To our informants, those
consultants, collaborators, and friends
in the field

Contemporary Marketing and Consumer Behavior

An Anthropological Sourcebook

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Editor

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Marketing and Consumer Behavior

Into the Field

John F. Sherry, Jr.

Let me begin this chapter with the following enthusiastic, urgent, and unabashedly tempocentric assertion. Perhaps not since the great silver mines of Potosi (Weatherford, 1988) catalyzed the emergence of a world economic system over 400 years ago has there been an episteme whose dynamics and consequences are more in need of sensitive anthropological investigation and anthropologically sensible intervention than our contemporary culture of consumption. Consider several brief diagnostic vignettes. Each of these vignettes is a "revelatory incident" (Fernandez, 1986) of sorts, as it permits us to experience, even if vicariously, a highly charged encounter between consumption and marketing that is suffused with meaning. These examples are windows onto the phenomenology of markets and consumption:

- The spectacle attending the dismantling of the Berlin Wall became a powerful mass-mediated symbol of contending economic ideologies, concluding one decade and announcing a new one. (That the decade preceding a millennium is often a time of apocalyptic visions and millennarian activity should not be forgotten.) Whether construed as the eclipse of communism or the dawn of free-market socialism, the event itself provided a staging ground for the architects of cultural syncretism. Easterners streamed across the borders to window shop and buy and gradually to wonder how to manage emergent relationships with the Western consumption fantasy. Citizens from East and

West swung frenzied hammers against the Wall in cathartic syncopation. The more entrepreneurial "wall peckers" among them transformed graffitoed rubble into souvenirs and rushed these relics into world markets, where consumers were soon able to own a piece of history at below-retail rates, as the artifacts were quickly remaindered to discount chains around the globe. Inevitably, an advertising firm (in this case, Saatchi and Saatchi) was able to hang its banner on the eastern side of the Wall and promote itself with a congratulatory announcement that it was "first over the Wall." Ironically now, at the time of this writing, in the formerly sleepy sector of Alexanderplatz in East Berlin, the retail shops are empty but the street has become one huge bustling open-air market, with thousands of foreign itinerant vendors working from makeshift stalls and using some of their revenues to return to the West, replenish their inventories, and resume sales in the East.

- Arnould and Wilk (1984) provide this account of transcultural consumption practices in their discussion of the appeal of Western brand-name products:

> Peruvian Indians carry around small, rectangular rocks painted to look like transistor radios. San Blas Cuna hoard boxes of dolls, safety pins, children's hats and shoes, marbles, enamel-ware kettles, and bedsheets and pillowcases in their original wrappings. Japanese newlyweds cut inedible three-tiered wedding cakes topped with plastic figures in Western dress. Kekchi Maya swidden farmers relax in the evenings to the sounds of Freddie Fender on portable cassette players. Bana tribesmen in Kako, Ethiopia pay a hefty price to look through a view-master at "Pluto Tries to Become a Circus Dog." Tibetans, bitterly opposed to Chinese rule, sport Mao caps. Young Wayana Indians in Surinam spend hours manipulating a Rubik's Cube. The most elaborate White Mountain Apache ritual, the girls' puberty ceremony, features traditional tests of endurance and massive redistribution of soda pop. When a Swazi princess weds a Zulu king, she wears red touraco wing feathers around her forehead and a cape of window-bird feathers and oxtails. He wears a leopard-skin cloak. Yet all is recorded with a Kodak movie camera, and the band plays "The Sound of Music." In Niger, pastoral Bororo nomads race to market on camelback carrying beach umbrellas. Veiled noble Tuareg men carry swords modeled after the Crusaders' weapons and sport mirrored sunglasses with tiny hearts etched into the lenses. (p. 748)

The images conjured for us by these authors suggest something of the cultural tempering processes that attend the diffusion and adoption of innovation across national boundaries.

- The brightly painted storefront murals of the El Mercado Grocery Store in urban California depict a variety of activities, among them shopping and check cashing. The paintings are quite riveting. They attract the attention of pas-

sersby, inform newcomers to the area (many of whom are not literate) of the store's multiple functions, and discourage graffiti artists from additional expression. Inside, the store is alive with Hispanic families shopping for a large variety of items, ranging from chorizo to Japanese vitamin drinks. Piñatas dangle festively from the ceiling. Contraband brand-name products are openly sold and have displaced a number of established domestic brands. Products from at least 20 Central and South American markets are in evidence. Bulk bins of generics and specials grace several aisles. Among the biggest sellers at El Mercado are the devotional candles that occupy several shelves in the store. The stock on these shelves turns over every week. Images and legends on the votive candles cover a wide spectrum of devotions and aspirations. Consumers' intentions may be offered up before a candle of the Virgen de Guadalupe or on the flame of a candle emblazoned with La Suerte de la Loteria (Lucky Lottery) and an incantation to influence Lady Luck.

- Cultural Survival is a Harvard-based nonprofit organization dedicated to the preservation of the human rights of indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities threatened by the expansion of Western ideologies of economic development and to the discovery of alternative solutions to the problems that accelerated culture contact occasions. The organization has recently launched a massive project to enable rainforest residents in Brazil to own and operate a Brazil nut processing factory and to tap into viable world markets in a way that permits 40% of the retail price of products to be returned to project financing. Sustainably harvested products are marketed in the form of Rainforest Crunch, a nut-and-candy brittle bought wholesale by Cultural Survival and retailed to consumers of the world, often through the brokerage of environmental groups. Thus not only are profits repatriated to initial producers, but the firm is able to generate revenue to fund other projects to benefit threatened indigenous peoples (D. Maybury-Lewis, personal communication, 1989). Similar community-based sustainable development efforts in the form of joint ventures between ecological activists and indigenous entrepreneurs—from Shaman Pharmaceuticals (Scott, 1994) to EcoTimber (Henderson, 1994)—are emerging around the globe.

- Just a year or so prior to the collapse of the Soviet Union, the largest to date of McDonald's 12,000 restaurants worldwide—200 outdoor seats, 700 indoor seats, and 27 cash registers—opened in Moscow. The opening was the culmination of 12 years' worth of negotiations conducted by McDonald's Restaurants of Canada with (then) Soviet officials. The deal represented a major transfer of food technology from agronomy to management, with packaging materials being the only products imported into the country. Meat and potato plants, a bakery and dairy, and quality assurance labs are part of a 10,000-square-foot distribution center built by McDonald's to process indigenous cattle and crops. Given the existing infrastructure and consumer preference patterns, the firm has been able to do little conventional marketing. Furthermore, because

repatriation of profits is not yet possible, McDonald's will plough its earnings back into the venture and build an additional 19 restaurants in the city. By 1990, the firm had invested $50 million in the venture (Hume, 1990). To date, McDonald's operates three restaurants in Russia and serves over 70,000 people each day. It has also opened a 12-story office building housing numerous multinational concerns. McDonald's is a major contributor to the International Association of Children's Funds in Russia (*Backgrounder*, 1994). The Russian news source *Pravda* has dubbed George Cohon, vice chairman of the joint venture, a "Hero of Capitalist Labor," in ironic recognition of the change in the Russian ideological climate (Snegirjov, 1991).

- Economic associations in the world system reinforce the differences between cultures even as they remove impediments to intercourse. Two examples illustrate this principle. A shift from Eurosclerosis to Europhoria has attended passage of the Single Europe Act. The elimination of nontariff barriers and the harmonization of standards between the nations of Europe after 1992 was projected to create a unified European market of 320 million consumers with a projected GDP (gross domestic product) of just under $5 trillion. Almost as widely heralded, NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement, linking Canada, the United States, and Mexico into a unified market of 350 million consumers with a projected GDP of $6 trillion, has also been created. As multinationals acquire local presences, labor forces become increasingly migratory, and "Eurobrands" or "Nambrands" are developed, logistics will facilitate a certain amount of homogenization within these common markets. Still, differences in local (whether national or regional) consumer preferences, patterns, language, income, exchange rates, and managerial styles will persist, making truly global strategic planning and implementation something of a semantic game. Global marketing often reinforces myths of cultural convergence, while masking the processes of cultural individuation that the world of goods abets.

- The Korean govenment has pondered a postmodern potlatch as a potential solution to the problem of beleaguered intellectual property rights in the global marketplace. In 1993, prosecutors on Seoul's Joint Investigation Team for Violators of Intellectual Property Rights seized close to 1 million counterfeit items, ranging from imitation Gucci watches to imitation Chanel bags, and have convicted nearly 400 violators peddling their counterfeit wares in tourist shopping areas. Warehousing the $12.5 million in goods has proved costly, burning or burying them would raise environmental concerns without costly processing, and removing brand labels prior to distributing the goods to the needy would cost more than the wholesale cost of the goods themselves. Leaving brand labels on the goods prior to charitable redistribution might provoke resale. Prosecutors are currently recruiting voluntary association workers (such as Red Cross volunteers) to assist in debranding and redistributing the goods (Cho, 1993).

