"Marketing managers: the evocation and structure of socially negotiated meaning".

By

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ABSTRACT

The thesis begins with a parallel between marketing and personnel management and grows into an investigation of marketing managers as practising professionals. The subsequent methodological inadequacies of a dependence upon oral data lead to additional readings in anthropology and a methodology which attempts the complexities of consumption and the everyday importance of industrial artefacts.

Individual consumers are seen accordingly as "bricoleurs" and their "closed world" as the result of a limited choice of physical and cultural possibilities. This commercially regulated exchange is, in turn, a significant determinant of social structure for marketing managers and any other band of workers may now be appreciated as kinship groups and not simply functional or work based gatherings.

After establishing these patterns of social and industrial exchange as everyday means of communication, the thesis shows commercially regulated exchange to be a physically located practice and therefore responsible for forms of architecture and spatial understanding which reflect the social asymmetries that derive from a dependence upon mass consumption, mass employment and mass production.

The same imbalance arises in an analysis of the Ford Edsel, a redoubtable commercial failure. Here, a considerable part of the thesis is focussed upon practical marketing management and the ways in which an industrial artefact might first symbolise "the power to speak" and then be reinterpreted within the terms of these same asymmetries. This process of evaluation involves coherent unspoken languages yet these "ways of seeing" are necessarily negotiated in accordance with the more commonly observed parameters of everyday reality; speech and the written word. "The power to speak" is thus a combination of these verbal disciplines and the visual aspects of consumption which codify and legitimise commercial exchange as a medium for the structuring of contemporary society.

The thesis is therefore able to transcend the normally accepted view of marketing by arguing that mass consumption and commercially regulated exchange are so much a part of the "cultural design of persons and goods" as to undermine the exclusivity which is implied by ideas of marketing as a "professional understanding". This in turn enables a fuller evaluation of marketing management as a socially located practice whilst adding to theories of perception, the social construction of knowledge and the development of an "anthropology of consumption".

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PUBLICATIONS

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CHAPTER ONE

This thesis is the result of an investigation into the nature and performance of marketing managers. The work received S.S.R.C. funding from September 1977 until September 1979 although certain of the issues under discussion have their origins elsewhere and predate the sponsorship by some years. The text has expanded accordingly and now accommodates a wider range of experiences than might otherwise have been expected for in doing the work it became apparent that a research topic might only be presented as distinct from its social and cultural background, and therefore the biography of its researcher, if irreparable and unjustifiable damage were done to both.

My interest in marketing managers and the adequate performance of their job arose from an apparent ambivalence in marketing as both a commercial discipline and a form of social order. My first contact with the idea of marketing came some years ago when I underwent a period of 'vocational' training which lead to an M.B.A. in 1975. The ambiguity was centred on what I saw as a continual expansion and enrichment of the literature concerning techniques of marketing and market evaluation. This array of expertise seemed to be based on a series of assumptions which were never openly challenged or even admitted through pre-emptive defence.

The works of authors such as Kotler and Levy (1969)[1] seemed to show that adequate means were always available for the executives who knew what they were doing and that a 'Marketing Orientated Organisation' would, presumably through enlightened self-interest, do everything within its power to serve consumers in general so that all might prosper. Organisations were presented as malleable and biddable with problems resulting basically from a failure to ensure that relationships with the host environment were all they might be for effective marketing; essentially a dictum that techniques such as these would guarantee a healthy company and healthy companies would use effective marketing.

The implication that this body of knowledge was the undeniable result of superior commercial understanding seemed justified by the innumerable case studies which formed a large part of my 'vocational'

training. Products of many diverse types were shown to fail through mismanagement and the lack of a few sound practices. Freakish successes like the British launching of 'Turtle Wax' were laid out with a majority of more mundane cases. There was comfort in the apparent availability of a 'right'way of going about these matters.

An expected corollary to this, the ruthless examination of unsuccessful ventures which would demonstrate the difficulties of managing without marketing techniques, seemed strangely underplayed. The astonishingly high failure rate amongst new products, offered at something like 70% of all those launched nationally, was attributed to the rashness of not using proper marketing techniques, skilful marketing by the manufacturers of older products, so that consumers failed to notice how advantageous the new article was, or to rapid innovation whereby an even newer and better product ambushed the unfortunate intermediary development. There was also a body of theory concerning the selling of 'Me Toos', products which are copies of innovative goods but with sufficient perceived and attributed differences to be commercially independent. The part played by marketing executives would be one of discovering, securing and safe-guarding such attributes whenever and wherever necessary.

Failures were thus acknowledged as possible but never given the scrutiny that the dangers of commerce might imply. As an example of what might have been considered and the difficulties which provoked my uncertainties I have attempted a case study of the 'Edsel'. The latter was a motor car, launched in 1957 by the Ford Motor Company of Detroit and withdrawn from the market two years later at a cost of between £ 250 and £ 350,000,000 in contemporary prices. This study has been made because many marketing texts give the 'Edsel' a line or two or ignore the matter altogether. If the"best researched car of its day"could be a mistake and Ford could squander an investment of hundreds of millions, then the matter seems worthy of some attention.

These intimations were brought to a head by Walker's (1976)[2] work on professionalism amongst marketing managers and a reading of Watson (1977)[3] and Legge's (1978)[4] rather more introspective analyses of personnel management. All three authors appear to have uncovered a similar awkwardness in the relative development of these disciplines

which, in turn, raises the possibility of using one as a guide to research in the other for marketing has always been presented as unquestionably monolithic by most of its theorists.

This not only serves to draw attention away from individual weaknesses of interpretation but also, by ignoring vigorous criticism, encourages the appearance of a corpus of marketing knowledge. Such agreement, when a matter of consensus amongst practitioners and laity, is generally taken to be a 'professional' attribute involving concomitant ethical standards and codes of practice. It may well be that part of the refusal by marketing theorists to investigate failures such as the Edsel lies in a degree of awareness of these very aspects of business and a resultant unwillingness to dignify unwarranted nit picking by taking it too seriously. A reasonable point of view, given the self discipline commonly understood to be a professional characteristic.

The search for 'professional'behaviour amongst marketing managers represents an important part of this investigation for it was hoped that an assessment of the day to day realities of practicing managers would go some way towards confirming Gist's (1971)[5] 'necessary moral standards' as 'professional' ethics or codes of practice whilst offering an obviously complementary potential for studies such as those by Tyson (1979)[6] and Walker (1976).[7] This evaluation was also seen as representing a justifiable extension to thoughts inspired in part by Tony Watson's (1977)[8] study of personnel managers.

Watson took a sample of 100 and subjected them to semi-structured interviews, an interpretation of which resulted in 'The Personnel Managers' (1977)[9]. That my work would be an impression of Watson's perceptions of the everyday lives of managers did not present immediate difficulties of abstraction or pedigree for Watson insists that, in attempting a work of this nature, the sociologists 'value stance' must be made explicit. So it seemed that I would be able to draw upon my experiences of theoretical and practical marketing in a way which would ensure that my sense of 'self' and my values would be readily identificable in the text. The implicit choice over the disclosure of one's 'self' seemed an evaluation of the extent to which one might be 'objective' in that, whilst not attempting to argue a freedom from

value, one might be consistent in one's 'self' exposure.

This outlook was reflected in the original study's dependence upon a definition of 'professionalism' which would accommodate a range of meanings. Traditionally 'professional' characteristics, such as the employment of a standard body of knowledge and technique, were used with a self defining sample of marketing which means that respondents were taken to be in 'marketing' if they claimed to practice it. The range of 'professional' criteria raised in conversation could thus be shown to share a contemporary frame of reference with definitions of marketing. A sample composed on this basis would, it was hoped, cover interpretations from 'professional' meaning done for money, to 'professional' as an acknowledgement of ethics.

It was assumed that the role of marketing manager would vary between organisations and trades giving concomitant differences of opinion as to what constitues marketing. This is a vital step in methodological terms for the Institute of Marketing does not claim to represent all those practitioners currently trading, which leaves a large number of 'specialists' who may or may not adhere to recommended procedures yet are'marketing managers' as far as other consumers are concerned. There is, however, a difficulty in that these executives justify their positions through the encouragement of material consumption and yet, by approaching 'professional' status, incur constraints upon their own acquisitiveness.

It may be that the intermediary standing which Walker (1976)[10] finds attributable to marketing managers is , not a sign of nascent 'professionalism" but the result of a mixture of definitions of 'professional' characteristics and a public eschewal of corporate greed. Marketing managers may therefore occupy two roles simultaneously whenever an understanding of consumption is needed. The suggested ambiguity of their professional standing may, alternatively, indicate an ability to empathise with lay consumeers although Douglas and Isherwood (1978)[11] appear less optimistic. They believe that 'demand theorists' do not have any clear understanding of why it is that people actually want goods.

Gist (1971),[12] on the other hand, has argued that economics would provide the basis for 'rational decisions' about products and denigrated

the social and cultural aspects of consumption as 'irrational' and contrary to the orderliness of 'democratic' pricing. If these views are equally representative of marketing as a commercial discipline then those who organise attempts at the analysis, prediction and regulation of consumer behaviour clearly occupy an unusual position.

The ambiguity of this situation is heightened by Sahlins (1976)[13] whose analysis does not discuss marketing managers as a group but talks of participation in 'trade' as unavoidable in a consumer society hence a part of common understanding. It is implicit, therefore, in any debate concerning the nature and practice of exchange that the role of marketing managers, whilst varying in the extent of its coverage, should come under scrutiny no matter which analytical techniques are employed.

It was some while before I became aware of either the irony or the methodological difficulties involved in an attempt to gain a 'professional' or 'business like' understanding of consumption in a society full of life-long consumers. The latter, being themselves expert in the commercially regulated exchange of goods, necessitate a widening of the investigation's scope to include aspects of mass production and mass employment for these contemporary practices affect the original conception of the problem considerably.

It became apparent from the fieldwork that manufactured objects were not only significant in 'common sense' terms but that each item was capable of a number of meanings. A case in point is the 'Edsel' although similar overtones can be found in the firm of hand tool manufacturers who did what they considered to be adequate market research and then abandoned an apparently worthwhile addition to their product range because the Managing Director thought that it didn't look like a screwdriver should. Olins (1978)[14] argues that by dealing in commodities in this way marketing managers can be shown to display particular 'self' and corporate images through coherent unspoken languages.

Olins' point can also be shown to include consumer or 'lay' understandings; a development which had not been anticipated at the start of the study. It was originally thought that consumers would only be involved as sources of disposable income for it is a tenet of marketing that competition amongst businesses has reached the stage

where an organisation can only maintain an edge over its rivals through marketing. However, the entire 'Consumer' revolution, lead by Ralph Nader's 'Raiders' and embodied in 'Which' magazine, seems based on the idea that consumption is not wrong but mismanaged. Hence the argument is always geared towards a definition of superior electric toothbrushes rather than a questioning of their ultimate value given the resources consumed in their production and use.

This shift produced severe methodological difficulties for the original approach was designed, like most sociological research techniques, to obtain and analyse verbal evidence. It was therefore necessary to develop a methodology covering these divergent data. In an attempt to gain insights into the difficulties arising from this increasing complexity, it was felt necessary to develop a viewpoint which had not previously existed. The need for such a development prompted further readings which, in turn, rendered certain bodies of theory accessible to the scope of the investigation.

Two schools of thought provided the basis for the expanded and extended studies. These were anthropology and art and design. The latter was undertaken in an attempt to generate means whereby certain non verbal aspects of marketing might be interpreted. Thus, the visual aspects of information such as the place of collection, the product involved and the appearance of the respondent might be employed as a supplement to the spoken and written data being marshalled. Anthropology, the former contributing discipline, was also evaluated as a means of dealing with non verbal aspects of marketing for Mauss (1974)[15] and Sahlins (1976)[16] had argued that social structures were dependent upon and determined by forms of trade. Thus it seemed that a marketing manager's work might include assumptions which were so well understood as to be unremarkable and yet vital to common commercial practice. It is therefore significant that contemporary society not only considers electric toothbrushes but presupposes the regular cleaning of one's teeth with some mass producted item or another.

These were not the only complications for what had begun in late 1978 as a series of semi-structured interviews soon developed into something that was more sophisticated and less predictable than the original. Whilst some managers went to great lengths to ensure that

they were neither interrupted nor overheard there were a number of occasions when employees from other parts of the respondent organisations felt anxious to make a contribution. This resulted in the planned collection of interview material from 100 marketing managers becoming a turmoil which involved some 40 separate organisations and an increase in the number of respondents.

The thesis itself is therefore concerned with the problematic nature of sociologically acceptable evidence, given these developments and the apparent importance of non verbal codes in regulating commercial exchange and the continual renegotation of social structure. The latter point arises because the codes may be seen as an extension of that negotiated 'common sense' reality (Cicourel 1973)[17] (Goffman 1971)[18] which was presupposed in the original intention to collect verbal data. This is an important stage in the development of the thesis for after reading the work of authors such as Lévi-Strauss(1976)[19] Wolfe (1981)[20] and Riseboro (1982)[21] it becomes possible to propose a synethesis of anthropology and art and design which offers some resolution to the difficulties arising from the original research design.

There are, however, a number of other complications. Whilst it is reasonable, under the terms of the synthesis, to cite a building or a product as evidence of the nature of social exchange, the item itself cannot easily be replicated in a text. It must also be said that the visual emphasis in this investigation is not simply a matter of 'objective' academic enquiry but personal prejudice as my background and interests predispose me towards considering things in these terms. This is not to argue that those who spoke to me were thereby presenting me with data which were necessarily clear or unambiguous; much of what was said was oblique, impressionistic and beyond any possibility of duplication.

It follows that if the everyday realities and structures of contemporary society are continually renegotiated in these familiar and partial terms then the text must be of a similar nature. The thesis has been written accordingly and a great deal of the fieldwork has been presented in a way which is intended to evoke or echo the transcience of negotiated meanings. Of course, many of the objects and buildings which have been cited in the text are still available for

consideration but not in the way that I saw them.

The thesis comprises this chapter, seven others and a conclusion, a layout which is perhaps more conventional than the spread of ideas therein. There are a number of themes in the latter which merge and re-emerge from chapter to chapter. This is not to imply that the arguments are circular but that none may reasonably be seen in isolation for each is in some way a source and a product of the rest. The following brief descriptions of the chapters in question are therefore intended as both an explanation and a demonstration of the characteristics of the work.

The second chapter describes the origins and the development of a thesis which began as an inquiry into the nature and practice of marketing management. It is then argued that, in circumstances such as these, the description of an investigation can only be parted from its social context if unjustifiable damage is done to both. This is an important point and represents a significant expansion in the scope of the inquiry for marketing has now to be considered as a socially grounded body of knowledge and not the sole prerogative of industrial organisations. The debate therefore turns to the search for a research methodology which is capable of reflecting these complexities adequately.

The third chapter seeks to expand upon the idea of marketing as a socially located practice by arguing that any form of trade or exchange may be seen to both reflect and reinforce the social structures, customs and outlook of an entire culture and not simply a part of it. This development is grounded in aspects of anthropology which, in turn, lead to a further consideration of the nature of suitable evidence and the adoption of an appropriate methodology. It is then suggested that not only is trade a socially significant activity but that the objects which are traded in are themselves remarkable. These influences are seen as being rather more widely spread than might have been inferred from the original statement of the problem. It is also argued that if product design is influential then the products themselves may be seen as a reflection of the nature and influence of those who caused them to be manufactured.

The fourth chapter seeks to develop the question of what may be taken as evidence for it became apparent that, in addition to the original intention of collecting verbal data from marketing managers and subsequent attempts to evaluate the design of artefacts, there were significant aspects of social structure, commercial exchange and the nature of evidence which were only appreciable in visual terms. Arguments are therefore made for the consideration of marketing as a product of all these facets of "common sense understanding" for it is felt that this point of view necessarily involves an evaluation of the way in which order is negotiated in a society where mass consumption, mass production and mass employment represent the bases of everyday reality.

The fifth chapter is a case study, based on the Ford 'Edsel', in which an attempt is made to demonstrate these and other less obvious aspects of marketing. It is then argued that these characteristics have repercussions for the rest of the thesis in that they promote the idea of commercial exchange as a social practice. This chapter also raises a number of methodological issues which are discussed at some length elsewhere in the text.

It should be noted that one of these aspects may be seen as pertinent to the entire thesis although most heavily emphasised in the seventh and eighth chapters. This occurs as a result of the difficulties arising in the sixth chapter from an analysis of the constitution of "professional" behaviour. The latter is discussed in both general terms and in its application to marketing managers, a consideration which leads to a further debate of a question which permeates the thesis, that of the determination of acceptable evidence. This turn in the investigation was encouraged by the increasingly problematic practice of mass consumption, itself evidenced by the failure of certain marketing theorists to cope with marketing as a social practice. By the same light the chapter includes an attempt to evaluate these practices in an appraisal of the way in which consumers appear to appreciate industrially produced artefacts.

Chapter seven continues these two lines of thought, the nature of professionalism and the appraisal of mass produced goods, in an alternative view of "pilfering" which suggests that an "anthropology of consumption" would be of value given the fieldwork and the methodological questions which have already been discussed. Chapter seven also involves an evaluation of the "marketing of marketing", a case which is handled in a way that raises a further side to the question of what may be considered as sociologically acceptable evidence.

Chapter eight develops this point to show how the processes of industrialisation and mass consumption have influenced "common sense understandings" of the world. These influences are seen to extend from obvious aspects such as the nature of manufactured produce to a more unusual side of industrial society; that is, the value of the "built environment" as a significant reflection of and influence upon the commercial exchange of goods.

CHAPTER TWO

The investigation and its context.

The second chapter of this thesis describes the origins and development of an inquiry into the nature and practice of marketing management. It will however be argued that the description of such an investigation can only be parted from its social context if unjustifiable damage is done to both. This expansion upon the original line of inquiry requires that marketing be seen as a socially located practice and not the sole prerogative of industrial organisations. Accordingly, the debate will turn to the search for a methodology capable of this complexity.

It has been suggested, by those who offered advice on the writing of this thesis, that the implicitly confessional nature of the work might be more readily accessible if it were preceded by an autobiography which was honest, perceptive and stylish in a way which mirrored the reader's inner sensibilities; that is, somewhat like Proust but shorter.

Tony Watson's (1977)[1] contribution to the origins and the development of the thesis includes an expansion of this argument.

> "If the reader of a sociological study can see something of the way that the sociologist generally fits into and interprets the world which they both, to varying extents are bound to know, then he can more effectively decide which of the findings to assimulate into his own understanding of the world and which to reject. The assumption is being made here that sociology cannot be value free. It must therefore be incumbent upon the writer to reveal to his audience his value position for two reasons. First, one's values cannot be stated briefly in a few introductory comments or summarised in an appendix, and second, they are a part of one's self and experience, so the sociologist's value stance must be brought from the background into the foreground."

Watson[2] then observes that

> "It is difficult to do justice to the dialectical relationship between research and theory; the process of writing down an account of one's theorising does tend to suggest an apparent but unreal process of development."

There is, unfortunately, little indication of how "the sociologist's value stance" might be "brought from the background to the foreground" without being subjected to similar constraints. The

assumption that these "values" can be isolated in some way would seem to suggest a society where conscious self control is such that sociology is no more than a matter of accuracy in the reporting of whatever motivation might be declared responsible for a given set of circumstances. Secondly, and more importantly, it will be argued that the people whose social processes form the basis of the research alter their "value stances" as a continual and unavoidable condition of their existence and interpret the world accordingly. Melville's (1963)[3] remarks are nevertheless appropriate.

> "Chief among these motives was the overwhelming idea of the great whale himself. Such a portentous and mysterious monster roused all my curiosity. Then the wild and distant seas where he rolled his island bulk; the undeliverable nameless perils of the whale; ... With other men, perhaps, such things would not have been inducements; but as for me, I am tormented with an everlasting itch for things remote. I love to sail forbidden seas and land on barbarous coasts. Not ignoring what is good, I am quick to perceive a horror, and could still be social with it - would they let me - since it is but well to be on friendly terms with all the inmates of the place one lodges in".

The involvement of such as Watson (Op.cit) was precipitated by the nature of the whale in question; the essentially industrial discipline of marketing or, rather, some aspects of the customs and practices of those who believe themselves to be marketing managers. Walker (1976)[4] describes the matter thus.

> "It (marketing) is the management function which promotes trade by assessing customer's needs and initiating research to meet those needs. In carrying out this process it coordinates the resources of production and distribution of goods and services, determines and directs the nature and scale of the total effort required to sell profitably the maximum production to the ultimate users."

Walker obviously feels that marketing is a well established and clearly understood industrial discipline. This, in turn, would seem to suggest that marketing managers might therefore be expected to occupy positions of some eminence within their respective organisations. Anderson (1982)[5] accepts that the intellectual basis of marketing is a hybrid of other recognised industrial disciplines but then undermines Walker's position by pointing to marketing analysts who have been unable to grasp the significance of either organisation politics or corporate strategy.

> "Generally, marketers have been content to borrow their concepts of goals and goal formulation from these other disciplines (economics, finance and management). Indeed, marketing has shown a strange ambivalence toward the concept of corporate goals. The recent marketing literature pays scant attention to the actual content of corporate goal hierarchies. Even less attention is focussed on the normative issue of what firm goals and objectives ought to be. Moreover, contemporary marketing texts devote little space to the subject. Typically, an author's perspective on corporate goals is revealed in his/her definition of the marketing concept, but one is hard pressed to find further development of the topic."

The relevance of Anderson's critique can be seen in the following attempt by Walker (Op.cit)[6] at a variation on the 'service ethic'. Whilst this idea, that 'professionals' are, to a greater or lesser extent, motivated by some sense of obligation to society in general, is discussed in Chapter 7, it would seem that Walker has overlooked the possibility of 'occupational authority' being itself the result of 'an institutional framework'.

> "Professionalism arises where the tensions inherent in the consumer-producer relationship are controlled by means of an institutional framework based upon occupational authority. This provides a good test by which to assess the degree of professionalism exhibited by marketing."

Walker's findings are unfortunately inconclusive, both in terms of his original intention and as a guide to the behaviour of marketing managers. He does, however, appear to be arguing that marketing managers are valued for their industrial performance.[7,8]

> "Marketing in its business activities has had certain advantages ... with employer recognition and acceptance of the occupation."

> "The important points to emerge from the employer survey indicate that employers in practical terms of recruitment place little value on the institutional trappings of professionalism so far as marketing is concerned."

After Anderson's remarks on the lack of introspection amongst marketing managers it would appear necessary to develop a means of explicating those practical business activities by which marketing managers have earned their standing amongst fellow executives. Further reading, of authors such as Watson (1979)[9] and Legge (1978)[10] seems to indicate that personnel management is a "developing professional occupation"[11] of similar standing to marketing although somewhat more

inclined to self examination. Legge (Op.cit)[12] demonstrates this by asking two fundamental questions, either one of which might also apply to marketing management.

> "What should be the objectives of personnel management."
>
> "How do I achieve them?"

Legge begins her discussion of these questions with an inversion that is implicitly critical of Walker's work, for Legge[13] believes that 'occupational authority' is, in fact, dependent upon 'an institutional framework' and not vice versa.

> "If more attention was paid to context, however, it would become clear that the student's and manager's two questions might be restated in terms of one dominant preoccupation: What is it <u>feasible</u> for the personnel function to do in a particular organization/environment, quite apart from what might be agreed to be necessary or desirable? For, in practice, what the personnel function <u>should</u> do and how it <u>should</u> do it often takes second place to what it is <u>able</u> to undertake and in what way, in the particular context in which it operates. Thus, whether policy is feasible or not depends not only on the appropriateness of its design, in the light of specific organizational contexts and objectives, but on the <u>degree of power that context affords those who have designed the policy to implement it</u>. These two factors are, of course, inter-related".

Walker offers what may be taken as support for such a standpoint but in a way which seems curiously at odds with his definition of marketing and its place in the "consumer-producer relationship." He cites Wilensky[14] as arguing that

> "The "average man" will combine both professional and non-professional ideals and the typical occupational structure will combine a mixture of organizational, trade union and professional "philosophies". This is important when examining an occupation such as marketing which is practised almost totally in an institutional setting."

If such is the case one might be forgiven for wondering about the following, unless, of course, "the non-marketing reader" is not an "average man".[15]

> "The need for a brief description of each of the various components of marketing is necessary for the non-marketing reader to assess the degree of expertise needed in a particular job. The "expertise" can be theoretically based or rely largely on practical skills. When these have been explained, the reader can then gauge the relevance of marketing theory as a body of knowledge."

"Non-marketing readers" are not the only ones who have difficulty with the idea of marketing theory as a body of knowledge. Anderson (1982)[16] concludes that whilst "marketers" may "have been content to borrow their concepts of goals and goal formulation from .... other disciplines (economics finance and management)"

> "Marketing's objective .. remains long run customer support through consumer satisfaction. Paradoxically, perhaps, this approach requires marketers to have an even greater grasp of the technologies, perspectives and limitations of the other functional areas. Only in this way can marketing effectively negotiate the implementation of its strategies. As noted previously the other functional areas are likely to view appeals to the marketing concept merely as a bargaining ploy. It is the responsibility of the marketing area to communicate the true long run focus and survival orientation of this concept to the other interests in the firm."

This and the executive indifference to marketing theory which Walker describes would seem to provide another parallel with developments in Personnel Management. Legge (1978)[17] offers the following.

> "For, it is argued, not only does much of the reputed "best practice" rest on "special case" models, and, hence may be inapprioriate to those organizational circumstances that do not directly correspond to them, but "best practice" tends to ignore the constraints arising from the political realities or organizational behaviour that circumscribe any manager's freedom and ability to pursue a given course of action."

Watson (1977)[18] approaches the argument in a way which is implicitly critical of Walker's (1976) handling of "professionalism" within industry.

> "The work of all the personnel specialists, regardless of their particular sub-specialism or organizational level, is managerial work - work which involves them in the selection, deployment and control of people as 'human resources' in the increasingly large and complex organizations of modern working life. It therefore becomes highly relevant to an overall understanding of work and its organization in contemporary society to analyse this developing occupation; its members, their practices, ideologies and 'professional' aspirations."

> As has already been demonstrated, Walker (1976)[19] claimes that,

> "Professionalism arises where the tensions inherent in the consumer-producer relationship are controlled by means of an institutional framework based upon occupational authority."

For marketing is, of course, "practised almost totally in an institutional setting"[20] and Walker himself[21] argues that

> The marketing occupation is held in higher esteem by employers both professionally and socially, than was found to exist with the general public, though all the occupations mentioned were given higher ratings on"professionalism" than by the public sample."

As these texts represent the origins of what is intended as a means toward a greater understanding of marketing managers and their work this would seem to be an appropriate moment at which to attempt a summary of the argument so far.

Marketing may be seen as a primarily managerial function which is intended to provide industrial organisations with information about their customers and markets and to do so in a way which enables a notion of progress towards those corporate goals which have been agreed upon by the more powerful elements within the organisations concerned. Marketing managers are thereby accorded some degree of recognition for what may be taken to be "their" skills and yet this acceptance would appear to be little more certain than the rather feeble attempts by practitioners to develop a legitimate claim to the recognised trappings of "professionalism". In methodological terms, the analysis offered by marketing theorists is of somewhat limited value. However, writers on personnel management, a managerial discipline which is at a similar stage of development to marketing, raise lines of enquiry which offer some hope of a means towards a greater understanding of marketing managers.

The scope of the inquiry.

The perceptions, actions and relationships of these executives were originally intended as the focus for this research for whilst Walker (1976)[22] may have demonstrated partial professionalism in marketing there is some uncertainty as to the reasons for its current state of development. The following possibilities come to mind.

Marketing may be seen as a developing profession which is constrained by the need to overcome organisational resistance from practitioners of previously dominant managerial techniques. Marketing may, alternatively, have been carried to the practical limits of its

development although the theoretically ascribed role (Kotler, Levy 1969)[23] (Drucker 1963)[24] is much greater than that envisaged for any other managerial technique. Individual marketing managers, who feel that they are lacking in either professional standing or the benefits of accepted standards of theory and practice, have, therefore, to establish personal and professional roles without assistance or recourse to an acceptable authority. Thirdly, the disproportionate measure of acceptance shown by other managers (Walker Op.cit) may be an indication of a socialisation process, whereby marketing managers are deserting their intended role in favour of traditional organisational terms dictated by the practitioners of old and better established techniques. This viewpoint is underwritten by the emphasis placed on experience by respondents in Walker's study and by the lack of a body of theory, solely attributable to marketing, with which marketing managers might enhance the reputation of their professional examinations, techniques and organizational standing.

The intended basis for the original methodology was a series of interviews, like Watson's (1977)[25] survey of 100 Personnel Managers but with a similar number of Marketing Managers. Walker (1976)[26] used two such groups in his work on the rise of professionalism amongst marketing managers and whilst this may well have been an acceptable measure of the general public, there is the matter of his insistence[27] that

> "The need for a brief description of each of the various components of marketing is necessary for the non-marketing reader to assess the degree of expertise needed in a particular job. The "expertise" can be theoretically based or rely largely on practical skills. When these have been explained, the reader can then judge the relevance of marketing theory as a body of knowledge."

As much of the marketing literature to date discusses the subject in terms of suitable techniques rather than how those faced with the task actually achieved anything it seemed likely that a heavily structured questionnaire such as the one used by Watson (1977)[28] might well imply an unjustified uniformity in marketing managers opinions of their own role. It was therefore decided that an attempt would be made to conduct 'rolling' interviews; an approach based upon the use of respondents individual arguments and observations as topics of

conversation in subsequent interviews. Thus it seemed that themes and points of interest would emerge fairly readily for respondents were faced with a minimum of imposed structure and the opportunity to manage a discussion of their own work and the way they thought it should be done.

This contribution to methodology arose from my initial anxieties about meeting marketing managers on their own ground. I was afraid that I would be seen as somehow remote or overly theoretical for whilst I had passed a number of exams in marketing and understood its terminology, my practical experience was limited to the management of a bookshop. I then realised that if each respondent's opinions were used as a basis for conversation with his contemporaries I would have overcome my difficulties; I would also have produced a view of marketing that was grounded in and determined by the communal wisdom of its practitioners.

Because of the early conversations were largely without precedent, it seemed reasonable to select topics from contemporary trade journals and business magazines and then use them to promote discussion. The following example is based on Olins' (1980)[29] insertion that

> "The period that has seen the emergence, even perhaps the dominance, of marketing as a major force in British business has coincided almost precisely with the rapid decline of U.K. industry as a major force in world markets, as a manufacturing and trading power."

When asked to comment on this, the Export Manager of a Northern engineering and toolmaking concern was quite explicit.

> "Forget the theory. In practice, Marketing Departments just get in the way of Sales and stop you doing your job. We've just done a Trade Fair in Argentina and it was pointless. Our stuff is overpriced in an export market like South America. They want basics and they can get them from anywhere nowadays, even make them for themselves. We'll lose the military contracts too, because they need the best but their money's tied up... It's Foreign Aid and it'll get spent in the U.S.A."

The executive in question was made redundant shortly after appearing to agree with Olins' remarks. The topic was 'rolled on' to another respondent, an Irishman who was interviewed in a Liverpool wine bar. He was a salesman for a group of pig farmers. These worthies ducked

an apparently unavoidable fortune by immersing themselves in the demands of their animals to the point where it was no longer possible to part with pigs in a way which would bring home the bacon. Unfortunately the Irishman was more than a little drunk and whilst he did respond, he spent most of his time telling stories which were funny, wide ranging and occasionally impenetrable.

This sort of incident appeared to be an unavoidable part of the methodology, for it had always been the intention that marketing managers should see the lack of a rigid interview programme or questionnaire as an opportunity to express themselves in their own terms, and thereby reveal something of the way in which they order themselves and the practice of their discipline. The 'rolling interview' was designed to produce these 'member's accounts' and had already done so, in a trial run with a restricted number of respondents. As Silverman (1975)[30] observes, one

> "must seek to explicate it (knowledge of social processes); for instance by examining how, despite the threat of an infinite regress, intelligible accounts are produced for the practical purposes at hand."

These 'accounts' can be seen to grow in importance because of a peculiarity in the nature of marketing management. As there are neither established professional bodies nor obligatory qualifications to restrict entry to the occupation, the research has been based on a self selecting sample; quite simply acceptable respondents are those who declare themselves to be marketing managers.[31] The lack of any obvious occupational boundary also means that every one of their responses can be seen as both an individual member's account and an effective definition of marketing management as a whole. The notion of accounts was inspired by Watson (1977)[32] and central to the original formulation of the thesis.

> "I use this term (the notion of accounts) to refer to the statements which are made to me in the course of my interviews with specialists. This is because I do not see these statements as fixed 'attitudes' or 'beliefs' - both concepts which imply more concreteness than I am willing to recognise - but rather as utterances which need to be situated in the context in which they are being made and which, especially, have to be seen in terms of the interests of those making them. All talk can be seen as part of the process whereby realities are being constructed, altered or consolidated."

It should be clearly understood that the intention behind a collection of observations and reflections from marketing managers is not that of producing a definitive description of the job. The interviews were an attempt to gain insights into the work involved, from those who could be seen to constitute marketing as a specialist field within business management. Silverman (1970)[33] offers the following caution.

> "One may miss the way in which people's views of themselves and of their situation is the outcome of an on-going process i.e. never fully determined by one or another set of structural constraints but always in the act of 'becoming' as successive experiences shape and re-shape a subjective definition of self and of society."

The "rolling" interviews were intended to cope with this process of continual change by incorporating it within the research methodology. Whilst the subsequent discussion of marketing managers news was not expected to produce an absolute description of their work it was hoped that the more important characteristics of the job would emerge from a collection of their 'accounts'. An extension of the argument can be seen in those 'accounts' which are not simply concerned with marketing but with the relationships between its practitioners and the rest of society.

As marketing itself is based upon the assumption of continually changing consumer demand it seemed all the more reasonable to ask marketing managers about the need for them to be flexible. The following comes from a sales representative who works for an agency dealing in Italian motorcycle accessories.

> "Bosses you can deal with but middle management? I bloody hate 'em. Always after 'incentives' or give aways. I left my last job because they were all I got to meet. Business like this though, the outlets are smaller, people run their own shops or whatever and you get to know them".

The salesman's 'account' is significant in at least two ways for it not only shows a link between trade and the "subjective definition of self and society" but implies an imbalance in that relationship. Both of these possibilities are underlined by a branch manager from a chain of self-service grocery stores.

> "I'm more intelligent than these reps. They've got their little tricks but I soon tumble them then that's it, they're uesless. I know their firms before I meet them; so all I'm worried about is having enough advertising to keep the stock turnover up. Tell me, does cognitive dissonance[34] exist?

The manager's last remark is a small but complex aside which reflects his knowledge of my vocational training in marketing. The latter enabled him to tease me by referring to a major piece of marketing theory in a way which suggested that I was both overly academic and somewhat removed from the real world. The joke does have a more serious side for the manager is also using this same piece of theory to demonstrate his critical expertise in a way that belittles his implicitly less business-like suppliers.

The entire manoeuvre depends upon cognitive dissonance which is, in effect, a term for the idea that consumers will not readily buy a product a second time when they feel that the item in question has fallen unacceptably short of their expectations of it. Manufacturers are therefore recommended to pitch their advertising at a level which makes realistic claims for their goods. The manager of the grocery store clearly felt that, in his circumstances, the theory was largely irrelevant because no one expects a great deal of a tin of baked beans[35] and if such were the case how could he take his supplier's marketing efforts seriously when they were so obviously at odds with the real world?

A series of exchanges with the executives responsible for the administration of a marketing department presented other forms of ambiguity.

> "Agents and representatives falsify every damn document they touch and all you can hope to do is make sure that someone else is responsible for passing their junk upstairs."

Experience with this problem had taught these managers to build a measure of slack into the sales targets so that rapid adjustments might be made when one of the senior management demanded an improvement. If such a manoeuvre should prove inadequate it might well become necessary to discover unacceptable irregularities in the behaviour of certain salesmen who would then be back on the road again.

To be 'on the road' is to be in an unsettled state, where the phrase has a number of meanings, any one of which may apply at some point in a representative's career. The first and perhaps most obvious of these is a straightforward reference to the travelling that salesmen do to earn their living. Indeed, it would appear from the

fieldwork that a fair proportion of representatives actively resent the paperwork and sales briefings that keep them from the road. This, in turn, may be seen as a reflection of the value that salesmen put upon their mobility and the independence it gives them. These same attributes are also an important part of the camaraderie that representatives and their fellow travellers appear to have developed as a defence against the rigours of being 'on the road' alone. In conclusion, the phrase may be seen as a paradox for even salesmen who are unemployed must go out 'on the road' and sell themselves.

