in the for profit and governmental sectors. The measurement of brand personality has also been examined across various cultural contexts (Aaker 2000; Aaker, Benet-Martinez, Garolera 2001; Ferrandi, Florence, and Falcy 2000). These studies have established that there are consistencies in brand personality dimensions (Aaker 1997) by consumers across different cultures. This research extends the conceptualization and measurement of brand personality to the nonprofit sector.

Initially, a discovery approach was taken and three qualitative studies were conducted to explore individuals' perceptions of brand personality related to three different classifications or *product categories* of nonprofit organizations: health, environment/rights, arts/humanities. The results of these three studies indicated that people can differentiate between nonprofit organizations on the basis of human personality traits. Building on the outcomes of the qualitative studies, a quantitative approach was undertaken to empirically examine the brand personality dimensions of nonprofit organizations. This was done using the measurement of brand personality developed by Aaker (1997), items adapted from Green and Webb (1997) and the unique traits that were identified by the participant in the qualitative studies of this research.

Several major findings emerged from this process. First, the quantitative study supported what was indicated in the discovery phase, individuals can easily ascribe human personality traits to nonprofit organizations and that these associations vary across different *product categories* (the brand personality of the March of Dimes has traits that are unique of different from those of Public Broadcasting Services. Second, a five-factor structure of nonprofit brand personality emerged that included four of the five dimensions identified by Aaker (1997), *Excitement, Competence, Sophistication, and Ruggedness)*, the fifth factor was *Nurturing*.

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The Role of Brand/Cause Fit in the Effectiveness of Cause-Related Marketing Campaigns

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Cause-related marketing (CRM) is an increasingly common form of promotion. Expenditures on this form of communicating with customers were expected to surpass $630 million in the United States last year (Meyers, 1999). As defined here, cause related marketing involves the contribution to a cause by a firm which is "linked to customers' engaging in revenue-producing transactions with the firm" (Varandarajan and Menon, 1988 p. 60). We adopt this definition, and only refer to promotions in which the amount given to a charity by a firm is somehow tied to the purchase behaviour of consumers.

Previous studies of cause-related marketing (CRM) have demonstrated that it can impact consumer choice, and that price and quality trade-offs can diminish or eliminate the positive impacts of CRM. We replicate and extend these findings by exploring the impact of brand/cause fit on consumer choice. We do this by using choice-based conjoint, a method which provides much richer information for decision makers than the methods used previously to study CRM.

We intend to elevate current knowledge about CRM by (1) replicating the finding that CRM can impact choice, and (2) extending these finding by demonstrating that perceived fit between sponsoring brand and cause can also impact consumer choice. Additionally, we use choice-based conjoint to calculate the actual trade-offs consumers are willing to make in order to support a brand that supports a cause.

Pretesting was done to determine two charities which were equally liked, but differed in fit with a product category. The product category chosen for study one was theme parks. The high fit charity was the Children's Miracle Network (CMN). The low fit charity was the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts. In study two, we tried to find a product category for which the Kennedy Center would be high fit and the Children's Miracle Network would be low fit. Washington DC hotels met this criterion. Study I

Prior to beginning the discrete choice task, respondents were presented with sample advertising copy for the two theme parks. Embedded within the copy for one of the parks (either "Hudson" or "Davis") was the sentence "As part of our continuing support of the Children's Miracle Network (Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts), we'll donate five dollars to this worthy cause for every ticket sold until the end of the month". Therefore, each subject was randomly assigned to one of four cells in the 2(fit: high/low) x 2(Name: Hudson/Davis) betweensubjects design. Pretesting for an unrelated study found "Hudson" and "Davis" to be neutral and equivalently liked "brand names" in general. However, due to the possibility of category specific associations, "name" was included in the design so as to provide a check that within the context of the choice task, there was no confound between CRM and the specific name used (i.e. Hudson vs. Davis).

Following the description of the theme park and the charity to which the donation would be made, respondents completed a series of 16 discrete-choice tasks. All choice tasks required the respondent to choose between the "Hudson" and "Davis" theme park alternatives. These alternatives were described along five different characteristics: admission price ($24.95 and $34.95); driving distance (45 minutes vs. 90 minutes); number of rides available (32 or 46); food quality (fair vs. good); and hours of operation (8 am to 8 PM versus 7 am to 11 PM). Subjects were told to consider what they had read about the two hotels in the advertisements, as well as the attribute information, which changed from task to task, in arriving at each of their 16 choices.

Multinomial Logistic Regression was employed to arrive at parameter estimates. The rho-square value for the model as a whole was 0.70, indicating that it was very effective at explaining the choices made by respondents. The Donation Intercept parameter is based on using a dummy code to represent the amusement park that offered the charitable donation, and reflects the additional amount that an individual would be willing to pay for the low-fit donation.