Each of these vignettes conveys the rich texture of experience woven by the warp of marketing and the woof of consumption. Anthropological analysis is an appropriate way of appreciating this texture. I've called these vignettes "diagnostic" because they illustrate a range of critical concerns that can be fruitfully addressed from a sociocultural perspective. How might we briefly unpack these issues?

As economic systems transmute, ideologies are marketed with renewed intensity. More than merely being mass mediated, our experience is supermediated (Real, 1989), producing a spurious, global village fellow feeling in urgent need of investigation. This experience is often tangibilized, with behavioral constellations sedimented in products (Richardson, 1987; Tambiah, 1984). We witness the entrepreneurial ebullience of informal economic systems and the ineluctable nativization of global marketing influences.

In the domestic press of multicultural diversity, yesterday's enlightened targeting strategy is today an archaic segmentation technique. The "Hispanic" consumer is virtually as massified, imprecise, and misleading a construct as any developed prior to our era of particle markets (Russell, 1990). Country of origin effects shape consumer preference formation in ways that researchers are just beginning to fathom, given accelerating patterns of migration around the globe. Acculturation-based consumer behaviors must be interpreted in view of immigrants' home country consumption complexes. Even newly arrived entrepreneurs are realizing that aesthetics must be incorporated into target hardening in the evolution of product design. Retail servicescapes impact behaviors in an increasingly segment-specific fashion. Intracorporate bootlegging reflects the conflictual nature of organizational growth, especially under conditions of accelerated globalization. Everywhere we observe the commoditization of the sacred and the sacralization of the profane. This process even includes the curious but predictable rise of what Feest (1990) has felicitously christened "cultural transvestism," whereby ethnic traditions of one group are usurped and bastardized by another.

Social marketing campaigns are being waged in the service of nonethnocentric, sustainable development. Nevertheless, the "McDonaldization" of life (Ritzer, 1993) proceeds apace. Intercultural joint ventures proliferate by expedience as well as by law. Economic strategies arising at the dawn of time—barter and patient, long-term relationship management, for example—are enjoying a renaissance among marketers.

As contemporary local consumer "realities" collide with imagined segments fantasized by managers far distant from the voices of the market, and as regional economic associations grow more powerful, dislocations in the global system will accelerate, and new organizational forms will emerge.

Ideological and legal battles over intellectual property rights (an academic mainstay to which we all resonate) are intensifying. Actuarial and humanistic models of efficient, enlightened delivery of social welfare are contending for dominance. Managers and consumers around the globe are reconfiguring the fetish of the brand. The balance of this chapter explores some anthropological approaches to consumers' marketworlds.

In contemporary hyperindustrial society, and especially in its Euro-American incarnations, work and play have become dialectically configured into a cultural focus. A focus is a part of a social system that especially concerns the members of a particular culture. Buying, selling, acquiring, and owning are at once among the most highly cathected and routinized activities in which we engage. Production and consumption are not merely mutually contingent and reinforcing; each has become an end in itself. For some, the consumption of production is paramount. For others, the production of consumption is all important. Malinowski has spoken of the "commercial libido"—a combination of commercial talent, economic avarice, and passionate interest—that fuels marketplace behavior (quoted in Drucker-Brown, 1982, p. 62). Similarly, Agnew (1986) has described the "commercial athleticism" (p. 37) that thrives in a market environment of opportunism and ambivalence when consumers contest with merchants. For better and for worse, marketing and consumption are among the most potent forces of cultural stability and cultural change at work in the world today (Sherry, 1987a). Our anthropological understanding of these forces is in its infancy. They must become a disciplinary as well as a cultural focus. In speculating that consumption may become the leitmotif of the 21st century, Nash (1990) has even envisioned the emergence of a professional Society for the Anthropology of Work and Consumption. If the globalization of markets (Levitt, 1983) or the pluralization of consumption (Levitt, 1988)—the tension between the poles of cultural homogenization and individuation—are to be harnessed in the service of empowering local peoples everywhere, anthropologists must answer a long-standing challenge.

The Challenge to Anthropology

Almost two decades ago, Cohen (1977) delivered an insightful critique of our disciplinary bias and proposed a thoughtful corrective for our strategic vision:

> Hunting, gathering, cultivation, herding, distribution, reciprocity, and so forth, are the business activities of tribal and peasant groups, though we

are careful not to use the term. If anthropologists studied industrial business organization and activities with the rigor with which they approached horticultural or pastoral business, our insights into our own societies would be greater. Unfortunately, however, it seems to be in too many people's interests to have us perpetuate the myth that kinship, religion, visiting, marriage, socialization, and the like in industrial societies are on one side of the fence, while "business" is on the other. Some of the best ethnographic data on cultures (*not* the culture) of the United States are in the daily *Wall Street Journal* and the financial pages of the *New York Times*. That is where the relationship between anthropology and business should begin. . . . Anthropology begins at home, and we have lost the art of anthropologizing. (pp. 382, 395)

As a field, we have only recently begun to respond to Cohen's challenge to redirect our ethnographic (and ethnocentric) gaze from contemporary ancestors to ancestral contemporaries, and shift our attention from the open-air dickering of the periodic marketplace to the frenetic dealing of the commodity pits (Baba, 1994). Even the most current and sweeping reassessment of cultural anthropology (Borofsky, 1994) omits consumption and marketplace behavior from its purview. Elsewhere, I have described the history of the discipline's discontinuous involvement in the study of contemporary commercial issues and its uncharacteristically reflexive critical posture toward the enterprise of business. Rather than revisit that history, in this chapter I will accept Cohen's challenge and treat two fundamentally important activities—marketing and consumption—in anthropological perspective. For initial convenience, we can view these activities in conventional terms congenial to Cohen's argument by designating consumer behavior as an adaptive strategy shaping an individual's quality of life and marketing as a directed intervention strategy of planned change. Before launching into that examination, however, it may be useful to provide a sense of the evaluative ethos that is the context from which marketing anthropology is emerging.

Shakespeare's observation that "the lunatic, the lover and the poet / Are of imagination all compact" can be turned toward my present purpose. Recognizing how thoroughly passion can animate or discourage research regimes and how contingent disciplinary advance is to the imagination of scholars (Dimen-Shein, 1977; Levitt, 1984; Mills, 1959/1975), we can envision an intersection of inquiries governed by the following metaphor. Imagine the early stages of a lunar eclipse. The bright surface of the moon represents the field of consumer behavior, broadly construed. The shadow moving across the moon's face represents the field of marketing. As the eclipse progresses, the dark shadow of marketing engulfs the disk of consumer behavior until

the event culminates in the complete domination of the latter field by the former. From this perspective, the biobasic, culturally diverse phenomenon of consumption is inexorably marketized. Consumer behavior is so commoditized that it becomes coterminal with marketing. In this view, marketing reduces our understanding of consumption to buyer behavior, assimilates that diminished conception to a technology of influence, and applies that knowledge solely in the service of increasing sales. I think this conceit has much anthropological currency, even though the metaphor is not as well turned as it might be.

Let's invert the trope. Imagine the later stages of that same lunar eclipse. This time, marketing has a revelatory function. As the discipline of marketing advances, consumer behavior becomes more completely illuminated. Consumption is gradually revealed to be a much larger field of inquiry than marketers have heretofore imagined. Not only have certain behaviors not yet become commoditized, some actively resist commoditization in an attempt to remain unambiguously singular (Kopytoff, 1986). In this view, marketing enlightens the study of consumption beyond the narrow concerns of profit and of individual firms and orients the inquiry to more normative and macro issues. Turned this way, the metaphor is more congenial to Levy's (1976) view of marketing as a basic rather than applied discipline; marketing is more analogous to chemistry or biology than it is to either chemical engineering or medicine.

Anthropology, marketing, and consumer research are poised as linchpin disciplines in parallel intellectual domains. Each articulates broadly with contiguous disciplines within those domains and shares a type of "eminent domain" orientation that facilitates discovery, integration, and advance. By judiciously combining these various perspectives, some powerful analytic and practical synergies have been produced. And yet, one thing is clear: Convergence is occurring. Fueled by academics and practitioners in search of explanatory frameworks and managerial applications, contemporary business has been drawn into the orbit of anthropology.