Underpinning these interpretations was the suggestion that salesmen could be seen as competent or even enthusiastic employees without ever showing any great degree of interest in the company that they were meant to represent. It was hoped that this somewhat contrary development and its impact upon marketing managers would both become parts of an attempt to render the role of the marketing manager more readily understandable by considering it in terms of deviancy theory (Douglas 1970)(Bryant 1974).[36] The latter did seem to suggest that members of an organisation, who were uncertain of the details of their membership and position within that organisation, might accentuate those characteristics which would otherwise have been subsumed to some extent through having to meet the norms of the group they had successfully joined. However, the ambiguity apparent in the role of marketing manager is not immediately accessible in these terms; the difficulty being that of the managers who have still to establish a role for themselves under any circumstances let alone emergent or 'pseudo-professionalism.

Marketing managers may attempt to lessen interdepartmental tension and the difficulties of their own role by adopting norms other than those which derive from their understanding of the theory and practice of marketing. Alternatively, they may succeed in establishing a role on an individual basis but, because of the lack of the professional attribute of easy migration between organisations, be faced with constraints on their careers through having to re-establish themselves after every move whilst overcoming the understanding of a marketing manager's role built up by the previous employee. Campanis (1970)[37] wonders

> "Why don't managers deviate more? As has been documented; it is hard to know what to deviate from".

Campanis goes on to note that

> "No strong professional association or in-plant ties with peers exist. Managers are not members of an association which sets rules, limits entry to the field, or sets standards of performance."

Gross (1958)[38] puts it less bluntly.

> "One type of action that can easily create antagonism, cleavages and even a loss of the market to charlatans is uncontrolled competition. Consequently every occupation (even that of private business) tries to regulate competition by securing consensus on the "rules of the game." The most celebrated form that such controls take are professional "ethics".

In a developing profession such as marketing these considerations would be partial at best but nevertheless significant for as Etzioni (1964)[39] insists

> "... the ultimate justification for a professional act is that it is, to the best of the professional's knowledge, the right act. He might consult his colleagues before he acts, but the decision is his. If he errs he will still be defended by his peers. The ultimate justification of an administrative act, however, is that it is in line with the organisation's rules and regulations, and that it has been approved - directly or by implication - by a superior rank."

The following insight into marketing management comes from an opportune meeting with a salesman of cavity wall insulation. We were at a party in his home town and he was clearly under pressure for although he was willing to talk about his work, he was also keen to keep an eye on his wife, who was near to hand but otherwise engaged. Whilst the salesman obviously had some expectations of consistent behaviour from both his wife and his work he would not talk about her.

> "The blokes from Market Research are all right but those other bastards are living off our backs. We shift the stuff and if we fail we get hurt a damn sight faster than they do. They just disappear ... that's when they're not accusing you of cocking things up ... you can never trust the sods."

Garfinkel (1967)[40] is altogether more sanguine.

> "That the work of bringing present circumstances under the rule of previously agreed activity is sometimes contested should not be permitted to mask its pervasive and routine use as an ongoing and essential feature of "actions in accordance with common understandings."

This process, which I shall call a method of discovering agreements by eliciting or imposing a respect for the rule of practical circumstances, is a version of"practical ethics."

The ambiguity which arises from what appears to be a discussion of two sets of ethics is a result of the uncertainty surrounding the professional standing of marketing managers. It was hoped that this ambivalence might in some way be resolved by an evaluation of "members accounts" for as Silverman (1975)[41] points out

> "To listen to our own language is to hear that community within our speech."

In effect, Silverman is arguing that the transmission of 'everyday' meaning is as much a matter of the speaker's behaviour, and the unspoken assumptions that are shared with an audience, as it is the phrase in question. These assumptions are themselves an important part of 'common sense' reality and tend only to become apparent when a given community's 'own language' is reconsidered without its usual underpinnings.

The organisational cultures and "practical ethics" which can be inferred when these languages are used as evidence, were assumed to be amenable to analysis in a manner similar to that used in the studies which inspired this research. It should, however, be understood that neither "professional" nor "practical ethics" are viewed as anything other than a function of cultural activity and therefore bound to continual reformulation. Campanis's (1970)[42] objection is seen accordingly as somewhat artificial.

> "Managers are not paid to develop new moral codes, but to make the existing slippery ones work. They are not initiators of norms themselves but reactors to them."

The following may therefore be seen as the "existing codes" being made to work.

A marketing manager from the North of England was describing the difficulties he faced in trying to maintain the considerable market leadership enjoyed by the mutlinational firm of handtool manufacturers that employed him. These engineers produce a range of very high

quality products which are easily identified by their uniform colouring and standard of finish. They are also very expensive. The company grounded its marketing policy in the analysis of statistics from the construction industry and the application of 'bought in' Market Research. The competitive edge which derived from this policy was backed up by a mixture of managerial guesses, the debriefing of salesmen and whatever might be squeezed out of current production capacity.

The firm's market research lead to the belief that whilst their products were, as ever, "fit for craftsmen" the market itself was changing. A recession amongst commercial builders and burgeoning opportunities in the Do-It-Yourself trade meant that the hand tool business was fast becoming a matter of selling to customers who neither recognised nor wanted tools of such a standard. Part of this expansion was the result of women buying or prompting the purchase of articles that were intended for perhaps one or two jobs, neither of which would involve the kills associated with the traditional market. As these new customers were accustomed to 'one stop' shopping and self service, the engineers attempted to protect the profit margins deriving from their dominance of the market by a move away from the more traditional specialist outlets such as ironmongers to those shops where the newer conditions prevailed.

The tool makers compounded their innovation by adapting what my respondent claimed was a marketing technique from the 'Fast-Food' industry and better suited to customers who had no need for the specialist skills of an ironmonger. 'Top Tool Bars' were introduced into department stores, supermarkets and similar outlets where paint, tiles and wallpaper might be purchased. The intention behind these 'in-store' promotions was to offer the dozen or so most frequently bought tools in individual 'bubble' packs which would be clearly accessible to the customer whilst doing away with the need for anything other than a cashier. In an attempt to learn more about the genesis of the 'Tool Bars' I presented the marketing manager with some hypothetical competition.

What would he envisage doing in the face of "A Marketing Co." an organisation which did not make hand tools but packaged and sold whatever could be found at a suitable price? Perhaps a moderately costly range from West Germany or Sweden and a cheaper series from

Korea or Taiwan? These imported items would then be offered to retailers who were already benefitting from the engineers' realisation that consumers now expected handtools to be on sale almost everywhere. Retailer's dependence upon established manufacturers would diminish accordingly for the cheaper alternatives would surely shift the competitive emphasis from product quality to packaging and pricing, a move which would, in turn, mean more competition.

This was one of the most difficult moments of the interview for the marketing manager was visibly shaken. I had clearly touched on a tender spot. My informant was a member of the Institute of Marketing and after learning of my own background, had come to rely on 'theoretical' answers as a means of avoiding questions which he felt were too sensitive to be commented on directly. I had inadvertently breached an informal arrangement which had developed as a feature of a conversation that began with his announcement. "You'll find this place parochial. Not just here, within the company, but the whole area". The implied limits, the feeling that I shouldn't expect too much, were I thought, at odds with the privacy we enjoyed. The manager told his secretary to hold his calls and not to interrupt him so the two of us were alone in his office for well over two hours. A rapport did develop but it became apparent that my respondent would never be completely at ease. He seemed to worry about what he said as much as he needed to talk these selfsame things.

> "It was bad enough getting everyone to accept even the idea of the 'Tool Bars' but we've got another problem now. The 'Tool Bars' have become ever so successful and we're selling all we can make on some lines but there's a feeling that a lot of these customers would buy cheaper versions if they could get them"

The tool makers had engaged a 'professional' designer to draw up proposals for a range of cheaper tools which might replace the 'up market' ones in the 'bubble packs. The 'craftsman's' range would still be available from specialist outlets whilst the new tools would be used to secure the burgeoning middle and low price ranges in the 'amateur' market. The designer offered two series of hand tools; one of which would be clearly middle priced because of its quality of construction and its colour, green, and the other somewhat cheaper and recognisable by its colour, perhaps orange. The designer's new ranges of hand tools never went into production.

"The senior managers didn't like them. They said the samples didn't look like screwdrivers. They were the wrong colour".

The idea, however, seemed worthy.

"We attempted to import some hammers from South America and give them a trial in the 'bubble' packs. If that worked we would pick other suitable products from our world subsidiaries and see how things shaped up. The Managing Director decided that the hammer wasn't made well enough for a product carrying our name in this country even though it was the best hammer available in South America. The pricing argument was seen as a debasement of our current range, against everything the company stands for, everything the board has worked for. All our arguments about differentiation and market segmentation fall on deaf ears."

This would appear to constitute the company's idea of marketing and the proper use of market research for whilst the public were known to be interested in cheaper tools they were never consulted about the suitability or otherwise of the new designs or the cheap hammer. Similar indifference was shown to the designer for he was not included in any evaluation of the market other than that which was supplied by the engineers as his original brief. "These tools (the established range) are the result of years of work by people who know what they're doing ... real craftsmen".

The engineers do, however, buy Market Research and whilst this attempt to promote "trade by assessing customers' needs and initiating research to meet these needs" may be seen to support some aspects of Walker's (1976)[43] thesis there is also the assertion that

"every time our Marketing Director goes to Company H.Q. in the U.S.A. he comes back full of new techniques and ideas about Marketing but he's soon knocked back into shape by the rest of the Board."

The developing methodology.

Brian Smith (1978)[44] feels that the difficulties arising from the engineer's new screwdriver amount to more than a straightforward unwillingness to recognise the importance of marketing. He argues that the company's misuse of industrial design is, in fact, the reflection of a corporate inability to appreciate, or even recognise,

a major shift in the basis of industrial competition. This same argument also suggests that Walker's putative "semi-professionalism" may soon be undermined by a decrease in the industrial significance of marketing managers.

> "The history of successful business shows that the key areas have changed: once it was ability to mass produce; then it was selling and, later, marketing ability; now we have to be able to design. What a company chooses to design will define its character and settle its fate in the next decade or two."

Olins (1978)[45] believes that, in this respect, the engineering firm is unremarkable for even though companies may put a lot of effort into ensuring that their names and those of their brands are widely recognised by the public, the corporate appreciation of commercial design and its impact is generally somewhat limited.

> "From names it's only a small step to signs, secret or otherwise, heraldry, uniforms and all the other trappings of visual identity. The group, whether it's as small and as primitive as Richard Crompton's William and his Outlaws or a sophisticated multi-national enterprise like IBM, uses all the visual means available to it to reinforce its own identity and to make this identity clear to all the different groups with which it deals."

Olins may be seen to argue that the processes whereby authority is ceded to managers and then exercised by them impinge on perceptions in not only the more readily understood forms of direct spoken orders or official documents but through the less apparent yet equally important visual aspects of an organisation. However, whilst any and every employee may be assumed to have opinions on how a business should be conducted and what the more important achievements might involve, only a small number of people are in a position to see their views realised in terms of organised effort, be it in the use of materials, the employment of staff or the deciding of policy. So it is that for many of those concerned, the graphics and product design features which represent their company to the outside world are also a function of the authority of a dominant minority within that firm. These embodiments of an established point of view are important as reminders, to the more subservient members of an organisation, of the authority implicit in the making of those decisions which shape a product. As Olins (1978)[46] observes

> "Visual identity, therefore, is part of the deeper identity of the group, the outward sign of inward commitment, serving to remind it of its real purpose."

The 'Winged B' logo which appears on BSA motorcycles is a case in point. It was designed by my grandfather well before the Second World War and continued as a feature of these machines until the company's collapse in 1970 and subsequent bankruptcy. BMD Smith(1981)[47] is relentless

> "We also refer to the innovative but disastrous work of Jofeh at BSA in the late 1960's. This brought the company to its knees. It is difficult to apportion blame with certainty. For some time, top management had overlooked, deliberately (because either they felt new blood and ideas were needed or they belittled the capacities of men like Hopwood and Perrigo) or accidentally (through lack of appreciation) the middle managers already with BSA and had gone outside to find Harry Sturgeon and Eric Turner and, later Brian Eustace (though earlier the temperamentally difficult Edward Turner had been promoted from within)."

The habitual use of the 'Winged B' upon a range of products which was astonishingly unresponsive to changes in market circumstances can be taken as a demonstration of the unwillingness of policy making managers to do anything other than use the assets at their disposal to underwrite the established order; themselves. Smith (1981)[48] is again appropriate.

> "The liquidation of the Herbert holding involved BSA in a loss of several million £s. This loss broke BSA for it needed funds desperately. This incident, one of several over the last two decades, reflects the special size and product diversity of the BSA group and the interests of its top directors in success <u>outside</u> motorcycles. This allowed attention and finance to be directed away from motorcycles although these remained the main profit centre in the group and required proper attention and investment if they were to remain so."

Olins (1978)[49] appears to be offering a similar point of view in an analysis of United Parcels Service, a privately owned rival to the U.S. Mail.

> "U.P.S. with its own language, uniforms and specifically adapted vehicles is in many ways, a private world, carefully developed with the intention of making people behave predictably."

The deliberate creation and use of such corporate identities, as a means towards encouraging the endowment of corporations with desirable characteristics is a reflection of managerial authority for theirs are the criteria against which potentially "desirable" characteristics are measured. Thus when Warnock feels that evidence of the nature of the Ford Motor Company may well have slipped away since the 1950's (see Chapter 5) Olins (1978)[50] can be seen to disagree.

> "So far as the visual identities of companies are concerned, there has for the most part been little change during the past 10 or 15 years. All the traditional aggressive tribal markings with which companies have surrounded themselves in the past - the war paint they have to put on to terrify the outside world - have remained almost untouched."

Olins' statement contains two points of importance for he not only believes that corporations are visibly preoccupied with self preservation but that visual evidence, of the sort he cites, is, in fact, a more reliable guide to a company's intentions than any talk of changing to meet the demands of the market. Two threads of this argument are worth emphasising for whilst Olins may concentrate on the deliberate manipulation of corporate imagery, the case also applies when there is no such policy. Secondly, these visually significant aspects are an unavoidable part of commercial activity and will arise no matter what the company or its lifespan.

In summary, then, it is felt that the nature of marketing management, the significance of mass production and the asymmetries of industrial organisations can all be demonstrated and appreciated in visual terms. There would also seem to be support for the argument that common sense understandings of the visible play a vital part in both the determination of everyday reality and the reinforcement of social and industrial structure. The following is a case in point.

Geoff MacAvoy worked in a machine shop which he also ran. He had been a toolmaker for a well known motor car manufacturer but left their Merseyside factory because he felt that there was no real challenge in the job nor any sign of his skills in the finished product. His business was not only a response to this personal frustration but also a medium for the abilities of several other highly capable craftsmen. The recent closure of the car factory did however mean that a number of the newer employees had known and trusted Geoff before coming to work for him.

The machine shop produced specialised and unique items for engineering concerns and vehicle restorers throughout Britain. Most of the demand seemed to come from a grape vine of satisfied customers. Geoff was clearly proud of this.

> "There's a little bit of us in everything that goes out of here and we don't like to think of it going to a bad home."

These sentiments were readily echoed by his workmates who were eager to join in the conversation. It was obvious that everyone concerned with the organisation felt some real commitment to the way it worked and what it did. They were, however, worried that the delays caused by the steel strike (early 1980) would sour relationships which had taken a long time to develop into trust. There was also an undertone of uncertainty about the costs involved for no one made a lot of money out of the business and they were afraid that, even with this de facto subsidy, the standards they were so keen to maintain might prove too much for the market to bear.

> "It's really fucking bitter. If we don't get a steady run of work we'll have to lay someone off... see, there's no reserves in a firm this size and that means a mate on the dole. It hardly seems right that no one is willing to pay for good stuff anymore but the trouble is ... even rubbish is expensive nowadays, innit?

This question from the shop floor was clearly more of a declaration of faith for despite the apparently marginal nature of Geoff's business it seemed that everyone who worked there felt that the risks were worth taking. It could also be argued that the machine operators saw the quality of their work as a refuge from their commercial vulnerability.

The apparently universal assumption that "their" share of the market was too big for the whole enterprise to fail did little to disguise the damage that an enforced laying off of skilled labour would do to both morale and professional pride. Whilst the experiences of individual failure and frustration were still too recent to be easily overlooked Geoff felt that the worst was over.

"People have only to look at something we've done and they can see it's class. The can see we get it right and we're doing more and more so the word must be out.. We'll soon have the other problem of telling people we can't take any more or standards will suffer. Most of them are pretty patient though, especially the vehicle restorers. But then you've got to be if you're waiting for the gearbox to a 1926 Mercedes."

When asked if selling such equipment, on the strength of its finish, wasn't a somewhat limited and difficult market, in that the product would only be fully appreciated by other engineers, Geoff was quite determined.

"Sometimes, it feels like that but I don't mind. If engineers are buying our stuff it means we're getting it right, not like those big bastards who can't or won't be bothered. Christ, we make mistakes too but we don't try and sell ours. Look .. we got a contract a while back for some rachets and so on, fittings for a new sewage farm. The bloody things wouldn't fit! They'd not been easy so Baz went down to check on the installation. He was there for ages before he noticed that the bloody platforms were out of true and the frame wasn't square. So.. it's nothing to do with us but the trouble is.. the mob who cobbled this lot together do more in a week than we do in a year so who's the site manager going to bollock? Right, but still, we keep on 'cos some people believe in us. It's not just ourselves."

Sadly it seems that there were too few to make any difference for when a cancelled appointment at a nearby crisp factory presented the opportunity of a return call there was no one on the site and a 'For Sale or Rent' notice on the gates. After piecing together a number of very second hand stories it would seem that the firm had gone through a brutally extended erosion of its business before being wound up in the midst of a welter of unpaid bills and collapsing friendships. This distress raised a number of problems not least of which was the unsought after proof of Brittan's (1973)[51] argument that certain of the characteristics which are essential to human interaction are frequently overlooked.

"One of the surprising aspects of the discussion of social interaction among recent sociologists is the paucity of their interest in and discussion of sympathy and emotional identification."

A noteworthy parallel can be drawn between this and the marketing theorists who insist that trade is a form of social interaction in which 'commendable' decisions are based upon economic grounds and not 'emotional' ones. These same commentators also accept that marketing

is the commercially managed process whereby consumers needs and desires are uncovered and then satisfied.

Whilst 'emotional identification' is vital to methodologies like the 'rolling' interview, which depends upon empathy and evocation, there are certain difficulties involved. It is therefore to be hoped that the traditions of storytelling, which relayed the closure of MacAvoy's Engineering, were also responsible for the reportedly coincidental discovery that Geoff and his wife would be unable to have their own children. Brunvald (1983)[52] is explicit.

> "The vast amounts of human interchange from casual daily conversations to formal discussions in business or industry, law or teaching, rarely constitute straight oral folklore. However, all such "communicative events" are punctuated routinely by various units of traditional material that are memorable, repeatable, and that fit recurring social situations well enough to serve in place of original remarks."

Brunvald's analysis does provide a caveat to the research for whilst these "memorable, repeatable" phrases may well give a conversation the appearance of ritual they are nevertheless intended to evoke an individual and specific meaning. Brunvald (Op.cit)[53] goes on to observe that

> "Tellers of these legends, of course, are seldom aware of their roles as "performers of folklore". The conscious purpose of this kind of storytelling is to convey a true event, and only incidentally to entertain an audience. Nevertheless, the speaker's demeanour is carefully orchestrated, and his or her delivery is low-key and soft-sell. With subtle gestures, eye movements, and vocal inflections the stories are made dramatic, pointed and suspenseful ... Passive tellers of urban legends may just report them as odd rumours, but the more active legend tellers re-create them as dramatic stories of suspense and, perhaps, humour."

Brunvald is, in effect, arguing that the skilful "teller of urban legends" will add weight to the intended meaning of a story by encouraging the audience in 'emotional identification'. These same conversational skills can also be seen as a matter of common practice for whilst the MacAvoy workforce is thought to be divided between the 'dole' and whatever jobs can be had on Merseyside, Geoff and his wife are said to have emigrated to New Zealand.

As this research was originally conceived in terms of the collection and analysis of spoken and written data, it can be argued that developments such as Brunvald's (Op.cit) "traditional material" or Brittan's (Op.cit) lack of "emotional identification" are still within the scope of the intended methodology. However, Brunvald's distinction between the reportage of "passive tellers" and the recreations of "more active" speakers does not mean that the former are thereby excluded from either the negotiation of everyday reality or the concomitant determination of social structure. Giddens (1977)[54] is insistent.

> "The key to understanding social order - in the most general sense of that term ... is not the 'internalisation of values' but the shifting relations between the production and reproduction of social life by its constituent actors. All reproduction is necessarily production, however: and the seed of change is there in every act which contributes towards the reproduction of any 'ordered' form of social life."

Whilst the 'rolling' interviews were designed with this argument in mind, it would appear that Olins (Op.cit) has touched upon facets of the enquiry which are not immediately accessable in these terms; the emphasis being rather more towards the visual aspects of organisational and social existence. The complexity of an analysis based on marketing managers and their day to day understanding is, therefore, more than a matter of those possibilities which have already been mentioned for even if the negotiation of social order is contained by the relationship between spoken and visual langauges, the nature of the process has still to be attempted. Giddens (1977)[55] argues that

> "The use of reference to physical aspects of context is no doubt fundamental to the sustenance of an intersubjectively 'agreed upon' world within which most forms of day-to-day interaction occur. But 'awareness of an immediate sensory environment' as an element drawn upon in the production of interaction, cannot be radically severed from a backdrop of, largely implicit, mutual knowledge which is drawn upon to create and sustain encounters, since the former is categorised and 'interpreted' in the light of the latter."

In methodological terms the problem may be seen to have developed accordingly; ethnographical considerations are still appropriate but no longer adequate in isolation. However, an additional complication arises when stress is placed on the visual aspects of commerce for there are at least two previously unconsidered issues which now appear

to be involved. The question of what constitutes the role of marketing executives has thus to include not only the problem of what may be understood as the language of respondents 'accounts' but also some examination of what may be deemed to be sociologically acceptable evidence under these circumstances.

Clearly, such matters can only be approached if the research is worked around theoretical and methodological contributions which make some reference to the visually based disciplines. It is worth noting that these amendments, which have been made in Chapters 3,4, & 8 of the thesis, are, in fact, innovations and contrary to the outlook encouraged by traditional theorists of marketing such as Gist(1971)[56] and Kotler (1967)(1976)[57]. Their analyses of organisational or group behaviour seem to be bounded by a rationale based on 'commendable' decisions made for reasons of profit or some other economic variable and not 'emotional' choices which draw their small worth from aspects of design or the psychology of ownership. Lip service may be paid to disciplines such as anthropology or sociology yet no real effort is ever made to discuss either marketing managers or the society they seek to serve in anything approaching these terms. The importance of this criticism is underwritten by but not restricted to Isherwood and Douglas'(1980)[58] work on the understanding of consumer behaviour demonstrated by marketing professionals.

> "The consumption criterion used by market researchers could yield a good idea of what social class is like if it were used systematically. But though it could indeed define social class, such a definition of social class could not then be used to explain consumption behaviour. Nevertheless, just such a circular explanation of consumer behaviour is often heard."

So Isherwood and Douglas recognise both market researchers and the importance of consumption as a societal habit but make no allowances for the marketing function which is stripped of its pretensions and treated as the practice of applied economics. The same authors[59] also argue that

> "It is extraordinary to discover that no one knows why people want goods. Demand theory is at the very center, even at the origin of economics as a discipline. Yet 200 years of thought on the subject has little to show on the question".

Sahlins (1976)[60] sees this ignorance as the result of an inherent deficiency in economic theories of consumption.

> "Concerning the creation and movement of goods solely from their pecuniary quantities (exchange value) one ignores the cultural code of concrete properties governing "utility" and so remains unable to account for what is in fact produced. The explanation is satisfied to recreate the self-deception of the society to which it is addressed, where the logical system of objects and social relations proceeds along an unconscious plane, manifested only through market decisions based on price, leaving the impression that production is merely the precipitate of an enlightened rationality. The structure of the economy appears as the objectivized consequence of practical behaviour, rather than a social organization of things, by the institutional means of the market, but according to a cultural design of persons and goods."

Sahlins critique offers a fair indication of the methodological demands resulting from an investigation of specialists in the management of consumption for, clearly, marketing may no longer be considered as an occupation "which is practiced almost totally in an institutional setting."[61] Admittedly, the parallel argument, that an evaluation of these would-be professionals has therefore to be set in both societal and cultural terms, is not without its difficulties for there is more to an approach of this nature than the differences between Olins(1978)[62] and the cost benefit analysis of Kotler and Zaltman (1971)[63]

> "Unfortunately there are few careful discussions of the power and limitations of social marketing (the more a social or charitable campaign resembles a product campaign the more successful it is). It is the author's view that social marketing is a promising framework for planning and implementing social change. At the same time, it is poorly understood and often viewed suspiciously by many behavioural scientists. The application of commercial ideas and methods to promote social goals will be seen by many as another example of business's lack of taste and self restraint. Yet the application of the logic of marketing to social goals is a natural development and on the whole a promising one."

The following chapter may be seen accordingly as an attempt to develop a methodology which will offer insights into the societal and cultural processes associated with contemporary variations in the "cultural design of persons and goods." It is also intended that the developed methodology should then be used as a basis for the further investigation of marketing managers and their part in the "creation and movement of goods."

CHAPTER THREE

Marketing as a socially located practice.

In the previous chapter, a number of questions were raised about the social processes associated with contemporary variations in the "cultural design of persons and goods."[1] This chapter is therefore an expansion upon the idea of marketing as a socially located practice, the argument being that any form of trade or exchange may be seen to both reflect and reinforce the social structures, customs and outlook of an entire culture and not simply a part of it. These developments are grounded in aspects of anthropology which, in turn, lead to a further consideration of the nature of suitable evidence and the adoption of an appropriate methodology. It will also be suggested that not only is trade a socially significant activity but that the objects which are traded in, are themselves remarkable as reflections of the nature and influence of those who caused them to be manufactured.

The following, from a two hour interview with the marketing manager of an avowedly "market orientated" engineering company, would seem to suggest that whilst such executives might be aware of their involvement in the "creation and movement of goods"[2] they see their own role in a somewhat different light.

As the engineers had recently received a less than sympathetic press for their handling of a series of strikes it seemed appropriate to ask a gentle and fairly general question about the relationship between their industrial relations policies and the attainment of corporate marketing objectives. The gentleness of the inquiry was implied by more than its delivery; there had already been a number of occasions when the evasiveness of a "Public Relations" answer had apparently been accepted as an adequate response. This approach to what were obviously thought of as difficult issues represented an important part of the original methodology for, when managers were encouraged to talk, they would often give interviews in which the "PR" versions were either contradicted or even flatly denied. One or two of these ambiguities and the question would be "rolled on" to form the basis of a conversation with another respondent.

It was therefore expected that, after the recent activities in

this field, the only difficulty the marketing manager might have in discussing Industrial Relations and Marketing with an outsider would be the avoidance of glibness. Not so. The executive clearly felt that the company's image of strong management was sufficiently unpopular or indefensible to warrant his flustered evasiveness. He blurted out "I don't see what Industrial Relations has to do with Marketing but I'll answer your question" and then avoided it.

As the marketing manager is unlikely to have escaped the effects of the recent industrial unrest within the company, it would seem reasonable to argue that his response is not a denial of the relationship between Industrial Relations and Marketing but an acknowledgement that, for him, at least, it is a difficult and perhaps unmanageable one. This analysis appears to offer a parallel to Anderson's(1982)[3] suggestion that marketing theorists have never come to terms with the organisational realities of which Industrial Relations are a part.

> "The recent marketing literature pays scant attention to the actual content of corporate goal hierarchies. Even less attention is focussed on the normative issue of what firm's goals and objectives ought to be."

The implications of this apparent uninterest can be gathered from a case which considerably weakens Kotler's (1980)[4] definition of "Marketing as human activity directed at satisfying needs and wants through exchange processes." The incident occurred at a bakery in the North of England where the workers in question were making mince pies for the incipient Christmas market.[5]

> "the workforce frequently did show considerable concern for its (the product's) quality. They would often fail to pack pies which they considered to be sub-standard. Once a pie was made, the policy according to supervision was "pack as much as we can get away with", although quality control had other ideas. When confused about what to pack and what not to pack, and finding the criterion of whether they would like to purchase the goods themselves in such a condition of no help, caught between supervision and quality control, they resorted to the manager for arbitration."
>
> "Who pays your wages?" said Jack. "Me or quality"?

Whilst the relationship between Marketing, Industrial Relations and Production Management is clearly less than equitable, it is also apparent that each of these managerial dsciplines is in some way, intended to control the "creation and movement of goods". However,

the bakery workers represent a more curious imbalance in the "cultural design of persons and goods" for although they have some sense of themselves as both 'producers' and 'consumers' of mince pies, they can be shown to have little or no control over the production of goods that are supposedly directed at satisfying their own "needs and wants". Braverman (1974)[6] for one, is not surprised.

> "It is not that the pressures of poverty, unemployment and want have been eliminated - far from it - but rather that these have been supplemented by a discontent which cannot be touched by providing more prosperity and jobs because these are the very things that produced this discontent in the first place".

The shift of emphasis from marketing as a discipline "which is practised almost totally in an institutional setting" (Wilensky,1965)[7] to the"cultural design of persons and goods"(Sahlins,1976)[8] is not without its difficulties. As Eco (1979)[9] observes.

> "If the term 'culture' is accepted in its correct anthropological sense then we are immediately confronted with three elementary cultural phenomena which can apparently be denied the characteristic of being communicative phenomena; a) the production and employment of objects used for transforming the relationship between man and nature; (b) kinship relations as the primary nucleus of institutionalised social relations; (c) the economic exchange of goods".

The importance of this observation can be seen in Mauss's(1974)[10] description of supposedly "primitive" economies.

> "the market is a human phenomenon which we believe to be familiar to every known society. Markets are found before the development of merchants, and before their most important innovation, currency as we know it ....
>
> We contend that the same morality and economy are at work albeit less noticeable, in our own societies, and we believe that in them we have uncovered one of the bases of social life."

If it can be shown that Mauss is correct in his assessment of the market as a "human phenomenon" then there is surely a case for reconsidering "the economic exchange of goods" as a communicative phenomenon. The substantiation of Mauss's argument would also raise serious doubts about Gists' (1971)[11] assertion that marketing is a necessary development of "sophisticated" economies (see Chapter 6). The following is therefore intended as a demonstration of the way in which "the economic exchange of goods" is regularly used to communicate meaning within contemporary society. There is, however, a further problem for the research in that these goods would seem to be not only meaningful but capable of a variety of equally valid interpretations.

It was Saturday morning in an industrial town in Lancashire. The market was in full swing and a youth could be seen by Ranji's stall, alone and palely loitering. The stripling, a painfully thin and spotty devotee of "Northern Soul", proclaimed his allegience to the music of Wigan Casino by wearing ornately pleated "baggies" and a brightly coloured singlet which bore the legend "Sex Machine". The phrase is both the title of a song and a reference to James Brown who sings it.

The antithesis of his admirer, "Soul Brother Number One"(Palmer 1976)[12] is a rich, powerfully built and flamboyant black American. This implicit contrast is, however, set aside by their commitment to the same form of music. Those who appreciate "soul" and the asymmetry of the immersion are thus unlikely to see the legend as an empty boast or ironic self-depreciation. For the rest, the signal singlet may mean anything from a slim joke to yet another demonstration of wilful adolescent impenetrability. Whilst the wearer is likely to be contemptuous of such opinions because they do not recognise the garment's symbolic values, what is business as usual for Ranji does not keep the Wolfe (1977)[13] from the door.

> "but today, as always, the authentic language of fashion is worth listening to. For fashion, to put it most simply, is the code language of status ... we make broad status confessions every day in our response to fashion."

Eco (1979)[14] addresses the simplicity of Wolfe's observation.

> "We are ... witnessing a process of signification - provided that the signal is not merely a stimulus but arouses an interpretive response in the addressee. This process is made possible by the existence of a code.
>
> A code is a system of signification, insofar as it couples present entities with absent units. When - on the basis of an underlying rule - something actually presented to the perception of the addressee <u>stands for</u> something else, there is <u>signification.</u> In this sense the addressee's actual perception of interpretive behavior are not necessary for the definition of a significant relationship as such: it is enough that the code should foresee an established correspondence between that which 'stands for' and its correlate, valid for every possible addressee even if no addressee exists or ever will exist."

Eco is, in essence, discussing semiology, which is the study of unspoken things and their significance in social terms. Whilst not wishing to become too deeply embroiled in this issue, it is hoped that the ensuing remarks will develop the idea of 'significance' and thereby offer some insight into the meanings which can be communicated by the "economic exchange of goods."

Eco's argument is a reflection of Saussure's attempts to explain "langue" or the social system of language by reference to the arbitrary nature of linguistic signs and their constitution through difference. The former point, that there is no necessary connection between "parole" or individual speech and the object so described, can be shown by the way in which any number of languages may develop words for a given item and yet no single one can be said to be more appropriate to the object than any of the others. Similarly, the mere plurality of these social systems is enough to justify the assertion. The individual speaker is, of necessity, bound by the constraints of whatever "langue" his "parole" belongs it. Saussure argues that each single word or phrase becomes established, through contrast or differentiation, but within the limits set by the social system of language. A version of Saussure's example may be found in Giddens (1982)[15].

> "We say that the 'same' Geneva-to-Paris train leaves Geneva every day at 8.25 p.m., even if from one day to another the engine, coaches and personnel are different. What gives the train its identity, Saussure argued, is the ways in which it is differentiated from other trains: its time of departure, route, etc. Similarly in language the identity of linguistic units, whether these be vocalisations or written terms, depends upon the differences or oppositions that separate them from one another, not upon the intrinsic content."

Thus the train may be recognised as itself because it is going nowhere else; it is differentiated by its destination. There is also the difficulty which Giddens (1982)[16] makes apparent.

> "The identity of the 'Geneva-to-Paris train' cannot be specified independently of the context in which the phrase is used: and this context is not the system of differences themselves, such as Saussure mentions, but factors relating to their use in practice. Saussure implicitly assumes the practical standpoint of the traveller, or the time-tabling official, in giving the identity of the train; hence the same 'train' may consist of quite distinct engines and carriages on two separate occasions. But these do not count as instances of the 'same' train for a railway repair engineer, or a train spotter."

Because of Gidden's insistence that the generation of a precise meaning depends upon circumstances which are always changing, there is a case for arguing that common sense understandings of speech must necessarily be subjected to a continuous process of reconsideration and refinement. Cicourel (1973)[17] clearly feels that even this is not enough to make the social system of language equal to the experiences of everyday reality.

> "Our human experiences continually outstrip our ability to express them in speech acts. We must assume that a number of tacit properties are operative or plausible when we code, recode and then use information to communicate with others. The organization of memory and the intuitive procedures we use to interpret an interactional setting are strained by the indexical structure of language. Our ability to assign meaning to utterances is contingent on an understanding of various possible sources of information in a complex setting."

Thus, if the "Geneva-to-Paris train" were accorded the cachet of, say, The Orient Express, the important point might not be the rolling stock or the destination but who was booked into which compartment. However, as Wolfe (1977)[18] points out in a caveat which has repercussions for any investigation depending upon "parole", those who were on the train for the sake of being there would be unlikely to admit it.

> "Even people who lend themselves to the fashion pages ... are not going to be caught out today talking about fashion in terms of being fashionable. They talk instead of ease, comfort, convenience, practicality, simplicity, and, occasionally, fun and gaiety (for others to share)."

The communication of a precise meaning would therefore appear to depend upon more than the continual renegotiation which is prompted by changing circumstances. There would also seem to be more to common sense understanding than the appreciation of whatever significant possibilities might be offered by the "Geneva-to-Paris" trains. Giddens (1982)[19] believes that these processes of signification are themselves dependent upon everyday assumptions for the resolution of ambiguity.

> "But to complement the typical structuralist emphasis upon the primacy of the semiotic with an accentuation of the importance of semantic rules is not satisfactory unless we attempt to <u>comprehend the meshing of rules and practices in day-to-day activities</u>. This demands acknowledging the significance of 'ethno-methods' as the means whereby accountability is sustained; ethno-methods that are tacitly relied upon by every structuralist theorist of the text who, no matter what he or she might argue

about texts that are subject to analysis or 'de-construction', still supposes that the text in which those arguments are expressed is intelligible to an indefinite audience."