By dividing the coefficient for the Donation Intercept by the Admission Price coefficient, it is possible to directly determine the point at which a consumer would be ambivalent between an amusement park that offered the promotion, but charged more, and an amusement park that offered no promotion. In this particular case, results suggest that the dollar value of offering the low-fit donation is equivalent to $0.62.

In order to examine the value of offering a charity that is of high-fit, a similar calculation may be performed by first summing the parameter estimates for Donation Intercept and Fit * Donation Intercept, then dividing this value by the parameter estimate for the Amusement Park Admission Price. This calculation suggests that if the high-fit donation alternative was present, an amusement park could charge an additional $3.01. Hence, the dollar value of the high-fit alternative, relative to the low-fit alternative is $2.39. Study2

Study two essentially replicates study one, but uses Washington DC hotels as the product category. Therefore the CMN becomes low fit and the Kennedy Center becomes high fit. The impact of offering a charitable donation promotion in general, and under high fit was calculated as in study one. In this case, the value associated with donation to the low-fit charity was $0.38. The value associated with donation to a high fit charity was $3.88, which equates to $3.50 more than they could charge if the donation was of low-fit

The two studies demonstrate that fit between the brand and the charity can have a substantial, positive impact on choice. In terms of trade-offs against price discounts, donation to a high fit charity can result in 5 to 10 times the value of donation to a low fit charity. We also find, however, that in both studies, the value of CRM does not justify its cost, at least in terms of short-term sales. Implications for the selection of optimal donation levels for CRM campaigns are discussed.

Psycholinguistic Perspectives on Consumer Learning

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Consumer researchers have devoted much time and effort to researching social (e.g., attitudes) and cognitive (e.g., schemata) aspects of how consumers process marketing information. This special topic session focused on how psycholinguistic research facilitates our understanding of consumer information processing. The focus is on advertising and brand information presented as short phrases or sentence fragments (e.g., tag lines, slogans) either in the context of an overall ad or as a separate piece of information. The consumer task is to integrate this information with existing brand information using their native language skills.

The session's goal was to explore whether there are any unique aspects to the processing of marketing information compared to ordinary language. The three papers stretched the limits of psycholinguistics by investigating consumer-relevant situations not usually considered by psycholinguists. For example, Zhang and his colleagues test their proposal that brand names operate as special lexical items. Gregan-Paxton and Moreau contrast analogy and categorization effects and demonstrate that under special circumstances they can act together. Lastly, Dimofte and Yalch explore how contextual visuals can alter access to the most frequent interpretation of a multiple meaning phrase, thereby affecting recall of the slogan information. Considered together, this session demonstrates the uniqueness of marketing information in consumer language processing.

In the session's first paper, Possidonia Gontijo, Zhi Zhang, Janice Rayman, and Eran Zaidel, (all from UCLA), presented their research examining whether responses to brand names are a special class of lexical items compared to control stimuli. They proposed that brand names may have a special neuropsychological status, possibly a consequence of people's frequent exposures to brands and marketing communications. Using real brand names and a research paradigm from neuro-cognitive psychology, they showed that brand names are represented and processed (i.e., via hemispheric representation), differently than other types of lexical item in the mental lexicon, suggesting their special psychological status.

In the second paper, Jennifer Gregan-Paxton (University of Delaware) and Page Moreau (University of Colorado-Boulder) discussed recent research emphasizing the similarities between analogy and categorization. In their investigation, they merged the literature on analogy, categorization, and structure mapping theory to better understand their differences. In three experiments, they compared consumers' responses to analogy and categorization cues and found that analogy constrains knowledge transfer more than categorization, since it directs consumers to attend to relational similarities.

In the third paper, Claudiu Dimofte and Richard Yalch, (both from the University of Washington-Seattle) studied consumer reactions to polysemous advertising slogans. Advertisers often use phrases with multiple meanings (polysemy) as brand slogans to attract consumer attention. Examples include Scotch ("Ideas that stick") and Travelocity ("Go virtually anywhere"). Psycholinguistic research has identified that polysemy comprehension and recall depend on the base frequency of each meaning and the contextual information at exposure. Using Internet web pages with polysemous slogans accompanied by photographs, they found that the rich contextual information in advertisements overcomes the superiority of base frequency found by psycholinguists. Further, the moderating effect of consumers' linguistic ability suggests that the unconscious access to the secondary meaning of polysemous slogans impacts subsequent consumer attitudes.

Reasoning About Online and Offline Service Experiences: The Role of Domain-specificity in the Formation of Service Expectations

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ABSTRACT

As conventional firms learn to do business online and online firms learn to do business through conventional channels, consumers increasingly interact with the same firm through multiple domains. Understanding the extent to which experiences in a domain influence expectations about another domain therefore becomes critical. This cross-domain influence has implications for marketing theory (e.g., the extent to which consumer reasoning is unique to a domain) as well as marketing practice (e.g., the extent to which marketing practices in the online and offline environments should be aligned).