Systematic anthropological investigation of such activities as marketing and consumer behavior is essential to the taming of business institutions to humane ends (Arensberg, 1978). This action orientation is the lodestar (Malinowski, see Drucker-Brown, 1982) of an anthropology of marketplace behavior. The consequences of marketing and consumption are quite varied. Traumatic dislocation and cultural transformation are possible, as among the Kalahari !Kung (Yellen, 1990). Maintenance and cultural integration are also possible, as contemporary Euro-American experience indicates (Douglas & Isherwood, 1979; McCracken, 1988). A range of hybrids between these poles

is also possible, as developments throughout Asia suggest (Bohnaker, 1990; Buruma, 1984; Iyer, 1988). The processes abetting these consequences must be thoroughly studied if they are to be harnessed in the service of human development.

Toward a Common Strategic Vision

We are currently weathering the "refiguration of social thought" that Geertz (1973) has so eloquently described. The "crisis literature" in social science (Shweder & Fiske, 1986) questions fundamental assumptions about the nature of inquiry and subjects chosen for investigation. Alternative paradigms and modes of knowing have proliferated over the past decade. During this period, marketers and consumer researchers have also generated a literature of discontent that criticizes conventional wisdom and identifies frontier concerns (Sherry, 1987b). The possibility of forging a common strategic vision across these apparently disparate enterprises has never been more promising. It has been argued that marketing requires a "greater commitment to theory-driven, programmatic research, aimed at solving cognitive and socially significant problems" (Anderson, 1983, p. 28). It has also been argued that anthropology needs to "transcend the narrow, reactive, advocacy role of championing the alienated worker and to assume a more proactive, advisory role in drafting and implementing humane strategic plans at a corporate organizational level" (Sherry, 1983, p. 11). By merging these sets of needs and embarking upon a program of joint exploration, each discipline stands to benefit.

What Consumer Research and Marketing Seem to Need

Several thoughtful critics within each of these fields have provided frameworks which can be recast in a format generalizable to marketing and consumption broadly construed. Most comprehensive is Hunt's (1983) general paradigm of marketing, called the "Three Dichotomies" model. Hunt envisions the study of marketing to unfold along a set of three categories that are fundamentally dichotomous. The first dichotomy contrasts profit with nonprofit dimensions and hinges upon the presence or absence of pecuniary gain as a behavioral motivator. The second dichotomy contrasts micro- with macrodimensions and distinguishes between marketplace behavior at individual and systemic levels. The third dichotomy contrasts positive with normative dimensions and highlights the discrepancy between actual and

ideal behaviors in the marketplace. Although the tradition is gradually eroding, conventional research into marketing (and managerial action plans predicated on that research) has generally concentrated on the profit-micro-positive dimensions of marketplace behavior. With a few notable exceptions (e.g., Kotler & Levy, 1969), only recently have marketers broadened their concerns to encompass nonprofit-macronormative issues in meaningful fashion. A revival of interest in social marketing and public policy is beginning, and the maturation of consumerism as an "industry" is producing an array of interesting new forms. Thus Hunt (1983) implicitly provides anthropologists with at least two distinctive avenues of contribution. They can apply their methods and perspectives to the focal concerns of marketers, adding depth and breadth to the disciplinary core. This strategy promises immediate practical benefits. Alternatively, they can push the envelope and move what have been peripheral issues to the very heart of the discipline. This strategy ensures long-term practical benefits.

Another equally congenial critical framework has been proposed by Sheth (1982), who has identified a set of shortages and surpluses in the field of consumer research. The focus of traditional research has been on the individual consumer and on rational decision making. Consequently, both group- and non-problem-solving behaviors have been neglected. The process of research and theory construction has been shaped principally by descriptive constructs imported from other disciplines. Normative constructs arising from within consumer research have been negligible. Finally, the purpose of both theory and research has been chiefly managerial rather than disciplinary. Again, anthropologists can contribute by intensifying efforts along the dominant axis or by radiating adaptively to the niches currently underexploited. A common plea of critics (e.g., Kassarjian, 1982; Zielinski & Robertson, 1982) is for integration of fields that seem fragmented and multi- rather than interdisciplinary domains. Anthropology seems especially suited to such an integrative task.

As long as marketing is viewed only as a technology of influence (Anderson, 1983) wielded by channel captains seeking to engineer consent (Tucker, 1974), anthropologists will experience ethical qualms about their involvement in the enterprise (Galt & Smith, 1976; Hakken & Lessinger, 1987; Stefflre, 1978). When painted in broader strokes, along the lines of those proposed by critics within marketing, the enterprise becomes more virtuous (Sherry, 1989). As marketing and consumer research are touched by the postmodern ethos (Sherry, 1991), the types of critical reevaluation of disciplinary ontology, epistemology, axiology, and praxis rippling through the fields virtually demand anthropological attention.

What Anthropology Has to Offer

Perspective

Without specifying exhaustively the utility of an anthropological approach to marketing and consumption (for more detailed accounts, see Sherry, 1984, 1987a, 1987b, 1991), I will use "perspective" and "method" as umbrella concepts to promote its relevance. According to Harris (1971), anthropological perspective is ecumenical, diachronic, and comparative. By aspiring to multidisciplinarity, it strives for holistic understanding of the interplay of nature and culture. By taking an evolutionary purview, it seeks to acknowledge and account for change. By interpreting local patterns of culture in light of each other, it guards against merely parochial understanding of human experience. The tension between local description and universal generalization permeates the discipline (Harris, 1968). Finally, anthropological perspective is critical (Marcus & Fisher, 1986). It can provide a cultural critique of our own lifeways and prompt an examination of our otherwise unquestioned assumptions. Such a perspective promises an amplified understanding of what is conventionally known about marketing and consumption and an improved practice of these activities in both positive and normative senses.

Whether one believes the numerous research orientations within anthropology are complementary (Johnson, 1978) or incompatible (Barrett, 1984), it is still possible to derive an orientation that provides a coherent perspective from which the investigation of cultural systems can be launched. Just such a perspective, which advances a micro-orientation based on the interrelations of the subfields of anthropology, has been used to explore the biocultural dimensions of marketplace phenomena (Sherry, 1987a). The model is reproduced in Figure 1.1.

The rationale undergirding the model has been described summarily by Sherry (1987a):

> Sociocultural anthropology is characterized by enthnographic description, which purports to represent faithfully the native's viewpoint of reality (the emic perspective), and ethnological analysis, which involves cross-cultural comparison resulting in generalizations derived from the experience of the native and the constructs of the analyst (the etic perspective). Linguistic anthropology is concerned with language generation and change in both historical and the contemporary perspective. It attempts to understand language in the varied psychosocial context in which it occurs. That broadening of "language" to include symbolic communication—such as nonverbal behavior—is an important contribution of linguistics. Biological
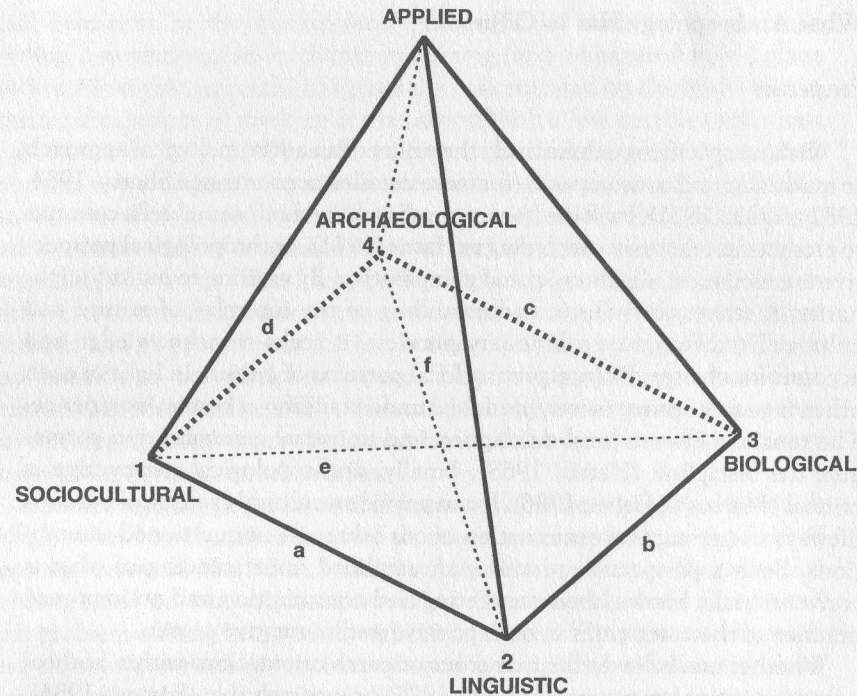
Figure 1.1   Anthropological framework for marketing behavior.
SOURCE: After Johnson (1978), adapted from Sherry (1987a).