The following incident may therefore be seen as an extension of Gidden's position and a justification of Wolfe's (1977) caution. Whilst this is not the direct result of an interview or conversation with a marketing manager, it is worth noting because the deliberate and widespread use of cultivated ambiguity may be readily appreciated as a conversational skill but should, in fact, be seen as no more than might reasonably be expected of any competent member of contemporary society.

It was eleven o'clock on Saturday morning and I was waiting for a 'bus to one of Sheffield's more bourgeois suburbs. The only other person at the stop was an Inspector from the Transport Company whose double decker we were about to mount. I bought my ticket and sat down while the Inspector made sure that everyone else had paid their fare. He then ignored the rules which were prominently displayed on the stairwell and settled with his back against the windscreen before beginning a conversation with the driver.

"You're going it a bit"

"How's that, then?

"That Ferrari's the only thing to pass you since the Broadfield."

The joke was acknowledged by the whole lower deck for whilst the Inspector's observation was accurate it was also wilfully misleading. The 'bus had not been overtaken by anything other than the Ferrari because there had been no other vehicles heading in the same direction. Clearly "common sense" understandings were such that any make of vehicle would have provided the Inspector with an opportunity, for his joke depended on the singularity of the event and not the involvement of a Ferrari. It is, however, reasonable to argue that the reputation of the Italian marque gave the Inspector's remark an appreciable edge.

The same "common sense" understandings were equally at ease with the ambiguities surrounding the various demonstrations of authority evident in the 'bus. Given that the driver was not in fact speeding and that the Inspector was clearly disregarding the Transport Company's

rules it would have been possible for the driver or, indeed, any of the passengers to insist on the Inspector's acceptance of the regulations. However, no one did so and the Inspector retained his authority in the face of his own disobedience.

Another facet of this complexity may be uncovered in the Inspector's use of his position to provide a basis for his joke and the concomitant popular inference that such a usage was not intended as a misuse. The heart of the matter is the inversion whereby an 'innocent' is openly 'accused' and a 'guilty' law enforcer goes 'free'. The asymmetry which is briefly exposed in this incident is of such importance to the negotiation of common sense reality that even the 'powerful' can only refer to it after using humour to suspend the normal rules of social conduct. The manoeuvre is vital for if the asymmetry were to be exposed without what is, in effect, an anaesthetic, the resultant belittlement would threaten social disruption because it was inescapable and therefore unacceptably painful. However, as things stand, the occupants of the 'bus can mitigate the effects of this asymmetry by confining the acknowledgement of their own comparative powerlessness to their acceptance of the joke.

> "Interaction .... is temporarily and spatially situated. But this is no more than uninteresting truism if we do not see that it is typically used or drawn upon by actors in the production of interaction: anticipations of the responses of others mediate the activity of each actor at any one moment in time and what has gone before is subject to revision in the light of subsequent experience."

Unfortunately the matter does not end with Giddens (1977)[20] supportive remarks for once it is accepted that artefacts and the physical world are part of "common sense" understandings then the nature of sociologically acceptable evidence becomes itself a part of these negotiations of reality. Garfinkel (1967)[21] is adament.

> "Sociological inquiries are carried out under common sense auspices <u>at the points where decisions about the correspondence between observed appearances and intended events are being made</u>"[22]

This being the case, then

> "Correct correspondence is the product of the work of investigator and reader as members of a community of cobelievers."

That the Inspector's joke is a reflection of Garfinkel's (1967) communal belief can be seen from Gidden's (1977)[23] declaration.

> "... we must emphasise that the creation of frames of meaning occurs as the mediation of practical activities, and in terms of differentials of power which actors are able to bring to bear. The significance of this is crucial in social theory, which must find as one of its chief tasks the mutual accommodation of power and norms in social interaction. The reflexive elaboration of frames of meaning is characteristically imbalanced in relation to the possession of power, whether this be a result of the superior linguistic or dialectical skills of one person in conversation with another; the possession of relevant types of 'technical knowledge'; the mobilization of authority or 'force' etc. 'What passes for social reality' stands in immediate relation to the distribution of power;"

Gidden's assertions can be justified by the following, which took place in a quarry in North Derbyshire where the fine honey coloured rock was worked into monumental blocks until mineral deposits stained or flawed most of the major faces. A dozen or so people are still employed, however, in the extraction of gravel, hardcore, ornamental chippings and stone for "crazy paving."

The visit was intended to coincide with that of a representaive from a much larger concern which was interested in extending its range of prefabricated cladding and reconstituted stone blocks. The quarry manager was very nervous and had already caused some indignation amongst the labourers by insisting on a thorough and, in their view, unrealistic clearing of the site. The manager made his final inspection half an hour before his appointment and seemed satisfied until he noticed that the dry stone boundary wall had developed a huge bulge which hung over the ditch and wall and was all too apparent from the road. The fraught executive became furious; the last thing he wanted was to give the impression that he was incapable of managing his own stone work. He ordered that the wall be torn down immediately and then rebuilt.

The labourers were close to rebellion; the quarry would soon be a shambles again because of the nature of their work and they were too put out to feel much like straightening dry stone walls. Gary, who is massive to the point of being mishapen, nudged his mate and fellow labourer Roy, a man of a mere fifteen stones. Without a word being spoken they walked out of the gate and down the slope of the ditch which faced the bulge in the wall. They braced themselves against the bank and began to push. As the bulge gave ground Roy found it

increasingly difficult to reach the hump in a way which enabled him to go on pushing. He tried for a little while longer but was forced to give up. Gary was left alone, belly to belly with the wall. His shirt had burst out of his trousers and he was covered in a film of sweat and dust. No one had ever seen him put this much effort into anything. Slowly but surely he pushed the wall back until all that remained of the bulge was the moss and powdered stone that his efforts had ground out of its concave side.

Whilst everybody was undeniably impressed there was quite a feeling of tension in the air until the foreman, who operated the JCB, remarked "Tha' should have said, lad I'd have got digger to it." Everyone laughed and applauded. Gary's workmates gave him mugs of tea and a towel. The quarry manager turned on his heel and went back to his office.

Surely now, Mauss's (1974)[24] thesis is eligible.

> "In the systems of the past we do not find simple exchange of goods, wealth and produce through markets established among individuals. For it is groups, and not individuals, which carry on exchange, make contracts and are bound by obligations; the persons represented in the contracts are moral persons - clans, tribes, and families; the groups or the chiefs as intermediaries for the groups, confront and oppose each other. Further, what they exchange is not exclusively goods and wealth, real and personal property and things of economic value. They exchange rather courtesies, entertainments, ritual, military assistance, women, children, dances and feasts; and fairs in which the market is but on element and the circulation of wealth but one part of a wide and enduring contract."

The position, then, is as follows. Eco (1979)[25] has argued that any facet of social exchange which is intended to be meaningful may be seen to reflect some aspect of the rules whereby meaning is generated within that society. This being the case, one may then invoke anthropological evidence in support of sociological investigations for, as Giddens (1982)[26] is anxious to point out, these rules are formed by the continual renegotiation of common sense understanding which constitutes everyday reality. These negotiations and the codes of Eco's argument are themselves open to and dependent upon "ethno-methods". In methodological terms, the vital step is the realisation that these techniques involve the entire fabric of a society and not just its speech.

The nature of exchange.

The original intention, of an analysis based on the interpretation of spoken accounts, is still valid under these circumstances but no longer sufficient. Allowance has now to be made for the part played by any other cultural characteristic which may be understood to be significant in the regulation of social order. Kotler and Zaltman (1971)[27] acknowledge that

> "In spite of the confusing jumble of definitions, the core idea of marketing lies in the exchange process. Marketing does not occur unless there are two or more parties, each with something to exchange and both able to carry out communications and distribution"

Some idea of the interplay between social and commercial exchange can be gathered from a remark made by the head of a small company which produces films for the advertising industry.

> "Just you and me, dear, we'll fly away somewhere together and .. It's their little fantasy. They can think and say what they like and if sex comes into it, well ... that's all right because it's harmless and if they're not paying attention then I'm in control and they're doing business on my terms."

This story was told with just a hint of the deliberate seductiveness that would be used to unsettle any executive who was foolish enough to underestimate the woman in question by taking her at face value. Whilst the respondent and I have known each other as friends for some time, she nevertheless made it apparent that variations on the same technique would also be used to protect her business interests from any untoward enquiries by such as myself.

The incident was enough to remind me that the investigative process is itself an inseparable part of the culture in which marketing managers operate. This is in no way denied by the many conversations which took place within the confines of executive's own offices for although work did occasionally intrude, it is significant that these respondents should underpin their observations by attempting to exclude their own organisational culture. Whilst the apparent desire to maintain two distinct areas of control may be seen to suggest an unusual degree of ambiguity in marketing manager's view of themselves, the manipulation of physical space is a cultural commonplace. As Giddens (1982)[28] points out

> "Social practices occur not just as transformations of a virtual order of differences (Wittgenstein's rules) and differences in time(repetition), but also in physical space."

There were, however, some bolder spirits who insisted on a more direct involvement in their day-to-day affairs. One such case was that of a Technical Sales Manager, meaning machine salesman, who worked for a Fork Lift Truck Agency. Whilst the day spent out on his 'round' will be dealt with in more detail elsewhere, it is enough to note that the excursion was both entertaining and instructive, considerations which no doubt predisposed me towards accepting what I was told. These forms of social conditioning are of unavoidable importance if only because of the uncertainty involved in accrediting similar information presented in a less personable way. It is, of course, also possible that the salesman may have been so good at his job as to be capable of "selling" a story line without appearing to do so.

This possibility encapsulates the more than thorny issue of whether or not sociologists should seek to distance themselves from those they are investigating. Garfinkel (1967)[29] appears to be arguing for some sort of 'objectivity' that will allow the social scientist to abstract "formal properties" "from within actual settings." He believes that ethnomethodological studies should consist of

> "tasks of learning how members' actual, ordinary activities consist of methods to make practical actions, practical circumstances, common sense knowledge of social structures and practical sociological analyzeable; and of discovering the formal properties of common place, practical common sense actions, "from within" actual settings. The formal properties obtain their guarantees from no other source, and in no other way".

The alternative viewpoint, that such a degree of abstraction is at best improbable, is presented by Giddens (1977)[30]

> "Now we may agree that the social scientist is in and of the social world that he seeks to describe and analyse, in a way which is different from that in which the natural scientist in in and of the world he tries to describe and analyse. But there is an inherent oddity in Garfinkel's view which shows that he cannot escape confronting issues posed by the relation between actors' and observers' accounts any more than anyone else can. This is easily demonstrated if it is pointed out that ethnomethodology is itself an artful practice that is made accountable by its practitioners."

None of which does anything to explain ethnomethodologist's apparent practical indifference to the effect, upon actors and observers, of the "actual settings" themselves. Whilst this issue will be raised in the next and eighth chapters, the following incident will give some idea of the importance of "actual settings" to the negotiation of everyday reality.

I had been offered a day "on the road" with a Technical Sales Manager from a Fork Lift Truck Agency and his first call of the day was to a Timber Merchant's Yard in North Cheshire. The Sales Manager then suggested that I might lumber about in the yard while he faced the prospect of a conversation with the Plant Manager. That no one in the yard seemed bothered by my meanderings is perhaps best explained by my unremarkable mein and genteely faded clothing for at the time of my visit I was involved in an enforced period of state sponsored participant observation into relative poverty; I was on the 'dole'. My wardrobe was threadbare in the extreme and bore evidence of repeated attempts at mending. It is therefore quite possible that I was seen as a harmless derelict and left to my own affairs. The Technical Sales Manager didn't seem to mind; he thought academics always looked like that. In this instance, however, a mild joke at the expense of The Department of Health and Social Security is being used to raise a serious point. As Lurie (1976)[31] says

> "The vocabulary of dress consists of items of clothing and styles of make up, hairdo, body painting, and the like. Occasionally, of course, practical considerations enter into the choice of these items; considerations of comfort, durability, availability or price. Especially in the case of persons of limited wardrobe, an article may be worn mainly because it is warm or rainproof or handy to cover up a wet bathing suit in the same way that persons of limited vocabulary use the phrase "you know" or adjectives like "fantastic." Yet, just with the spoken language, such choices give some information, even if it is only equivalent to the statement "I don't give a hoot in hell what I look like." And there are limits even here. For instance, most American men, however cold or wet they might be, would not put on a woman's dress."

My rambling about the timber yard was soon interrupted by the Technical Sales Manager who was anxious to be off. As we left, he asked me what I had seen and what I thought of it.

> "I didn't get to see everything but they do seem to have a lot of machines already."

> "Don't they just? ... These miserable bastards buy a fork life truck or two every twelve to eighteen months and they always go for the bargain of the week. They've got propane burners, gas burners and even a battery job or two and as for repairs .. God knows! Their depreciation schedules must be unworkable and they have to make additional allowances for stacker drivers spilling timber because they never get the chance to learn about their machines. And they never bloody learn ... they fall for the same line every time because they can't afford not to. They don't seem to realise that half the stuff they buy is cheap because the design is 10 years old, the technology's bloody obsolete and the truck will only last for about six years anyway. Modern equipment will last 10 or 12 years and use less fuel doing it but what can you do? How can you sell machines to 'managers' who invest money in being stupid?"

The sneering delivery of this last remark seemed to indicate that my informant put more faith in his ability than in his own job title for the day's other calls failed to arouse a similar reaction. Even the sale of four trucks, completed that afternoon after weeks of complex negotiations, provoked nothing more than a smile, which have passed for rueful, and a deadpan "it should have been six". Perhaps it should but the drive back to the Agency was very unhurried and the Vivaldi on the previously unused cassette player may well have been the usual finale to his working day. Of course, it may also be argued that,on this occasion, the salesman was underlining his obvious delight in his own achievements with the aural equivalent of a 'victory roll'.

The "cultural design of persons and goods".

This demonstration of "the cultural design of persons and goods" is, however, open to other interpretations for the fork lift trucks themselves have played an important part in these negotiations over "the creation and movement of goods". The significance accorded to these vehicles depends upon there being some element of "bricolage" within contemporary understandings of reality. Poole (1973)[32] states that "bricolage" is the 'science of the concrete' and this, in turn, is

> "the precondition of 'the logic of totemic classifications'. This science and that logic share in that source of creativity which gives rise to myth, indeed are mythical in their form and inspiration."

Lévi-Strauss (1976)[33] describes the world of the "bricoleur" accordingingly.

> "His universe of instruments is closed and the rules of his game are always to make do with "whatever is at hand", that is to say with a set of tools and materials which is always finite and is also heterogeneous because what it contains bears no relation to the current project, or indeed to any particular

> project, but is the contingent result of all the occasions there have been to renew or enrich the stock or to maintain it with the remains of previous constructions or destructions".

Thus, if"the logic of totemic classification" is seen as a reference to the social and cultural groups that are described by the manufacture and exchange of mass produced goods, and 'bricolage' is the remaking of the world from a limited supply of these ready-made pieces, then mass consumption may be advanced as the material equivalent of the everyday renegotiation of spoken reality. This combination of 'logic' and 'science' would also mean that whenever a new use was found for an old product, the mythology of industrial society would be reinforced by yet another demonstration of mass production as the appropriate mediator between social order and the natural world. Moreover, Lévi-Strauss (1976)[34] suggests that the capacity for "bricolage" is not yet lost to contemporary society.

> "This science of the concrete was necessarily restricted by its essence to results other than those destined to be achieved by the exact natural sciences but it was no less scientific and its results no less genuine. They were secured ten thousand years earlier and still remain at the basis of our own civilisation".

It can thus be argued that the working of timber which was referred to in the last example is subject to these "prior" restrictions. The business in question represents "a cultural design of persons and goods" which is justified by the amount of timber it processes, a quantity of work which would be inconceivable in common sense terms were it not for the parallel understanding that there would also be fork lift trucks and circular saws available. This latter point also demonstrates the importance of marketing as a means of shaping everyday perceptions of the way in which products may be used, for the argument is no longer about the possibility of fork lift trucks but rather the choice of one from many. As Lévi-Strauss (1976)[35] himself points out :

> "Further the "bricoleur" also, and indeed principally, derives his poetry from the fact that he does not confine himself to accomplishment and execution: he 'speaks' not only <u>with</u> things as we have already seen, but also through the medium of things: giving an account of his personality and life by the choices he makes between the limited possibilities. The 'bricoleur' may not ever complete his purpose but he always puts something of himself into it."

This line of thought would seem to suggest a further consideration of the part played by the individual consumer or 'bricoleur' for it is an axiom of the existing "cultural design of persons and goods" that individuals should express their sense of 'self' and their position within society through the use of ownership of whatever manufactured goods might be considered appropriate. A capital example of the individual speaking "through the medium of things" may be found in Papanek's (1980)[36] critique of industrial design where he argues that incidents such as the following are characteristic of societies based on mass production, mass employment and mass consumption.

> "On 29 June, 1967 Ernest Pelton, a seventeen year old playing football for his high school in Sacramento County, California, received a head injury. The depression of the subcortical layers of his brain have plunged him into a permanent coma, and he is not expected ever to regain consciousness. Medical costs for the remainder of his life time have been estimated to run in excess of £ 1 million. What makes the story relevant is that Mr Pelton wore the best and most expensive (£28.95) football helmet being manufactured. Every year 125,000 of these helmets are sold, yet <u>they have never been tested for absorption of kinetic energy</u>. In fact, of the 15 million safety helmets, hard hats, football helmets, etc., sold annually in this country, none have even been tested in kinetic energy situations!"

Whilst these various forms of head gear can hardly be seen as physical barriers against injury, they may be considered as symbols of both the order their wearers wish to impose upon the world and the accidental chaos they seek to exclude. Thus, if the football match is seen as a 'rite of passage' and therefore that part of the "logic of totemic classification" whereby Mr Pelton and his peers might hope to pass from adolescence to manhood, the young man's choice of "the best and most expensive (£28.95) football helmet" may be taken as "bricolage", or the use of one of a finite number of acceptable possibilities, to redefine his place in the world. That there is a need for this symbol of order is apparent from Douglas's (1966)[37] description of the dangers inherent in the young man's advancement.

> "The person who must pass from one to another is himself in danger and emanates danger to others. The danger is controlled by ritual which precisely separates him from his old status, segregates him for a time and then publicly declares his entry to his new status. Not only is transition itself dangerous, but also the rituals of segregation are the most dangerous phase of the rites. So often do we read that boys die in initiation ceremonies, or that their sisters and mothers are told to fear for their safety, or that they used in the old days to die from hardship or fright, or by supernatural punishment for their misdeeds. Then somewhat tamely came the accounts of the actual

> ceremonies which are so safe that the threat of danger sounds like a hoax (Vansina, 1955). But we can be sure that the trumped up dangers express something important about marginality. To say that the boys risk their lives says precisely that to go out of the formal structure and to enter the margins is to be exposed to power that is enough to kill them or make their manhood."

This being the case, the helmet would appear to have served as a symbol of some importance. The headgear and its attendant body armour may be seen as a demonstration of the wearer's suitably adult attitude for just as the commonly understood dangers of the ritual have been accepted so everything has been done to reduce the risks without profaning the ceremony. The helmet could also be taken to signify the end of the young man's childhood and therefore his parents last chance to treat him as one. Whilst the price of $28.95 would then be ambivalent, a token of their concern for the future and a declaration of the way they have cared for him, the choice of the helmet through the medium of trade is no more than a reflection of the means by which contemporary society decides upon the appropriateness of any potential solution to the problem inherent in the renegotiation of social order and everyday reality.

One point remains, however; the boy and the ritual were despoiled accidentally. The helmet was understood to mean "fear for your son's safety in these dangerous rites" and not"the wearer of this is a sacrifice for his peer's safe conduct." A similar importance attaches to the origins of the equipment for whilst common sense observations such as "$28.95 for a what? Christ, when I was his age, I wouldn't even wear one let alone buy it!" might mitigate the sales of the 'best' headgear, helmets are required for the ceremony and will be worn in one form or another whatever the cost. The mass production of this gear is a turning point of the analysis for it represents a meeting between "prior" rites and the current "design of persons and goods". As Gouldner (1976)[38] remarks,

> "It is because of the attenuation of certain older ideologies in modern bourgeois society that there emerged a renewed interest in a "technocratic consciousness" with which the corporate order and its symbols of authority might be newly legitimated".

This legitimation is negotiated by means of cultural processes such as the football match where mass produced articles are so much a part of common sense understandings as to preclude their exclusion

from everyday use. So it is that neither the candidates nor the society to which they aspire can be envisaged without reference to those who control the means of production. A similar view may be taken of Papanek's (1980)[39] declaration that his story is relevant because "Mr Pelton wore the best and most expensive (£28.95) football helmet being manufactured." The football player believed himself to be safe because, like the wearers of the "15 million safety helmets, hard hats, football helmets, etc., sold annually" and never "tested in kinetic energy situations", he had put a symbol of order between himself and some aspect of life that was outside "the formal structure".

Sperber's (1979)[40] development of this argument is of particular importance when considering a society which derives its structure from the "creation and movement of goods."

> "The external experience of daily life and the internal one of dream and reverie constantly modify schemes of symbolic interpretation. In a more dramatic way, an individual may be initiated fairly late in life to certain rites, or may convert to another religion and thus learn a new symbolism without it following that his symbolic mechanism must have been either incomplete or radically different before. The symbolic life of an individual does not divide itself neatly into a period of learning and a period of use of an established mechanism. Symbolism, because it is cognitive, remains throughout life a learning mechanism."

Sperber would seem to be suggesting a considerable amendment to "the science of the concrete" for if the symbolic values of goods are subjected to the same processes of reassessment as common sense understandings of reality, then the appropriateness of "whatever is at hand" must be reconsidered in the same manner as the football helmet, which was once unheard of and is now unremarkable.

The following echo of Sperber's insight comes from a Northern factory which is perhaps best known for the construction of "rolling chassis" for lorries and 'buses. A machinist, who specialised in the making of crankshafts, was astonished to hear the Quality Control Department describe the tolerances on his work as "all over the place, too bloody big one day, too small the next." The machinist had his own gauges and calipers which were checked at least twice a day against those of the Quality Control department and still the rejection rate ran at between one in twenty and one in thirty pieces of work.

The puzzled machinist eventually visited the Quality Control Department where he explained his position. He then suggested that the Master Calipers might themselves be checked. The chill provoked by this impudence became icy when the machinist made reference to a sticker on the Gauges which said, quite simply "to be checked; 3rd May 1983". It was by then late August. The problem was finally resolved by the Works Manager. He felt compelled to give the machinist a severe warning because he would accept neither the strictures of the Quality Control Department nor any share of the blame for the poor goods being made. The machinist was obviously "a troublemaker."

That all the gauges and calipers in the Quality Control Department were then replaced was, of course, purely coincidental for whilst this apparently unscheduled refurbishment may have been unexplained, no one offered anything approaching an apology to the machinist.

The incident is important for a number of reasons; it shows that everyday reality is, in part, negotiated through the medium of work, that understandings of speech and such as machinery are continually redefined in terms of each other and, finally, that research techniques involving conversational material are bound to include these considerations. There are, however, imbalances within these determinations that reflect the nature of contemporary society by showing some to be more capable than others of restructuring the "symbolic mechanisms". Giddens (1977)[41] is suitably direct.

> "The production of interaction has three fundamental elements: its constitution as 'meaningful'; its constitution as a moral order;and its constitution as the operation of relations of power."

Gidden's assessment can be usefully developed on two fronts. The first, as Sahlins (1974)[42] is quick to point out, is the way in which the importance of work, as a measure of an individual's contribution to society, is culturally determined.

> "That the labor forces of primitive communities are also underused is easier to document, thanks to a greater ethnographic attention. (Besides, this dimension of primitive underproduction conforms closely to European prejudices, so that many others besides anthropologists have noticed it, although the more appropriate deduction from the cultural differences might have been that Europeans are overworked). It is only necessary to keep in mind that the manner by which labor power is withheld from production is not everywhere the same. The institutional

> modalities vary considerably; from marked cultural abbreviations of the individual working-life span to immoderate standards of relaxation - or what is probably a better understanding of the latter, very moderate standards of "sufficient work".

Sahlin's argument shows that participation in work is not only a requirement of individual citizenship but also an important means of maintaining the structure of a given society. The second extension of Gidden's (1977) assessment concerns the distribution of whatever has been produced by these efforts. Mauss (1974)[43] believes that

> "All these institutions reveal the same kind of social and psychological pattern. Food, women, children, possessions, charms, land, labour, services, religious offices, rank - everything is stuff to be given away and repaid. In perpetual interchange of what we may call spiritual matter, comprising men and things, these elements pass and repass between clans and individuals, ranks, sexes and generations."

It is therefore impossible to negotiate everyday reality in terms other than those which are grounded in a recognition of societal dependence on the interrelationship between employment, production and consumption. As Giddens (1977)[44] observes of the cultures that have industrialised these processes,

> "The <u>legitimacy</u> of the class structure is integrally bound up with private property, as a normatively (legally) defined set of rights, sanctioned on the most general level by the state; these rights are also important elements of the structure of <u>class domination</u>. Finally, the signification of class structure exists as a 'class consciousness' or what I call 'class awareness'. Each of these features of class structure is routinely drawn upon by actors in the course of constituting class relations as interactions; in drawing on them as modalities of interaction, they also reproduce them <u>as</u> that structure. Class structure is both the medium and the outcome of social reproduction."

Two aspects of this argument are of particular importance to the development of the thesis. The first is grounded in the coincidence between Giddens' analysis and Sperber's (Op.cit) assertion that symbolism is a life-long "learning mechanism", a union which implies that common sense understandings of property assume the continual renegotiation of meaning. However, ownership does not have to be immediately apparent for, as Volosinov (1973)[45] points out, it is enough for the significant object to exist.

> "Class does not coincide with the sign community, i.e. with the totality of users of the same set of signs of ideological communication. Thus various classes will use one and the same language. As a result, differently orientated accents intersect in every ideological sign. Sign becomes the arena of the class struggle."

In methodological terms, this would seem to indicate Gidden's (Op.cit)[46] "ethno-methods" for an analysis of the various understandings which are generated by those who are party to a given sign. It will therefore be argued that the exchanges suggested by Mauss (Op.cit)[47] are only possible because the "totality" ascribes meaning to objects in a way which is both parallel to and dependent upon the indexicality of everyday speech described by Cicourel (1973)[48].

> "The normal form appearances of objects, events, speech and non-oral behaviour which require the actor to go beyond the information given so as to fill in meanings and make 'firm' and tentative connections prospectively and retrospectively, are partially reflected in the accounts members use for describing their experiences. The descriptive vocabularies are indexes of earlier (and present) experiences and thus reflect elements of the original context so as to permit the retrieval of information that would locate the activities in a broader horizon of meaning than contained in treating each lexical item as a dictionary entry."

The impact of Cicourel's insight can be appreciated from its effect on Eco's (1979)[49] observation that

> "Two Fiat 124 cars of the same color are not each other's icon (they are not signs of each other, they do not stand for each other) but two doubles."

One of the bases of everyday life in an industrial society is the assumption that mass produced and therefore practically identical objects can be easily differentiated, either by ownership or the slight alteration in common sense understanding that comes with every exposure to signification or communication. The two cars are thus no longer doubles but 'yours and mine','more of that horrible green', 'the first I've seen with this year's registration' or even' two more reasons for buying a Renault'. It is also worth noting that a few months difference in age could be equally telling for whilst the first 124 might be something of a novelty if not a visible shock, the newer car would be mechanically identical and no more; just another one of those Fiats, a visual common place.

This sort of differentiation also affects the research methodology for it can be shown that individual perceptions of the same thing may, in fact, be quite dissimilar. Some measure of the disparity can be gathered from the following comparison, in which Brooks (1969)[50] and Warnock (1980)[51] offer their own versions of the same letter of thanks, and reference is made to the Ford 'Edsel', a disastrous motor-car which achieved notoriety by taking longer to design and name than it did to be launched upon, and withdrawn from, the American market (see Chapter 5).

> "Dave Wallace in thanking the hostess Marianne Moore for her contribution towards the naming of the Edsel, wrote We have chosen a name ... it fails somewhat of the resonance, gaiety and jest we were seeking. But it has a personal dignity and meaning to many of us here."
>
> "We have chosen a name out of the more than six-thousand-odd contributions that we gathered. It has a certain ring to it. An air of gaiety and jest. At least, that's what we keep saying. Our name, dear Miss Moore, is Edsel. I know you will share our sympathies with us."

Giddens (1977)[52], for one, is unperturbed.

> "Doing" a social practice is much more than rendering it accountable and this is precisely what makes it an accomplishment."

Social practice is also the focus of the second development of the previously cited argument by Giddens (1977). Like the first it involves the anthropological phenomena which were listed by Eco (Op.cit) and are now considered to be legitimate points of debate. Thus it will be argued that kinship patterns are very much a part of the "cultural design of persons and goods" within industrial society and that these patterns are embodied in both "pilfering" and "professionalism", the difference in their perceived worth being, in many ways, no more than a reflection of the asymmetries which have already been discussed.

Whilst these social practices are dealt with individually in Chapter 6, it will serve here to note that the idea of trading patterns as a reflection of social structure gained much of its early strength and impetus from an account which was offered by a colleague of the doctor in question. The latter is, in itself, an important methodological point for, after dismissing the marketing of private medicine and the behaviour of pharmaceutical companies as "straight-forward venality,

old man, quite tedious really "the doctor's colleague was more than willing to volunteer an unprompted but eminently relevant alternative. Whilst this sort of behaviour was not uncommon in other social circles and data were rarely, if ever, prised from anyone, there is another, perhaps more important, similarity between lay and professional populations, for the story would seem to suggest that neither kinship patterns nor "the creation and movement of goods" are easily exluded from the negotiation of everyday realities.

Late one night, on a motorway in the South of England, a Luton bodied Transit van suffered a puncture in one of the rear wheels. The driver, who was travelling in the outside lane, decided not to risk the drive to the hard shoulder but pulled up onto the central reservation instead. Here he began to examine the four rear wheels with the hope of swopping the damaged one for the spare tyre. He had just removed the latter from the van when a Mercedes Benz saloon came round the corner at enormous speed and buried itself in the back of his vehicle. The police and the fire brigade were called and so, in time, was the doctor on night duty at a nearby hospital.

The driver of the Mercedes was dead and the police needed a death certificate before they could have the body cut out of the wreck. The doctor arrived and was told that the Mercedes must have been travelling at more than 110 miles an hour as the Transit had been pushed fifty yards up the road by the impact. The van had been hidden by the darkness and the corner, which the Mercedes driver, himself an ex-policeman, had cut, obviously believing the road to be clear. The eighteen inch skid marks showed how little time there had been for braking. The nature of the collision can be guessed at from the doctor's recollection that he pronounced the Mercedes driver dead after putting his hand through a hole in the chest cavity and feeling the motionless heart itself.

As he wrote the death certificate the doctor noticed that two policemen had retrieved the driver's thermos flask and open sandwich box from the front seat of the Mercedes. "Christ!" said one "I'd have done myself in if my missus put broken glass in my sarnies!". A cadet stumbled into the darkness as did the doctor who had to be on duty for the rest of the night. In passing the crumpled Mercedes he noticed its registration plates and though "W" registered, eh? I wonder..."

He walked back to the wreck and looked through the hole that had once been the front seat passenger door. A huge gash in the dashboard showed where the Blaupunkt stereo cassette player and radio had been. The firemen had made their appraisal of the situation.

Three interrelated kinship groups were present at the scene of the accident; the police, the fire brigade and a representative doctor. Each of these practitioners works within a strict and widely enforced code of behaviour whilst recognising the others as a necessary part of the emergency services. As such they are responsible for protecting the public from the sort of unpleasantness which comes with incidents like the destruction of the Mercedes. An important and remarkable part of this cleansing is the indulgence by each group in some form of defilement which nevertheless leaves them as protectors of the public good.

The police took a sandwich filled with potentially lethal wind screen shards from the dead man's last meal and used it as a means of initiating one of their cadets into the gruesome matter of road traffic accidents. The doctor violated the corpse itself by an unnecessary handling of the once vital organs, an act which the fire brigade matched, in symbolic terms, by looting the radio cassette player from the dead man's car. These denials of the deceased's previous existence can also be seen in the deliberate way in which everyone was made aware of his prematurely abandoned career in the police force; he used to be like us but now he's gone - excluded from the kinship group and then from life itself.

The accident is also notable for the way in which it underwrites the last of Eco's (Op.cit.)[54] anthropological phenomena; the production and employment of objects used for transforming the relationship between man and nature. Obviously, the common sense understandings of those involved were such that they could use vehicles for speed and endurance, headlights to defy darkness, tyres to enable controlled motion and thermos flasks for the retention of heat without questioning their availability. That these industrial artefacts are a vital but entirely unspoken part of everyday perceptions of reality can be demonstrated by reference to the doctor's appearance at the ritual disposal of the dead. The police summoned him in the knowledge that he was not eight miles away but a mere ten or fifteen minutes drive from the scene of the accident.

This last point is important because it shows that common sense understandings of distance are no longer based upon individual measures like the length of one's stride or the spread of one's reach but upon the assumption of a mechanical intermediary, such as the motor car, which will enable journeys that were previously inconceivable. My own childhood offers a good example of this, for where I grew up, the elders of the town would refer to those who lived more than ten miles away as "foreigners" because a return visit would have meant more than a day's walk and, more importantly, spending a night away from home. Whilst the previously noted dependence upon industrial artefacts may be characteristic of consumer societies, the relationship between definitions of community and everyday understandings of time has been recognised elsewhere.

> "Lévi-Strauss points out that 'distance in time' is in some important respects the same as 'ethnographic distance'. Moreover, in emphasising the contrasts between those types of society which operate in 'reversible time' and which although 'surrounded by the substance of history ... try to remain impervious to it', as compared to those which 'turn it into the motive power of their development' Lévi-Strauss helps to lay the ground for a theory of social reproduction".

The latter part of Gidden's (1982)[55] critique emphasises the importance of continual change in a society where structure is negotiated through the "creation and movement of goods". The significance of marketing managers is, to a large extent, derived from their involvement in this process for their declared role within commercial organisations is based upon the deliberate uncovering and continual restructuring of public understandings of the nature and usage of industrially produced goods. There is, however, a concomitant methological difficulty in that whilst "the creation and movement of goods" undeniably involves marketing managers and their specialist skills, there are also the wider aspects of consumption to be considered. Although these may have been attempted in this chapter there remains the more than problematic relationship between individual perceptions and an everyday reality based upon mass consumption, mass production and mass employment.

The restrictions of the original dependence upon verbal data are therefore felt to be no longer acceptable for it has become apparent that, if common sense understandings are the result of a culture where <u>"the reflexive elaboration of frames of meaning is characteristically imbalanced in relation to the possession of power.</u>"[56] then any investigation of that society must be a reflection of those same conditions,

however they may appear. This focus upon unspoken aspects of the "cultural design of persons and goods" will constitute a basis for the next chapter where it will be argued that "ways of seeing"[57] are both a product of and an important influence upon common sense understandings and the negotiation of everyday reality.

The significance of the phrase "ways of seeing" lies in the array of interpretative skills that constitute the visual aspects of everyday reality. These abilities run to much more than the interpretation of common place manufactured objects for it can be shown that landscape and architecture are also part of the "reflexive elaboration of frames of meaning". Whilst Chapter Eight represents a considerable expansion upon the importance of these visual underpinnings to common sense understandings in general it should be understood that the visible world necessarily involves imbalances "in relation to the possession of power" which mimic those of the spoken world.

The rest of the thesis is intended to develop this argument whilst offering insights into three aspects of the research which seem to impinge on the aforementioned negotiations. The first concerns marketing managers and their claim to professional status. These ambitions and the extent of their fulfilment have been taken as a measure of the value of marketing managers to both their executive peers and the rest of industrial culture. The second thread sees the rituals of these industrial organisations in a wider social context wherein it is hoped to develop an appreciation of the anthropology of contemporary consumption. The third facet of the research is a result of these investigations for in attempting to assess the perceptions of individual respondents it has become apparent that the notion of what may be taken to constitute sociologically acceptable evidence is itself open to question.

It is not, however, the intention that these points should be treated as necessarily distinct phenomena. Each is seen as a part of the same everyday reality and must be understood as such for the separation that enabled these aspects of common sense understanding to be presented in individual terms is an analytical device and not a complete reflection of the negotiated world. This approach has, nevertheless, enabled an investigation into the social processes that are normally associated with the "cultural design of persons and goods."