One of the most important competitive differentiators in marketing practice today is service excellence. Whether a company markets primarily goods or services, delivering quality service is a critical factor both in attracting and retaining customers. While it has long been known that quality service is critical in traditional channels (Parasuraman, Zeithaml and Berry 1988, 1994; Zeithaml, Berry and Parasuraman 1996), it has recently been shown that service is the key driver of intent to repurchase from Web sites. A compelling question that will face all marketers distributing through both conventional and online channels is how the quality of service experiences with a firm in one domain, such as a store, may be used by consumers in developing expectations about services in another domain, such as the same firm's Web site.

This paper examines the extent to which consumers generalize service experiences within and across domains. Specifically, it examines whether the source of experience (online or offline) moderates this generalization, and whether perceived similarity between domains and perceived prominence of the source of experience influence these generalizations. Three kinds of generalizations are considered: (1) within-domain generalizations (i.e., online to online, offline to offline); (2) cross-domain generalizations (i.e., online to offline, offline to online); and (3) firm-wide generalizations (i.e., online to overall firm, offline to overall firm). Strategic actions that can be employed by firms in order to retain customers when service failures occur in one domain (e.g., influencing consumers' perceptions of similarity between the firm's on- and offline activities and prominence of the source of experience) are further examined. Five studies have been conducted. Together, these studies examine the extent as well as types of online and offline service generalizations.

Service categories studied include travel agencies and music retailers. Results of Studies 1 and 2 found that within-domain (i.e., offline) experiences were more important than cross-domain (i.e., online) experiences in offline expectations formation. However, within-domain (i.e., online) experiences and cross-domain (i.e., offline) experiences were equally important in the formation of online expectations. Offline experiences were also found to be more important in firm-wide expectation formation. In other words, offline experiences appear to have a stronger influence on the manner in which consumers reason about clicks-and-mortar service providers. Consumers may historically be characterized as experts in shopping offline for most product categories. The offline environment may therefore loom larger in consumers' minds, thereby affording greater weight to be given to offline service experiences. Studies 3 and 4 examine these issues by investigating the effects of perceived similarity between domains (i.e., many common versus many distinctive attributes) and perceived prominence of the domain of experience (i.e., perceptions of where the firm originated and where it allocates more resources). Theories of categorization and classification (Murphy and Medin 1985), similarity (Tversky 1977) and prototypicality (Rosch, Mervis, Johnson and Boyes-Braem 1976) provide the framework. The tendency to place domains in common mental categories is expected to be higher when they are perceived as highly similar to each other. Strong generalizations across domains that are members of common categories might therefore be expected, such that experiences within one are treated as surrogates for experiences in the other. At the same time, asymmetric similarity effects in prototypicality literature (Rosch et al 1976) suggests directionality in cross-domain generalizations. Asymmetries in similarity judgements, categorization and consequent knowledge transfer are proposed in that the similarity of less to more prominent (or prototypical) domains is judged greater than the similarity of more to less prominent (or prototypical) domains. The likelihood of categorizing less prominent domains with more prominent ones should thus be greater, as should the likelihood of using prominent experiences as surrogates for less prominent ones. The generalizations of highly prominent experiences are therefore expected to be stronger. Results find that online experiences influence offline expectations to a greater extent when the domains are seen as highly similar to each other or when the web site is seen as highly prominent (e.g., Amazon.com). The influence of offline experiences on online expectations however is neither enhanced nor mitigated when domains are perceived as similar or prominent. It is conjectured that the results were biased due to subjects' inability to overcome strong prior beliefs about offline domain prominence, especially given the use of service experiences with hypothetical firms as experimental stimuli. To resolve this issue, real firms (based on pretest results) that are considered prominent online or offline are used in order to reinforce experimental manipulations of domain prominence (where Amazon.com is considered highly prominent online; and Barnes and Noble is considered highly prominent offline) in Study 5. Preliminary results indicate that service quality expectations for less prominent domains are lower, and that highly prominent (online or offline) experiences have a stronger impact on service quality expectations for the other domain. This suggests that firms providing sloppy service within domains they are strongly associated with would create strong perceptions of poor service quality associated with the rest of its activities. Strategies are indicated for service recovery in domains blamed by association (i.e., where negative services occur in other related domains). Specific service recovery strategies include: (a) positioning the web site and store far away from each other (in terms of attribute level functionality); and (b) positioning firms as less prominent in domains where operations are not streamlined and negative services tend to occur.