anthropology investigates the relationship between evolution, ethology, and ecology. Biology is envisioned as a complex interplay between heredity, environment, and culture. Archaeological anthropology focuses on material culture, using the artifacts and temporal remains of past societies, along with inference and ethnographic analogy, not only to reconstruct the past, but also to discover the principles of cultural evolution which shape the present. Historic archaeology has begun to probe what we can call the contemporary past, by examining the refuse discarded by present-day consumers; techniques employed by so-called garbologists (Rathje, 1974) have already been adapted to the needs of consumer researchers (Wallendorf & Reilly, 1983). Finally, applied anthropology, which is a relative "newcomer" among the traditional subdisciplines, is oriented toward directed intervention in social behavior. It is a pragmatic enterprise which seeks to apply the basic findings of the traditional core areas to fundamental human

problems. It serves an important brokerage function among the subdisciplines, and between anthropology and the other social sciences. (p. 292)

The research pathways indicated in Figure 1.1 have both disciplinary relevance and managerial implications. Adopting the vantage point of the applied perspective, a grand tour of this heuristic pyramid's bases reveals the ways in which an anthropological view of marketing and consumer behavior is illuminating. A tour is also an expedient way to situate the remaining chapters of this book within a holistic framework. The reader can refer to Sherry (1987a) for a more detailed discussion of the model.

Let's start at the Sociocultural base and move toward the Linguistic (route 1 a 2). Along this route lie some of the most fundamental issues to be addressed by managers and researchers alike. As domestic markets fragment and national economies articulate to become a global marketplace, the possibility of developing a truly comparative marketing discipline and practice seems almost palpable. How do we rehabilitate the tired aphorism "Think Global, Act Local"—the managerial imperative to "glocalize"—from simplistic platitude to a fully operational strategic plan? By developing more sophisticated and sensitive versions of cultural analysis (Barnett, 1983; Lee, 1966) that recognize the absolutely basic contribution of rigorous, descriptive local (i.e., segment-centered, whether based nationally, regionally, ethnically, etc.) accounts to theory construction, it will become possible to distinguish plausibly between the particular and the general with respect to marketplace behavior.

There is no better way to get closer to the consumer (or any other marketplace stakeholder for that matter) than by using ethnography as a bridge (Nussbaum, 1993). The challenges of cultural propriety (Sherry, 1987c) and appropriate development (Dholakia & Sherry, 1987), too often unrecognized and unanswered by conventional marketing strategists, are also best addressed in this fashion. Eric Arnould's work (this volume) on West African marketing channels makes this point apparent. Arnould describes the relative neglect of so-called informal sector marketing systems by the marketing channels literature, even though these systems distribute the bulk of necessary daily items to consumers in developing countries. In reexamining channel relationships studied by anthropologists and economists, Arnould explores the nature of environmental stresses that have given rise to particular strategies of relationship management. He draws attention as well to the forms of channel integration, the embeddedness of commercial relationships, and the segregation of these relationships from other forms of social discourse. Using data from secondary sources as well as several extended case

studies, he provides insight into African channel relationships that spills over into recommendations for the academic study of marketing distribution, for the linkage of indigenous with international marketers, and for the redesign of Western channel relations at a particularly critical historical juncture.

Furthermore, if corporations are understood as vehicles for accomplishing a strategic plan, as well as culture-bearing institutions in their own right, the design and management of synergistic organizations (whether commercial or consumerist) can be enhanced through ethnographic analysis. Richard Reeves-Ellington (this volume) gives us a unique perspective of just such action research. He describes a field sales test conducted by a major international pharmaceutical firm across markets in its Africa/Asia region to demonstrate the effective merger of total quality tools and concepts, anthropological perspectives and methods, and conventional business analysis. Reeves-Ellington shows how this merger, designed to improve sales force performance, rocketed test brands to a position of market leadership within 3 years and improved the volume, sales, and profits for brands as well.

Turning the corner at the Linguistic base and moving toward the Biological (route 2 b 3), a different set of issues arises. Here we are concerned broadly with symbolic communication, verbal and nonverbal, in cross-cultural perspective. This concern can be summarized in the study of promotion as a cultural system. How do marketing and consumption as ideologies—comprising information that is both denotative and connotative—diffuse around the globe? How are these ideologies "nativized" by diffusers and adopters to articulate with local canons of evaluation and categorization? Advertising is only one of the communicative channels by which these ideologies are disseminated; arguably, it is becoming less significant in its conventionally recognized forms than it has previously been. Rita Denny's view (this volume) of communications strategy demands that we question conventional notions of advertising and virtually invites us to dimiss established literature on consumer miscomprehension as a fantasy based on a poorly turned metaphor. Denny shows how marketers miscommunicate as readily as consumers miscomprehend. Using the case example of public utility firms, she describes how customer-company relations can be improved through careful attention to the customer's voice.

Appadurai (1990) has suggested we examine global cultural flows in terms of five types of landscapes: the mobility of people (ethnoscapes), the fluid and rapid diffusion of technology (technoscapes), the disposition of global capital (finanscapes), the electronic disseminating of information (mediascapes), and the proliferation of political and ideological images (ideoscapes). Often, these flows result in what Sherry (1986) has called cultural brandscapes,

that is, the creation of a material and symbolic environment built by consumers with marketplace products, images, and messages and invested with local meaning. The totemic significance of these brandscapes largely shapes the adaptation that consumers make to the modern world. John McCreery's meditation (this volume) on the ways in which advertising inspires these brandscapes is especially enlightening. In rejecting the traditional metaphors by which anthropologists have sought to apprehend advertising, he exploits the capacity of magic to account for the nuances of persuasive marketing communication. The magic worked by advertiser upon consumers, and warded off by them as well, finds parallels among Trobriand gardeners and Taoist priests. McCreery's two hats—anthropologist and creative director—grant him privileged access to this metaphysically material arena.

Rounding the turn at the Biological base and moving toward the Archaeological (route 3 c 4) in Figure 1.1, we raise what may become the most pressing issue of the decade. Here the forces of free-market entrepreneurialism collide with those of cultural ecology to affect profoundly the quality, if not the possibility, of life on the planet. Perhaps a transdisciplinary hybrid—"ecomarketing" might be an appropriate designation—can be created to foster a commercially viable sense of stewardship among consumers and marketers to halt the forces of natural and cultural degradation set in motion by the unfettered advance of capitalism. An anthropological topology of environmentalism (Milton, 1993) is one potential starting point for such an enterprise. The work of Tani and Rathje (this volume) on discarded dry-cell batteries is another. Their account of a study emanating from the University of Arizona Garbage Project's investigation of hazardous household waste disposal is laden with implications for an ecolate approach to marketing. That the common household battery is a latent threat to our welfare may surprise readers as much as the discovery that golf courses are among the most toxic threats to the global environment (Platt, 1994); yet the spread of batteries and golf courses appears integral to the present process of economic development. Tani and Rathje take the measure of an important problem and recommend ways to speed its abatement. Gauging the impact of marketing and consumption on evolutionary trends—for example, through examination of "collapse" scenarios in archaeological perspective or developmental "take-off" scenarios of historic and ethnographic record—must become a major component of cultural risk management.

If supply creates its own demand and if the diffusion of consumer products (the term "goods" is an ethically loaded conceit that should be abandoned in favor of more neutral terms such as "objects" and/or "services") is an inexorable process if not politically prohibited, then marketing anthropologists have a

special responsibility with respect to the evolution of consumer culture. Bennett (1988) has remarked that the stuff, if not the consequences, of development, seems universally desired. The imminent transformation of the Second World and the continued immiseration of the Third World seem to support his view. Equitable and culturally appropriate development (as well as re- and dedevelopment) strategies empowering all of the affected stakeholders are a critical challenge to the anthropological imagination. The linking of expansion of consumer markets with the building of infrastructure may be one solution. The refinement of countertrade (Schaffer, 1989) may be another. Domestication strategies that benefit host and home countries as well as the planet itself must be discovered.

Completing the rotation from Archaeological to Sociocultural bases (route 4 d 1) in Figure 1.1, we are grounded in two constructs absolutely fundamental to marketing and consumption: "place" and "change." Anthropologists have had much to say about spatial and locational parameters of marketplaces in nonindustrial societies (e.g., Bohannan & Dalton, 1962; Cook & Diskin, 1978; Smith, 1976) but considerably less about the ethos of these places. Contemporary hyperindustrial societies have been neglected on both counts, in spite of the clear need for an interdisciplinary discipline of pathetecture or atmospherics (Sherry & McGrath, 1989). Carole Duhaime, Annamma Joy, and Chris Ross (this volume) explore some of the placeways of consumption in their investigation of consumer patronage of a contemporary art museum. They describe a phenomenology of space that mediates between consumer and art object. Theirs is a servicescape of utility and aesthetics; design is shown to be an integral component of the visitor's experience.