It has also been shown that mass produced goods are significant to the determination of both everyday reality and the structure of contemporary society. This expansion of the original research design meant that spoken and written evidence were no longer sufficient bases for the investigation and attention was therefore paid to other communicative phenomena. However, the acceptance of trading patterns and kinship groups as means of communication did present further difficulties for, in establishing the negotiated nature of reality, it became apparent that the location of these negotiations was a further significance determinant of common sense understanding.

The following chapter is thus intended as a more thorough examination of those appreciations of the visible which have been touched upon in this discussion of marketing as a socially located practice. It will then be argued that these "ways of seeing" not only reflect the imbalances of a society depending on mass production, mass consumption and mass employment but also condition the negotiation of everyday reality by tending to perpetuate the more or less authoritative descriptions of the world that these processes entail.[58]

> "It would seem that we are condemned for some time yet always to speak <u>excessively</u> about reality. This is probably because ideologism and its opposite are types of behaviour which are still magical, terrorised, blinded and fascinated by the split in the social world. And yet, this is what we must seek: a reconciliation between reality and men, between description and explanation, between object and knowledge."

CHAPTER FOUR

The nature of evidence.

This chapter seeks to develop the question of what may be taken as sociologically acceptable evidence for it has become apparent that, in addition to the original intention of collecting verbal data from marketing managers and the subsequent attempts to evaluate the design of artefacts, there are significant aspects of social structure, commercial exchange and the nature of evidence which are only appreciable in visual terms. It will therefore be argued that marketing may be seen as both a reflection of and a contribution to the asymmetry implicit in those common sense understandings which result from the search for

> "a reconciliation between reality and man, between development and explanation, between object and knowledge."

The importance of individual perceptions of reality will be discussed on the same basis, as these considerations are not readily appreciated without some reference to the culture which produced them. The following is a case in point, for even textual evidence must be reconsidered accordingly.

> "Ultimately, I want to agree with Garfinkel and others re the primacy of the situated, practical, methodical and accomplishable character of all social and cultural objects. There is absolutely no doubt on this score. However, I fail to see how studies of such phenomena, no matter how 'empirical', could be carried out without reference to a theoretical tradition (of, in this case, ethnomethodological studies) which relied on, among other things, specifically textual resources as a normal means of (scholarly) communication. And I fail to see, further, why textual topics such as reading should be excluded on the grounds that they somehow escape the title 'social' or because they do not involve 'actual' social settings."

McHoul's (1982)[1] assertion of the 'specifically textual' resource is not without its difficulties for the nature of reading is that of a socially situated act which depends upon the interrelationship between a text, a reader and an 'actual' social setting. As Terry Jones (1982)[2] points out, in an analysis which sprang from his uneasiness with the uncharacteristic but apparently genuine prolixity of 'Chaucer's Knights Tale'.

> "I began to learn about the changing military world of the late fourteenth century, and, in trying to explain these six-hundred-year-old jokes, I found myself plunging ever deeper into the everyday detail of Chaucer's times. It has been an exciting chase, and confirmation of suspected ironies has turned up in the most unlikely places. For example, early on in the investigation, I had come to the conclusion that the Knight must have been a mercenary fighting in various corners of the globe for whoever would pay him - an interpretation of Chaucer's Knight which is apparently anathema to literary scholars but which is fairly self-evident to historians - particularly those familiar with the relationship between Europe and Islam in the fourteenth century. My problem was then to find out what Chaucer's contemporaries thought about these mercenaries."

Whilst it may be argued that Jones (1982) is merely attempting to render a fourteenth century document accessible to twentieth century readers by recreating the unspoken assumptions which make reading possible, it should be remembered that these assumptions are themselves the result of contemporary perceptions and not fourteenth century reality. This in turn helps to demonstrate the value of texts for, in a largely literate society, the debate over textual meaning may be seen as a significant medium for the renegotiation of common sense understandings. However, there is an asymmetry in these discussions in that a given text will have widely differing meanings for those who produce it and those whose creativity is limited to according the text with some significance. McHoul (1982)[3] documents this not inconsiderable skill in his description of an 'experiment' in which a 'randomly constructed poem' is put together one line at a time and readers are recorded as they attempt to develop coherent meanings for the entire construct. His remarks do nevertheless suggest that the relationship between reader and text is in some way independent of its milieu for he appears to see little or no difference between meanings that have been derived from entire texts and those that have been pieced together under these unfamiliar 'experimental' circumstances.

> "since the performance of both Cumulex and Readex, it has become increasingly obvious that the tapes and their transcriptions (Readex) and the written protocols (Cumulex) could stand just as they are, in need of no further comment. The slightest awareness of the complex work routinely

> performed by readers would lead to the conclusion that readers of the transcripts and protocols should be capable, given these alone, of 'seeing' the features described in the present analyses, along with others not noticed here.
>
> The 'analyses' act, perhaps, as a guide only - a guide which furnishes some of the dubious benefits of having been on the scene of the experiments and having perused the data that they engendered many times over a lengthy period."

McHoul's[4] Cumulex experiment does, in a somewhat indirect manner, draw attention to the way in which familiarity, in this case with a text, not only removes the difficulties of coping with an unprecedented situation but also breeds meaning by allowing a process of reinterpretation. The work is nevertheless open to criticism for there would appear to be a number of inconsistencies and internal contradictions in his disclaimer.

> "The randomly constructed 'poem' had, for our experimental purposes, several advantages over an 'actual poem'. It had no author with a possibly researchable knowable biography. There was no person who had 'intended' this poem as it stands. The poem was not written for its sensible character 'as a piece'. No person ever had the 'intention' of any reader seeing any connection whatsoever between these lines. In short, it was never 'authored', 'Intended as sensible', 'rationally conceived,' 'publicly distributed' and the rest. Cumulex was then designed so as to render observable readers supplying of these and other features so as to (re)organise its random character; to (re)render it a public document which was 'authored' and the rest. The experimenters presented the poem to the Cumulex readers in such a way as to be able to observe whether or not and, if so, how a documentary method was employed as a collection of resources for this (re)normalising activity. The readers were not informed how the poem was constructed. They were simply told that it was a poem."

The last stage of McHoul's argument represents a major difficulty for if the text is presented as a 'poem' then readers will assume it to be one and tailor their expectations of syntax and vocabulary accordingly. This need not mean that the public negotiation of meaning is excluded but one wonders if any other literary form would have signified so much. That this is a legitimate

point of concern can be shown by the following, which arose whilst I was on the way to an interview with the marketing manager of a chicken farm, and would seem to suggest that the evocative nature of certain phrases and forms of language is sufficiently well understood to be played upon in the course of everyday life.

I presented myself to the Gate Keeper of the factory in question and he, in turn, asked a passing foreman to take "this researcher chappie" down to the office block. As we walked along, my guide told me about the macabre goings on in the buildings around us. I had worked in a similar establishment myself and felt confident enough to make what I thought were appropriate noises and to ask what seemed to be the right questions. All this was borne uncomplainingly until the moment when the foreman decided to make it apparent that what I had taken for equanimity was, in fact, him biding his time.

A gangling and maladroit youth was attempting to sweep the yard where his efforts with the broom ensured that he would never be out of work. "That's 'Enner", said the foreman, "E's a bit simple. 'E's no trouble though, not as long as you use a bit of psychology."

"Really?" said I, whilst trying desperately to decide whether 'psychology' was a malapropism or not.

"Oh yes," came the confident reply "E's an anal compulsive."

A feeble "How's that?" brought the coup de grace.

"It's true", the foreman smiled "E can't help making an arse'ole of 'imself."

Thus, if McHoul's poem was intended as a medium for an attributed meaning, then it was meant to be seen 'as a piece' and readers were expected to see connections between the lines. There are also the accidents to be considered, for if a reader were to recognise one of the lines and not remember its source or context then the 'poem' would be accepted as a genuine whole. One further point can be made about the significance of telling readers that a 'random'

text is a 'poem'. As common sense understandings of the word involve notions of priviledge, education and exclusivity, McHoul may be said to have restricted the debate about the meaning of Cumulex by making reference to an authoritative way of seeing. In short, those readers who feel they lack the necessary insights to make 'sense' of what they believe to be a single text, will accept that lack as a function of their own exclusion; they do not feel empowered to make language.

This same sense of withdrawal can also be seen in common sense perceptions of other significant objects and activities so that those who feel themselves to be, to a greater or lesser extent, powerless, will reinterpret their entire world from such a perspective. For these people, participation in trade is not just an extension of the contemporary myth that mass production is the final arbiter between nature and society, but an acknowledgement of their distance from the making and remaking of the industrialised world.

Barthes (1981)[5] argues that this aspect of contemporary mythology represents an innate tendency towards conservatism.

> "Statistically, myth is on the right. There, it is essential; well-fed, sleek, expansive, garrulous, it invents itself ceaselessly. It takes hold of everything, all aspects of the law, of morality, of aesthetics, of diplomacy, of household equipment, of Literature, of entertainment. Its expansion has the very dimensions of bourgeois ex-nomination. The bourgeoisie wants to keep reality without keeping the appearances: it is therefore the very negativity of bourgeois appearance, infinite like every negativity, which solicits myth infinitely. The oppressed is nothing, he has only one language, that of his emancipation; the oppressor is everything, his language is rich, multiform, supple, with all the possible degrees of dignity at its disposal."

The same argument can be seen in Jones's (1982) description of the way in which historians appeared to accept his version of the Knight's Tale because he tended to work in their terms. The more traditional literary critics may be taken to have disagreed for similar reasons; Jones refused to see their 'text' in what they considered to be an adequate manner and so his reading was not to be trusted.

> "In short, recognisable sense, or fact, or methodic character, or impersonality, or objectivity of accounts are not independent of the socially organised occasions of their use."

Garfinkel's (1967)[6] remark becomes all the more appropriate when it is realised that a text or, indeed, any other artefact, may be capable of evoking or representing authoritative ways of seeing. Whilst this point is argued at some length in Chapter 8, it can be summarised by Terry Jones's (1982)[7] discoveries about the 'built environment'.

> "In 1974 I was in Scotland, filming 'Monty Python and the Holy Grail', when I picked up the guide-book for the castle in which we were filming, and there I found that not only was Doune Castle built at the very time that Chaucer was writing the 'Canterbury Tales' but it was specially constructed so as to minimise the kind of treachery which had come to be expected from the new breed of globe-trotting mercenary. So there, expressed in the very fabric of the building we were using for our film, was the answer to my question about Chaucer's Knight - evidently the people of Chaucer's day were deeply suspicious of these mercenary knights."

That 'ways of seeing' and the 'built environment' are still very much a part of the negotiation of everyday reality is apparent from such as Berger (1983)[8].

> "Seeing comes before words. The child looks and recognises before it can speak. But there is also another sense in which seeing comes before words. It is seeing which establishes our place in the surrounding world; we explain that world with words, but words can never undo the fact that we are surrounded by it. The relation between what we see and what we know is never settled."

It will be argued that the negotiation of common sense understanding depends upon this visual grounding and that many of the asymmetries of contemporary society may be seen to derive from the "relation between what we see and what we know" and its importance to the interpretation of language. The following is therefore intended as a demonstration of the way in which social structure is shaped by the debate over what may constitute an approved 'way of seeing' and

who has the authority to make such a decision. So, then, the story; David Hockney by David Hockney (1980)[9]

> "The day before I came back (from New York), I'd gone to 42nd Street and bought some male nudist magazines. When I got back they were seized by the Customs at London Airport. I arrived at the airport with the magazines just rammed in the top of my bag. In those days they weren't in any sense pornographic; they were just nudes. They were very unsexy, strangely unsexy; they were boys in sylvan glades, a bit artistic, old-fashioned artistic. A very young Customs officer took them off me and said We're seizing these; they're pornographic. And I said, Oh, come on, they're not pornographic at all."

And so the debate went on, with Hockney pursuing the official definition of pornography through successive levels of the Customs and Excise hierarchy until an extremely senior officer finally decreed that the magazines were confiscated because "in one of the pictures the boys have painted their genitals with psychedelic colours."[10] The officer was, by his own admission, a trained economist but nevertheless, an art lover.

The tone of this judgement encouraged Hockney to take his grievances to the National Council for Civil Liberties where it was agreed that, if he could afford to risk the £500 that losing would cost him, the Council would provide a solicitor and take the matter to court. Public interest in Hockney's decision and the apparent nature of the magazines culminated in a newspaper statement entitled "Magazines seized from Artist".[11] The response was immediate.

> "I began to think it'd be nice having my day in court, my first litigation, and I'd begun to get the people lined up. Suddenly the Customs phone up and say we've reversed our decision; you can have them back. The National Council for Civil Liberties had got a solicitor who said to the Customs Now before you destroy them they must be legally condemned; that's the law. The moment it was arranged that the case would go to court, it must have gone to the Home Secretary. He probably looked at the magazines and said Give them back; it's not worth fighting. He probably also thought I would win."

Hockney's story may concern the nature of texts and their readers just as it may be a discussion of the importance of books but it is not primarily about these things. The essence of the

anecdote must surely lie in Hockney's daring insistence upon the public renegotiation of a marginal 'text' and its meaning. This challenge to the social order exposes that very asymmetry which McHoul (Op.cit) draws upon when he describes the 'Cumulex' as a 'poem'. Clastres (1977)[12] is suitably bold.

> "To speak is above all to possess the power to speak. Or again, the exercise of power ensures the domination of speech; only the masters can speak. As for the subjects: they are bound to the silence of respect, reverence or terror. Speech and power maintain relations such that the desire for one is fulfilled in the conquest of the other. Whether prince, despot, or commander-in-chief, the man of power is always not only the man who speaks, but the sole source of legitimate speech."

Hockney's assertion of his right to 'legitimate speech' becomes all the more remarkable when it is considered in the light of Adams's (1976)[13] critique. This review covers a range of legally contested works by artists as dissimilar as Whistler and Rothko before noting "that a strange thing happens when art goes on trial."

> "In every case, there is a distinct quality of the absurd permeating the courtroom. Somehow the lawyers always seem to get around to the question: what is art? Regardless of the original reason for the trials, one side or the other feels it necessary to apply verbal definitions to works of art. It is, in fact, impossible to define art to everyone's satisfaction. Nevertheless, four themes continuously recur in the course of the various sets of testimony which offer some comment on the nature of art. These themes, interrelated for the most part, are the aesthetic response, a certain kind of religious devotion, money and value and, oddly enough, patriotism".

Adams's findings are worthy of further consideration for if the laws of a society reflect its oldest and most respected ways of seeing then the challenge of an unusual or disturbing work of art must always seem to get around to the question: What is art?" The importance of this struggle "to possess the power to speak" is such that only these extreme and highly ritualistic measures will protect contemporary society from the dangsrous impurities of 'illegitimate' speech.

Whilst it may be fitting that something which lacks the necessary "respect, reverence or terror" should be measured against society's severest and most encrusted cultural standards it can hardly be accidental that works of art which are put on trial are often called 'disgusting' or 'pornographic' or 'obscene'. They carry the threat of pollution and defilement; they challenge the unspoken assumptions behind everyday reality; they undermine the 'legitimate' social order. Works such as these may be truly original or even 'revolutionary' but they are always open to reinterpretation and are thereby accommodated within common sense understanding.

The visual aspects of marketing.

This process of accommodation can be demonstrated by the following in which an original and challenging form of painting is first rendered into 'legitimate speech' by its acceptance into the galleried world of Fine Art, and then further diluted by its involvement in the everyday reality of commercial exchange. The poster that illustrates the link between Marketing and the 'legitimate speech' of Art appeared as a miniature in a recent review of the advertising industry where, pictured against a background of grey and white, with an occasional splash of colour, were the shapes of various pieces of casual clothing, heavily outlined in black and, underneath, the legend.[14]

> "Aspect's latest New Man Poster reveals the painterly skills of joint creative director John Davis. While travelling in the South of France, Davis visited the Ferdnand Leger Museum and, ever the ad man, was impressed by the promotional potential of his style. Davis' acrylic chef d'oeuvre is entitled Legerwear, a nod to the late Master's skill and punning on the New Man autumn collection."

There is another side to this legerdemain as unorthodox commercial images like Andy Warhol's 'Brillo Box', which is perceptually indistinguishable from the ordinary supermarket variety of Brillo Box, have become orthodox works of art. However, this is not to argue that the origins of an image are unimportant or that certain visual forms are inherently artistic for, as Tilghman (1984)[15]

points out, we are still very much concerned with the social determination of everyday understandings of the visible.

> "This is why 'Brillo-box-as-work-of-art' is an unsatisfactory description; we want the rest of the story about the particular artistic aspects to be found there and nothing is forthcoming. The supposition that something can be seen as art - without further qualification - has to rest on the assumption that a theory, definition, or some sort of general account of art is available and in terms of which we can identify the art world. The thrust of my arguments is that there is no such general theory and no such art-world composed of theories. There is, instead, a background of human activity and practices built up out of our natural reactions, cultural traditions, ways of seeing, ability to make comparisons, and so on."

In summary, then, it can be argued that, in industrialised societies at least, the legitimacy of an art form as a representation of the world depends upon its endorsement by those members of society who possess 'the power to speak'. This in turn means that any common sense understanding which results from the consideration of an original 'way of seeing' will tend to reflect, and thereby reinforce, the asymmetries of contemporary social structure. That this is characteristic of the 'cultural traditions' which gave rise to current understandings of the visual is evident from an almost throw-away remark in Wolfe's (1977)[16] discussion of newspapers and their reputedly collapsing standards.

> "What has happened, I think, is something that has happened to avantgardes in many fields, from William Morris and the Craftsmen to the Bauhaus group. Namely, their discoveries have been pre-empted by the Establishment and so thoroughly dissolved into the mainstream they no longer look original."

Wolfe's pre-emptive 'Establishment' also hints at the importance of trade as a means of curtailing the 'avant garde' for the asymmetries which exist between those who have 'the power to speak' and those who feel themselves to be powerless are negotiated in the same way as the legitimacy of art forms; through the medium of commercial exchange.

Tilghman (Op.cit) and Wolfe's views tend to parallel those of Adams (1976)[17] who finds that much of this process of assimilation depends upon the four inter related themes of patriotism, money and value, the aesthetic response and a certain kind of religious devotion, all of which "recur in the course of the various sets of testimony which offer some comment on the nature of art." It is not however, enough to simply extend these perceptions to those works of art which have not been at the centre of a court case. The important difference lies in the relationship between legitimate or unquestioned art and the forms of commercial exchange wherein the structure of contemporary society is generated. Berger (1983)[18] notes that this linkage also involves the visible past, perceived as a series of symbolic artefacts and understood as possessions.

> "The National Gallery sells more reproductions of Leonardo's cartoon of "The Virgin and Child with St. Anne and St.John theBaptist" than any other picture in their collection. A few years ago it was known only to scholars. It became famous because an American wanted to buy it for two and a half million pounds. Now it hangs in a room by itself. The room is like a chapel. The drawing is behind bullet-proof perspex. It has acquired a new kind of impressiveness. Not because of what it shows - not because of the meaning of its image. It has become impressive, mysterious, because of its market value."

Berger also cites Bordieu and Darbel (1969)[19] who argue that the vast majority of people feel art galleries to be somewhat churchlike and do not attend them, an unwillingness which seems to correspond overwhelmingly with their lack of formal education. Whilst Gregory (1975)[20] shows that these abstainers are clearly possessed of some understanding of the visual,

> "Given the slenderest of clues to the nature of surrounding objects we identify them and act not so much according to what is directly sensed, but to what is believed. We do not lay a book on a "dark brown patch' - we lay it on a table. To belief, the table is far more than the dark brown patch sensed with the eyes; or the knock with the knuckle, on its edge "

the argument is that these interpretations and beliefs are a function of the cultural asymmetry which Giddens (Op.cit)

described in the previous chapter. Wolff(1981)[21] believes that because of these cultural constraints, the artist may no longer be considered in individual terms.

> "The sociology of art enables us to see that artistic practice is situated practice, the mediation of aesthetic codes, what Bourdieu calls the 'cultural unconscious'(p.180), and ideological, social and material processes and institutions. At the same time it insists that we do not lose sight of the artist as the locus of this mediation and the facilitator of its expression. In the course of this book, I have presented two main arguments for replacing the traditional notion of the artist as creator with one of the artist as producer, recognising the nature of artistic work as located production. These were first, that an overemphasis on the individual artist as unique creator of a work is misleading, because it writes out of the account the numerous other people involved in the production of any work, and also draws attention away from the various social constituting and determining processes involved. Secondly, the traditional concept of the artist as creator depends on an unexamined view of the subject, which fails to see the manner in which subjects are themselves constituted in social and ideological processes."

Wolff then explains the importance of an appropriate cultural background to the interpretation of an artist's work before observing that the arbitrary selection of these ethnographic and biographical details allows for a continuous recreation of the artist and the work of art. It is therefore seen as significant that artists such as Vermeer and Rembrandt may be the currently acknowledged masters of seventeenth century Dutch painting and yet one died young, the other went bankrupt twice and both ended their lives in poverty.[22]

Wolfe (1980)[23] follows his earlier remark (Op.cit) with an analysis which leads him to believe that little has changed and that for an artist to succeed nowadays,

> "First you do everything possible to make sure your world is antibourgeois, that it defies bourgeois tastes, that it mystifies the mob, the public, that it out-distances the insensible middle-class multitudes by light years of subtlety and intellect - and then, having succeeded admirably, you ask with a sense of <u>See-what-I-mean?</u> outrage: look, they don't even buy our products! (Usually

> referred to an "quality art"). The art world had been successfully restricted to about 10,000 souls worldwide, the beaux mondes of a few metropolises. Of these, perhaps 2,000 were collectors, and probably no more than 300 - worldwide - bought current work (this year's, last year's, the year before's) with any regularity; of these perhaps 90 lived in the United States."

Wolfe believes that these attempts at marketing are pointless because the Abstract Expressionists are faced with a far more serious problem; none of the institutional collectors are buying their works in any great number and the resale value of the residue is therefore highly uncertain. Abstract Expressionism is thus available on the open market as a contribution to the renegotiation of visual order but not as an illustration of 'the power to speak' for the style has provoked neither the ritual cleansing of an obscenity trial nor the process of assimilation that would end with acceptance into the galleries and museums. This lack of official recognition also means that as the pictures in question do not reflect an authoritative view of the world, they cannot stand as a symbol of their owners social eminence. The resulting belittlement is easily understood by the rest of society for whilst few may indulge in the debate over Art, the significance of the market place is a fundamental of everyday social existence. The relationship between commercially regulated exchange and the 'mediation of aesthetic codes' will bear further investigation for as Greer (1979)[24] observes

> "In financial terms, portable paintings are, like rare stamps, small repositories of enormous value. This value is not primarily or even secondarly related to aesthetic values. The same painting may be worth a hundred times as much when attributed to one painter as it is when attributed to another. Authenticity is the highest index of value, rarity the second."

Greer (Op.cit)[25] develops this line of thought in a telling commentary on the negotiation of common sense understandings of the visible.

"The nature of the art establishment is revealed by the struggles of a minority to enter it; by understanding the relationship of groups like Jews, Protestants and women to the patronage system, we understand also the nature of our so-called heritage and can cease making of it a rod to beat our own backs. It must never be forgotten that female competitors for excellance in painting were not the only women motivated to express themselves artistically. Their fortunes do not demonstrate the innate artistic ability of women as a sex, any more than trotting races show how fast a horse can run."

A more common place parallel to this argument can be found in the link between commercial design and the visual aspects of marketing. The following example comes from an article entitled "My Worse Deal Ever"[26] and the designer in question is Michael Peters, who presents his own account of what happened when a well known Fireworks Manufacturer put the repackaging of its entire product range out to tender.

"I really wanted the job, because it was such a luscious opportunity, and this feeling was increased when I heard that we were in competition with Wolff Olins. I was determined to win it over Wally and Michael, and decided to put in a bid which was perhaps more than reasonable."

My great error was that I misread the client situation. I met a man who was working from a bunch of Nissen huts, and that led me to believe that I didn't need to give him special treatment. If it had been the Unilever name on the firework range, I would have looked at the situation much more seriously.

This client said: "I like the design you've recommended, but I also want to look at a couple of others." And this was all on a fixed fee basis. So he screwed us into the ground. At the end of the exercise we billed him for around £20,000 for everything that we did, when in fact the real costs were closer to £45,000."

Clastres (1977)[27] offers a perspective which seems to suggest that Peters' "Worst Deal Ever" is an extreme example of the effect that contemporary asymmetries of power and speech can have upon the everyday negotiation of commercial reality.

"Static extremes in themselves, power and speech owe

> their continued existence to one another; each is the substance of the other, and the persistence of their coupling, while it appears to transcend history, yet fuels the movement of history: there is an historical event when - once what keeps them separate, hence dooms them to non-existence, has been done away with - power and speech are founded in the very act of their meeting. To take power is to use speech."

Wollheim (1978)[28] gives further consideration to the visible aspects of the negotiations before suggesting that 'aesthetic' values are themselves a part of the unspoken, unconsidered assumptions which underlie everyday understandings and that the 'aesthetic attitude' is therefore determined within the terms of those social processes which have been described by Wolfe (1980), Greer (1979) and Wolff (1981).

> "The aesthetic attitude might be thought to have been made to look, quite misleadingly, a matter of decision on our part.
>
> This, of course, is not to deny that we can regard objects that have not been made as works of art, or for that matter pieces of nature that have not been made at all, as though they had been: we can treat them as works of art. For once the aesthetic attitude has been established on the basis of objects produced under the concept of art, we can then extend it beyond this base."

The following example is from Saatchi's (1983)[29] analysis and shows how the everyday practices of commercial exchange and industrial design are used to develop artefacts which render unusual or potentially disturbing images as no more than an expression of the commonsensical visual syntax.

> "Surrealist painters are rich sources for some of the most extraordinary furniture of all. Some, like Dali with his famous lip-shaped sofa, even make the strange objects in their imagination into functional pieces. Magritte's work is full of fanciful furniture and this table (from Difficult Crossing') with its 'human' leg was particularly interestin to sculptor Patrick Daw. Though there were no accurate reference points for the table's dimensions in the painting itself, he decided to carve a life-size leg. At 28 inches,

> it is about the length of a child's leg, and a suitable height for a dining table. The steel-covered top is 36 inches by 47, dimensions designated both visually faithful and functional."

Saatchi's (Op.cit)[30] detailed description of this process is worth bearing with if only because it demonstrates the way in which even the most discerning of furniture buyers accepts industrial criteria such as 'functional efficiency' and the desirability of mass production without question. One does, however, suspect that the ironies of the text are unintentional.

> "For centuries, images of furniture which artists have used in their paintings have provided a record, strange though it may sometimes be, of how people live their daily lives. Now several sculptors and furniture-makers have been commissioned to reverse that process, using famous paintings as their pattern books, to produce unique and original pieces of furniture. Bringing furniture off the flat surface of a painting into three-dimensional existence isn't as easy as you might imagine: deliberate distortions of perspective and few clues as to materials and methods force the makers to interpret details according to their own artistry and craftsmanship. In this case, the project's originator, writer Richard Ball, stipulated only that each piece must be usable. Inspired originally by Magritte's table, he and his co-author, designer Peter Campbell searched museums, galleries, catalogues and books for other suitable subjects.
>
> From over 100 paintings, 20 works were chosen, and sculptors and furniture-makers were approached. Somewhat to Ball and Campbell's surprise, the response was instantly enthusiastic. Now the results, complete with detailed instructions for making each piece ...will be exhibited at Hills and Company, 19 Alfred Place WC1, where they can be commissioned directly from the makers."

One of these pieces, a sideboard, was inspired by Picasso's Cubist masterpiece "Still Life on a Sideboard"(1920) and even though the prototype had to be painted to allow for "visual trial and error" the difficulties have now been overcome. Daw "considers it might be interesting to do it again, this time colouring the ply and blockboard surfaces with plastic laminates instead of paint." The pieces on show also include the table from Cezanne's "The Card

Players (1892) and the chair from Léger's "Acrobat and Partner" (1948). However, furniture is not the only medium to be used in this assimilation of disturbing or novel images; there are items like the "1965 cocktail dress. Inspired by Mondrian, designed by Yves St. Laurent" which Fawcett and Withers (1983)[31] offer for consideration. Hebdige (1979)[32] sees these contributions in the following light.

> "Subcultural deviance is simultaneously rendered 'explicable' and meaningless in the classroom, courts and media at the same time as the 'secret' objects of subcultural style are put on display in every high street record shop and chain store boutique. Stripped of its unwholesome connotations, the style becomes fit for public consumption."

Those who still find it hard to accept the idea of Picasso as a plywood and Formica box, or Mondrian as a frock, may be guided by Rapoport (1982)[33]

> "things do elicit meanings; the question is how they elicit or activate these meanings and guide them and, thus, which things or objects "work" best. Put differently the question is how (and, of course, whether) meanings can be encoded in things in such a way that they can be decoded by the intended users. I assume, for the moment, that physical elements of the environment to encode information that people decode. In effect, while people filter this information and interpret it, the actual physical elements guide and channel these responses."

The following may therefore be considered as both a demonstration and an extension of Rapoport's point for it will become apparent that the "aesthetic attitude" is, in even its broadest sense, a product of commercial activity. A designer of office interiors, having been a courteous but hardly forthcoming party to a previous discussion, reintroduced the nature of marketing as a matter of interest some months after our first meeting. The later incident involved a rather unusual group of people and a series of Manchester's less obvious hostelries. As other discussions had begun at work and become more accessible as the venue moved towards

the pub it was anticipated that the personalities and social rules which bound this group would themselves become more accommodating as they fell under the brewer's influence. A move away from member's business vocabularies was also expected for similar reasons. It soon became apparent, however, that the conversation had developed from both false and licensed premises.

The oddity of the gathering sprang from its composition; apart from the designer and others of a similar calling, there was a delegation from an architect's co-operative, a spectrum of town and country planners, a maker of bespoke silk cushions and soft furnishings and me. Thus what was normally a place of relaxation for many because a source of stimulus and the troupe was forced to troop from pub to pub as the decor or the surroundings or the potential became tiresome or exhausted. Remarks like "the light's bad in here - there's too much of it" and "God, whoever thought those plates were ornamental?" became commonplace. Conversations within the group were often concerned with topics other than their work yet because of their training and the subsequent migration of fresh pastures the physical environment was never allowed to become the unremarkable backdrop it might have been had the caravan stayed in one place.

Iain Brown, the office designer, had changed jobs since last we met; he felt that his previous position could not have been worth talking about as it had bored him into moving. This new aspect of Iain's career had proved to be somewhat unusual for whilst he was still employed by a construction firm specialising in the designing and furnishing of commercial premises, the builders were also the sole agents for two brands of German furniture. The manufacturers, Kolnmobel and Fischer Z, dealt in desks and storage systems, and seating respectively.

Iain's employers had recently finished the refurbishing of a large suite of offices in the suburbs of a northern city, the German furniture having been used on every occasion but one. The Managing Director's personal suite had been rebuilt around furniture from an

English carpenter. Iain was fairly pleased with the way the job had gone but there were some reservations. "The Germans," he explained "Can get an order on to the production line in no more than a week. They don't carry stock. They use computer operated jigs and no messing. In six weeks they can take an order, get it off the line and out of Germany, into our warehouses with the load broken down, through quality control and into the client's offices. Smashing furniture, good value for money and improving all the time as the exchange rate is running in our favour. We got the job because we could write the tender around these delivery dates and save everybody money and time. The usual stuff, minimum disruption, a rapid transition to a more efficient office performance, lower overheads, all that kind of thing. So there it is, this office block, overhauled top to bottom and everybody moves in. The whole operation is so smooth that hardly anyone notices a thing.

Just one thing, though ... The M.D.'s suite of handmade English furniture hasn't turned up. Not a stick of it. Thirteen bloody weeks and not a trace. He's furious. He keeps ringing us up and shouting .. you'd think after all this delay he'd be getting something special. He's not. The stuff in his office is a little better than the German and English of course, which means something to him. Now I like to order from British firms where I can but there's no equivalent of Kolnmobel so what can I do? The M.D.'s desk has only got to come from Derbyshire and even if it's walking it should be here by now. Anyway, I'll not use them again, at least not until they pull their fingers out."

At this point the discussion became more general as one or two of the others recognised the source of Iain's difficulties. They agreed that delays were characteristic of the firm in question. One of these later conversationalists, an interior designer, pointed out a peculiarity of the German produce. Whereas office furniture in Britain is traditionally wood veneered and sells because the buying public thinks it appropriate, the imported desks are made out of laminates and finished with a matt surface to cut down glare. In

Britain this sort of furniture is generally thought of as belonging in kitchens because that's where people normally meet it. Bare metal finishes are just not acceptable even though the Italian design industry generates precisely this type of furniture. The American market, like Britain, used to consider wood veneers de rigeur but has recently taken to bare metal and laminates.

Iain agreed that the unusual finish of the German furniture would cause "a few raised eyebrows" but felt that apart from the constraints of having the agencies for Kolnmobel and Fischer Z, the furniture they offered was better for the jobs and more exciting; it was different because of the laminates and matt finishes which had originally been intended to make the furniture efficient yet unobtrusive.

With Iain's prompting, the group spent a few minutes talking over the offices they had seen in the North of Britain and the terrible state of the furniture and fittings to be found therein.

> "That's one of the reasons it's easy to sell this German stuff. People in Britain don't really consider their surroundings as being very important, at least not at work, so they'll put up with all sorts of worn out old rubbish. German furniture sells on value for money, delivery dates and reliability. You get a 5 year guarantee with a Fischer chair and that means that if it breaks after 4 years 11 months you get a new one, no ifs and maybes."

Whilst this account clearly underwrites Rapoport's (Op.cit) analysis of meaning and the physical environment, there is also an indication of the way in which the asymmetries of contemporary social structure are reflected in the relationship between everyday commercial reality and the determination of common sense understandings of the visual. Hall(1983)[34] furthers the argument with an example of a rather more obvious nature.

> "The two office chairs have a Kafkaesque quality to them, and indeed it turns out they were found abandoned on a German street, apparently because four-legged office chairs are now illegal there - for safety reasons they have to have five."

The intention is not, however, to argue that everyday understandings of the 'physical environment' are limited to the appreciation of furniture for Rapoport's (Op.cit) observation takes on a new significance when this sense of space is shown to be urban in essence and therefore the result of an environment which is not only 'physical' but built or 'manufactured'. Whilst Chapter Eight develops the argument at some length and Brown's story implies something of the sort with its references to interior design and the refurbishment of offices, an indication of the relationship between understandings of space and the processes of commercially regulated exchange can be gained from an account which suggests that the manufactured or 'built environment' is an industrial product like any other and open to consideration as such. The story is also notable for its recognition of the asymmetry that has already been observed in the negotiation of everyday reality.

The Steel Workers' Strike, which started on 2nd January 1980, concerned me more than somewhat for I had arranged an interview with the marketing manager of a company involved in the manufacture and distribution of steel products. My respondent was unperturbed by the whole affair and insisted that I met him for lunch in the pub opposite his factory. As ex-Guards officers are difficult to argue with, I accepted.

The bar we lunched at was a quarter circle set in the corner of a large, quiet room. The 'Colonel' and I stood at one end of the quarter while he told me how he had done his best to circumvent the Steel Strike.

> "Simple, old boy, I waited until the last trading Friday before Christmas and ordered two lorry loads for immediate collection. I bunged our drivers £50 each, which was a handy Christmas bonus, and gave them the run on Saturday at time and a half. Come the strike and we're well stocked up. Half the firms in Britain would have to go broke before we feel the pinch."

The room had filled up since the start of our conversation but

I noticed that the three stalwarts in boilersuits were still where they had been when we came in - by the beer engines at the other end of the bar. I didn't find out who they worked for until the 'Colonel' remarked, on our way out,"There's a lot to be done this afternoon, Tommy, so don't spend too long in here." Two glared over the tops of what I think were their second pints in forty minutes but stayed silent. The third, having noticed that the landlord stood at our end of the bar when he wasn't serving, said quite deliberately "I don't know which is harder, working for you or drinking this...." and then sneered contemptuously at the publican.

As we left I realised that the three workmen were probably 'regulars' and we had lunched there so that they could hear me being told of the 'Colonel's' cleverness in outmanoeuvering the Steel Strike. If not in a Steel Workers Union themselves, the trio were likely to have friends or sympathies with the Strike and these had been betrayed. To have the landlord associating with us instead of his regulars must have been a brutal and unlooked for blow.