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The Influence of Socio-Cultural Frameworks on Consumers' Service Recovery Experiences

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Current research in the service marketing literature is at odds when it comes to explaining how similar service failures sometimes lead to different expectations of recovery among customers. Typically, researchers try to understand recovery expectations among consumers by framing the service encounter as a step-by-step process, beginning with acknowledgement and ending with compensation. A recovery is presumed to have failed if one or more of these steps were not completed in a largely linear process. The focus has been on developing a schematic representation that matches customers' perception of the severity of the breach with customer's recovery expectations. Yet contradictory positions exist in the literature concerning why some steps are indispensable to one successful recovery, while pointless in another. Similarly, we are left with little understanding of how and why service recovery is expected in the first place. Additionally, it is not well understood why some consumers are perfectly happy with an apology, almost regardless the level of breach, while others demand the world in return for even the smallest service infringement.

It has long been argued in psychological anthropology that individuals construe "reality" according to largely tacit and unexamined frames that embed a view of what is and what it means that seems wholly natural. It follows that consumers accessing different frameworks may interpret both service encounters and service breaches differently. In this paper we set out to investigate consumers' framing of service breaches, and whether these framings lead to differences in service recovery expectations. More specifically, we examine the extent to which these frames are grounded within socio-cultural presuppositions.

We conducted in-depth interviews with fifteen informants, recruited through posters. The only requirement was that they had experienced service/product failure in the past. A week prior to the interviews, the informants were asked to write down four to five thoughts and feelings that came to mind when thinking about past product/service failures. The Zaltman Metaphor Elicitation Technique (ZMET)(Zaltman 1997) informs our methodology. The ZMET method is a semi-structured, in-depth interview approach that focuses on uncovering deep-seated beliefs and values.

The analytical coding of the interview transcripts follows the open coding techniques proposed by Strauss and Corbin (1990) as part of the grounded theory framework. Furthermore, identification, organization, and grouping of identified constructs (more than 180) were facilitated by the computer-aided qualitative analysis program Atlas (Muhr 1997). Open coding requires a "constant comparative method of analysis" (Glaser and Strauss 1967), where interpretations are challenged on evidentiary grounds from the data itself. Open coding allows the researcher to identify categories or currents of meaning in the texts that cluster around certain ideas and thus emerge from the dataset. The coding schemes were modified as the analysis progressed and as new concepts were encountered.

The hermeneutic maps of service recovery evident in the narratives of each respondent can be mapped onto the deeper, embodied metaphor of balance. The deep metaphor of balance is expressed either directly or indirectly, and most expressly as a need for equal power, justice, and reconciliation during the service recovery experience. Paradoxically, we found that in and of itself, the notion of balance is meaningless. While all humans embody balance and deeply understand this universal idea, its manifestation differed among the informants. In our data set, derived from Caucasians living in the U.S., three key cultural frameworks emerged: personal relationship, individualism, and utilitarian. Each framework pivots around a concern for balance, yet differs considerably in the means of achieving and maintaining balance in the face of service failure (i.e., reconciliation). Balance and reconciliation depend on the particular framework brought to bear as an individual tries to make sense of the experience of service breach and failure.

The first framework (personal relationship) focuses on the emotive aspects of human relationships. Within this framework the reconciliation process follows the path of a relationship, where a breach leads to surprise, disappointment, then anger toward the other and/or self. An important aspect of the reconciliation process is the apologizing element–how sincere the provider is in feeling guilt and remorse. Reconciliation or deterioration and dissolution all depend on the sincerity of the provider's apology and request for forgiveness.

The second framework (individualism/control) is characterized by the notion "I am the center of the universe." Service providers who do not view the individual with reverence are viewed with skepticism and antagonism, and ultimately as an opponent that must be defeated. These consumers demand attention and want to be in control. Similarly, any notion of loyalty is a calculated one and only lasts as long as the consumer feels revered and on a pedestal.

The third framework (utilitarian perspective) is typically measured in utilitarian/functional metrics, such as time and money. A successful recovery is achieved through a balancing of the provider's compensatory offer with the level of consumer inconvenience. Relatively low emotional involvement characterizes this type of encounter. This perspective may be best characterized as that of professional buyers who base their decisions on strict economic benefits and value evaluations.

Fundamental socio-cultural themes (relationships, individualism, and utilitarianism) both enable and constrain the way in which we interact in the world, as well as our notions of justice, fairness, atonement, and reconciliation. That is, the success of service recovery attempts hinges on centrally held cultural codes, each of which serves as a conduit toward facilitating and rehabilitating a sense of balance. Whether the application of these frameworks is a location or is person specific (or a combination hereof) remains to be investigated.

One managerial implication, among many, is that service providers might develop framework-screeners that establish the type of individual they interact with during a service recovery attempt. This knowledge may then be used to adjust response and compensation, accordingly.

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