The relationship between market forces and cultural change awaits thorough description, in spite of the availability of historical and cross-cultural studies of trade that might be turned toward such investigation. Mintz (1985) has used sugar and Hattox (1985) coffee to show us how such an investigation might proceed. The implications of this type of investigation coupled with cultural-ecological accounts of present-day hidden costs of consumer behavior (Ayres, 1994) for the design and implementation of humane development programs are profound. Barbara Olsen's examination (this volume) of the intergenerational transmission of consumer behaviors provides insight into the micromanagement of stability and change. She integrates archival documentation on early marketing strategies for manufactured products with qualitative research on the penetration and persistence of these goods as favorite brands within three- and four-generational families. Olsen uses life history interviews to explore the transfer and rejection of brand loyalty across generations. Her observations on the centrality of kinship to object relations

in hyperindustrial society provide some continuity with studies conducted in conventional anthropological field settings.

The last two routes to be considered are perhaps the most compelling for the ways in which they touch the lives of all stakeholders so directly. The Sociocultural to Biological axis (route 1 e 3) in Figure 1.1 raises some of the darker issues attendant on modern marketing and consumption. Chief among these are the biocultural determinants of risk. The resonances between the senses of consumption as acquisitive behavior and wasting disease were already apparent to contemporary observers of the transition from "traditional" to "industrial" society (Porter, 1993). Commerciogenic disease (the "terminal illness" produced by VDT/CRT monitors and the "sick building" syndrome produced by construction chemicals being two current concerns) requires anthropological investigation and intervention. So also do such aspects of consumer socialization as the relationship of marketing to biobasic behaviors, like acquisitiveness, and thence to psychosocial illnesses, such as addiction, obsessive-compulsive disorders, and the like. Social marketing campaigns around the globe would benefit from ethnographic research into such issues as infant and toddler feeding patterns, contraceptive practices, licit and illicit drug use, child labor (including prostitution), informal retail dynamics, and criminal careers.

Janeen Costa's treatment (this volume) of the social organization of consumption provides a rich conceptual context for understanding how consumers are thoroughly socialized for better and for worse. In particular, her discussions of ethnicity and of gender as these identities are mirrored in and constructed through consumption are clarion calls to comprehensive, holistic research. Adoption and ascription of identities ostensibly grounded in biology are processes fraught with difficulty, if not danger (Joy, 1988; Shipman, 1994). Gift giving is one consumption practice by which these identities are negotiated. John Sherry, Mary Ann McGrath, and Sidney Levy (this volume) use the autodon—a gift given to the self—as a vehicle for exploring some of the behaviors and fantasies of upscale women. These authors probe the ambivalence underlying monadic giving to shed light on the construction of female identity and to critique existing theories of dyadic gift exchange. They assess the role of monadic giving in the ritual reproduction of domestic economy.

The Linguistic to Archaeological axis (route 2 f 4) in Figure 1.1 serves to remind us that a discipline of object relations per se—the relationship between people and things—has yet to be fielded. That people (whether consumers or marketers) invest goods with meaning and derive meaning from goods is a semiotic enterprise that is relatively undescribed yet universally

acknowledged (often as the hallmark of humanity). Miller (1987) in particular has criticized the "nihilistic" and "global" assault on consumer culture that has diverted us from intensive microlevel examination of the relationship of people to products. The production of consumption is just beginning to be probed (Appadurai, 1986; McCracken, 1988; Rutz & Orlove, 1989). The creation and detection of meaning in commodities is the essential dynamic of hyperindustrial society. It is looming ever larger in the linkage of preindustrial and transitional economies with the world system (Steiner, 1994). Dan Rose's autoethnography of consumption (this volume) becomes an opportunity for introspection, as he produces a personal meditation on the potential layers of meaning embodied in a consumer product. His analytic shift from tangible artifact to inscribed experience and back is indicative of the hermeneutic quest in which contemporary consumers are engaged. The interplay between public writing and private experience encouraged by the artifacts we call brands is at issue in his chapter.

I have used the conceit of a grand tour to take the reader quickly around the heuristic pyramid, to point out the subdisciplinary cornerstones that anchor the model, and to sketch the shape that anthropological inquiry into marketing and consumption might take. I have roughly mapped our authors' chapters along routes that blunt their contours somewhat, ignoring the many tributaries that may lead from their research streams. The discussion lacks subtlety to the degree that it ignores the gravitational pull or electron sharing that characterizes the relationship among the cornerstones of the model. Imagine the transformation of consciousness and business practice that must occur among people in transmuting command economies, where advertising was formerly banned, where persuasion was equated with propaganda, and where to get rich is now glorious. Consider the irony that the creative conversion of unaesthetic landfills to appealing golf courses, at the ultimate expense of the ecosystem, may best be appreciated by some future archaeologist, who, blessed by the bounty of these preserved middens, will misread the demise of **Homo suburbans** in the artifactual record. Ponder the challenges attending the evolution of virtual communities as culture colonizes cyberspace. The heuristic pyramid encourages such active imagination and imposes some discipline on it. The model is a holistic way of apprehending marketing and consumer behavior.

Methodology

Although it does not yet qualify as an incipient paradigm shift, a movement has arisen in marketing and consumer research over the past half

decade toward methods alternative to survey and experiment (Sherry, 1991). In an extremely well-turned metaphor, Tucker (1967) lamented the fact that marketers study consumers as if they were fishermen, rather than marine biologists, studying fish. The cover story in the August 28, 1989, issue of *Business Week*, entitled "Stalking the New Consumer," suggests something of the awareness marketers have of the need to adopt novel approaches, as well as their reluctance or inability to realize the hunting metaphor as an impediment to strategic vision. Ethnography and cross-cultural comparison are promising correctives for this type of tunnel vision. Anthropologically inspired research is providing revisionist perspectives on a range of consumption issues, including retailing (Sherry, 1990a, 1990b), object relations (Appadurai, 1986; McCracken, 1988), diffusion of innovation (Arnould, 1989), brand loyalty (Belk, Wallendorf, & Sherry, 1989), biodegradation (Rathje & Murphy, 1992), advertising (Sherry, 1987d; Sherry & Camargo, 1987), and family decision making (Wilk, 1987). (A fuller account of this revisionism is provided in Sherry, 1991.)

Participant observation and a respect for folk models—that is, a willingness to engage the consumer on his or her own turf with no particular managerial worldview to defend—are the defining features of marketing ethnography. Quite often, anthropological methods are used in an exploratory fashion as a complement to conventional market research techniques. Often as well, anthropologists are consulted when conventional techniques have produced little useful knowledge or when a firm has gotten into difficulties and requires radically different data collection and interpretation strategies. Frequently, it is the ritual substratum of consumer behavior that has not been plumbed (or even considered) by the client. Sometimes, it is the literal behaviors themselves that have not been adequately described. Anthropologists may also use their skills in combination with those of other specialists in team-based approaches to consumer behavior that are more holistically conceived than conventional consumer research.

From Theory to Praxis: A Case Example

Steve Barnett is an entrepreneurial anthropologist who has left an especially effective "paper trail" of the contributions of his discipline to practitioners in marketing and consumer research. Barnett made a successful transition from academic anthropology at Princeton to an applied setting in corporate America. As the head of the Cultural Analysis Group at Planmetrics in the

late 1970s and early 1980s, Barnett directed a full-time staff of six anthropologists and numerous part-time consultants (also anthropologists) on projects for such clients as Union Carbide, Royal Dutch Shell, Kimberly-Clark, Campbell Soup, Procter & Gamble, and a host of utility companies. The group has studied energy consumption, compensation schemes for the Bhopal disaster, women's roles in housework, dishwashing practices, diapering procedures, and scrip writing, among other topics (Heller, 1988; Lewin, 1986).

In the mid-1980s, Barnett moved to Research and Forecasts, a division of Ruder Finn, and Rotman, to head up anthropological studies there. Wrangler and Campbell Soup were major clients along with advertising agencies such as Saatchi and Saatchi, Hal Riney and Partners, J. Walter Thompson, and Ogilvy & Mather. Barnett's projects included studying the cultural significance of blue jeans (via observations in rodeos, bars, picnics, and stores) and the salient attributes of apples (via observations in grocery stores). The former resulted in the launch of a new product line, the latter in a new advertising campaign (Goldstein, 1988). The firm has conducted projects for 150 clients in domestic and international arenas. As a result of their work with Research and Forecasts, Colgate has now "institutionalized" the practice of ethnography, requiring its subsidiaries to conduct at least two projects each year. The firm created its Axion soap paste in Venezuela as a result of such ethnographic inquiry (Fannin, 1988).