Rapoport (1982)[35] argues that even though common sense understandings of space are focussed on buildings the significance of the latter is still uncertain.

> "the basic question - meaning for WHOM? - continues to distinguish the present work from most work on meaning; what has generally been considered is the meaning environments have for architects, or at least for the cognoscenti; the critics, those in the know. The question that must be addressed is: What meaning does the built environment have for the inhabitants and the users, or the public or, more correctly, the various publics, since meanings, like the environments that communicate them, are culture specific and hence culturally variable?"

After establishing that the meaning accorded to a building is likely to depend upon the culture and background of the individual observer Rapoport (Op.cit)[35] goes on to record some aspects of the process whereby an 'authorised way of seeing' is encoded.

> "Two things seem clear from the above. First, that much of the meaning has to do with personalization and hence

> perceived control, with decoration, with movable elements rather than with architectural elements. Second, that architects generally have tended to be opposed strongly to this concept; in fact the whole modern movement in architecture can be seen as an attack on users' meaning - the attack on ornaments, on decoration, on "what-nots" in dwellings and "thingamabobs" in the garden, as well as the process of incorporating these elements into the environment."

The everyday realities of contemporary existence are based on a number of unspoken assumptions, two of which are of immediate relevance. The first acknowledges that buildings and land are artefacts and may be bought and sold accordingly. The second recognises that there is a legitimate relationship between the manufacture and exchange of these artefacts and the unequal distribution of wealth and power within society.

The normal patterns of trade ensure that these asymmetries are encoded in the built environment for architects are only ever likely to equate users criteria with the disposal of architectural elements when the user can pay for the design and construction of the building. It is therefore reasonable to argue that exclusion from this process signifies poverty and relative powerlessness in the same way that inclusion is understood to represent access to wealth and power.

It can also be said that whilst Rapoport may have misjudged the significance of asymmetries in the acceptability of architectural meaning, Beardsmore (1971)[37] would appear to have overlooked the problem of "perceived control" altogether.

> "It is worth noting that the point I am making, though it may at first sight seem a merely contingent matter, is in fact conceptual. Certainly the extent to which aspects of a purposive activity or a functional object are irrelevant to its purpose will depend on the extent to which a detailed specification of the purpose or function in question can be given. If, for example, a craftsman needs a screwdriver only for various unspecified jobs in his house, then it may well be quite irrelevant what sort of handle the screwdriver possesses. If he needs a screwdriver for the more specific task of installing electrical equipment then he

> may demand one with an insulated handle. But even where the screwdriver is, as we say "completely functional" (like those which receive the Design Centre seal of approval), so that every characteristic is justified by reference to its purpose, it is nevertheless always possible that changing circumstances, a change in the characteristics of screws perhaps, will give rise to irrelevances of the sort we have noted."

There is, in the second chapter of this thesis, a description of a hand tool manufacturer's attempts to design and market screwdrivers; it does not sit easily with Beardsmore's assertion of the 'completely functional'. Papanek (1980)[38] is similarly uncomfortable with the idea that the 'Design Centre seal of approval' or anything like it has much in common with 'users needs'.

> "The taste-makers in our society have a disastrous record in selecting what is good design. The Museum of Modern Art in New York is usually credited as being the prime arbiter of good taste in designed objects. To these ends, the museum has caused three pamphlets to be published during the last thirty-six years. In 1934 they published a book entitled 'Machine Art'.It is a heavily illustrated guide to an exhibition that was to make machine-made objects palatable to the public and moreover the museum hand-picked these objects as 'aesthetically valid'. Of 397 objects thought then to be of lasting value, 396 have failed to survive. Only the chemical flasks and beakers, made by Coors of Colorado, still survive in today's laboratories (after enjoying a brief vogue that was museum-induced , during which the intelligentsia used them as wine decanters, vases and ashtrays)."

The other two exhibitions, of 1939 and 1950, were equally successful.

That the majority of users' perceptions of control should be concerned with no more than the movable elements of the environment is an acknowledgement of their complicity in this imbalance. It should also be remembered that whilst the "Worker's Housing" of the modern movement may have been rejected by many of those who accepted its original imposition the sloughing has been painfully slow and the preferred alternative is no more than another similarly imposed

architecture which reflects the same disparities in a parallel manner. One might therefore suppose that Rapoport is unwilling or unable to reconcile these asymmetries and their significance with his own insistance that meanings are culturally specific.

Mass consumption, mass production and mass employment.

Whilst the bulk of Chapter 8 is given over to the argument that these "actual physical elements" do far more than simply "guide and channel" everyday responses it is worth remembering that the technological developments which enabled a society based on mass production, mass consumption and mass employment were also responsible for some dramatic changes in common sense appreciations of the visible. In an extract from his excellent book on the symbiotic relationship between nineteenth century painting and the development of photography Scharf (1979)[39] suggests that contemporary understandings of space are dependent upon a sense of perspective which sprang from the simultaneous adoption of two nineteenth century inventions; the camera and the industrial conurbation.

> "The farther removed the lens from any measurable foreground object, the less steep the perspective between it and more distant forms; the closer, the more exaggerated will be the scale...
>
> Quite possibly Degas was entirely aware of this photographic peculiarity and of its consonance with his ideas about pictorial form, not only late in life - as Cocteau relates - but from the time it first appears in his work. It is unlikely, I believe, that it crept in simply as a result of the 'innocence' of his eye. Indeed, among his written notes of about 1868 to the early 1880s he suggests representing things from close up, 'as one sees them passing by on the street'. Other comments in the notebooks, no less precocious and modern, make it unthinkable that he should have ignored the equally startling images of instantaneous photographs. Like several of his other compositional innovations, this exaggerated perspective offered the potential of creating a new spatial scale with a temporal tone entirely consistent with the accelerated growth of Paris from the 1850's into a busy and crowded metropolis."

Jeffrey (1981)[40] shows how this revolutionary potential was commuted by the industrial bourgeois who seized upon photography.

> "Relations between photography and painting were as close as they would ever be in the thirty years or so of Robinson's

career. (late 1850's onwards). It was a period of bourgeois art patronage in which painters and photographers aimed to please the same fashion-conscious audience. For instance, in the early sixties some of the most opulent photographs made in Britain were Roger Fanton's still lifes of fruits and flowers. There was nothing else like them in British photography, and they can easily be seen as a baffling initiative on Fenton's part. But Fenton was simply updating, following a pointer from Paris where still lifes were in vogue."

That the relationship between patronage and art is still a vital one can be gathered from two aspects of the same stage in an artist's career.[41,42]

"The David Hockney painting currently on sale in London is probably a good investment, assuming one could knock the Knoedler Kasmin Gallery from their asking price of £375,000. That judgement is not made on aesthetic grounds - it is based on the fact that Hockney has stopped painting pictures.

There is always a chance that he will start again, but for someone with enough money that is a risk worth taking."

In the summer of 1983 the Knoedler Gallery in London (owned by the legendary dealer Kasmin) presented the first of a series of exhibitions of new photographic work by David Hockney. Critics in this country greeted this event with thunderous silence.

Hockney has succeeded in doing what photographers have been struggling to achieve (often without realising it, unenlightened as most of them are) for decades - namely 'exploding' the confines of the photographic frame as we have come to know it."

It would seem that the art market, in its accepted sense, is being used to debate the legitimacy of a photographic revolution sparked by a painter who had not previously established himself as a photographer. Sontag (1980)[43] argues that whilst the origins of the relationship between photography and commerce might appear frivolous it has nevertheless developed into an important element in the negotiation of Barthes (Op.cit) "right wing" mythology

"But despite the presumption of veracity that gives all photographs authority, interest, seductiveness, the work that photographers do is no generic exception to the usually shady commerce between art and truth."

The truth in question is culturally determined but not in visual terms alone; connon sense understandings of language and trade are such that the significance of the visible can only be approached when it is seen as the product of a continually renegotiated reality which is itself based upon mass employment, mass production and mass consumption. Some idea of the importance of this appreciation can be inferred from Baker's (1961)[44] analysis of the visual aspects of marketing.

> "Advertisers have long been aware that with larger pictures comes increased readership. The big-picture-short-copy layout has become a staple in magazines. Over three-quarters of all ads put into print media feature pictures that take up over half the space for which the advertiser is so dearly paying."

This is not to argue that consumers are necessarily bound to buy a product simply because they have been presented with its picture in an authoritative medium but that any such representation will affect those appreciations of the visual which are drawn upon in the negotiation of common sense reality. That these understandings involve a recognition of products as "indexical expressions" can be shown by an analysis of the following rather dubious extract wherein Baker (Op.cit)[45] attaches an explanatory text to an apparently explicit pair of photographs.

> "Packages can have a "sex" of their own, depending on such subtle factors as texture and design. Here, package innovator Michael Mura successfully manipulated the gender of six cubes all the same size. The three above connote masculinity; bold stripes, a piece of rope, and a wooden surface are all symbols of men ....
>
> The three cubes shown in this photograph take on more gentle, feminine personalities. They would be more at home on cosmetic or fashion counters. Soft fur, pattern of thin stripes, and velvet ribbon all belong to the world of women. Such colors as white, pink and other pastel shades would make these boxes appear even more "feminine."

Mura's work is so convincing that "such subtle factors" as the erect cigar in the "masculine" picture and the single upright flower in the "feminine" alternative go completely unmentioned. The emphasis offered by these anonymous objects is only accessible to readers who approach the text with a previously negotiated series of preconceptions

and common sense understandings. These skills are culturally determined, both a product of the everyday world and a means of rendering it penetrable. An example of this can be found in what began as an interview with the Branch Manager of one of a chain of North Eastern garages. The respondent's employers are agents for the importation of a range of well known Scandanavian heavy goods vehicles. That so many of the staff were keen to talk about their work in fairly specific terms is perhaps a reflection of the Customer Services Manager's boast.

> "Our 'artics' and 'flat backs' are generally acknowledged to be well up in a highly competitive market. The manufacturer has a fine reputation for quality, reliability and service, which is where I come intc it, and drivers who use these vehicles speak equally highly of them. They like the power, the style and the comfort, which is next door's responsibility".

This straightforward division forms the basis of the company; whilst the Customer Services Department sells the vehicles in their orthodox form and runs the office, "next door" is devoted to servicing lorries, major repairs and the construction of "custom" or bespoke body work made to a customers' specifications and then fitted to a standard chassis.

Divers drivers arrived at intervals throughout the morning to collect vehicles which had been put in for servicing or modification. All the lorries involved were ready and waiting for Company policy dictated that customers should be telephoned when their charges were ready for collection. The Customer Services Manager was insistent.

> "It doesn't do our reputation any good at all to have people hanging about or 'phoning up for work we're supposed to have done. Even so, there's more to it than simple Public Relations. A clear policy towards the customers is also a matter of discipline. It means that everyone in the firm has an idea of what they should be doing and why. It also helps us to get the bills paid because customers who feel they've been treated responsibly tend to respond in a similar manner.

The emphasis on 'customer service' is characteristic of the company's history. The initial importation campaign had been based on setting up more garages and spares depots than were warranted by contemporary sales levels. This was a deliberate and successful attempt to ensure that those lorries which were sold would stay on the road

for as long as possible and so keep hauliers overheads down whilst gaining the Scandanavian vehicles an impressive reputation. Subsequent increases in sales had not affected the policy of "spares and service first" for as one of the salesmen pointed out,

> "If customers can get spares easily and cheaply then their 'artics' or whatever stay on the road, which is good for us, and our mechanics can help to sell the company and its products to potential customers before they meet a salesman. This overcame a lot of the original inertia in what is still a very traditional market. It's selling by word of mouth which is very effective if it's working in your favour. Our custom body business is based on it and that's why we put such an emphasis on service. Our lorries are expensive initially but customers don't mind paying a lot of money for something they are sure will do the job. In fact this is an area in which our reputation has given us quite an edge. We keep in front even though there's a lot of good vehicles about.
>
> Take Foden's for example. They're big in Europe but don't mean a light here, primarily because no one believes in them. They're a driver's favourite and quite a few hauliers still pay far too little attention to their drivers. We make lorries for the international routes so we're known all over the world and whenever hauliers or drivers speak well of us we sell lorries. This also means listening to our own mechanics, which is something else other people don't seem to do. The mechanics obviously know an awful lot about how an individual vehicle is actually performing. We take note of what they say and if something looks unsatisfactory we send it back to Sweden with our spares orders. They might make a component change or alter the maintenance schedule or even redesign the part if it's a big enough problem but whatever they do it helps us to see to it that customers never have reason to complain about us".

The other salesman was equally forthcoming

> "You have been getting the technical side of it from David? He's good you know but even he doesn't always know why people buy our vehicles. There's a short of snow-ball effect which sweeps in business once you've passed a certain point. As long as you don't do anything stupid or try to sell rubbish a lot of customers buy your trucks simply because they're on the road. They see it rolling. They fancy the driving jackets we give to their drivers. It becomes a guaranteed correct decision which is great for me personally. I use this approach in selling to committees or local government. Even they have heard of Swedish winters so I point out that many of our trucks have extra power driven attachments to beat snow, ice and cold weather generally. They buy the lorry with all these fittings which might not get used more than once in its entire life time. The drivers can simply uncouple the hydraulics and put more power onto the road. They'll get more than 90 mph from our biggest tractor unit and that's with a load up. Yes, power is very important with these people."

"I think a lot of our bigger stuff sells because the buyer is so impressed with the power and size of the thing that it doesn't matter what he needs he simply can't say no. And of course the competition helps. Look at the brochures, the magazines ... the roads are full of great names; Mercedes Benz, Rolls-Royce, SAAB, Seddon Atkinson. Most of them are aero engine makers and famous for it. That's why the servicing is so important. Once you've got the power you want it on the road. After all, that's your name in 10 foot letters doing 60 up the middle lane."

The climax of his argument was a free sample, a run round in a turbo charged twelve litre tractor unit driven by one of the workers from the "custom" body shop. He said that the salesman had not only underestimated the value of a service which provides guaranteed "bespoke" bodywork, which was understandable given his interest in "chassis and standard rigs", but that he had also omitted one important point. Whilst it was true that the Scanadanavian lorries were capable of 90 mph when fully laden the manoeuvre was not to be recommended; it would take a "32 tonner" with excellent air brakes a mile or so to stop in a straight line. Less with just a tractor. The tone of the driver's voice made me look at the speedometer. I thought of the ease with which we had reached 80 mph and realised some measure of the excitement to be had from machines like this. As the driver said afterwards when we rolled back into the yard "That's why you've got to take care .... if anything goes wrong it's always the driver or his licence that get buggered".

The manager of the "Custom Bodyshop" seemed surprisingly forth-right given the impression created by the Customer Services Department.

"We're not Mulliners and there's nothing as grand as "bespoke coachwork" in here. It's just a matter of doing simple things properly, putting the rubbing strips in the right place for whatever size palettes the customer uses, things like that. The metal work doesn't often amount to much because most of our customers want reliable alloy boxes. They're not even bothered about air dams or stream lining. Some of our regulars have their own requirements but we've got templates cut to their specifications and it's just a matter of putting all the bits together. I suppose that if I were asked I'd have to say that most of the interesting work we get in here comes from crashes. God forbid that anyone should get hurt but there's quite a challenge in straightening out a bent wagon and getting it roadworthy again."

The Branch Manager, who finished for the weekend at 12.30 on a Saturday, admitted that he would rather talk to me than risk getting caught by a last minute customer. We were having coffee in his first floor office when I asked if he ever got any repairs or faults that were too much for even his specialist mechanics to handle.

> Well, it a matter of cost really. We can put anything right if the customer is willing to pay for it but occasionally it's better all round if we don't bother. We can't always afford to have skilled labour tied up on difficult jobs. We've got one in at the moment and it's a disgrace. George has been on it all morning. There's over 2,000,000 kilometres on the clock and the haulier who runs it has a reputation for double booking; from the state of this tractor unit he deserves it. Anyway, George is his last hope because if he can't get it to run then no one can."

This explained the series of laboured diesel rumblings and sudden silences which had been echoing round the yard all morning. The Manager obviously didn't take the job too seriously for he opened his window and shouted at a figure below.

> "What's the matter George? I can't hear that engine."

George was sitting in an armchair made from a pile of old lorry tyres. He was sipping a mug of tea and smoking a cigarette. He was filthy. His overalls were covered in greases and oil; his face and hands were glistening with sweat and dark excresences from the engine. He was in no mood for levity.

> "Fucking thing's fucked ... so fuck it."

Garfinkel (1967)[46] almost prolix by comparison.

> "The demonstrable rationality of indexical expressions and indexical actions retains over the course of its managed production by members the character of ordinary, familiar, routinised practical circumstances."

If such is the case it would be difficult to argue that the managerial emphasis on service and George's conditions of employment are anything other than "indexical expressions" of the sort which might be expected from the "ordinary, familiar, routinised practical circumstances" of commercial exchange. It is then but a small step

to suggest that a system of trade which structures individual perceptions of reality and yet depends upon the continuous renegotiation of these same understandings should be known as "indexical trading."

"Indexical trading" represents an attempt to codify the way in which the negotiation of everyday reality encompasses those widespread and socially necessary skills whereby an individual may apportion value to an artefact and form an appreciation of its cultural significance without actually owning it. It will, however, be argued that whilst this manoeuvre may enable members of a consumer society to accommodate the differences between their "ordinary, familiar, routinised practical circumstances" and the spectrum of trade described by Mauss (Op.cit.)[47] its performance depends upon the acceptance of an aesthetic which embodies the idea that an artefact or 'indexical expression' should be thought of as worn or valueless because it has become familiar.

> "And semiotics, for example, appeared, metamorphosed, on the streets of 1977 (the year after I wrote this book) in the self-conscious structuring of'stolen'and invested symbols which was Punk 'Bricolage' - originally a term used by Levi-Strauss - was employed in Punk dress, music and performance with a deliberation which, if not the direct <u>result</u> of semiotic studies, certainly marked a parallel consciousness of, and skill in, 'de-coding' and <u>re-using</u> social meanings.
>
> And advertising also began to show far more skilful, self-conscious use of 'semiotics' (whether under that name is irrelevant), so that many of the formal practices of advertising which in this book I felt I was teasing out as <u>implicit</u> in the ads, are now <u>explicit</u>. When I talked of ads 'hollowing out' a social space and inserting the product in it, I had no idea that Benson and Hedges would soon be using a cigarette packet as a Pyramid or an electric plug - or on a larger scale that we would see Central Park replaced by a Winston packet."

Williamson (1983)[48] would appear to be suggesting that the visual imagery of commercial exchange is reinvented in a way which echoes Berger's (1983) claim that the legitimate reworking of the visible past occurs in art galleries. Wolfe (1979) argues that new forms of visual art are treated in a similar manner. It is worth noting that all three commentators are describing restrictions upon the right to 'legitimate speech' which show it to be both dependent upon and reflective of the asymmetries of a society which is based on commercial exchange.

That common sense understandings of the sign are the result of conscious commercial activity can be shown by Sottsass (1983)[49] who works for the Memphis Design Group. The designers concerned with this movement survive "on 80% voluntarism" which means waiving the commercial rate for their work, because "Nobody can design a whole vocabulary but we want to put into the vocabulary some new words." This abnormally cheap 'bricolage' is, however, very close to being illegitimate speech for Sottsass' apparent selflessness is typically rewarded by no more than the 4% commission he receives from a style of sideboard which has sold 6 copies since 1981. The unusual nature of Sottsass's sideboard is thus doubly reinforced as the product is not only visibly at odds with its more acceptable and more widely bought contemporaries but still on the open market after three years as a commercial failure.

This codification is widely understood because even the least powerful member of a consumer society has, of necessity, to be capable of ascribing some meaning to the most sophisticated indexical expressions. These skills do nevertheless involve more than the ability to treat the built environment as an artefact or to allow the image of an indexical expression to stand for the thing itself. The significance of 'indexical trading' is perhaps most clearly demonstrated as an extension of the communal exchange and subsequent destruction of expensive gifts which Mauss (1974)[50] describes as 'the potlach'.

> "Essentially usurious and extravagant, it is above all a struggle among nobles to determine their position in the hierarchy to the ultimate benefit, if they are successful, of their own clans. This agnostic type of total prestation we propose to call 'the potlach'".

Mauss (1974)[51] goes on to note that

> "Everything that happens in the course of the gatherings, fairs and markets or in the feasts that replace them presupposes groups whose duration exceeds the season of social concentration, like the winter potlach of the Kwakiutl or the few weeks of the Melanesian maritime expeditions."

Mass consumption is seen accordingly as a continuous 'potlach' and whilst the asymmetries of contemporary society are clearly echoed in Mauss's analysis of 'archaic' trade, there is one important difference; it is no longer necessary for artefacts to be worn out or

physically destroyed before they lose their value as indicators of their owner's standing. In short, the everyday reality of consumer society depends on the process whereby mass produced 'indexical expressions' which are understood to signify wealth, status and power when they appear on television, in a gallery, on postage stamps, in the newspapers or in someone else's possession, begin to diminish in effect as they become familiar. The following brief evaluation is therefore intended as an example of consumer's ability to ascribe meaning to 'indexical expressions' irrespective of whether they are wanted or not. The text will also serve as an introduction to the fifth chapter, which is built around an extended case study of the Ford 'Edsel'.

The 'Edsel' was conceived by Ford of Detroit and launched onto the American market in 1957, a time when European cars with a sporting or racing pedigree were commonly fitted with oval radiator grilles. The fitting of a 'horse shoe' grille to the 'Edsel' may thus be seen as an attempt by the Ford designers to draw on the imported elegance and reputation of marques like Bugatti or Jaguar. On the most expensive 'Edsel' this mimicry extended to the hubcap motif which bore a more than passing resemblance to the Mercedes Benz three pointed star (Warnock 1980)[52]. Whilst one might than have expected some considerable debate over the fitting of symbols of minority tastes and 'foreign' ways to the supposed epitome of Detroit's skills and styling, there is an alternative: the Edsel's oval radiator grille may be seen as an attempt to invoke echoes of the similarly equipped and 'exclusive' Ford Lincoln.

Unfortunately, this relentlessly 'up market' automobile seemed to appeal to those classes of consumer who could afford Alfa Romeos and the like but not those who might buy the 'Edsel'. To them the oval grille would surely seem pretentious, a visual upstart or parvenue. Baker (1961)[53] offers a more contemporary analysis which demonstrates quite clearly the relationship between a product's intended commercial standing and its socially negotiated value as an indicator of its owners position and outlook.

> "This automobile (the 'Edsel') received the support of one of the largest and most experienced companies in the world. Little was left to conjecture. Many millions of dollars were poured into advertising and promotion. Somehwere along the line the car was even given a "personality" (for those "on the way up") but this was never systematically followed through. The public could never quite fit Edsel into its dream. Was it a car for the rich or poor, the young or old, the highbrow or lowbrow, the adventurous or the conservative?"

Whilst the 'Edsel' was none of these things to any commercially significant extent, it is worth noting that none of the 'Edsel's nineteen native competitors were so obviously individual in their visible appeal.

It is, however, reasonable to argue that, at the time of its launch, the 'Edsel' would have been seen to embody Henry Ford II's aspirations of overtaking General Motors and so becoming the world's largest motor car manufacturer. His ambitions were thus offered to consumers who can hardly have been happy with a car which broke the rules of visual etiquette laid down by contemporary patterns of consumption. When Ford eventually accepted that the vehicle for his advancement could not carry such a load he was content to let it become just another car, the straightforward 1960 model, which had neither oval grille nor successor.

This chapter has, in essence, shown that there is a relationship between the visible aspects of commerce and the negotiation of common sense understandings within contemporary society. The examination of these 'ways of seeing' led to a discussion of the visual elements of sociologically acceptable evidence and the subsequent consideration of Fine Art and the visible aspects of trade as means of determining the legitimacy of commercial exchange as a social practice. The asymmetries inherent in these practices were then shown to reflect and reinforce the current social structure by underpinning those spoken and written asymmetries that the previous chapters have shown to be characteristic of the negotiation of everyday reality within consumer society.

The Fifth Chapter is accordingly centred on a case study of the Ford 'Edsel' in which these and other less obvious aspects of marketing are examined in some depth. It will also be argued that these characteristics are an important part of the thesis in that they enable the further discussion of both methodological issues and the concept of commercial exchange as a socially located practice.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Edsel; a failure of marketing.

This chapter is intended to give further consideration to the idea of marketing as a form of commercial practice and a means of social order for, as the introductory chapter and the subsequent text have shown, these aspects of marketing are neither independent nor unambivalent. The following case study is therefore not only a demonstration of these ambiguities but also a basis for the argument that there is a parallel between the asymmetries of contemporary society and the structure of commercial organisations. The case concerns the making, marketing and eventual withdrawal of the Ford 'Edsel' motor car, and the investigation of this $350,000,000 failure was prompted by an apparent inconsistency; whilst marketing theorists such as Kotler and Levy (1969)[1] seem to offer a suitable technique for every commercial eventuality, these same analysts have either ignored the marketing of the 'Edsel' or dismissed it with no more than a line or two.[2]

The point is not that theorists and practitioners of marketing have no means of accounting for the 70% of new products that fail upon introduction to the market but that the analysis of these failures tends to be based upon the assumption of changes in the commercial environment and not the nature of the sponsoring organisation. That marketing managers should be unwilling to consider themselves or their organisational relationships as part of the exchange process is surely remarkable, especially when one considers the willingness with which these same executives apply theories of behaviour and organisational structure to consumers in general.

An investigation of the Edsel's history was therefore seen as a means of assessing the assumption that marketing managers share either a common purpose or a trouble free existence with their host organisations. In view of this and the previous discussion of sociologically acceptable evidence, it is worth noting that 'the best researched car of its day' has been evaluated in largely literary terms, the irony being that the story of the Edsel should have outlasted not only the car that inspired it but also many of those who were responsible for its creation.

An analysis such as this would nevertheless seem to offer insights into marketing theory and the nature of marketing as a would be profession, for the Edsel is both a well-known and easily accounted for item of marketing folklore[3] and a clear failure of practical marketing management. There remains, however, the possibility that practitioners of marketing would prefer to learn the lessons of failure in private and take quiet care to avoid a repetition whilst theorists have yet to make a public reconsideration.

In a recently available work which offers a view from inside Ford at the time of the Edsel, C. Gayle Warnock (1980)[4] then Public Relations Director for the Edsel Division, notes with some displeasure:

> "Meaningful company files on the Edsel virtually have disappeared. Officials impatiently wave off suggestions that they were purposely destroyed. The Edsel Division underwent so many changes in personnel and physical plant during its turbulent four and a half years that the files, they explain, were simply 'lost' in the process."

The ex-director was no doubt relieved to find that, after his retirement from Ford Motor Company in 1976, he was able to uncover some of this information. The Acknowledgements in his resultant book include a measure of his relief[5]:

> "David R Crippen, reference archivist at Ford Archives, was of immeasureable help when the research first got under way in May of 1977, as were a floor full of Ford lawyers who co-operated in opening 1958 files of the M-E-L Division for my perusal ... and, of course, to Ford Motor Company for giving me permission to reproduce copy righted material, and who helped in all ways when possible to do so."

In so far as it has a reputation, the Edsel is likely to be known for its failure. This shadowy ignominy has been encouraged by a widespread and enduring tendency amongst theorists in marketing to limit their analyses of the debacle to a straightforward avoidance of the issue. Whilst sounding a warning on the dangers of market research as a singular determinant of policy, Majaro (1978) [6] fails to explore the conditions which led to such over-reliance :

> "The American Edsel car was a failure in spite of long and laborious research studies. The popular interpretation of the reasons for this failure was that by the time the car was designed and ready market conditions had changed sufficiently to make the product out-of-date before it was launched."

Although not delivering comprehensive evaluations of the Edsel's failure, Levitt (1974)[7] and Reynolds (1967)[8] do offer further insights into aspects of the affair :

> "Edsel's fatal failure was in major part a failure to sustain the excitement that extensive pre-introduction promotion had produced."

Warnock estimates that $11,600,000 of the promotional budget was spent between September and December 1957. This left $1,000,000 for the period from January unto October 1958.

Sadly, the cars themselves were not very well made and dealers were often supplied with models that needed extensive repairs. The Edsel was correspondingly quick to acquire a reputation for its poor construction and deservedly so, in view of Warnock's gruesomely detailed account. He was responsible for the launching of the Edsel at which 68 working cars were driven to dealers by members of the press. This publicity stunt necessitated 41 mechanics, 75 cars, to get enough spares and working models, and cost $79,000 for the automobiles alone.

The original research into tastes, trends, and desires amongst car buying Americans has generally been advanced as competent, despite errors of judgement thereafter. Dave Wallace, the Ford executive responsible for much of this over-valued work, has proved a little more modest[9,10,11]:

> "Frankly, we dabbled. It was a dragnet operation."

> "The questions ... dealt exhaustively with practically everything to do with automobiles except such matters as how much they cost, how safe they were, and whether they ran."

> "No one asked the obvious question 'Does the public need another car, or is it Ford Motor Company that needs another car?'"

It would seem reasonable, therefore, to expect some demonstration of how these excesses might be curbed or avoided. Similarly an investigation of the failure might demonstrate where market research might usefully be reinforced with other business techniques or changes in managerial effort. However, such analyses are not forthcoming either directly, as a result of mainstream marketing texts,

or indirectly through the provision of information which might prove amenable to further investigation.

Although the Edsel is essentially American and most marketing texts are from this same background, marketing theorists might not see this apparent kinship as an adequate safeguard against possible misunderstandings. Philip Kotler, the doyen of marketing theorists, is so wary of the difficulties inherent in reconciling all the differing viewpoints concerning the Edsel that the issue is ignored in the first, second and third editions of "Marketing Management; analysis, planning and control."[12] The following thumb-nail sketch, intended perhaps to make amends, still neatly avoids the way in which massive corporate effort was used to turn the Edsel from plans to dreadful reality [13]

> "The famous Edsel automobile, on which Ford lost $350,000,000 was a case of line filling that met Ford's internal positioning needs but not the market's needs. Ford had noticed that Ford car owners would trade up to General Motors' products like Oldsmobile or Buick rather than step up to a Mercury or Lincoln. Ford decided to create a stepping-stone car to fill its line. The Edsel was created, but it failed to meet a market need since a sufficient number of similar cars were available to the same buyers, and many buyers were beginning to switch to smaller cars."

With such thoughts in mind a personal investigation was undertaken which seems to indicate that the Edsel has been sadly ignored as a significant demonstration of the nature of marketing as a managerial discipline and as an opportunity for theorists' scrutiny.

The Ford Edsel can be traced back to a company outlook originating in 1947 although the car itself did not appear on the market until September 1957. After World War II, Henry Ford II, grandson of Henry Ford and son of Edsel, inherited a concern which was severely run down with shortages of product, management and adequate means of production. Whereas Henry Ford had based the company on keeping prices low enough to ensure an acceptable level of production, the managers hired to help his inheritors were from General Motors and of a different mind.

They believed, in essence, that the dominant objective of a motor manufacturer should be higher sales, high volume being taken to mean a favourable ratio of profit to sales for, at General Motors, production efficiency had been bred in years ago. Henry Ford II compensated for his own inexperience with a small group of executives hired from General Motors, supplemented with others trained by that group.(14)

The Ford Motor Company into which these men had moved maintained a very limited sales range. The 'prestige' Lincoln provided just 3% of sales whilst the Mercury and Ford cars, covering the upper middle and low price ranges respectively, were based on the same body shell. Thus there appeared to be a gap in the Ford range of products. General Motors did not have such an opening and as Lewis Crusoe (Head of Ford Division)[15] said :

"We're growing customers for General Motors"

In January 1952, Henry Ford II appointed Jack Davis head of a committee charged with the making of a study on how to get more of the middle price market. The Davis Committee produced a six volume report on the 'E' (Experimental) Car. The plan intended the use of Lincoln body components with Mercury chassis and running gear. The Lincoln/Mercury chain of dealers would be used and the first versions launched in September 1958 as a 1959 model. Henry Ford II and Ernest Breech (General Manager), responsible for hiring the new managers, rejected the findings[16]:

> "Breech was fully aware that his former company, G.M., had introduced three new nameplates in the past 20 years and abandoned all of them after having been made painfully aware of the public's yawning interest."

Lewis Crusoe (Assistant to Breech), having given Ford a major success in 1955 with a small car, the two-seater Thunderbird, was appointed to replace Davis. Crusoe delegated the 'E' Car to Jack Reith. The latter drew up a much more ambitious plan than the Davis submission. Reith based his strategy on the gap in price between the Mercury and Ford[17]:

"The Reith Plan ... proposed two shells and incredibly, four series totalling 18 models. It would bring the Ford stable to seven: Ford, Ford Fairlane, a small edition of the 'E' car, the standard Mercury, a larger new 'E' car, a big new Mercury and the Lincoln."

Reith's plans were nothing if not ambitious for he also proposed that the car should be introduced in 1957, a year before that suggested by Davis and a mere two years into the future. The car would, of course, be sold through a new 1,000 strong chain of dealerships.

Not everyone was convinced by either the shape of things to come or the wisdom of these decisions. Gayle Warnock (Public Relations, Edsel Division) felt that whatever the outcome, the Davis plan was the more sensible alternative whilst other of the Edsel Division's senior managers were even less enthusiastic. Their views were summed up by Krafve's observation that the designing, building, promoting and selling of a new car was not only very difficult but, in recent years at least, also unprecedented.

General Motors and Chrysler offered as many as nine series of alternative cars in the middle price range with each one justifying its place in the market. The involvement of Chrysler is of particular importance for whilst Henry Ford II was keen to re-establish Ford, it appears that rather too much attention was paid to General Motors, which occupied the coveted position of largest automobile producer in the U.S.A. and therefore the world, and not enough to Chrysler. The third ranked corporation seemed to do quite well on several occasions in the 'fifties' simply because there wasn't the money available for frequent new models. Instead, cosmetic changes were made every year. Price conscious buyers thereby made an accidental virtue out of modest necessity.

Whilst Reith may be seen as responsible for the Edsel, Breech tried to distance himself from the fiasco, claiming to have been unsure and overruled. Jack Davis noted that Henry Ford II would have vetoed the project had Breech objected loudly enough.[18] Warnock (1980)[19] offers further insights to the impact that power struggles must have had on the eventual decision to make the Edsel:

"It is unlikely that neither Crusoe nor Reith believed he could conceive a plan that would fail. Crusoe wanted a plan he could control. Reith was interested in a better job. McNamara wanted no competition for the Ford Line he had inherited in late January, especially since his Division would be the primary source of funds."

However, it fell to Crusoe to speak for posterity[20]:

"We feel that our business is too valuable to the national economy to be jeopardized by individuals who volunteer to run it on the basis of their opinions, or to guide its course by seaman's eye ...

We also feel that market research has reached a stage where if we neglect the use of the information it provides, we would be violating our responsibility."

The market research which so fired the collective imagination at Ford Motor Company was based on a linear extrapolation of a boom year, 1955. Emmett Judge used these figures to recruit dealers to the Edsel Division and in so doing, demonstrated an elegant piece of circular thinking, given Crusoe's remark "our business is too valuable to the national economy ...." Emmett's argument was generally presented by means of a projector. He would go[21]

"Through 36 slides, tracing the birth of 65 million Americans (since 1938), the 1965 estimated population (190 million) and the gross national product (535 billion), all of which, he says, will provide a continuing market for the Edsel,"

Marketing and organisational power.

It was intended that the old company should become two new divisions, Lincoln-Mercury and Ford, with the Special Products Division, established to develop the 'E' car and led by R.E. Krafve, completing the triumvirate. This was a further reflection of General Motors practice wherein each Division competed for sales with every other, so sharpening all concerned.

Krafve was, however, concerned to find that many members of Ford's management were reluctant to support the new project. McNamara, who was in charge of the Ford Division, and Reith rejected one appeal after another for proven executives and whilst there were many suitable applicants from outside the company, Krafve had been told to ignore all of them. His attempts to recruit a company raised and trained management team were further frustrated by senior managers in other Divisions who would listen to Henry and Benson Ford declaring their

support for the project and then promote or transfer anyone who was offered a job in the Edsel Division.

After his failure with the formal system an attempt at the personal appeal would not seem implausible. Krafve noted, however:[22]

> "I've asked Ben Ford and Del Horder (Executive Vice President, Basic Manufacturing Divisions) for their verbal support, but if they've given it there's no evidence it's helped."