In the late 1980s, Barnett moved to Holen North America, installing the now well-regarded ethnographic team and principles he had consolidated over the decade and bringing a number of clients with him. Holen has provided the Toyota Motor Corporation with detailed descriptions of the car shopping behavior of consumers, including aesthetic evaluations that eventually were incorporated into the advertising campaign for the luxury car Lexus. In studies conducted for the advertising agency Young and Rubicam, Holen anthropologists accompanied U.S. postal carriers on their routes to gauge consumer perceptions of the mail service. This study also had direct advertising implications. Both Procter & Gamble and Unilever have employed Barnett to conduct consumer research; the former client was concerned with clothes-washing practices, the latter with fashion consciousness. The firm has studied the consumption of cold remedies and the enjoyment value of breakfast (Foltz, 1989). Holen has studied business travelers for Hyatt hotels—revealing the highly publicized "Road Warrior" ethos of this particular segment—and microwave oven users for the Campbell Soup Company. New product development, product positioning, and packaging implications emerged from the study of microwave cooking practices (Yovovich, 1990). Barnett left Holen to become Director of Product Strategy for the

Nissan Motor Company, where he continued to introduce novel research methods into a corporate setting. Working with a consulting firm called the Global Business Network, Barnett helped Nissan revamp its planning function, using input from an interdisciplinary computerized nominal group process. Such assistance prompted a new perspective of the automobile as a cultural artifact to emerge at Nissan (Barnett, 1992). Barnett's most current transition has been from an independent consultant in the area of strategic planning and consumer behavior to a principal at Global Business Network.

This case example is not intended to be a hagiography of a particular anthropologist (in spite of the importance of origin myths or trickster tales to disciplinary advance) so much as an illustration of the practical potential of workbench anthropology in the marketplace. The sheer existence of a paper trail is of signal import. Although many consulting anthropologists—whose ranks continue to swell (Bennett, 1988; Boram, 1988; Davis, McConochie, & Stevenson, 1987; Deutsch, 1991; Giovannini & Rosansky, 1990; Jordan, 1994)—are constrained by proprietary agreements that preclude publishing results and become low-key raconteurs (or vetters) of the impressionist tale that Van Maanen (1988) has so well described, Barnett has managed to publicize the fact that an anthropologist can be a centrally interesting business person who is profoundly consequential to the success of private enterprise and yet remain an anthropologist in the bargain.

The core competencies acquired in apprenticeship confer comparative advantage on an anthropologist alive to the practical. This is recognized by such firms as Hartman International, whose JBL International group defines its future role as that of "marketing anthropologist," announces its commitment to segmentation and research procedures that are "ethnographic" in orientation and espouses "the need to embrace anthropological marketing" (Cerasuolo, 1990, p. 5). From such recognition, won in some measure by the entrepreneurial nomadism personified by Barnett, will an answer to Cohen's (1977) challenge arise.

The Market for Anthropological Consumer Research

The use of trained ethnographers to conduct observational studies is the hallmark of such anthropologically informed marketing research. Field immersion, interview skills, sensitivity to nuance and symbolism, attention to outliers and to contextual embeddedness, and a cross-cultural perspective are prerequisites to effective analysis. This background and expertise is

especially critical when anthropologists function principally as analysts rather than as data collectors. For example, in the studies mentioned above, much "passive" data collection was employed by researchers. Extensive use of videotaping is a common practice, which means analysts must train informants to use equipment or, if the equipment is self-contained, "simply" analyze hundreds of hours of tape footage. Audiotaping is also widely employed, which necessitates training informants in the art of keeping an audio diary and literally talking to themselves. In effect, informants often become research instruments in their own right, and the analysts work through them (R. Denny, personal communication, 1991) to produce an interpretation. Qualitative marketing research firms such as B/R/S Group, Inc. now employ anthropologists to use these methods to track consumer behavior (Prindle, 1992).

The use of anthropology in marketing and consumer research dates back to the early days of Social Research, Inc. in the United States (Baba, 1986; Gardner, 1978; Sherry, 1987a) and to Mass Observation (Sherry, 1987a) in the United Kingdom. It is practiced by firms such as Creative Research, Inc. in Chicago (Dickie, 1982; Heller, 1988; Singer, 1986), Ross Laboratories (Heller, 1988) and Market Development, Inc. in San Diego (Fannin, 1988; Goldstein, 1988). Advertising agencies frequently hire anthropologists as consultants (Gales, 1989; Levin, 1992), while some, such as DDB Needham Worldwide, J. Walter Thompson, and Lowe Marschalk, employ anthropologists in their research departments. Anthropology has long been associated with the understanding of brand image (Gardner & Levy, 1955; Levin, 1992). Anita Roddick (1991) employs anthropologists in her Body Shop enterprise for purposes of both consumer research (tied to product development) and social outreach work of the type Kotler (1986a) has labeled megamarketing. Her sponsorship of projects advancing so-called paraprimitive solutions to contemporary social problems (Maybury-Lewis, 1992) is an intriguing application of strategic vision. Anthropologists have also been among Roddick's recent critics, as her programs have failed to meet stated ideals and marketing claims (Entine, 1994). Inevitably, professional competence and credentialing has become an issue, as critics of any privileged position for a discipline as exotic and in possession of such quintessentially low-tech methods as anthropology have begun to emerge.

Observation, interview, and focus group procedures are the chief qualitative (and for most firms arguably the only) methods employed by marketers. It is an unfortunate article of faith in the industry that anyone can perform these methods with minimal training. By combining the elements of marketing research and ethnography haphazardly, both analysis and practice can be hamstrung. The recent alarming rise in the incidence of blitzkrieg ethnogra-

phy and "adnography" (Alsop, 1986; Arnould, 1992; Berstell, 1992; Foltz, 1989; Gales, 1989; Houghton, 1992; Kanner, 1989; Merritt, 1992; Miriampolski, 1988; Sherry, 1987e; Singer, 1986) is a case in point. What passes for ethnography in some firms amounts to little more than site visits, intercept interviews, eavesdropping, and voyeurism. Brief engagement with consumers can produce impressions every bit as misleading, if not more so, than those gained from focus groups. Hyped in the business press as the "Margaret Meads of Madison Avenue" (Miller, Shenitz, & Rosaldo, 1990), researchers conducting home visits a trifle more sophisticated than pantry checks, armed with conceptions of brands as myths, and appearing to have little concern with the impact of the observer on the naturalistic setting seek to get close to the consumer (Elliott, 1993). It may be that anthropology is used chiefly as a projectible field to stimulate the creativity of advertisers. Until such pop managerial notions are corrected, the impact of anthropology on marketing practice will be significantly retarded. Furthermore, as investigative journalists of the "hidden persuaders" school raise once again the alarm against increasingly intrusive forms of marketing research, even fundamentally sound ethnographic work can be made to appear ludicrous and sinister (Larson, 1992). The marketing of anthropology has critical implications for the development of an anthropology of marketing.

Growth Markets Beyond the 1990s

I have identified a number of areas where anthropology is able to make substantive contributions to marketing and consumer research. The marketing mix elements of most interest to practitioners—product, promotion, distribution, and price—are microlevel concerns that marketing anthropologists as well as traditional economic anthropologists have often addressed (Dannhaeuser, 1983, 1989; Plattner, 1989; Sherry, 1987a, 1990a, 1990b; Terpstra & David, 1991). Macrolevel issues such as politics and public relations, recently introduced by Kotler (1986a) into the marketing mix, have likewise been addressed by anthropologists, most especially those critics of contemporary business practice (Idris-Soven, Idris-Soven, & Vaughn, 1978; Nash & Fernandez-Kelly, 1983; Taussig, 1980). What remains to be developed is a programmatic identification of issues of fundamental importance to which anthropologists can make a unique contribution. Because no practical sourcebook is complete without a set of projections, I offer the following short list of growth markets for anthropological expertise. Keep in mind that the list is not exhaustive but merely illustrative. Recall as well my introductory vignettes, which focused on various levels of sociocultural

integration, modalities of intercultural behavior exchange, permutations of economic philosophy, and degrees of fetish fascination resulting from the inexorable commoditization of experience. From New York to New Guinea, for better and for worse, these forces limn the lives of consumers and marketers.