The original disquiet over how a marketing programme would be developed within an organisation was not stilled by Warnock's implication of superior current practice. He has, however, attempted some aspects of the Edsel's failure which no other commentator has approached. Whilst the attributed remarks are those of recognised executives Warnock notes shop floor unrest, sabotage and negligence and hints fairly strongly at the Edsel production demands as the irritant behind this rash of disquiet. It should, of course, be remembered that even as a director Warnock showed no inclination to make such observations whilst at Fords.[23]

> "Unlike today, when an assembly division builds all the cars and trucks under contract to the marketing division, Ford and Mercury Divisions then were both manufacturers and marketers of their products. So, when Ford Division was designed to build the E-F cars (Rangers and Pacers), and Mercury Division the E-M Cars (Corsairs and Citations), Collins (Manager of Manufacturing Operation) faced the problem of dealing with two entirely different concepts of auto assembly."

With this in mind, it is worth noting that Del Horder (Executive, Basic Manufacturing) was intended to identify the Ford and Mercury plants that would assemble the Edsel and then ensure that the work was done in concert with the assembly of Fords and Mercurys. As the Del Horder in question is the one who was ineffectual in obtaining the requisite personnel for the Edsel Division, it is not hard to imagine the quality of plant that would be made available to him. Given the high overheads inherent in any new model of motor, old factories would simply cut into what little reserves were left. It would appear that a large part of the eventual loss attributable to the Edsel was spent in manufacturing the cars. The official history of

Ford, of which more later, claims that the cost could not be listed individually because that is not the way of corporate accounts at Ford. Warnock (1980)[24] begs to differ :

> "... Edsel Division was buying its production from Ford and Mercury. If each car was billed at $1,000, to take a round figure, the two building Divisions received more than $110 million for the products they manufactured).
>
> (Launching costs of second shifts at Louisville and Mahwah also were expensed to Edsel. Ford Division argued that if it hadn't been for the Edsel neither plant would have had to double shift and the Finance Committee agreed. So everything that was incremental - including finding, hiring and moving people - was booked against the Edsel program. These and other costs paid by the young division to other 'profit centers' within the company came out of the $250 million budgeted to launch the car.)"

Collins who was responsible for paying these bills, was also uncomfortably aware that whilst damage done to the Edsels on the shop floor might be sabotage or spite, worse was being done elsewhere without the opprobium. He accepted that plant managers who were already faced with building Lincolns and Mercurys could hardly be expected to show a great deal of concern for the Edsel but there was the building of Ford's first ever retractable hard top to be considered and, at Louisville, the beginning of production on the new tilt-cab truck.

However it would not do to think Fords uncharitable for not being easier on the new division. On 21st December 1956 an early Christmas present came from on high[25]:

> "In short order, and with a minimum of discussion following Collins' appeal (for a 'home factory' for Edsel), a surprising decision was made to give Edsel the Louisville Ford passenger car and truck plant - lock, stock and barrel. Ford and Mercury would assist Edsel with other assembly plants as needed."

There is no mention of who made the decision or the extent to which this new development was intended as a test of the executive fibre in the Edsel Division. Perhaps Warnock (1980)[26] was reluctant to go into detail, given the rather ordinary nature of the problem. He does allow himself an aside, however :

"(Actually, with only six months left to staff a new manufacturing and supply group, giving Edsel a 'home' plant six months ahead of Job One was as questionable a plan as giving Ford and Mercury plants the responsibility of building Edsels without regard to the dilution of management attention that was certain to occur.)"

In other words, Collins was right. He was also correct in assuming that the new plant would mean his demotion. Further vital conclusions were being arrived at. In December 1956 the launch date for the Edsel was fixed for early September and the recruitment of the necessary dealers would begin in January 1957. Given the less than whole hearted support evidenced by the Ford Division it might well seem that the corporation had become a little more decentralised than had been intended. Even so, the Edsel's most public detractor refused to limit his criticism to a guarded manipulation of managerial steering committees. Shortly before the final deadlines were set Doyle was eating in a Ford Division canteen when, in front of many of the executives involved in the heavy rescheduling work, McNamara popped the questions[27]:

"You can't possibly think that car will be successful, can you?

How can you expect to sell it against our Ford that's a better car and sells for less?"

Doyle was embarrassed, everyone else laughed and by May, 1957 McNamara was Group Vice President in charge of all car divisions.

In 1957, when the middle market was particularly healthy and growing at an unforeseen rate, Fords suffered a fit of corporate jealousy, envious of General Motors' dominance and resentful of the riches which an apparently linear expansion of the national economy would guarantee. This spread of G.M. alternatives, having been the spur to the Edsel's development, was to bear the brunt of the new car's assault on the market. A note of caution crept in when it was noticed that the 1956 registrations numbered little more than 1955 and that imported cheap motor cars were gaining ground. Fords were not, however, convinced of the need to change their minds and, in early 1956, Henry Ford II went so far as to deny even the slightest corporate interest in small cars.

Others from within his[28] organisation were less committed. Doyle was getting nervous after realising that apparently steady annual demand was based on a good period after the new 1956 models had been

launched in September and a rapid decline in the middle price range thereafter. Equally worrying was the concomitant growth in demand for cheap 'compact' American cars and small imported marques. Nevertheless, in early 1956, Chairman of the Board Ed Breech felt sufficiently confident of what was then no more than the idea of a middle priced challenger to G.M. and Chrysler, to dismiss the V.W. Beetle as insignificant.

This was a slight unintentional or otherwise, to Lewis Crusoe, Breechs own Assistant. He had been responsible for the two seater Ford Thunderbird which was deemed a success after selling 53,166 units in three years. The V.W. sold approximately 30,000 in 1955, 50,000 in 1956, 100,000 in 1957 and a further 100,000 in 1958. The Edsel sold 63,110 from launch until the second model in September 1958 which sold a touch less than 45,000 cars. The last model managed 2,846. It is vital to note that these sales figures for the Edsel represent the entire original range involving 18 variations of engine, trim and coachwork. Each subsequent year's automobiles meant another 18 variations, although these would generally be a matter of restyling rather than major reworking. The second of the redesigned versions looked so unlike its antecedents as to deny any relationship at all. The styling of the Edsel meant, in effect, that the first edition, launched in September 1957, became recognised as an unmistakable flop whilst the others, being increasingly designed to avoid offence rather than risk further upset, were simultaneously uncommercial and unmemorable. This had not always been the case.

Roy D. Brown, "the man directly in charge of the 'E' Car's design"[29], remembers :

> "our goal was to create a vehicle which would be unique in the sense that it would be readily recognizable in styling theme from the nineteen other makes of cars on the road at that time."

Warnock finds Eugene Bordinat to have set the target for the design team, which was unusual given the investment involved. Brown was allocated three additional stylists, but "because of the cramped area in which to work, volunteers were not too plentiful."

The four designers agreed that[30]

> "Their goal was to design a car that would look like a leader in its price field, suggest top performance and meet the psychological needs of the motoring public."

The meeting which established Roy Brown and his aides took place in May 1954, nearly a year before the Planning Committee gave its blessing to the medium-priced car line. Grebe (Director, Body Engineering) did acknowledge that there was a new model of car on the way but he had no idea of what it would be called, what it would look like or where it would be placed in terms of the current product range.

As a further indication of the degree of seriousness being given to the whole affair it should be noted that whilst presuming some link between Wallace's market research and Brown's 'styling theme' might not seem unreasonable the case appears to have been otherwise.[31]

> "As for the design, it was arrived at without even a pretense of consulting the polls, and by the method that had been standard for years in the designing of automobiles - that of simply pooling the hunches of sundry company committees."

Roy D Brown was given working space in the library of the "lavish, spanking new Design Center that had been dedicated in May as a media event during Ford's anniversay.[32]

> "The library was located on the second floor of the Design Center, back of the elevator, and far removed from the spacious main floor studios of the other Ford marques. The unlikely location elicited many a dire prediction about the car's future and prompted Brown's associates to refer to his styling cubby hole as the 'E' Room". (At the time this meant 'Elevator')

Krafve, eventually Vice President of the Ford Motor Company and General Manager of the Edsel Division, was responsible for the decision as to which of Brown's drawings would be used. There were over 4,000 to consider but Krafve judged that[33] :

"except for later minor modifications of the modified modifications, the 'E'-Car had been fully styled by mid-summer of 1955."

These alterations are the key to Krafve's method of working.[34]

"Once you get a general theme, you begin narrowing down. You keep modifying, and then modifying your modifications. Finally, you have to settle on something because there isn't any more time. If it weren't for the deadline you'd probably go on modifying indefinitely."

Given the committee to which he was responsible, Krafve was unlikely to hesitate. His immediate future seemed secure, however when[35]:

"On August 15, 1955 ..... the members of the Ford Product Planning Committee, including Henry Ford II and Breech, watched critically as a curtain was lifted to reveal the first full-sized model of the E-Car - a day one, with tinfoil simulating aluminium and chrome. According to eye-witnesses, the audience sat in utter silence for what seemed like a full minute, and then, as one man, burst into a round of applause. Nothing of the kind had ever happened at an intra company first showing at Ford since 1896, when old Henry had bolted together his first horseless carriage."

Any relief which Krafve might have felt at this communal recognition of corporate attainment would surely have been blighted by the expression of such sentiments as those admitted by Dave Wallace, responsible for giving the 'E-Car' a personality[36]:

"Forget all about the ballyhoo and you'll see that they (a £2,000 Chevrolet and a £6,000 Cadillac) are really pretty much the same thing ... There's some irrational factor in people that makes them want one kind of car rather than another - something that has nothing to do with the mechanism at all but with the car's personality, as the customer imagines it ... We (at Ford) figured we had a big advantage because .... All we had to do was create the exact one (personality) we wanted from scratch."

Apart from the original's distinctive appearance, which is dwelt on elsewhere, the development of a 'personality' for the 'E-Car' gave rise to its unusual name. The intention was clear. In a letter to Marianne Moore, the poet, who helped with suggestions of names, Dave Wallace wrote[37]:

"We should like this name ... to convey, through association or other conjuration, some visceral feeling of elegance, fleetness, advanced features and design"

To be worthy of consideration, a name had to comply to Wallace's rules.[38]

"(1) the name shall be short so it will display well on dealer signs; (2) it shall have two or at the most three syllables to give it cadence; (3) the sound must be clear and distinct to aid in radio and television identicication; (4) it should start with either the letter C,S,J or F, subject to calliagraphic sweep for ornaments and advertisement signature (heavy-footed letters such as M,E, or K were to be given little consideration); (5) it should not be prone to obscene double entendres or jokes, nor should it translate into anything objectionable, and (6), it must be American.

There had been public speculation that 'E-Car' might not mean 'Experimental' but 'Edsel'. However, the three sons of Edsel Ford had let Krafve know that they were not entirely pleased with the thought of father's name on hubcaps. Apparently the family name on millions of radiators was more easily tolerated because it was less specific. This sensitivity can perhaps best be attributed to the way in which Henry Ford, whose name was first on the radiator grilles, had ridden roughshod over his son Edsel.[39] Krafve was, however, persistent, a quality which Gayle Warnock (1980)[40] has cause to remember.

"Why isn't Edsel being given any consideration in your surveys, Dave?"

"Edsel is verboten, Dick; remember?
It's a lousy name anyway."

"Oh nuts, Gayle, everybody thinks that's what we're gonna name the line anyway. Don't you read the newspapers?"

Months of more traditional research into names with solely advantageous overtones had produced four clear candidates; Citation, Pacer, Ranger and Corsair, the latter being a definite favourite. Henry Ford II, one of the dissenting sons, was absent from a meeting in 1955, called to name the E-Car. Chairman of the Board Breech was in control. He liked none of the tested four but said, having apparently retained Edsel as a safeguard[41]:

"Let's call it that."

Perhaps mindful of the committee ethos, Breech[42]

> "Soothed some of his colleagues by adding that the magic four - Corsair, Citation, Pacer and Ranger - might be used, if anyone felt so inclined, as the subnames for the models."

Henry II was telephoned the committee's decision and he agreed to abide by the outcome if his family concurred. They did.[43]

Now that the 'E' car had a name, a body, a personality and was gaining factories, only two things were left to be done; a chain of dealers had to be put together and the world had to be told. Whilst this was undeniably a job for the Senior Executive, it was perhaps the only occasion when Henry Ford Two was both too much and yet not enough of a name.

As for the other matter, the first 400 applications for consideration as dealers came from Lincoln Mercury dealers with an eye to the future. After this flurry of self interest, prospects were poor and fading until Chrysler decided to "de-dual Plymouth" (make two marque dealers carry either Plymouth cars or the other brand but no longer both). Dealers who had based their sales efforts on the Plymouth were most displeased by the change in policy and the Edsel team were quick to take advantage of the situation.

However, their alternative offer was not all it might have been for the Edsel was also being sold through one marque dealerships. Krafve signed the Edsel sales agreement on 9 April 1957 but by 1 June, when Division had intended to launch the car, there were only 300 recruits. Things did, nevertheless, get better.[44]

> "In the final 90 days before introduction 846 dealers signed up, nearly three times the number of the first six, lethargic months. The early nominees would be able to open in brand new buildings, but many late-comers would have to try to make it in garages, quonset huts and other makeshift buildings while their facilities were being completed. Some, as late as Labor Day, were still without cars and only three days to introduction."

Those dealers who had neither cars nor buildings were not the only ones with difficulties for, given the quality of production on the Ranger and Pacer in particular, the cars themselves left something

to be desired. The Ford Division was nevertheless unwilling to accept that if the launch was not to be a complete failure, there would have to be a drop in overall output and an increase in effort on the Edsel. Ford Division managers insisted that their 1957 model and the 1958 Edsel were sufficiently alike for this manoeuvre to be unnecessary. Production levels of the new car were agreed accordingly and the Edsel developed a distinctive characteristic which was to pass largely unremarked; it became Ford's first individually built production line item. Indeed, Edsels were so rare an occurrence in Ford assembly plants that they were soon regarded as little more than nuisances. Unfortunately, worse was to follow.[44]

> "And so it went. Edsel ran out of steering columns, Ranger and Pacer nameplates and Corsair and Citation crash pads in September, during one of the two heaviest production months the car would know. New specifications were ordered for the gears in the push button steering column and, in the meantime, gears on hand were hand-shaven before installation."

Not everything ran against the new car; there were executives like Denny Bracken, the Manufacturing Manager at Mercury, who took a personal interest in the production of the Edsel. These efforts were, however, of somewhat dubious value as the undeniable improvements in quality which were apparent in the Citations and Corsairs coming from his assembly plants were clearly lacking in the Rangers and Pacars that were built by the Ford Division. Doyle chose to ignore the criticism implicit in this comparison and to dream the old dreams of a better future with the Edsel. He felt that, in the beginning at least, the likely market and the available production would support no more than 1,200 Edsel outlets, particularly if care were taken, in the metropolitan areas, to avoid unnecessary competition between neighbouring distributors.

One such unsuitable area was found by Warnock in his search for somewhere fitting for the unveiling of the Edsel. He found a town called Edsel in Kentucky. It was two hours drive from tarmac roads, had no cars at all, consisted of two buildings - the general store and the post office - run by the population, the two Blevins brothers, who also kept horses. They had named the town after Edsel Ford.

Doyle had more weighty matters to contemplate. He had visions of there being between 2,500 and 3,000 locations where Edsels might be sold and serviced. These dealerships would,he believed, be directly responsible for the creation of 50,000 new jobs with a further 30,000 posts appearing within Ford's and their suppliers as business developed.

The Edsel was due to be launched at the beginning of September 1957 and those concerned were not necessarily overjoyed with the nature[45] of the impending advertising. Wallace had originally argued that

> "The Edsel is the car for the young executive on his way up. Our theme is elegance. We're classy. The other cars are all fixed in a hierarchy of status, but with the Edsel, nobody knows who snoots whom. Fine. We're going to stress what this car will do for its owner. We'll have a powerful car, but we won't stress that. We won't skip the mechanical features by a darn sight, but our message, what we're really talking about, is what this car does for the individual, in terms of status."

Doyle agreed but expressed a sales manager's anxiety about doing anything that might tend to exclude potential buyers; his first desire was to offer a car that everybody and anybody might want to buy. The Edsel Division's advertising agency also accepted Wallace's recommendations but with one alteration; the Edsel was to be the car for the 'middle class family' rather than 'the young executive.'

The agency then prepared three alternative advertising campaigns in full; these were presented to the Edsel management, who indicated a preference, before going to Henry Ford II and Ernest Breech who made the final choice. A number of very expensive simultaneous T.V. broadcasts were considered as additions to the campaign but neither the agency nor the Edsel Division could find one that was appropriate to both the product and the budget. It was eventually decided that Warnock's (Op.cit) eighteen months of Public Relations work offered the perfect foundation for a 'teaser' campaign (a series of advertisements saying here it comes, any moment now, almost ready ... yet not revealing much of the Edsel) and so the relevant press and radio spots were booked for the weeks preceding the launch of the Edsel.

Mayer (1961)[46], who at the time worked for Foote, Cone the Edsel Division's agency, notes otherwise

> "In the event, this plan, too,collapsed: Ford central staff decided to eliminate the teaser campaign entirely (saving only the four preannouncement magazine ads, which were run only in 'Life' and concentrated on the idea that this car, though new, had been on the testing grounds for years) and to put the money into special institutional advertising for the Ford Company itself, keyed to the introduction of the Edsel. Neither the division nor Foote, Cone was at all happy with this arrangement (which also cost Foote, Cone about a million dollars of billing on the account, since Kenyon & Eckhardt does all Ford institutional advertising). But Ford had put up some $250 million to start the Edsel and if central staff felt that a million dollars should be spent to publicise this fact rather than tout Edsels, there was nobody at the agency or the division who could quarrel."

McNamara went one step further; on 28th August 1957 at the recording of an Edsel sponsored Bing Crosby and Frank Sinatra T.V. special, he told the head of Edsel's advertising agency that he had plans for phasing the car out. The programme in question was not shown until 13th October and, as Mayer (1961)[47] explains,

> "By that time, of course, most of the news value had worn off the Edsel: partly by accident but mostly by design, the car had slipped into the American consciousness so gradually that it might have been there all along."

Mayer's (Op.cit) is a very unusual account in that it was not only written by someone who as involved in the marketing of the Edsel but at a time when the outcome of this venture was neither known or apparent. Enlightenment was soon at hand, however, for the automobile market of 1957 was characterised by an almost total lack of the buoyancy which had, in 1955, given rise to the Edsel.1957 models were selling more slowly and heavy discounts were needed, to clear out the old stock before the arrival, in autumn, of the 1958 models. There were other, more immediate, difficulties;[48]

> "A study of the ads, display and classified, during the clean-up indicates that of the competitors Edsel faced,its severest were Ford and Mercury.
>
> The company, more concerned with an over-supply of Fords, Mercurys and Lincolns, and aware that Edsel dealers had no apparent over-supply of product, was very late in making the Edsel price competitive by giving the dealers a possible business-saving cost break."

A dealership could involve an investment of as much as $250,000 by the dealer. Averaged out, an Edsel franchise was costing $100,000 for buildings, stock and garage equipment. Apart from the noted lack of any of these facilities in some places, there were problems over options. Customers could ask for given colour combinations and have to wait for a working model to arrive. McNamara had directed that Edsels did not have to come off Mercury and Ford assembly lines in mint condition, a terrible blow given that within two weeks of finding itself over-priced against 1957 models the Edsel would have to face the competing 1958 models from other marques. It is nevertheless quite possible that the public's preoccupation with the Edsel deceived even the dealers for they would rarely consider part-exchange deals and much preferred customers who could pay in cash.[49]

> "When Edsel failed to do well against year-old model clean-ups, it ceased to merit considerations in the scheme of things and company dealers began selling Ford and Mercury products against it. The Edsel was downgraded, unworthy of respect and no longer competitive."

All of which was doubly unfortunate because the competition was mounting, almost day by day. The Press previews of the Studebaker-Packard Show began on 19th September with Chrysler on the following week and then Oldsmbobile, who were just in front of American Motors. Whilst Buick, Pontiac and Chevrolet were content to continue their end of season clearances, the beginning of November saw the Ford, Lincoln and Mercury Divisions end an eight week sale, which had in itself done much to undermine the Edsel, with the launching of their respective 1958 models.

The Edsel dealers did, however, appear to have achieved a degree of financial stability which implied that they were not, in fact, as vulnerable as market circumstances and their own often uncertain business pedigrees suggested they might be. This paradox was a product of the many dealers who expected the Edsel to make money quickly and therefore invested heavily in garages and stock. When it became apparent that their confidence was misplaced, these same dealers did not attempt to sell the car in a manner that was appropriate to the market but looked, instead, to their maintenance departments, where they saw nothing but Edsels, awaiting pre-delivery inspection.

In the market place, the Edsel was being beaten like a gong and things deteriorated so brutally that Henry Ford II was forced to go on National T.V. and pledge allegiance to the car. His personal guarantee of the Edsel's future was broadcast on 21st November 1957, not three months after the launch. Edsel then developed a policy of buying slower moving models off the less successful dealers and shipping them to outlets that were doing business. It soon became clear that dealers were dumping the Ranger; the competition from the Ford Fairline was far too much for it. Doyle, however, had not given up hope. He plotted alternatives and argued that the Edsel still had a chance but only if the Ford Division could overcome its consistently dismal standards and produce some noticeably better quality cars.

This argument received little open support for although there were many within the Edsel Division who had worked hard on the new car, and no one who wanted to be thought of as disloyal, everyone was afraid of upsetting McNamara by publicly endorsing the Edsel. The problem was soon resolved by a series of reorganisations; the Lincoln and Mercury Divisions became one and, on 15th January 1958, this new Division compounded its internal difficulties by absorbing Edsel. The new structure was to be known as the M-E-L Division, a move which suggests that the loss of both Lincoln and Mercury was nothing to the benefits to be had from shedding the name Edsel.

Progress thereafter was rapid and thoroughly carried out. During the second quarter of 1958, a confidential memo circulated the M-E-L Division. It acknowledged that a separate Edsel dealer organisation could no longer be expected to survive and suggested that dealers who sold no other make of car should be encouraged to resign by Job 1, 1959. The Job 1 in question was the first 1960 model Edsel, of which less than 3,000 were ever made.[50]

> "In 1959, about a month before Edsel was abandoned, Ford introduced its 'compact' car, the Falcon - and sold a record 417,174 copies the first year. Breech said later that the Falcon was the kind of car that should have been introduced instead of the Edsel. He also stated some years later in a 'Forbes' interview that the company was able to get the Falcon on the market much earlier because machine tools no longer needed by the fallen car were available.

> The Falcon owed more than machine tools in place to the Edsel. A part of Edsel's $250 million budget went towards the construction of the Cleveland engine plant and the Chicago stamping plant, both of which played major roles in the quick and successful introduction of the Falcon."

The styling of the Edsel caused a fair degree of excitement amongst critics with a marked tendency towards distaste as the commercial failure of the car became increasingly apparent. A year before the launch of the Edsel comments were generally favourable.[51] The Edsel

> "will, of course, be different - front and rear- from other Ford lines, featuring horizontally mounted dual headlamps and a rather modest oval grille (reflecting the splendidly simple lines of the $10,000 Continental)."

The Continental was the first $10,000 car to be manufactured in America and the use of dual headlamps also originated with Ford. Whilst neither of these innovations seemed worthy of mention, the grille was variously compared to an old model Essex and the front end of the current Packard. Other motoring correspondents were a little more fulsome in their appraisals of the newly launched car.[52,53,54,55]

> "Like Ford and Mercury, (Edsel) presents a squarish appearance with a flat rear deck, horizontal tail lights that flare up and out, and an oval, uncluttered grille reminiscent of the elegant Cord of the '30s"

> "The Edsel does not have fins, nor the wide, hound dog-on-a scent grille that graces all other new Detroit products. The straight slim grille is reminiscent of the graceful 1939 La Salle, or the present-day Alfa Romeo sports car."

> "In an industry-wide trend to low, wide horizontal grilles, Edsels stand tall and slim like the handsome La Salles of 1939 and '40".

> "... the Edsel's prow has all the flight-deck length of the Duesenberg and other great classics long gone over the hill."

In December 1957 Edsel salesmen allowed the press to quote them when they claimed the styling as a major selling point. Eighteen months later, with the Edsel being sold off as bankrupt stock and Fords busy regrouping, the tide had publicly turned.[56,57]

> "Edsel's product turned out to be a nightmare, complete with collar. The original front and design by Ford's top styling people, strikingly similar to the 1959 Pontiac and 1960 Edsel, was discarded in favor of a design by the Edsel Div.'s own

stylist. The tricky push-button shift in the centre of the steering post turned out to be too tricky".

"Edsel's styling, in particular the grille, which resembled an Oldsmobile sucking a lemon, was not much help, even after the lemon was removed."

Apart from the rather elegant visual pun of a car with the bitter taste of its own failure in its mouth, the Edsel was apparently a tired 'Me Too'; obviously far from the innovation declared necessary to persuade Ford owners to buy Edsels rather than G.M. or Chrysler.[58]

"The car itself was typical of its period.... a distinctive feature of the car was its curious, horse collar-shaped radiator grille."

Equally curious is the way in which Krafve and Roy Brown are passed over and the Forward Product Planning Committee's feat of clay proves unremarkable. The Edsel's original rear end layout had been fairly widely copied which rendered it formative good taste. The implication of at least one article is that Ford had designed this breakthrough with a frontage to match, and the Edsel Division had been foolhardy or overly independent in rejecting it.

The Edsel; the marketing of failure.

There are several further points about the public signs of Ford's retrenchment which emphasise the clear overtones of 'Ford knows best'. The damning of the Edsel is not based on faults within the organisation; too sensitive an area for a family run business. Public and critical attention is encouraged to dwell on imaginary failings of design and personnel. There is no attempt to extract the sort of information which Warnock made public twenty years after the event and only when he had retired from Fords himself. The contributions of senior executives such as Breech, McNamara and Henry Ford II escape evaluation. All that matters is the forging of a link between the dissolved Edsel Division and the responsibility for blighting a fine concept and squandering millions of dollars. Once the failure is bound by the amount involved, the Edsel Division's upstart arrogance and the discredited design, Henry Ford II and his motor company have saved their reputations. The extent of this divorce between Edsel and Ford is such that Breech can make remarks about the 'Falcon' being a success because of the equipment salvaged from the 'Edsel' whilst claiming that the former was what Fords had in mind throughout and

the dubious implications concerning the establishment of the Edsel Division go uncommented. The fostering of a myth of epic disaster allows Henry Ford II to assert some measure of independence from both the executives who schooled him and General Motors which trained them.

The authorised version of the Edsel's decline involved capitalising on some features of the car and its circumstances which, whilst unremarked in the contemporary press, would have been widely understood by the readership. The 1960 Edsel, implicitly better looking than the original, was withdrawn from production after only a few weeks, the inference being that the Edsel Division was to blame through accumulating such vast debts. Whilst the first Edsels had been badly put together and given a luke-warm reception, the 1959 Edsel had shed a lot of weight and was altogether a better motor car. This second generation, which retained the oval radiator grille but not the push button gear change, did much to resurrect critical goodwill. However, the poor launch and a dealership chain reduced to those who also sold Mercurys and Fords meant that customers were not interested.

Ford Motor Company's major contemporary commercial successes were all from the Ford Division and included, as well as the Falcon, the four seater version of the near legendary 'T'-Bird. Such phenomena bolstered McNamara's position and weight as a critic of the Edsel and undercut the intended interdivisional competition to an exclusive extent. The Edsel Division lasted only a few months as an independent manufacturer for, in the words of Ed Doyle, a senior salesman for the Edsel Division[59]

> "with that much competition in a division, the Edsel wasn't going anywhere"

especially when only half the first series of cars worked properly.[60] Dave Wallace, responsible for the Edsel's engaging 'personality', believes that the Russian success with Sputnik a few weeks before the Edsel's launch had made Americans feel inferior and created a hostility towards American technology such as Detroit motor cars.[61]

> "Not buying Edsels was their (the American public's) hair shirt"

Apparently Sputnik wasn't the only launch to cause upset.[62]

> "Edsel's fatal failure was in major part a failure to sustain the excitement that executive preintroduction promotion had produced."

Gayle Warnock, responsible for the Public Relations at Edsel and for once, not quoting himself, noted[63]

> "when they find out it's got four wheels and one engine, just like the next car, they're liable to be disappointed"

That the Edsel Division failed to maintain the excitement is understandable. They spent $11,6 million in the four months after the launch, effectively an entire year's promotional budget. In 1954 Kaiser Motorcars had watched $50,000,000 "disappear without a ripple" along with a new automobile. Obviously no one else paid serious heed.

Given this long series of contradictions, variations and the uncertainty surrounding apparently key issues such as the maturing of Henry Ford II and the two reorganisations he oversaw, it became necessary to go beyond those cited works which had provided bases for the investigation.

Although a major contribution, Deutsch (1976)[64] was limited to secondary sources such as contemporary journals. Brooks (1969)[65] had interviewed many ex-employees who had made important decisions concerning the Edsel and others, such as Roy Brown, who despite his protestations, seems to have been banished to Ford U.K. for his part in the failure. Warnock had concentrated on life inside the Edsel Division and given insights into the dealership network. He had also raised questions about the part played by McNamara which remained unanswered.

A further literature search revealed a three volume, works sponsored, official history of Ford Motor Company, unusual in itself given Grandfather Henry's pronouncement "History is bunk".[66] Nevins and Hill (1963)[67] seemed to offer both original material and the missing side of the story. Such a work gave grounds for the reasonable expectation that in its 500 pages might lie the much heralded Ford stylings for the Edsel and some guide to the questions asked by Wallace's researchers. Those instincts which had invested tens of millions of dollars on the answers to questions which dealt[68]

> "exhaustively with practically everything to do with automobiles except such matters as how much they cost, how safe they were and whether they ran"

could surely be identified with a management committee or an executive somewhere. The swing towards 'austerity' could hardly have been ignored all the time the Edsel was being prepared. There were also some unresolved doubts about the continuing desirability of any attempt on the mid market price range and the final responsibility for letting the Edsel affair amass losses of $350,000,000.[69]

> "... you can't find a villain in Ford to blame. Fords committee system thoroughly disguises individual responsibility at the top level. Besides, Crusoe, Krafve, and Reith all have left the company."

This is a further example of the assiduous way in which the Ford Motor Company used the press to distance the Edsel Division and fix the role of scapegoat firmly on those who could least refute it. Reith shot himself dead shortly after the collapse of the Edsel Division, eighteen months before this article was published. Crusoe, having retired at 50 from G.M. had come out of retirement to work on the Edsel and then retired again when the Division failed. Intimations of individual guilt bring an unusual contrast to parts of Nevins and Hills[70] preface, where they observe, on the transfer of Ford Motor Company from Henry to his grandson Henry II

> "... in business there was no system of management, and the ship depended 'on the man on the bridge'. In this he (Henry Ford) was partly wrong, for while the indiviual heading a corporation was important, the time had now pased when a single leader could effectively direct a large and complex industrial undertaking alone. This Ford was now attempting to do.
>
> The present volume tells the story of his failure, of how the Ford Motor Company tottered on the edge of disintegration, and how it was finally lifted from its position of danger by the wise and vigorous management of Henry Ford II (the founder's grandson) to a new state of efficiency and prosperity."

This quotation is rather long but does serve as a measure of the other side of committee management. Whilst blame is attributed to Crusoe, Krafve and Reith by remarking on their absence after issuing a general disclaimer, Nevins and Hill, approaching the matter with a more pragmatic long term perspective, believe Henry Ford II a noteworthy exception to the limitations of one man's ability. That even a

talent such as Henry II's must mature would seem to be of prime importance to both the Edsel affair and the making of those decisions which resulted in the employment of Crusoe Krafve and Reith. Henry was also involved in the Ford management committees throughout the 1950s and as Krafve noted[71]

> "the whole program could have been quietly dropped at any time at a word from top management, but once the dealers had been signed up, there was the matter of honouring your contract to put out a car"

Although Nevins and Hill deal with the Edsel as a car in 1957, rather than a prospect in 1954, in something less than a page they do suggest that, in spite of the testing of the market, the various choices of Edsel were too much for the public to cope with. The resultant confusion then caused the dealers to become similarly uncertain and their loss of nerve led to the failure of the car.

The proof of this elegant analysis lies in the demonstrable hard headedness of those same dealers when being asked to consider buying agencies for the Edsel in the middle months of 1957. In other words, they were to risk an investment averaging £100,000 per dealership in an exclusive contract with an unproven manufacturer selling in a tight and highly competitive market which included the biggest automobile manufacturer in the world, rising sales amongst imported marques and a discernible trend towards smaller, more austere American motor cars.[72]

> "Indeed, some dealers in other makes were apparently so confident of the Edsel's success... that they were entirely willing to sign up after hardly more than a glance at the Edsel itself."

James Ensor (1971)[73] indicates that

> "at the time of its launch the Edsel was probably the most researched and documented car that had ever been built"

Dave Wallace, the executive responsible for this accomplishment was a little more self-effacing in discussing the ruthless impartiality upon which the sampling techniques were based.[74]

> "We picked Peoria as a place that is Mid Western, stereotyped, and not loaded with extraneous factors - like a General Motors glass plant, say. We picked San Bernadino because the West Coast is very important in the automobile business, and because the market there is quite different - people tend to buy flashier cars."

There is doubtless more to this than meets the eye. Wallace did, after all, hold a Ph.D. in Sociology.

Nevins and Hill also cite bad quality control, uncertain styling, a poor advertising campaign at the launch of the Edsel and interdivisional struggles which pitted the new Division against more seasoned executives. Given that by January 1958, Ford Motor Company comprised only two divisions, it is surely discretion which prevents Nevins and Hill from making further inquiries into a failure estimated to have cost $350,000,000. In what is no doubt a demonstration of detached impartiality, Nevins and Hill quote an external source for their evaluation which they acknowledge is high but fair. It is also pointed out, as an extension of this disinterest,[75]

> "that the Ford Motor Company took the adventure in stride is proof of its sound financial conditions."

The failure to attempt an assessment of the Edsel's cost from internal sources is of course no reason to ponder this. Neither is Breech's comment on the use of Edsel Division capital equipment to subsidise the Ford Falcon. Most innocent of all these circumstances would naturally be the transition of Ford Motor Company from private to public concern. 350 senior Ford executives were given options on stocks and the resultant stock mark prices made millionaires of some of them. It is not impossible to imagine that the difficulties encountered by the Edsel Division in attracting desirable personnel from within Ford Motor Company are in some way bound to these executives and a desire to protect their investment.

The use of the Edsel as a measure of corporate strength and the virtue of Ford's management by committee might, tend to suggest that Nevins and Hill approach hagiography. It would seem, therefore, given the nature of this work and others, such as some of Deutsch's material, that the failure of the Edsel has been raised to epic if not

mythological proportions. In spite of the efforts of the finest at Fords, the car was a disaster. The major internal reasons for this seem to have been overshadowed by the affects of the 1958 recession. There is a deliberately cultivated tone of the right product having been betrayed.[76]

> "The Edsel had not only distinctive styling but several innovations in engineering: an automatic transmission with push button controls in the steering wheel, safety-rim wheels, and self adjusting brakes. The market had been tested."

Whilst this is hardly an excuse for any of the $350,000,000 loss, there is no mention of the abandoning of the Davis report, the politicical manoeuvring over the name Edsel and the family sensitivities about being too closely related to their product, the apparently 'unusual' styling attributed to an 'unknown' "Edsel Division stylist"[77] and perhaps most serious of all, the curious way in which policy decisions were made. The entire 'marketing' programme seems to have been a derivative of various committee members' instincts and corporate politics. Prices were not derived from the market but made with reference to the production range and similar criteria to those of the marketing policy. The much vaunted 'market research' was better sold than the Edsel without being as good a product whilst the organisational shifts have been more complex and less analysed than the market for automobiles.

It might appear cruel and singularly unAmerican to render Roy A. Brown a non person by excluding him from the works history. However, Nevins and Hill have managed a delicate compromise. As Brown was still a Ford employee, albeit banished to garrison duty in Britain, and no doubt making due atonement for his youthful excesses, it would be harsh to rake over old indiscretions by naming him. That such tactfulness has the unfortunate side effect of avoiding the questions of who authorised the use of Brown's drawings and who was responsible for the engineering which failed to mass produce his models is of course regrettable but, in the circumstances, unavoidable. It is seen as no more than coincidental that McNamara, once head of the Ford Division and open opponent of the Edsel, was both Secretary of State to President Lyndon Johnson at the time of the history's compilation and prominent by his

absence from any debate on individual executives' responsibilities to management committees.

Irrespective of the quality of the original research, it would appear that any measurements of the automobile market which might have shown shifts in demand were either ignored or left unattempted until any radical change in the Edsel project was impossible, all of which makes McNamara's survival remarkable, despite his successes at Ford Division. The momentum of reorganisation and the excitement of such a large investment were of an order that, despite the enormous difficulties of breaking into a well covered market even in times of free spending, by 1956 Ford Motor Company was committed to the Edsel. Although stopping the project was technically possible up to the summer of 1957 no one was willing to broach the subject.

A deal of uncertainty remains about the power relationships with in the steering committee at Ford. Henry II is endowed with a misty presence, for although he is rarely quoted or seen in the open, he survives the shifts and changes. The implication is that Henry Ford II was always more powerful than even the Forward Product Planning Committee but needed time and guidance to learn the measure of his strength and the ways he might best use it. The end of his apprenticeship and the mark of his legitimacy as a successor to Henry is signalled by the unblemished managerial record accorded to him in Nevins and Hill's massive history. This work can be argued as representing a ritual cleansing of the established order after the sullying Edsel debacle. Information which might be less than useful to Ford and his executives is buried.

The Edsel, in being rendered a socially acceptable token for the mythological dangers of a free market economy, gives some justification for the perquisities afforded those who have to deal with multi-million dollar responsibilities. There is also an element of consumer reassurance implicit in such a scheme. The Edsel was a good car but the timing and presentation were not all they might have been. The other Fords, however, were so popular that the company could withstand the loss. Consumers are thus assured of their right to pick and choose whilst being able to trust in Ford Motor Company to continue delivering

the goods. There is none of the self doubt which caused one unknown Ford executive to remark, on the occasion of its withdrawal,[78]

> "If we knew the reason people aren't buying the Edsel, we'd probably have done something about it."

In terms of the original academic proposal the Edsel is both a sign of what might be attempted in evaluating marketing and an indication of some of the more serious difficulties implicit in such an undertaking for the aspects of corporate power are both vital to and missing from the history of the Edsel. This absence seriously calls into question the nature of marketing as a managerial discipline when, say, production criteria are used as a basis for evaluating a marketing problem.

The idea of using the sociology of deviant groups as a means of gaining insight into the work of marketing managers is given some impetus by the 'Edsel' case. It would seem that blame accrues to market research for not weighing the changes in tastes, to the entire sales and marketing functions for the launch, the poor publicity, an inability to generate a convincing name, the 'bizarre' styling, the luke warm press from motoring correspondents and perhaps worst of all, encouraging corporate involvement in a loss of such proportions. In making scapegoats of these disciplines, it would appear that those who recommend or practice such techniques within Ford Motor Company would be faced with certain difficulties in effecting anything thereafter.

Evidence, however, would be a concomitant problem. Whilst there is a school of thought which advocates the study of groups under stress as a means of minimising deliberate evasiveness or mannered behaviour, the source of the stress remains unclear. In the case of the Edsel, it might be essentially visual in that the styling would be seen as new and exciting by the designers of the young Division yet ultimately ambivalent to the Forward Product Planning Committee. The model would be acceptable because it represented their will to make a different motor car. The speed of its construction could only be because of the vigour with which the Edsel Division had been set up. That this same original styling, intended to make the Edsel stand out from nineteen similar rivals, might well prove a disquieting challenge to the tastes of car buyers not accustomed to such individuality was apparently a worthwhile gamble. Once the presumption that such a 'unique selling proposition' would prove profitable had been conclusively refuted, the

oval radiator grille would come to represent, to the Forward Product Planning Committee or whoever was running Fords in 1958, the epitome of failure and a foolish assertion of unwarranted Divisional independence. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the applause should be forgotten, the responsibility denied and the Edsel Division expunged.

The technological developments and capital costs of the Edsel might be seen as embodiments of youthful zest and a new order of business techniques. The challenge to the Ford Motor Company elders would be all the more obvious because of the decentralised restructuring which surrounded the foundation of the Edsel Division and the confidence which accompanied its expansion. When, as would no doubt seem right and proper to this elder order, the Edsel failed and Ford Motor Company was recentralised, Ensor (1971)[79] notes

> "it has become an axiom throughout much of the industry that the design of a new car should depart only marginally from existing proven concepts"

Perhaps Henry Ford II always knew it but felt that his committees needed reminding.

Other aspects of the Edsel affair would also seem to offer some justification for their investigation. General Motors undertook market research in the middle 1950s and spotted the trends towards austerity and less complex engineering, as did McNamara's Ford Division. G.M. built models accordingly and did very well, any gain from the lack of alternatives from Edsel being offset by the rise in importation of small cars and the production of cheap 'compacts' by the lesser American manufacturers and the Ford Division.

Whilst Edsel dealers acknowledged that Ford Motor Company treated them as well as might be expected it would be of interest to discover how so many were recruited for such a difficult task with a large attendant investment. Bearing in mind the dominance of Ford models in the lower price ranges, there is also the matter of the damage done to the prospects of cheaper Edsel variations by the series of popular Ford automobiles designed and built in the late 1950s. These same successes might be taken to indicate a concentration of corporate marketing skills in the Ford Division. Whether or not this was the case, it is surely noteworthy that these subsequent, profitable ventures should pass unremarked. If the latter is a reflection of an assumed state of

affairs, that Ford Motor Company investments are normally profitable, the dramatic failure would seem to be a sufficient shock to encourage either introspection or analysis, by marketing theorists in particular, but of interest surely in any type of organisational study. Of the 'Edsel', a final uncharitable act. The name has become a popular synonym for "loser" and is now officially known as such.[80]

As a case study, however, the 'Edsel' has been somewhat more successful in that its history exemplifies a parallel between the asymmetries of commercial organisations and the structure of industrial society. The making, marketing and eventual failure of the 'Edsel' can also be seen to demonstrate a significant link between organisational relationships and the nature of contemporary exchange processes. This linkage clearly affects marketing managers who are necessarily involved in both the renegotiation of everyday commercial reality and the continuous reappraisal, by potential customers, of industrial artefacts such as the 'Edsel'.

The following chapter is, accordingly, an investigation into the nature of consumption as a social practice and, in view of the problems described in the case of the 'Edsel', a further consideration of marketing as a business technique and marketing managers as nascent professionals. This discussion will also involve an evaluation of some of the 'common sense' assumptions that underlie the social implications of commercially regulated exchange in an industrial culture.

CHAPTER SIX

Marketing as a socially located practice.

This chapter is based upon the development of two lines of argument, one concerning the nature of marketing as a socially located practice and the other marketing as a managerial discipline and nascent profession. There are, however, parallels in that both of these processes are forms of commercially regulated exchange which, it will be argued, contribute significantly to the negotiation of structure within contemporary society. The discussion will show that whilst marketing theorists are ill at ease with these and other aspects of consumption, there are facets of anthropology which can offer insights into the importance of both goods and patterns of exchange within a society that is founded upon mass production, mass employment and mass consumption.

It would not be hard to infer from marketing literature which avoids those aspects of business which contributed to the failure of the 'Edsel' that marketing executives manage the fulfilment of society's needs and wants whilst keeping commercial organisations as healthy as possible. It is, after all, a tenet of consumer economics that more goods means a higher standard of living and that whilst everyone has disposable income the competition for it is so fierce that marketing expertise is needed in order that an organisation might maintain an edge over its rivals. The entire 'Consumer' revolution, led by Ralph Nader's 'Raiders' and embodied in 'Which' magazine, seems based on the assumption that these aims are not wrong but mismanaged. Hence the argument is always geared towards a definition of superior electric toothbrushes rather than a questioning of their ultimate value given the resources consumed in their production and use. This latter point is a major plank in a body of criticism which has become the philosophy of 'Ecologists' or the 'Green Party'. Although well intentioned, often justified, but clumsy and naive, this critique offered no real alternative for society at large.[1,2]

> "What the New Left lacks, of course, is a practical, comprehensive solution ... The radicals know what must come down, but not what should go up. In this matter, however, they are no different from past revolutionaries, even the most successful."

"You could strike sparks anywhere. There was a fantastic universal sense that whatever we were doing was right, that we were winning ...

And that, I think, was the handle - that sense of inevitable victory over the forces of Old and Evil. Not in any mean or military sense; we didn't need that. Our energy would simply prevail. There was no point in fighting - on our side or theirs. We had all the momentum; we were riding the crest of a high and beautiful wave ...

So now, less than five years later, you can go up on a steep hill in Las Vegas and look West, and with the right kind of eyes you can almost see the high-water mark - that place where the wave finally broke and rolled back."

Consumer economics, hence marketing, remains a commercial principle and a centre around which managerial expertise is grouped.

The vitality of Nader's assault upon General Motors and the freshness of the 'Ecologist' critique fueled my reservations about the nature of marketing as a discipline. This disquiet over the nature of marketing managers and the implication of at least some 'professional' standards was encouraged by the work of Ezra Mishan (1967)[3] coupled with my experiences in market research for a supplier of brewers requisites.

Mishan provided the idea that industry should be directly responsible for not only those aspects of production which have become traditionally accepted as legitimate; items such as labour, raw materials and transport, but also for the other more indirect costs of that industry. Thus a company responsible for the extraction of minerals, for example, would be held liable for making good the damage caused by mining those elements. The company would also be responsible for the side effects of manufacture so that the removal of harmful waste from factory effluent and the introduction of precautionary works practices to safeguard employees' health would add to the final cost of the product. Mishan argued that the standard costing techniques were misleading and if society at large was faced with the true cost of a product it would not sell. He expected the impetus of higher standards to reawaken industrial interest in good rather than adequate design. There is also, throughout Mishan's work, an assumption that such a costing system might better reflect industrial morality than money profits. It is implicit in this analysis that the makers of steel do not have an inalienable

right to pump sulphur dioxide into the atmosphere, thereby encouraging the corrosion of entire cities. Similarly, if those processes using crippling or carcinogenic chemicals were to include the costs of proper safeguards and good pensions in the final price, some cheaper alternative would soon be the norm.

However, another side to this is described by Beckerman (1976)[4] in a rebuttal of such criticisms.

> There is no doubt that economic growth is the only way that the poorest two-thirds of the world's population can eliminate the pollution and environmental degredation that always goes hand-in-hand with poverty"

Beckerman may be seen as essentially sympathetic to those arguments developed from Gist (1971)[5] later in this chapter. The inference may be drawn as Beckerman appears equally convinced of the nature of economic development yet prepared to admit that commercial exchanges may operate from a basis of inequality.[6]

> "This market mechanism fails to ensure, however, that society's demand for a clean environment is automatically satisfied ... the costs of pollution are not usually borne by those that are responsible for the pollution and are borne, instead, by the victims. This means that there is no automatic incentive for polluters to reduce their pollution to the point where the benefits to them of being able to pollute the environment just match the costs to society of this pollution."

Clearly the debate over consumer economics concerned, if only by implication, an evaluation of the role of marketing in these developments. Whilst I have long been interested in such theories in themselves, it was exposure to some of the more practical facets of this argument which led to the conviction that the nature of business practice was not all that might be expected.

Some market research, for a supplier of brewers' requisites, involved visits to the largest brewers in Britain. They were deemed, by my employers, as the most important because they were the biggest. This alone raises the point that whilst smaller firms might be more dependent on or prone to innovation, market share made the difference.

Although it had seemed reasonable to expect to meet head brewers it was somewhat unsettling to find a number of the largest breweries in the country geared to groups of industrial chemists who were proud of their expertise and the standing it gave them.

Particularly impressive was a visit to the Gwaith Dwr brewery at Llynymeirw which covers the process from hops to keg. To remove protein haze and other undesirable elements of the brew the liquid was filtered with thousands of little polystyrene balls. These were then washed and used again, thus obviating the need for any of those products made by the sponsors of the research. Whilst the innovative nature of the filtration and the mastery of technology implicit in the size of the plant could readily be appreciated it did seem as though the investment involved in such production would condemn the drinking public to something a long way from both the folklore nature of beer and the expectations one might reasonably have of the advertised product of that same brewery. So it proved, eventually, for the beer in question was the notorious 'Merddwr'. Although the pressure group C.A.M.R.A. objected to this liquid being called beer, the way in which it was made and the way in which it was being foisted on the public, Gwaith Dwr did not admit their mistake until it became clear that 'Merddwr' was being out-sold by other 'bright' keg beers. The point remains that given the oligopolistic nature of mass brewing, an average product would have been better than this. The concomitant attempt at a Gwaith Dwr corporate public house livery of red with white lettering might then have meant something other than uniformly awful. As it was the livery was abandoned with the beer and Gwaith Dwr were seen to have made two very public mistakes.

The massive expenditure on advertising and promotion might have given brewing a publicly competitive nature and fostered thoughts of quick witted marketing departments which would not do such things but rather herald hard fought superiorities of product. Whilst none of the other breweries visited seemed to have made a 'Merddwr' they were coping with a boom in demand for lager by importing brands and brews rather than attempting to judge the nuances of the home market. Guinness, recog-nising the limitations of being a one product firm, did not try to

bridge the gap between the brewing of stout and that of lager. They bought half of 'Harp lager' instead. The other major breweries seemed to have bought the innovations and then flooded the market with imitations. (Grunhalle - Good Grief!)

My furthering education brought these intimations to a head when I read Walker's work concerning professionalism amongst marketing and personnel managers (1976).[7] His efforts on these lines raised the possibility, through a similar awkwardness in relative development, of using one as a guide to research into the other. Whilst personnel managers have been party to somewhat introspective consideration (Legge 1978)(Watson 1977)[8] of which more later, marketing has always been presented as unquestionably monolithic by most of its theorists. This serves not only to draw attention away from individual weaknesses of interpretation by making variations seem merely a matter of emphasis but also, by ignoring rigorous criticism, encourages the appearance of a corpus of marketing knowledge. Such agreement, when a matter of consensus amongst practitioners and laity, is generally taken to be a 'professional' attribute involving concomitant ethical standards and codes of practice. It may well be that part of the refusal by marketing theorists to investigate failures such as the Edsel lies in a degree of awareness of these very aspects of business and a resultant unwillingness to dignify unwarranted nit picking by taking it too seriously. A reasonable point of view, given the self discipline commonly understood to be a 'professional' characteristic. The following is therefore taken to be an exceptional rebuttal.

Professor R.R. Gist devotes the opening three chapters of "Marketing and Society; A Conceptual Introduction" (1971)[9] to dealing with the nature of marketing and the dismissal of six criticisms he feels are the most frequently advanced against marketing activities. The details of Gist's apparently broad definition of marketing as a social practice and an academic discipline are perhaps more readily understood through the development of counter arguments to these unfavourable views. The debate is necessarily somewhat complex as

> "the discipline of marketing incorporates and uses ideas from such areas as economics, psychology, social psychology, sociology, anthropology, law, mathematics and many others"

The first of this ill starred sextet is the notion that marketing is unproductive. Citing Plato and Aristotle in harness with an article on marketing as 6,000 years of "fast-buck artists, con-men, wheeler-dealers and shoddy-goods distributors" (D.I. Farmer 1967)[10] Gist notes that marketing has been maligned for not changing the physical form of an article. These critics have also undervalued the provisions of time, place and possession utility. Such utilities are intended to represent the maintaining of a given, potentially saleable item at a time and place convenient to both dealer and public. It is pointed out that[11]

> "in general, the rule to observe is that <u>as an economic system matures - as greater specialisation and division of labour occurs - the need for marketing specialisation increases"</u>

Bearing in mind the previous claims for elements of anthropology in marketing it seems more reasonable, in dealing with the Classics, to try and see criticisms in context. It does not appear too extreme to argue that as the Greeks presumably had a less mature economy than nowadays, their finances and definitions of trade would be almost entirely concerned with basics such as food, clothing and shelter. Given such rudimentary commerce it would not be difficult to see how consumers might fail to develop definitions of trade capable of ascribing utility to dealers with no wares, unsaleable products or markets in unexpected places. These naive customers might also be more inclined to trading with producers as a means to the readier assessment of quality and price. The uncertainty of buying essential items from unsure sources might thus be avoided. Similarly constraints of local pride and regional identity could scarcely be overlooked in a land of city states. Furthermore, dealers and customers would surely be too concerned with avoiding the harsher effects of a basic economy and its vagaries to care much about what might now pass for inconvenience. Whilst such points may be seen as niceties, the original question of the worth of marketing should perhaps be taken into consideration with these as well as the other criticisms which Gist attempts to deal with.

Even if one were to accept Gist's dismissal of Aristotle and Plato without wondering how their works came to be the sole examples of what is supposedly a contemporary criticism one might entertain some doubts as to the costs of marketing activities and the possibility of

there being some excesses involved. Gist estimates that 25% of the U.S. workforce is engaged in marketing activities involving 1,700,000 retail stores and 300,000 wholesale outlets. He finds business failures running at a rate of 10,000 a year not all of which are caused directly by marketing mismanagement. Marketing is thus a large contributor to the employment of contemporary U.S. society. This increases the difficulty of demonstrating that one might work in such a field yet be part of costs which could and should be cut. Gist (1971)[12] does accept that

> "to the extent that marketing institutions exist in excess, then, they introduce an element of inefficiency into the economic process of allocation"

Yet rather than attempt the ramifications of such a problem in terms of his own definition of marketing, example is made of overtly simplistic manufacturing and marketing costs and ways in which they might be misread. One is led to the conclusion that his point could not be demonstrated by figures from one of the 2,000,000 marketing organisations in his estimate. Gist (1971)[13] acknowledges that

> "noneconomic-irrelevant informative appeal is one which is effectively sterile - upon close examination it says virtually nothing, but it often leads the reader or viewer to infer that something is being said"

In attempting the problems of excessive costs and marketing Galbraith (1958)[14] is cited as differentiating between needs such as food for the hungry and wants like food for the recently fed. The latter, he claims, are not so urgent because buyers use advertising in making their decisions on which purchase to make. Having seen that Galbraith is using an Aristotelean definition of necessity Gist (1971)[15] points out that

> "the concept of need is both a highly personal and a very elastic concept."

The sociological and psychological overtones of this line are ignored however. It might not be insupportable to argue that in a society where one in four works in marketing, advertising is a measure of the social acceptability of products. Surely no one could be expected to buy the "wrong" one when the "right" one is available. Gist is perhaps

acknowledging something akin to this when he amplifies an inference concerning marketing costs; they are democratically self-inflicted in that they are what customers ask them to be. The logic of this is apparently economic in that products which are seen as being overpriced are supposed not to sell until the price is more reasonable. Bearing in mind the earlier descriptions of time, place and possession utility, Gist allows two faults in this democratic process. He finds that there are 'time lags', whereafter the price mechanism is effective, and 'democratic inequities; which is understood to mean that the majority might find a product tolerably priced yet an individual might not.[16]

> "Thus, the market system may at times seem totally unresponsive to our personal preferences when in fact it is responding to the opposite view of some larger group"

This system obviously works better when consumers have similar incomes but there is little development of the possibility that a pricing and marketing regime which caters for a wealthy majority cannot really cope with poor minorities who are more inclined towards Aristotelean trade. Beckerman has already been seen to be somewhat more blunt about this.

The third criticism, that "the marketing system is often unresponsive to consumer wants", offers an opportunity for Gist (1971)[17] to refute this. He comments

> "that the value actually perceived by a consumer is a highly personal thing - value is in fact determined in the mind of the consumer. This is an important point, for it suggests that where aesthetic and psychological product properties are concerned, few people are qualified to determine preferences in behalf of others. That is, we would expect to find relatively little agreement among consumers as to the precise value of a particular good or service. Such value is ultimately determined by the interaction of such a complex group of conditions that no two persons are likely to behold a given item as having precisely the same value."

A necessarily long quotation which implies fairly strongly that the price mechanism is based on rough averages used as a poor substitute for more complex analysis in those fields such as sociology and psychology wherein Gist claims marketing expertise.

Gist does seek to demonstrate that those enduring the dictates of groups as monied consumers are treated reasonably. In refuting charges of marketing as exploitation Gist (1971)[18] cites "an exhaustive six city investigation" by the U.S. Department of Agriculture which concludes that

> "Food chains do not now and never have discriminated against any groups or class of customers and fully recognise their obligations to deal fairly and honestly with everyone they serve"

Apart from the unlikelihood of any food chain admitting such exploitation to the Government this is an example of particular importance because it demonstrates the likely outcome of fixed price articles being sold to buyers with a variety of incomes. Gist argues that as the price of an item is constant, no one is exploited because no single purchaser pays more than any other. However, Gist, in making no mention of the variations in relative expenditure, seems to suggest fairly clearly that he views the cited arrangement as so much a part of common understanding as to be unworthy of elaboration or comment. Such a degree of assumed mutual interest is often given moral or ethical embellishments as the assumption hardens through frequent unchallenged use.

All this sits oddly with the assertion that[19]:

> "there is a long tradition in the literature of marketing for distinguishing between rational actions and emotional actions by consumers."

Whilst the latter may be taken as a somewhat jaundiced nexus for those behavioural disciplines which Gist sees as essential to marketing, the implied superiority of the bases for 'rational actions' is less obvious. It could be argued that the economic models which Gist relies upon for his separation are a more amenable form of evidence, at least in terms of marketing. This is a potentially intriguing characteristic because Gist is attempting to describe some of the exchanges through which 'business' and society in general influence each other yet ignoring the impact that any such relationship might have upon forms of criticism.[20]

> "Thus an appeal is thought of as rational if it presents serious, hard evidence about price or performance of a product or service. Conversely, an appeal is thought of as emotional if it is based on such judgemental matters as aesthetics, self-esteem, peer acceptance and similar bases"

Gist makes it eminently clear that marketing does have costs but whilst these may be inescapable the nature of contemporary economics is such that "marketing costs are what we ask them to be "

This system is 'democratic' and, given the nature of politics in the U.S.A., such an evaluation can hardly be seen as an advancement of unusual or undesirable ethics. It follows, therefore, that, as this argument represents "serious, hard evidence" about the price of a service, it is not an appeal based on "judgemental matters" such as "self-esteem" or "peer acceptance" but entirely 'rational'.

The adoption of a high moral tone might be seen as a necessary prelude to the fourth criticism; that marketing practitioners are often unscrupulous. Indeed, given Gist's basic assumption that marketing is so much a part of contemporary society as to be beyond moral criticism, it comes as something of a surprise to find Chapter IV devoted to 'Deception'. No doubt the latter is included as a guide with which to avoid serious errors. Gist (1971)[21] warns potential entrepreneurs who lack adequate training that they are likely to be unable

> "to fully appreciate the social responsibility with which American business is necessarily charged."

With every intention, no doubt, of spurring these tyros to greater efforts Gist (1971)[22] remarks,

> "the entire history of trade reflects malpractices of one kind or another"

The exact nature of these malpractices is perhaps more easily estimated when Gist's detailing of marketing organisations is recalled. He puts the business failure rate at less than one in 200 per year, not all of which are caused directly by marketing mismanagement.

There is also mention of a more specific problem concerning the nature of marketing managers. Gist (1971)[23] believes that,

> "it is possible to have both relative freedom of entry and an acceptable level of professional conduct by membership; but a more general sense of social responsibility will have to prevail than presently"

The latter is a parallel to Gist's (1971)[24] earlier observation on urban race riots.

> "Critics ... tend to agree that the widespread looting of stores ... is one of the results that can occur when people are tempted with elaborate artefacts but not given the means to acquire them"

Thus the Watts disturbances are essentially an irrational minority response to democratic pricing.

Such urban unrest might, perhaps, be lessened when marketing ceases to be the imprecise and unscientific discipline critics feel it is. Whilst Gist's opening definition gives a broad outline of the disciplines he sees as contributing to marketing it is unreasonable to expect 'scientific' precision when the behavioural sciences contribute so much. Gist (1971)[25] warns that

> "a fine mastery of marketing involves an ability to understand and interpret legal doctrine, an ability to analyse and interpret human behaviour in terms of concepts from the behavioural sciences, an ability to choose and use research methods that represent scientific method, and an ability to reason within the framework of models of complex phenomena. Few academic disciplines demand more than that."

With these demanding strictures clearly laid out it may be as well to note a previous disclaimer that,[26]

> "Marketing is relatively young as an academic discipline. This fact makes marketing a mere infant compared to, say, economics, law, medicine and other studies."

Alert readers will have noticed that Gist cites criticisms of marketing from the Greece of Aristotle and Plato before demonstrating bad practice amongst traders in Mediaeval London. At no point are U.S. institutions or practices weighed and found similarly lacking. Having thus displayed his "ability to reason within the framework of complex phenomena" Gist remarks on another academic criticism: "that marketing

has no truly professional standards of membership". Given his emphasis on the need for 'proper moral responsibility' and the chapter on deception, this is surely a common misunderstanding.

As might be readily expected in one of Gist's

> "ability to analyse and interpret human behaviour in terms of concepts from the behavioural sciences."

the criticisms he has so expertly dealt with have been traced to their sources. Gist finds "institutional educational forces" to be orchestrating the attack. These "teachers of the liberal arts" are more interested in maintaining either "the inherent status of the liberal arts" or, for personal reasons, denying professional curricula a place in universities. Only the cynical or "those who oppose the profit system as a basic economic regulator" could support such self interest, especially in view of Gist's elegant treatment of Mediaeval History, Classics, Law and the Fine Arts. Likewise Gist is a more than competent political analyst. He dismisses "the hippies, yippies, and all of their ideological offering" in a line despite the contemporary success of "Steal This Book" (1971)[27] by Abbie Hoffman, a Yippie leader, and chooses not to comment on the notable ironies of 'minority' movements which achieved similar commercial triumphs selling brown rice, push bikes, jewellery and marijuana 'accessories'. Those who search for socio-psychological, anthropological, or sociological analyses of commentators on marketing such as Karl Marx or Thorsten Veblen will find them treated less fully than Ralph Nader. He gets a footnote.[28] Gist's refusal to be drawn is of course a further demonstration, if one were necessary, of his impartiality and the sharpness of his critical faculty.

In rejecting the last slight, of marketing as the father of materialism, he (1971)[29] notes,

> "though this brief statement of the materialism problem does not give recognition to all the nuances of the argument, it will suffice for our purposes"

Despite his justified suspicions of the liberal arts, Gist (1971)[30] proves to be a master of ethics.

> "The view taken here is that marketing activities are not evidence of a grand commercial conspiracy that has been thrust forcibly upon the consumer, but that such activities are a natural form of human endeavour"

With such a well-established foundation it is not surprising to find the last jibe, of 'materialism' through marketing, crushingly denied by Gist's previously noted assertion that an increase in the demand for marketing is a necessary and unavoidable result of the specialisation and division of labour that accompanies the maturing of an economic system. Doubtless a prelude to the good life with no ethical quibbles over profit or exploitation, just natural, healthy democratic pricing and a full appreciation "of the social responsibility with which ... business is necessarily charged"

Mention has been made of a tendency towards introspection amongst practitioners and theorists of personnel management. The resultant spread of publications and information concerning personnel managers as individuals and the way they manage their roles in organisations is problematic because[31]

> "The stumbling block which is quickly reached in a study of Personnel Specialists is the question of what the relationship is between occupational and organisational orientations"

It would appear that a development of this argument, when applied to marketing managers, might offer some degree of resolution for those problems encountered in Gist and implicit in the theoretical analyses which contained no serious attempt at evaluating the organisational issues raised in the 'Edsel' affair. Walker's assessment (1976)[32] of marketing and the parallel progress of personnel management as commercial disciplines with developing overtones of 'professionalism' may be seen as a further encouragement to attempt an investigation of the day to day realities of marketing management. It is hoped that efforts in this direction will not only offer possible routes round Tyson's stumbling block, if it exists for marketing managers, but go some way in confirming the maturity of Gist's 'necessary moral standards' as 'professional' ethics or codes of practice. Apart from its obvious complementary potential for studies such as those by Tyson and Walker,

this evaluation would seem to represent a justifiable extension of a line of thought inspired in part by Watson's (1977)[33] study of personnel managers.

Watson (1977)[34] did appear to offer the basis for some degree of 'objectivity' in that

> "as one's researches and one's theorising are parts of one's self then one must locate them in their biographical context."

Thus it seemed that whilst one might not be able to argue a freedom from value, one might at least be consistent in one's 'self' exposure. Leaving aside, for the moment, the difficulties inherent in this point of view, there remains a need for some means of explicating marketing as a social function. Whilst the original intent and thrust of this investigation were geared solely to the demands of marketing as a commercial discipline and guide to executive decision making, some re-appraisal would seem justified.

The nature of mass consumption. [35]

Consumption as a social practice appears to constitute the basis of

> "The world of everyday life into which we are born"

It would appear that what each person knows of this existence differs from the understanding of everyone else. Thus one is an expert or a novice depending on the situation (Leiter 1980)[36] Marketing managers may therefore occupy two roles simultaneously whenever an understanding of consumption is needed. The suggested ambiguity of their professional standing might however indicate an ability to empathise with lay consumers although Schutz (1962)[37] seems to be arguing that this division can never be complete.

> "The vernacular of everyday life is primarily a language of named things and events and any name includes a typification and generalisation referring to the relevant system prevailing in the linguistic in-group which found the named thing significant enough to provide a separate term for it.... vernacular can be interpreted as ... preconstituted types and characteristics, all socially derived and carrying along an open horizon of unexplored content."

Schutz (1964)[38] also expands on the social nature of understanding in a manner which heralds the difficulties implicit in any attempt at 'consistent self exposure'.

> "Only a very small part of my knowledge originates within my personal experience. The greater part is socially derived, handed down to me by my friends, my parents, my teachers and teachers of my teachers"

As day to day interpretations of consumption might well be less than compatible with the constraints and ethics of any developing professional understanding amongst marketing managers, the task in hand would seem more complex. Effort would now seem better directed towards an evaluation of how these trading vernaculars might develop and the ways in which marketing managers interpret their positions with respect to these shifts.

The previous chapter, based on the Ford 'Edsel', was intended as a vehicle for some of these aspects of marketing which appear unambiguous when subsumed in theorists' texts yet become increasingly uncertain with successive attempts at resolution. A recognition of their complexities and the extent to which they are inherent in the role of 'marketing manager' would seem to form not only a major part of this investigation but also offer a means whereby writers such as Gist (Op. cit.)[39] might be reconsidered. The possibility exists of a conceptual iceberg which could link those commentators and practitioners of marketing who might currently appear irreconcilable. This chapter is therefore intended as an examination of some of these possibilities. As with the story of the Edsel, it is inevitable that certain points of view should be less appealing or evocative than others. However, it will be argued that Marketing as a body of understanding involves the sum of these appreciations rather than any single one. Douglas and Isherwood (1978)[40], however, appear less optimistic :

> "It is extraordinary to discover that no one knows why people want goods. Demand theory is at the very center, even at the origin of economics as a discipline. Yet 200 years of thought on the subject has little to show on the question."

Gist (Op.cit)[41] has argued that economics would provide the basis for 'rational decisions' about products and denigrated the social and cultural aspects of consumption as 'irrational' and contrary to the orderliness of 'democratic' pricing. If these views are equally representative of marketing as a commercial discipline then those who

organise attempts at the analysis, prediction and regulation of consumer behaviour clearly occupy an unusual position. The ambiguity of this situation is heightened by Sahlins (1976)[42] :

> "One evident matter - for bourgeois society as much as the so-called primitive - is that material aspects are not usefully separated from the social, as if the first were referable to the satisfaction of needs by the exploitation of nature, the second to problems of the relations between men. Having made such a fateful differentiation of cultural components - having dissociated the cultural order into sub-systems of different purpose - we are forced to live forever with the intellectual consequences."

Sahlins is not talking about marketing managers as a group but of participation in 'trade' as unavoidable in a consumer society, hence a part of common understanding. It is implicit, therefore, in any debate concerning the nature and practice of exchange that the role of marketing managers, whilst varying in the extent of its coverage, should come under scrutiny no matter which analytical techniques are employed. Discussions of the nature of consumption often acknowledge the areas in which purchasers are presumed to be demonstrating expertise when shopping yet fail to extend these measures into marketing.[43]

> "All that the consumer receives when making a purchase .. not only a physical entity but also a complex of tangible attributes, including such things as warranties, packaging, color , design, and even psychic stimulation, as well as services."

Hirsch, however, does attempt to form links between consumption, the people involved and the nature of produce. Firstly he argues that "Social limits to growth intensify the distributional struggle. They increase the importance of relative place" which focusses attention on marketing if the 'social limits' are accepted. An alternative means of closing the divide between goods bought out of basic physical necessity and the rest is also provided. Hirsch's argument is not from the same basis as Sahlins but from that of economics which may account for some of the ambiguities involved in the concept of "social limits to growth". Of more immediacy, however, are Hirsch's developments of a theory behind consumption, once basic survival is ensured. Certain items of physical scarcity carry over into the latter phase, 'Old Masters' or natural landscape for example.

All other items Hirsch classifies as "matters of 'social scarcity'"[44] a category he develops thus. A product or service is 'socially scarce' if the satisfaction derived from its purchase is direct, because no one else has a similar item, or indirect, through the intrinsic characteristics of purchases, like unspoilt landscape. The latter is obviously governed by spreading consumption whilst the former is restricted by physical congestion, which belittles Ferraris with traffic jams, or social congestion; we can't all be Prime Minister. Excessive demands are contained by auctioning and crowding. Unrelieved crowding causes quality dilution through increased production or skimping. Hirsch doesn't expand on the use of auctions as a limit although increasing the price of an item but not the availability tends to encourage rival producers or substitute products which again serve to dilute any original scarcity or quality.

Crowding may also be relieved, Hirsch believes, through means such as Dutch auctions and taxation or variations in the social construction of value. This involves screening for jobs through the assertion of professional standards or some similar obstacle course. Hirsch may be seen to be developing a theory of consumption as a social necessity whereby the rituals of the market place are the fabric of any understanding beyond basic survival. It is therefore argued that marketing as an industrial or business aid is severely limited because these rituals of trade can only take place within 'social limits to growth'.[45]

> "... as general standards of living rise, demand for luxuries becomes more extensively diffused throughout the population. Where the demand falls or positional goods whose availability is limited in some absolute sense, their relative price will increase; and to the extent that particular positional goods are actively sought for the performance of a specific function beyond 'representation' this price increase will induce attempts by individuals to find substitutes .... Such attempts absorb real resources. They yield a benefit to the individuals concerned, but for society, they are at best a stand-off. Rather than trinkets, the decorative appurtenances of the rich then become squirrels wheels for those below; objects of desire that the most intensive effort cannot reach. Competition moves increasingly from the material sector to the positional sector whence what one wins another loses in a zero-sum game. As the frontier closes, positional competition intensifies."

Hirsch (1977)[46] goes on to make the crucial point that trade takes the form it does because consumers make efforts in given directions for reasons which he sees as essentially selfish.

> "For the efficient working of a market itself rests on certain aspects of social morality that are affected by the means and motives prevalent in the economic system. As capitalism has become more mature and more managed, the stresses resulting from the social dichotomy have grown."

Titmus (1970)[47] offers support to the idea that a reliance on commercial motivation rather than altruism and mutual obligation has detrimental effects on the quality of products and the efficiency of their provision. The society which is being described here is one of increasing fragmentation and degenerating cohesiveness. Hirsch (1977)[48] finds that :

> "Consumer advertising comprises a persistent series of initiatives and imperatives to the individual to look after himself and his immediate family; self-interest becomes the social norm, even duty."

Douglas and Isherwood (1980) cite Hicks (1965)[49] in the beginning of what is intended as a serious difference of opinion with Hirsch. This argument can be seen as giving insights into the nature of trade which might be helpful in the analysis of marketing despite the apparent unwillingness of marketing theorists to consider their discipline in terms other than reflexive common places such as "marketing, a controlled approach to selling". As a means to a more convincing view of commercial practicalities Hicks offers this :

> "We ought to think of the consumer as choosing according to his preferences, between certain objectives; in deciding more or less as the entrepreneur decides, between means of reaching these objectives. The commodities which he purchases are for the most part means to the attainment of objectives, not objectives themselves."

Hirsch (1977)[50] gives the alternative, which is a tolerably close version of traditional marketing theory :

> "The common assumption, almost always hidden, is that the commercialisation process does not affect the product, so that the product, independent of the process by which it is acquired, sufficiently defines the objective."

Given the nature of consumer societies and the implicit understanding that mass production is undeniable, individuals are likely to have a self-knowledge reflecting the available types of trade. Douglas and Isherwood (1980)[51] join Sahlins in the development of this line of thought.

> "Let us put an end to the widespread and misleading distinction between goods that sustain life and health and others that service the mind and heart - spiritual goods. That false distinction leaves a mass of unnecessary luxuries to be accounted for by a mixture of consumer gullibility and sinister advertising. The counter-argument ... is that all goods carry meaning, but none by itself ... The meaning is in the relations between all the goods, just as music is in the relations marked out by the sound and not in any one note."