Anthropology has special relevance for this particular set of managerial issues:

- Global marketing
- Domestic market fragmentation
- Strategic planning
- Organizational culture
- Economic development
- Household studies
- Consumer misbehavior
- Object relations
- Forecasting
- Basic research

The nature of the contribution anthropology can make to these issues can be briefly explored.

Global Marketing

The globalization of markets is perhaps the chief contemporary concern of business analysts and practitioners. We need to move beyond the myth of global homogenization and cultural convergence to avoid the types of premature corporate restructuring and product planning that the assumption of a worldwide leveling of tastes has produced (Wind, 1986). We must also attend carefully to the "global paradox" (Naisbitt, 1994) of the increasing power of small players in the international economy. The major red herring of the globalization debate has been the endless wrangling over the relative merits of standardization versus adaptation of the marketing mix (Kotler, 1986b; Levitt, 1983). Mercifully, Porter (1986, 1990) has attempted to shift the emphasis toward an analysis of the configuration, coordination, and linkage strategies that marketers might employ in a global marketplace. Porter's framework provides anthropologists with a timely window of opportunity for productively entering the globalization dialogue. Given the anthropological concern for context, Porter's work can be viewed as a managerial

mandate both to study the world as it is and to create strategies that are cross-culturally optimal. Despite the forces of global convergence, there are clear indications of individuation emerging both from local markets and from corporate organizations. The nativization of global forces—whether brands, planning policies, interorganizational relations, or protectionistic measures—is best investigated ethnographically and this intimate local knowledge best brokered by implementation procedures monitored ethnographically (Sherry & Camargo, 1987; Tobin, 1992).

Because the emphasis of the globalization dialogue has been on consumer and industrial markets, the human dimension has been all too often neglected. Migration studies should assume increasing prominence as anthropologists enter the arena. Refugees, tourists (e.g., Belk & Costa, 1991), guest workers, and expatriate managers in particular are stakeholders whose worldviews, life chance, and brokerage functions are in urgent need of exploration. The global resurgence of ethnicity (Costa & Bamossy, 1993) also demands our attention. Articulation of local economies with the world system has produced both integration and dislocation in the lives of the world's consumers and workers. Processes such as predetermined domestication (Cateora, 1990) and nonethnocentric development (Dholakia & Sherry, 1987), which empower local actors, must be discovered, refined, and extended. The anthropological predisposition toward advocacy can catalyze these developments. Anthropologists such as Robert McConochie of Corporate Research International strive to relate their methods and perspectives to an increasingly competitive global marketplace (Laabs, 1992). McCreery's chapter in this volume illustrates one anthropologist's involvement with such marketing.

Domestic Market Fragmentation

Coinciding with the rush to globalization is the fragmenting of domestic markets. For example, in the United States, what was formerly viewed as a lucrative, homogeneous mass market is now considered, as a result of economic, lifestyle, and historical forces, a virtual confederacy of specialty markets. New buzzwords have arisen to describe this phenomenon. We speak now of "regional" markets, of "niche" markets, and lately even of "particle" markets (Russell, 1990). Marketing managers are beginning to grapple with the forces of pluralism and multiculturality. Products are now formulated in regional variants under a common brand. Bootlegging of contraband brand-name products is being combated with renewed attention to the needs of indigenous consumers. Clearly, a cross-cultural perspective is increasingly necessary to understanding consumer behavior in the United States. Costa's

chapter in this volume makes this anthropological mandate apparent. Several research traditions within anthropology stand to make significant contributions to the analysis and satisfaction of consumer needs. Community studies are urgently needed to provide a descriptive database of local consumption patterns and marketing practice. Ethnic studies that incorporate consumer and marketing components into their larger agendas are absolutely indispensable, given current demographic trends (Kotkin, 1987; O'Hare, 1989; "Stalking," 1989; Waldrop, 1989; Westerman, 1989). Finally, so-called minority studies (whether of racial, income, occupation, age, or religious groups) are essential from both marketing and public policy points of view.

Strategic Planning

Strategic planning is a systematic way of relating to the future; it is the process and philosophy for which the corporation is merely a vehicle (Davidson, 1982; Davis, 1984). It needs to become the principal object of anthropological intervention (as perhaps the role played by Barnett at Nissan, described earlier in this chapter, would indicate). Recently, a group of anthropologists headed by Darcy Stapp (1992) has established a strategic think tank called Anthropological Perspectives to broker the utility of the discipline to decision makers. The group publishes a newsletter called *Anthro-Sight* to disseminate its thoughts on issues affecting marketplace and polity. Anthropologists must work diligently to transform, and ultimately eliminate, the term "externality" from the lexicon of corporate planners. Rita Denny's chapter in this volume demonstrates the feasibility of such change. With the rise of cultural risk assessment and management (David & Singh, 1991), the concept, and consequently the consequences, of "culture" will be treated less as a transaction or opportunity cost, or expendable resource where it is treated at all, and more as an end toward which marketing strategies are developed (Sherry, 1989). Arensberg's (1978) goal of humanizing the corporation, of taming it toward human ends, is an anthropological imperative. We need to reconceptualize the nature and mission of the corporation and abet the shift from maximizing shareholder value to maximizing stakeholder value. Cultural analyses and interventions are underwriting the transformation of corporations from strategy through structure as firms negotiate a global marketplace (Pucik, Tichy, & Barnett, 1992). Finally, if the buzzword "synergy" is ever to be effectively implemented, the comparative purview and attention to syncretism that characterize anthropology will be indispensable catalysts.

Organizational Culture

The anthropological study of organizational culture has grown by fits and starts; as a subdiscipline it is in its infancy despite its early origins (Jordan, 1994). A two-phase disciplinary initiative is indicated. First, extensive, comprehensive ethnographic description of corporations across industries is desperately needed. Second, a carefully considered program of directed intervention—a theoretically grounded, practically focused applied anthropology—might be undertaken. The emphasis of such study and intervention should fall on the subcultural units that are the constituting essences of organizations. Deshpande and Webster (1990) have sketched out the dimensions that a marketing-focused subcultural investigation might assume. Reeves-Ellington's chapter in this volume serves as a model for such enlightened intervention. Workman's (1992, 1993a, 1993b; Workman & Milne, 1994) ethnographic inquiry into the marketing/research and development interface in a high-tech organization has helped us appreciate more realistically the roles that marketing might be expected to play in the process of new product development. Capturing the service encounter ethnographically (Hochschild, 1983; Spradley & Mann, 1975) is of growing importance. Leidner (1993) and Reiter (1991) have each produced organizational ethnographies that balance our emergent understanding of servicescapes. Biggart (1989) and Prus (1989a, 1989b) have also examined sales organizations. In an age of mergers and acquisitions and of increasingly internationalized intra- and interorganizational relations, a well-developed understanding of substantive and processual elements of organizational culture is vital not just to market competitiveness but to corporate survival itself.

Economic Development

Development is certain to be a fundamental social, political, and ethical issue of the new millenium. Massive portions of the "First" World are in urgent need of redevelopment. At this writing, the "Second" World is transmogrifying at a rapid pace and may well assimilate to other Worlds entirely. The "Third" World, long a victim of systematic underdevelopment, is seeking to redefine its status as a source of raw materials and market for finished goods in a variety of ways, ranging from more intensive integration to active delinking with the world system. Nonethnocentric development (Dholakia & Sherry, 1987; Wiarda, 1985) is an increasingly popular option in conception as well as practice. The "Fourth" World persists as a tragically anachronistic

critique of the inability or unwillingness of contemporary market economies to enhance the life chances of all its members. Empowering producers and consumers worldwide and shifting development from an economic to a cultural plane will become feasible propositions only with anthropological intervention (Bennett & Bowen, 1988; Epstein, 1991; Sherry, 1989). Eric Arnould's chapter in this volume provides a detailed account of the shift that will enable such intervention.

Household Studies

Given its status as a fundamental unit of consumer behavior, the household has been surprisingly neglected by consumer researchers. Domestic household structure and function have changed enormously since marketers first turned their attention to the family, to the point that much of our accepted wisdom is no longer accurate. Life cycles and life courses "alternative" to our mythic ideal—the employed father, homemaking mother, two children, and pet—are seen far more often in syndicated television reruns than in the culture at large; less than 6% of American families conform to this type (Schwartz, 1987). Notions of kinship and correlative behaviors have been drastically altered by demographic, historic, and social forces in ways that have outstripped consumer researchers' collective ingenuity in accounting for them. This change has also occurred, to varying degrees, on an international scale. Recently, anthropologists have stepped up their inquiry into household dynamics (Netting, Wilk, & Arnould, 1984), and consumer researchers have urged that the inquiry be accelerated (Heisley & Holmes, 1987). In particular, Wilk (1987, 1990) has examined decision-making processes and object relations within the context of households in ways that are congenial to consumer research. Wallendorf and Arnould (1991) have analyzed household consumption rituals tied to holiday celebrations. Barbara Olsen's study (this volume) of intergenerational transfer of brand loyalty is an example of the type of "getting close to the consumer" from which all sound future managerial decisions should emanate. It is through intimately knowing households in all their diversity that marketers will deliver the next-generation concept of added value.

Consumer Misbehavior

Holbrook (1985) has criticized consumer researchers for their neglect of the dark side of consumer behavior. Similarly, Miller (1987) has urged scholars to move beyond a reflexively critical, nihilistic global assault on

"consumer culture" to a more intensive microlevel examination of what consumers actually do. Two and a half decades ago, Kotler and Levy (1971) proposed the concept of "demarketing" in recognition of the need to curb some of the excesses encouraged by consumer culture. The chapter by Masa Tani and William Rathje in this volume presents a cogent argument for demarketing, or social marketing, in the service of ecological restoration. There is probably no more hotly contested issue in business and the social sciences than that of ethics. Anthropologists can clearly contribute to the identification and resolution of ethical issues by directing more of their research efforts toward marketing and consumer research audiences. Anthropologists have long studied issues such as substance abuse, commerciogenic disease, and conspicuous consumption. "False consciousness" is a much used but little probed construct in need of systematic (especially emic) investigation. Studies of credit abuse, of gender stereotypes perpetuated (or changed) by advertising, and of the prioritization of demand suggest themselves. Marketing practice, personal consumption patterns, and public policy might all be significantly enlightened through the judicious communication of ethnographic findings to "nontraditional" audiences. Clearly, detailed investigations of dysfunctional consumer behaviors are warranted. A "serious examination of the social context of usage and dependency" (Mintz, 1993, p. 271), whether of drug-foods or any other product or experience (Hirschman, 1992), would seem an ethical imperative.

Object Relations

A once widely circulated quip ran something like this:
Q: What's the difference between anthropologists and sociologists?
A: We have museums, they don't.

The crux of the quip is the centrality of material culture to the anthropological enterprise. The meaning and significance of objects has always been the stock-in-trade of archaeologists, aesthetic anthropologists, and folklorists in particular, and in general of cultural anthropologists investigating ritual. Just recently have anthropologists begun to focus their interest in the world of goods on contemporary consumer culture. As noted earlier in this chapter, an object relations literature centered literally on objects is flourishing in consumer research (Belk, 1988; Belk, Wallendorf, & Sherry, 1989). This literature is beginning to plumb the experiential dimension of consumption as well as the production of consumption. For economic anthropologists willing to adopt a phenomenological perspective and explore the sedimentation of

behavior, cognition, and affect in objects (e.g., exemplifed by works by Miller, 1993; Richardson, 1987; Tambiah, 1984; Thomas, 1991), the interiority of products and the nature of materiality in contemporary consumer societies await illumination. Dan Rose's chapter in this volume is an introspective account of just this type of phenomenology. That a "Distinguished Lecture" can be delivered to the American Ethnological Society in 1993 by a highly regarded senior anthropologist on the topic of the symbolic density of objects (Weiner, 1994) without a single reference to the literature of consumer research, let alone its anthropological subsets and parallels, does not bode well for the enterprise, however. Until more "mainstream" anthropologists renounce the "academic apartment syndrome" (Maruyama, 1994, pp. 182-183) and meet their neighbors on the same intellectual floor, we will continue to build knowledge silos instead of a more truly interesting interdisciplinary edifice.

Forecasting

It is often remarked that nothing is so difficult to predict as the future. With few exceptions (Barnett, 1994; Maruyama, 1982, 1985, 1991; Textor, 1980, 1990; Wallman, 1992; [I am also tempted to include the works of Ursula LeGuinn]), anthropologists have proved more reluctant than social scientists such as economists or demographers to engage in the construction of future scenarios. Even such astute observers of contemporary market societies as Mary Douglas (Douglas & Isherwood, 1979) or Marvin Harris (1981) have confined their interpretations to the ethnographic record rather than project and extrapolate their views very far forward in time. Cultural ecologists and archaeologists prefer retrodiction to prediction, even though their frameworks could be oriented to the future. What is ostensibly a scholarly virtue, however, becomes something of an impediment to managerial relevance. No matter how limited an individual manager's time horizons become as a result of routine tactical and operational considerations, the viability of a corporation depends on its ability to anticipate and influence the future. The chapter by Carole Duhaime, Annamma Joy, and Christopher Ross in this volume suggests the ways in which a sensitive evaluation study can affect an organization's future. Anthropologists have been tempocentric to the extent that they have failed to use inference and ethnographic analogy to gauge the impact of biocultural factors on emerging trends in marketing and consumer behavior. Such gauging can be couched in terms of sketching possibilities or alternatives rather than of crystal ball gazing. Given their devotion to the local, their bias toward holism, and their penchant for

comparative analysis, anthropologists may be particularly suited to the type of careful scenario building required for accurate projection (Schwartz, 1991). Their advocacy orientation further disposes them to the type of informed activism that is demanded of such intervention programs as enlightened green marketing, or ecomarketing (Norberg-Hodge, 1991). New product development, corporate culture change, and category or industry transformation are just a few of the other areas to which a future-oriented anthropology might be applied. I believe the discipline will prove indispensible in helping create the visionary firm of tomorrow (Hamel & Prahalad, 1994).

Basic Research

Surveys and experiments by themselves are increasingly unsatisfactory methods of eliciting insight into fields as rich and complicated as consumer behavior. Complementary, and in some cases supplementary, analytic procedures are being adopted by researchers and managers alike (Arnould & Price, 1993; Waterston, 1994). Anthropological conventions such as naturalistic observation, contextualization, maximized comparisons, and sensitized concepts (Christians & Carey, 1981) as well as intraceptive intuition (Murray, 1943) will figure ever larger in the market researcher's toolkit (Sherry, 1991). The chapter by John Sherry, Mary Ann McGrath, and Sidney Levy in this volume represents a type of multimodal, interdisciplinary team inquiry that is diffusing into marketing and consumer research. So also will the critical perspective characteristic of the anthropologist become more necessary to managers operating in an increasingly multicultural marketplace.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have attempted to impose a structure and a partisan point of view upon a topic that, if not entirely amorphous, is about as fluid as an emerging subdiscipline might be. Through the introductory vignettes I have sought to establish some very tentative parameters for the field of inquiry and hope to have sparked some synergistic extensions in the reader's imagination. Through discussion of an anthropological framework for marketing behavior I have suggested some particular modes of inquiry, some ways of apprehending consumption and marketing, that will help capture phenomena in something approaching their inherent complexities. Finally, through consideration of a set of projections I have explored some of the particular types of

applications that anthropology may have for academics and practitioners concerned with consumer behavior, again, with the intention of stimulating the reader to imagine a more personally relevant "wish list" of agenda items. This chapter will help the motivated reader move into the field with a rough surveyor's map, if not a compass.

Throughout my discussion I have stressed the complementarity of anthropological perspectives and methods to the toolkit of conventional marketing and consumer researchers. This complementarity has both disciplinary and managerial relevance. On the one hand, anthropologists can expand the nature and scope of the basic enterprise that business academics recognize as legitimate inquiry. On the other hand, anthropologists can assist managers in matters strategic and tactical and improve both the opportunity for and quality of directed intervention in contemporary marketplaces. Anthropological practitioners have found a niche as service providers in a number of industries. Academic anthropologists must now elaborate a subdiscipline of sufficient theoretical significance and disciplinewide interest to ensure that this niche is not merely vocational nor a temporary blip in our history of ideas (Baba, 1994). This is also perhaps the most effective way to refute Kroeber's assertion—still widely credited— (quoted in Hackenberg, 1988, p. 172) that applied anthropology is merely "social work." Anthropology has traditionally been applied in the service of such marketing behaviors as health care delivery and community development (Wulff & Fiske, 1987). Over time, it has proved instrumental in areas such as new product development, especially in breaking through perceptual barriers imposed by conventional engineering- or product-driven approaches to design (Brues, 1992). Anthropologists have even studied the language of managers of U.S. pension funds (Conley & O'Barr, 1991) in an effort to understand how executives construe and implement investments. Anthropology also has the potential to contribute to meeting the needs of emerging markets (Serrie, 1991; Serrie & Burkhalter, 1994). I welcome the day when alliances and partnerships between anthropologically attuned practitioners and academics of every imaginable disciplinary stripe are as unremarkable as the problems we pursue are invigorating.

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