Apart from this discredited dichotomy there is, in Hirsch's model, a more fundamental flaw. In arguing for a closed economy he appears to be describing a more complex version of the Nuer dilemma. This Sudanese tribe refused to trade with their neighbours because all they had to sell were cattle, the only measure of wealth in Nuer society. The money resulting from the successful sale of a beast would enable the purchase of another. All the Nuer barters, fines, dowries and levies reflected the possession of a given number of animals by a known population and trading even cattle for cattle, would involve serious risks. Hirsch (1977)[52] recognises the intellectual implications that Sahlins mentions (Op.cit) but seems unable to find a similar side step.

> "The narrow 'market' assumptions that (1) individual objectives are directed only to private goals and (2) individual behaviour follows these objectives, are insufficient to explain some central collective activities. Something else is necessary to elicit independent support for society's rules and conventions."

Douglas and Isherwood (1980)[53] advance the idea of goods as marking devices, a line which might be expected in a society which manufactures articles and has a legal structure based on the concepts and rights of possession, ownership, bequeathment and so on. As has been shown, the individual or family collection of artefacts is not an end in itself. Hirsch, in his mechanisms of scarcity, is assuming a constant value for products which is manifestly unjustifiable in a consumer society.

Apart from the way in which mass production is geared up to cope with congested demand, even the demonstrable physical scarcity of Rembrandts is only of importance if society deems it so. Articles which are 'socially scarce' tend not to stay that way. It is implicit in consumer society's understanding of itself that such items should become commonplace.

These developments of Hirsch's arguments are not simply a matter of disagreement. The original intention of investigating the possibility of some relationship between traditional applied economics and the anthropology of consumption was based on Hirsch's (1977)[54] redrawing of the former discipline.

> "... market valuation, the bedrock of classical and neo-classical economics to this day. Market valuation is grounded on existing wants; it reflects the subjective priorities of present-day consumers, weighted by the purchasing power at their disposal. It retains the Benthamite subjectivity which was blind to any gradation of wants or recognition of needs. For, in short, it assumes 'consumer sovereignty', or more correctly, the sovereignty of consumer dollars".

Hirsch (1977)[55] may be seen as denying the very basis of Gist's "democratic pricing". His reasons for this are based partially on what he finds in the internal logic of such a concept but more so in the expansion of 'social scarcity' as an idea.

> "The choice facing the individual in a market or market-type transaction in the positional sector, in a context of material growth, always appears more attractive than it turns out to be after others have exercised their choice."

In essence, Hirsch is taking the constancy of an article's price to be a measure of diminishing value through declining scarcity. The first purchaser of a given item buys something unique. This can never be repeated even if the definition of uniqueness is taken to be that of the first consumer within a range of mutual acquaintances rather than the more common absolute. Hirsch's point is somewhat muted because individual purchases can only be made on partial information which of necessity involves some degree of ignorance about the doings of other consumers. Therefore, in the case of the Edsel, the vast press interest might be seen as a measure of expectation and the rapid decline

in the news value of the car after its launch a parallel of that fall in value which Hirsch examines. It is also possible that a product might become a commercial success as the initial number of publicly satisfied customers convinces others of an article's worth. Hirsch does provide for 'defensive' goods or regrettable necessities which derive "value only from the negative factor that is being countered". Essentially a consumer's display of trade and ownership is merely maintained if an item is bought because 'everyone has one'. The only means of compensating for any failure to adhere to such a norm would be the acceptance of a drop in demonstrated worth or the purchase of a product which is more valuable than the original and in a related field.

Hirsch emphasises the internal contradictions of democratic pricing by advancing the possession of scarce items as a means to disproportionate income. Land, the original source of wealth in consumer economies, is in demonstrably short supply. So too, are resources which cost so much to produce in numbers that few would even consider such a purchase. Factories, the exploitation of minerals and the development of skills are all examples of products which demand prohibitive outlay.[56]

> "It is one-sided to expect those who command relatively great organizational or political power to restrain its exertion, in the collective interest, if no similar restraints are applied to the exercise of relatively great independent acquisitive market power by other individuals in the collectivity. Workers organized in unions are asked to restrain their use of disruptive economic power, while individuals who are able to exert greater acquisitive power without recourse to disruptive power remain free to do so."

It may be argued that if a society is founded on trade and its members have unequal access to the means of commerce then marketing is to some extent political in nature. Hirsch finds a fundamental ambivalence in the social dynamics which result from consumption.[57,58]

> "But while the spread of bourgeois objectives downward through the social scale strengthens the political legitimacy of liberal market capitalism, the same process proves ultimately disruptive for economic performance."
>
> "It (a latent process of embourgeoisement) entices additional demands for goods and facilities that in their nature are attainable only by a minority."

If, however, these products are known to have changing rather than constant social values,the spread of once rare items may be seen as a means to continuing society rather than disrupting it. Any focus of attention would then shift from the value of individual products of constant worth to a publicly negotiated social order displayed through trade and ownership. The importance of marketing would seem to lie, in part at least, in the interpretation of these webs of meaning and the devising of new products which might be adopted as extensions of contemporary display.

There are grounds for noting that, under conditions of scarcity these positional relationships between goods and consumers are maintained by inflation in the price of products so that relative values remain fairly constant. For example, virtually everyone in contemporary Poland may be taken to find food scarce and highly priced. However, inflation can be provoked by the demands of one group of consumers and yet contained within their appetities. In the American Civil War Confederate ships would run the Union blockade because of the profits to be earned from supplying Southern gentry with imported goods such as brandy and lace. Although the risks of this trade were well known and increased throughout the war, business became so brisk that legislation was considered necessary to ensure that at least half of any load should be for the war effort, (Catton 1967)[59]. That consumption of these goods should be so important may be taken as a measure of the way in which a given social group saw itself and the importance of that vision.

In Hirsch's terms these dangerous imports offer both direct satisfaction through their social scarcity and incidental satisfaction from assumed intrinsic characteristics unless, of course, the brandy proved too expensive to drink. It should be noted, however, that by maintaining their consumption with respect to each other the gentry involved have become distanced from the rest of Southern society. Despite the privations of war it was felt that the running of luxuries through the blockades should not be made illegal. A link is thus drawn between consumption habits and the likely social standing of regular buyers who may thus be seen as not only rich and influential but legitimately so.

In marketing terms, the idea of such a group as a basis for sales efforts is well accepted. In theory, each social or 'peer' group consists of a range of attitudes to the risk inherent in buying a new product but joined through convergent belief in matters of greater mutually agreed importance. The intention, amongst marketing executives, would then be to interest the more adventurous members of such a group in purchasing a product. It would be hoped that meeker spirits would then follow on in order to protect group norms or values. The failure rate amongst new products, currently running at roughly seven out of every ten launched, would seem to suggest that either marketing is not as accurate a guide to investment as it might be or that the ways in which consumers value products are more easily overlooked or misunderstood than has been thought. Douglas and Isherwood (1980)[60] are also sceptical :

> "The consumption criterion used by market researchers could yield a good idea of what social class is like if it were used systematically. But though it could indeed define social class, such a definition of social class could not then be used to explain consumption behaviour."

However, the opportunities for exploration offered by this observation are ignored and the traditional divisions, decried by Sahlins, are maintained. Aesthetics and the socio-psychology of ownership seem to be product variables, which, through their inaccessibility to measurement, are unimportant. Luck and Ferrell (1979)[61] offer an unusual guide to what is clearly a problematic area.

> "Principle No. One; Let everything you do in the areas of advertising, merchandising, and promotion flow naturally from the product itself ... and from the personality of the product."

This remark is peculiar in that it apparently reverses the customer orientation upon which marketing is supposed to rest. The implication is that marketing managers analyse the potential markets so well that once a perceived opening has hardened into an investment and a product, the process thereafter should derive from that product, a commercial equivalent of the drag racing stricture "Run what ya Brung" (Watson, P.,1981)[62] and never mind what might now be suitable. There are obvious overtones of the 'Edsel' affair behind such a dogma yet the text is apparently credible.[63]

> "The marketing man's approach to pricing the social product is based on the assumption that members of a target audience perform a cost benefit analysis when considering the investment of money, time, or energy in the issue. They somehow process the major benefits and compare them to the major costs, and the strength of their motivation to act is directly related to the magnitude of the excess benefit. This type of conceptualisation of behaviour is found not only in the economist's model of economic man, but also in behaviouristic theory with its emphasis on rewards and costs, in Gestalt theory with its emphasis on positive and negative valences, and in management theory with its emphasis on incentives and constraints. The marketer's approach to selling a social product is to consider how the rewards for buying the product can be increased ... The main point is that social marketing requires that careful thought be given to the manner in which manageable, desirable, gratifying, and convenient solutions to a perceived need or problem are presented to its potential buyers."

Marketing as 'professional behaviour.'

The Institute of Marketing (1981)[64] defines marketing as "The management function responsible for identifying and anticipating and satisfying customer requirements profitably" and draws a sharp distinction between the marketing and sales functions. "Marketing is concerned with ensuring that the company supplies what the customer wants, while selling is concerned with ensuring that the customer buys what the company has".

In its own literature the I.O.M. admits to being far from representative of all marketing practioners and expects more members from those ranks. The quotation thus becomes both a definition of acceptable current practice and an indication of the lines along which it is hoped that the Institute will develop. Whilst neither Kotler's proposed 'Marketer' nor the Institutional man are solely dependent on simplistic economic models of behaviour the view of the world codified in these approaches owes a lot to such an outlook.

Walker's intimations of 'professionalism' amongst marketing managers would seem to indicate the development of some qualities amongst practitioners that have yet to be recognised by anthropologists. Tyson (1979),[65] however, in an examination of ambiguities of role amongst personnel managers, discourages the use of 'professionalism' as a measure.

> "The 'professionalisation' of various occupational groups is a topic which lends itself to continuing discussion by sociologists about defining terms. Increasingly writers have condemned the use of the word 'profession' as a sociological category, scorning the approach which was found in Carr-Saunders and Wilson (1933)[66] where occupational 'traits' are noted, the possession of these being thought to resolve whether or not people may call themselves 'semi-professional' or a 'professional'."

Tyson apparently sees 'professional' to be an absolute category debased by variations in definition multiplying to the point of diluting any sociologically worthwhile meaning. Such an approach seems to underestimate the possibilities of Carr-Saunders and Wilson's insight. If those definitions which constitute 'professional traits' are contemporaries of the practitioners under examination then whichever aspects are of greatest importance can be discussed against a background of common cultural assumptions. Thus, whilst a given phraseology would have different interpretations for Carr-Saunders, Wilson and Tyson it seems somewhat inappropriate to argue that either langauge or understanding could develop independently of each other or without reference to contemporary culture.

Elsewhere in the thesis, the argument will be made that corporate graphics, architecture and product design embody the visions of dominant organisational subgroups. It will serve here to note that, given such an ideological weighting, marketing managers might be expected to have a degree of influence reflecting their standing in a society based on consumption. Whilst the preconceptions which embody a value of 'professional' and the relevant behaviour may very there remains a link between 'professional' status and privilege. Thus the acceptance of a given body of knowledge and technique as a professional characteristic would involve a recognition of the mutable nature of that commonly held belief. To be seen as a professional a marketing manager would have to convince all other parties to his role that his continuing practice of a given commercial discipline did not allow any sanctionable fall from expected standards.

A degree of recognition, on a wider basis than fellow managers in other disciplines, might also be taken as a measure of the extent to which marketing managers, as an organisational minority, have developed a sense of normative behaviour. Part of Walker's (1976)[67] analysis

involved a consideration of marketing managers as 'professionals' by their comrades in business. Although the difference was slight marketing managers were felt, by other staff, to be more 'professional' than they appeared to the general public. This element of disagreement may be seen as introducing a further tension into the role play of marketing managers. It may, however, be no more than caution by their commercial contemporaries. As may be argued with the purge after the 'Edsel' debacle, to criticise failed managers too severely may undermine the position of trust which helps to justify managerial prerequisites. It would, therefore, be no more than politic to help marketing managers to a tolerable position.

Tyson, Walker, Carr-Saunders and Wilson all indicate a confluence of occupational, organisational and societal perspectives in the appreciation of professional qualities. One might therefore conclude that, in a consumer society, marketing management would be a form of commercial anthropology. Although Gist's (1971)[68] definitive lists would allow such a combination, the emphasis on economic variables seems to suggest that professional characteristics might differ, within theories and organisations, from those of society in general. Alternatively these may be no more than inflections determined by differing viewpoints. Marketing managers might thus be restricted to 'semi professionalism' by the way in which some organisationally desirable characteristics might prove less valuable in wider terms.

In using professional status as the codification of socially encouraged practices and standards several questions of definition occur. Current uses of the word 'professional' include mercenary variations applying to any sportsman who is no longer able to pass for an amateur and complex ethical points such as the footballer's 'professional foul'. The implication of the latter is that, in conditions involving sufficient money and matters of importance, otherwise proscribed behaviour is understandable and, to some extent, tolerable or less serious than it might otherwise seem. These variations cannot be excluded from social interpretations of 'professionalism' although, according to Halmos (1979)[69] this understanding would seem minor given societal expectations of superior ethical standards of behaviour from 'professionals'. Thus, doctors do not smoke, dentists have rotten teeth or architects live in slums. The notable loyalty which many Ford employees showed to the 'Edsel' by driving them for years after everyone else had given up, may be an attempt at such behaviour.

Habermas (1971)[70] has noted that whilst an aspiration to 'professionalism' within society does not deny a new 'service ethic' this should not be taken to indicate a dissatisfaction with or an abandoning of the mercenary role. In a study of professional journals he found that 'instrumental action' was encouraged, not 'emancipatory behaviour'. This difference over the constitution of professional ethics may be accounted for by the different audiences involved. It may be implicit in the public display of 'professional behaviour' that intimations of avarice or uses of specialised knowledge which invoke contemporary understandings of greed are to be avoided. However, given the exclusivity of specialist publications, other criteria might well apply. Habermas' findings may represent an attempt, by professionals, to reassure themselves of their value to society. Thus, if the service offered can be shown to have been justly rewarded then all the stringencies of professional discipline and training have been worthwhile. The professionals in question remain a legitimate élite, their singular and collective authority reinforced.

This ambiguity raises an interesting issue. Marketing managers who, by definition, justify their positions through the encouragement of material consumption, are, in approaching 'professional status', incurring constraints on their own acquisitiveness. It may be that the intermediary standing which Walker finds attributable to marketing managers is not a sign of nascent 'professionalism" but the result of a mixture of definitions of 'professional' characteristics and a public eschewal of corporate greed.

The definition of 'professionalism' used in this study, derived from Watson's (1977)[71] work with personnal managers, is intended to accommodate a range of meanings. Traditional characteristics, such as the employment of a standard body of knowledge and technique, have been used with a self defining sample of marketing managers. This has meant that respondents were taken to be in 'marketing', if they claimed to practice it. The range of 'professional' criteria raised in conversation may thus be shown to share a contemporary frame of reference with definitions of marketing. A sample composed on this basis would therefore cover interpretations from 'professional' meaning done for money, to 'professional' as an acknowledgement of ethics. It is assumed that the role of marketing manager will vary between organisations and

trades giving concomitant differences of opinion as to what constitutes marketing. Even the Institute of Marketing cannot claim to represent all those practitioners currently trading, which leaves a large number of 'specialists' who may or may not adhere to recommended procedures yet are 'marketing managers' as far as other consumers are concerned.

This chapter has shown that whilst there may be uncertainty about marketing managers as the constituents of a professional body, consumption itself is a culturally located practice and must be understood as such. It has also been demonstrated that industrial goods and patterns of exchange are not only significant in anthropological terms but as means whereby the structure of contemporary society may be negotiated. Whilst a case has been made for considering marketing managers in these more expansive terms, the development of the argument does have implications for professionalism in general.

The following chapter will therefore seek to expand upon the relationship between professionalism and the various aspects of commercial exchange. This discussion will also consider "pilfering" in a way which suggests that an "anthropology of consumption" would be of value in assessing the implications of cases such as that of the "marketing of marketing".

CHAPTER SEVEN

Marketing as "professional behaviour."

This chapter gives further consideration to the nature of both professionalism and commercially regulated exchange by viewing 'pilfering' in a way which suggests that an "anthropology of consumption" would be of value in analysing the fieldwork and the methodological questions which have already been discussed. The chapter will also include an evaluation of the "marketing of marketing" which, it will be argued, must necessarily involve an additional assessment of the way in which sociologically acceptable evidence is determined.

That there is a relationship between an understanding of professionalism and the negotiation of order within contemporary society is apparent from Watson's (1977)[1] observation.

> "The notion of professionalism is, in advanced capitalist societies, a useful idea which can be taken up by individuals who, as spokesmen for others in a given type of occupational position, wish to make and legitimate claims on behalf of that groupfor power in specific areas of occupational performance. The idea contains within itself possible actions which the group may take to reinforce its legitimacy and the legitimacy of the label."

Despite a determination to locate himself in his 'biographical context' Watson seems to be less inclined to accommodate his theorising similarly. In advancing 'professionalism' as an independent idea and available as such to members of a given group as a matter of choice, Watson appears to be describing a theory of professionalism which somehow exists in contemporary society yet is separate from the individuals and organisations comprising that society. There might also be more than a degree of difficulty implicit in any attempt to investigate, sociologically or otherwise, professional behaviour derived, for example, by marketing managers from a concept that would form no part of their lives yet be available should they choose to find it useful. Watson (1977)[2] does suggest a less obviously remote alternative which seems to admit some notion of 'professionalism' as a dependent of lay acceptance.

> "The word 'professional' has too much legitimatory utility to be abandoned, it would seem. But it has to be redefined to mean what it suits the spokesman to mean".

Despite this concession, Watson still appears reluctant to accept the problems involved in a concept of professionalism which exists outside the negotiation of common sense understanding. However, as Brittan (1973)[3] points out, such an acceptance is not in itself sufficient to render the development of contemporary understandings of 'professionalism' explicit.

> "What we are concerned with is the assumption that reciprocity is somehow a 'starting mechanism' which has somehow become internalised in the orientations of individuals to others. The norm of reciprocity is believed to be a 'Given'. It is internalised as an aspect of the socialisation process. Therefore, it is subject to some form of exchange. Hence, it is <u>not</u> necessarily implicit in the moral order itself, but must be continuously reconfirmed for each new member of a society or group."

That there are grounds for seeing 'professionalism' as a socially negotiated construction does not mean, unfortunately, that marketing managers or anyone else under similar study, have been rendered meaningful, either collectively or as individuals. In any conversation marketing managers may be seen as aware of, and therefore responding to, a range of audiences. This could well involve individuals in references to their superiors, fellow employees, similarly placed executives in other organisations and any of the social groupings within and beyond work, with which such people might feel affinity. Schutz (1964)[4] argues that, in the common sense world, interests organise our constructions. The borderline between that which is taken for granted and that which is problematic

> "Depends on the pragmatic interest of the reflective glance which is directed upon it and thereby upon the particular Here and Now from which that glance is operating"

There is, in addition to any assumption of reflexivity, an understanding that "the systems of relevance" used by each party to a conversation are congruent, with individual differences taken to be unimportant for the purpose in hand. However, Lazarsfeld et al (1967)[5] point to a 'professional' characteristic they feel could inhibit any investigation dependent upon conversation.

> "The professions have also sought to stand clear from the social sciences and to develop, with varying success, their principles of practice and specifically professional forms of knowledge"

This remark would appear to be grounded in a form of speech whereby professionals do not alter their use of language or expectations of reciprocal understanding according to their audience. Thus, some degree of aloofness is necessary to prevent the transmission of 'professional' and therefore privileged ideas or vocabulary to unqualified outsiders. If this should be the case, then any investigation drawn from common sense understandings amongst marketing managers may be seen as severely limited. Any tendency towards professionalism described in such conversations would result in opaqueness, mounting frustration and, ultimately, an estrangement of the autonomous body concerned. It is unthinkable that a minority seeking to manage industrial organisations should attempt to render itself incomprehensible. This is not to argue, however, that understandings of speech amongst marketing managers are necessarily for general consumption. As with any other small group there must be grammar and syntax which constitute the negotiation of that social order.[6]

> "But in the measure in which you belong to my own community, you have been subjected to a linguistic and cultural training similar to my own and I have valid grounds for supposing that your propositions have a similar meaning for both of us. And the 'hypothesis' which I make when I hear you speak, and which you make speaking to me, is confirmed for both of us by both your and my total behaviour."

An important difference concerning 'professional' bodies would seem to be the extent to which that behaviour may be publicly negotiated yet remain impervious to common sense understandings from outside the group. Hall and Engel (1974)[7] argue that the right to regulate itself is granted to a professional body partially because of this very estrangement. There would also appear to be an unwritten assumption that if the behaviour of a professional body were to transgress lay expectations then this same linguistic differentiation would be held against the now discredited group.

> "autonomy is power granted to someone or some group because of their presumed <u>expertise</u> and the absence of the ability on the part of the laity to gain such expertise."

'Professionalism' is thus being offered as a result of, firstly, a process of negotiation towards a body of technique with an assumed value to both laity and 'professionals' and, secondly, the generation of a measure of trust or acceptance whereby that exclusive body will remain

so. Johnson (1972)[8] notes that, when considering professionals it is important to think

> "in terms of their power relations in society - their source of power and authority and the ways in which they use them."

There are overtones here of the classically professional ethos of self discipline and the collective ability to establish defensible margins of separation from contemporary society. Clearly, the permeability of these boundaries influences lay appreciations of 'professional' worth. This was demonstrated in the case of the Edsel in which those in charge of Ford came through the debacle with reputations either intact or, in some apparently effortless cases, enhanced. Silverman (1970)[9] for one, is not surprised.

> "All work organisations are power structures and it is rare for the powerful to allow, even less invite, scientific scrutiny of the ways in which they operate. For this reason much of the work in the sociology of industry has been done either by, for, or under the approval of managers"

Watson (1977)[10,11] argues that

> "Given the nature of the environment of these organisations any manager who deviated markedly from these criteria (the parameters of <u>owners</u>) would be failing to do his job"

> "The dynamics of the structuring of organisations thus involve the dialectic of individual effort and structural constraint"

The ability of professionals to make themselves felt despite these singular and collective forces is indicated by Giddens (1973)[12] in a way which may be taken to show a link between the rise of marketing managers and the availability of produce. There are, he finds,

> "differentiations of market capacity which do not directly derive from the factor of public ownership"

Despite Watson's earlier apparent dismissiveness, the faculty for encouraging a societal acceptance of a minority or individual point of view would seem to form a crucial part of professional legitimacy. Etzioni (1964)[13] notes that, given the inescapable grounding of such observations in speakers' respective perceptions and culture,

> "The ultimate justification for a professional act is that it is, to the best of the professional's knowledge, the right act. He might consult his colleagues before he acts, but the decision is his. If he errs, he will still be defended by his peers"

Heraud (1977)[14] emphasises the weight behind such an understanding.

> "One of the marks of an established profession is that the professional's definition of his role and of the form of relationship ... is considered authoritative, which usually means considerable immunity from lay control."

Whilst accepting that this authority is, in part at least, as yet beyond marketing managers its attainment would seem to be an admissible aspiration. It is worth remembering, however, that very few, if any, of the recorded and therefore apparently significant remarks or executive declarations concerning the Edsel came from marketing managers. This should not be taken to mean that such employees were not involved but that they were not in a position to redefine circumstances to suit themselves. The possibility of such a reworking being available to current marketing managers is argued by Silverman (1970)[15]

> "One may miss the way in which people's views of themselves and of their situation is the outcome of an on going process i.e. never fully determined by one or another set of structural constraints but always in the act of 'becoming', as successive experiences shape and re-shape a subjective definition of self and society"

Heraud (1977)[16] in an investigation of professionalism, asks the following question.

> "On behalf of what kind of group is control exercised and who has ultimate power in the process of control?"

He also places this inquiry in a background similar to that drawn from Silverman.[17]

> "The social system is not therefore taken as a 'given' which exists over and above the actions and interactions of participatants but is constructed through such actions and the meanings given by such actors"

The intention behind an investigation of marketing managers lies, in part, in an effort towards clarifying some aspects of this negotiation. Mention has been made of the possibility of using deviancy theory as an aid in such an evaluation. Professions are, in essence, deviant

groups in the sense that they consist of small numbers of members with clearly understood attributes and a common purpose extending to the defence of those margins established between themselves and society at large. In a consumer economy, with norms of full time work and definitions of 'self' through consumption, this offers a means of circumventing a difficulty observed by Gouldner (1965).[18] He notes how the sociology of 'deviance' or 'underdogs' diverts attention from 'top dogs' or the makers of accepted norms. Marketing managers are organisational 'underdogs' in that, as a collectivity, they have not fully established a 'professional' defensible perimeter yet in a society of consumers such a status would appear probable. The 'service ethic' argued by Halmos (1970)[19] might well represent the pressure of social expectation upon a small group. This possibility derives from Van Gennep's (1960)[20] work on the transition rites which accompany every change of state or social position.

Van Gennep observed that, in certain societies, adolescent boys would be taken from their homes to training camps so that they might return as warriors. Implicit in the surrender of the youths and the maintenance of the camps is an assumption that the returning band will submit itself to the will of its host culture and not butcher the status quo. These small groups, which are deviant in that they are disproportionately influential given their numbers, are perhaps better known as elites. However, even powerful minorities are responsible to the cultures which support them.[21]

"The profession that tries to feed upon itself stagnates."

Despite the expectations which might be understood to accompany any rise to professional status there are ambiguities of organisational life which may be taken to undercut any suggestion of an absolute division between industrial élites and the rest of 'advanced capitalist' society. Klockars (1974)[22] blurs the boundaries to good effect.

> "Hall, himself a professional, must surely have known that professionals, even learned ones, are not nearly so rational nor disciplined nor perfectly formidable as they let outsiders believe they are ... Hall might have added other factors: the competence of the receiver, his business acumen, the attention he gives to his work, his industry or indolence, the condition of his health, his relationship with his wife, the intonation of his voice, and the quality of his best manipulative smile. But Hall's image of the professional is ideal. It admits no bungling, no stupidity, no laziness, nor poor judgement, no misunderstandings, no pathos and no humour."

The conversations which contribute towards my own experience of marketing managers contain an incident which may be taken to demonstrate how deviant a nascent profession can be. A Sales Manager for a firm supplying Double Glazing and Cavity Wall Insulation spoke quite unabashedly.

> "One of your squad does a street or two with the old market research touch. Knock, knock, foot in the door, Are you interested in fuel economy, madam? Oh yes, and what conservation measures have you thought of? And you have central heating? Gas fired? Thank you madam. Then you follow up the probables and do the business."

Several strains may be derived from this fairly readily. There is a clear understanding that 'Market Research' is preferable to door-to-door selling because it can be made to appear more respectable to prospective employees and is consequently much easier to recruit for. Market Research is also more acceptable in that it is less evocative of socially undesirable stereotypes amongst unwitting potential customers. It was made plain that, in the "Cavity Wall and Glazing game", marketing was only useful in so far as it offered direct aids to selling, short term benefits being at a premium.

In complete contrast to the discretion which might normally be expected of a professional, there was a brash confidence about the insulation seller's remarks which implied that he was not at all concerned that relating this might have any adverse effect. Quite the contrary, for it was a matter of pride that he had such a wide repertoire of trading techniques. He also expiated the norms amongst his group of salesmen.

> "You need housing estates for your standard size double glazing. This gives you your sales target 'cos they're easy to sell. They're slow, see, specially when you get 'em at home in the evenings when they're tired. But your real money you make on these old houses. All the windows are odd sizes and have to be made up special. You tell 'em about your 'craftsmen' who are goin' to do a grand job and remind 'em of what a sensible idea it is in the long run and how much the value of their property will appreciate."

This observation was heavily laced with irony as one of the 'craftsmen' was indicated at work in the yard outside. No doubt the aluminium window frames were knocked about before he loaded them onto the lorry. Otherwise, our hero's approach, with his hand picked squad of fast

talkers, seems based on the assumption that any 'real marketing', in so far as it might need doing, would be done by the first firm into the market. After this it becomes a matter of selling on whatever basis will keep the turnover up. The manager who talked to me said that he was 'in marketing' because he had worked out this argument, which was all his firm needed. The company had ten different subsidiaries all competing with each other despite the fact that the windows and doors they installed came from the same factory. Similarly the foam for the cavity wall insulation was a result of several agencies for the same product.

The sales representatives were four to a car, the most successful in each week getting the car for the weekend. The bonus payments, for exceeding sales targets, were similarly arranged. Each representative would collect an amount derived from the average weekly sales for his car. Anyone who might, if allowed to do so, choose to live on the basic salary would be under continuous pressure from those who sought higher earnings. Representatives were thus exposed to a series of frustrations which were seldom lessened by transfers from one car to another. If a quartet should come to be comprised of the ambitious or simply avaricious there would be a great deal of in-fighting to protect prospects from each other and some measure of bitterness resulting from having to walk home on Friday after sales figures which had once meant a car for the weekend. These 'prima donna' squads were generally short-lived and not particularly popular amongst the fitters because of the extra work they caused.

Rarer, and much less popular with the management, was the alternative where three or four 'wallys' shared a car. Despite their communal disregard for high sales figures, these representatives were nevertheless enormously active during good weather. They would do business at any number of Northern seaside resorts or beauty spots. However, given the distances and the frequently small profits involved, these jobs were seen as being more trouble than they were worth. 'Wallys' were also prone to taking time off once they had realised their sales targets rather than earn bonuses. In the words of the Sales Manager[23]:

> "The only cure for a bunch of 'Wallys' is a real shark. Preferably two. Wallys get so agitated they either work or piss off. But you've always got to keep on at 'em if they stay. Trouble is you need <u>some</u> Wallys to stop the place going to pieces."

In essence, the entire structure of this company embodies the intention to sell its products as hard as possible. There is also a strong case for arguing that marketing managers who aspire to 'professional' status are being countered by such organisations. Similarly, by bastardising one of the few publicly accepted signs of specialist knowledge, these salesmen are rapidly lessening the value of that practice as a form of competence worthy of lay respect.

There is another side to this, however. The representatives are trading in a recognised manner reflecting social expectations of commerce and behaviour that may be a little aggressive yet is, in its place, legitimate.

"Pilfering" and consumption.

Marketing managers, who might be expected to advance their understanding of trade and consumption, are faced with an ambiguity which could well prove problematic. The difficulty arises from forms of trade other than those centred on the market place. Henry (1979)[24] in a study of pilferage or theft from organisations, finds circumstances which can be taken to indicate the use of goods to both define legitimate society and behaviour as well as the contrary.

> "hidden-economy trading has a considerable claim to being regarded as neither normal trade nor normal crime, but as an economy in its own terms. It can be interpreted as an economy operating within a continuum ranging from commercial trade, where exchange is impersonal and contractual .... to social transactions, where the exchange is highly personalised, as in the barter or gift exchange of village and rural communities or neighbourhood exchange amongst urban ghetto groups"

An understanding, of artefacts in commercial exchanges, is expanded upon in Chapter 2, but, in brief, the production of goods at a rate, price and quality represents a major part of any system of trade or mass consumption. Those who trade their labour do so for the means to continue their consumption, albeit meagrely (Marx 1978).[25] Essentially, each item of production which is made to managerial specification is an underwriting of the given order and an indication of an employee's complicity in his own belittlement. Henry(1979)[26] argues that the 'hidden-economy' is not hierarchical like the legitimate market system but stratified. 'Pilfering' is thus restricted by social groupings as like trades with like.

> "... the bulk of hidden-economy trading takes place between friends, relatives and workmates. In these circumstances deals often have less to do with the material worth of the goods and more to do with fulfilling the expectations and moral obligations of the friendly relationship"

Furthermore, trade is not for profit but an exchange of gifts as a sign of friendship. The existing social patterns are thus underwritten. This reading of unofficial trade is reinforced by the view, amongst 'pilferers', that a certain amount of extra items or value from work is 'fair' or part of the wage bargain, an unwritten but assumed form of 'perks'. Whilst this might represent a less than ideal form of behaviour, 'pilferage' also seems to be outside normal understandings of deviancy.[27] Deviant groups form, amongst other things, an excape mechanism for those who only appear to acknowledge social norms by transegressing them. Thus majority opinions are shown to be so as contrary understandings are made explicit and minority tastes are presented in a way which allows a recognition of dissenters. The important point is that socially constructed and tolerated deviancy mirrors society at large. Thus criminal theft from organisations, is like legitimate trade, for profit and supports its own hierarchies.

Pilferage may be argued as contrary to this order in that those who transgress group understandings of 'fairness' for reasons of profit are heavily sanctioned for having brought their social system into disrepute. The punishment involved is generally one of exposure to the legitimate trading hierarchies, leading to either dismissal or prosecution. The criminal pilferer has offended not only the morality of his immediate social circle but also embarrassed the host organisation. The managers of the latter are demonstrably reluctant to clamp down on pilfering within their businesses for as long as it is a self regulating practice. That there is pilferage at every level of commercial hierarchies with concomitant notions of 'fairness' or appropriate worth may go some way to explaining the anger raised by attempts to reduce 'pilferage' to below these limits. Those under investigation are being slighted in that such an evaluation states fairly clearly their inability to manage friendships, make personal judgements or justify trust.

Marketing managers are thus in the position where their legitimate activity is centred on the assessment of trade within social or commercial hierarchies and yet part of their role within those same circumstances

is a matter of covert trade. 'Hidden-economy' dealings, because of their nature, demand a different understanding of consumers and consumption to that publicly accepted of 'professionals'. Whilst this ambiguity over 'pilferage' would seem as pertinent to dominant minorities as anyone else the collective ability to establish a credible distance between, for example, 'ethical' management or 'professional' conduct and organisational behaviour might be taken as a measure of support for Walker's work. However, this should not be seen to argue that covert negotiations of contracts of employment are sole determinants of organisational shape.[28,29]

> "All of these sub-units (departments etc.), are <u>not</u> likely to be equally powerful"

> "if one hypothesises that a sub-unit is a unitary and harmonious collective, speaking and acting with one voice, one is on a sticky wicket"

Hickson (1971)[30] draws attention to those factors which he sees as defining a profession. The members of such a collectivity have independence, centrality, power and are beyond substitution. Thus, for managers, 'pilferage' may be codified as tax deductable perquisites and so legitimate in a way which serves to underwrite the continuing pilferage by their subordinates. This is not to deny that managers also indulge in more traditional forms of pilfering. As has been mentioned before, the negotiation of legitimacy would appear to form an important part of any means of distributing products for as Davis (1973)[31] observes,

> "... the differences between primitive and market economies do not lie in the presence or absence of particular ways of economising. For there are different norms of exchange in all societies - all have a mix of normative rules combined and patterned in different ways."

This does not mean that a marketing manager's job is solely determined by the exigencies of exchange patterns and habits. Brittan (1973)[32] offers an argument which suggests that those marketing managers who entertain some notion of professionalism may well do so in preference to other commercial or social influences.

> "When we view human action in this broader perspective (of one's involvement with groups)- we soon discover that these groups which generate so much sacrificial action in their internal relationships are often capable of the most ruthless pursuit of their partisan group interests when dealing with outsiders, even though the latter are members of the same society."

The marketing of Marketing.

This aggression is echoed in the literature for an intensive short course designed as "the ultimate one-day event for sales and marketing management". The intention of the gathering is equally modest.

> "The implicit, if not explicit, reason for any kind of sales conference or meeting is because management is looking for MORE.
>
> More sales, more profit, more effort, more commitment - in fact more EVERYTHING.
>
> How to get more of everything important to the future success of your business - that is the objective of this ultimate of one-day events."

John Fenton (1981)[33] who was responsible for the event, the literature and leading the discussion, expected an audience of "200 top executives" with a subscription of over £140 each. Fenton is also a paragon of professionalism, being a founder and chief executive of the Institute of Sales and Marketing Management as well as a fellow of both the Institute of Marketing and the Institute of Materials Handling. Doubtless these honours should be taken to represent his standards and not the conference literature.[34]

> "Peter F Drucker, one of the world's leading management specialists, claims that any business aiming to still BE a business long term needs to DOUBLE the productivity of ALL its key resources - of the money invested in the business - within the next eight to ten years."
>
> "Just one single day will turn your business upside down, inside out, right way up again, and put it firmly on the road to real success - WITH <u>YOU</u> IN COMMAND.
>
> MORE! (The conference title) is truly the ultimate. If you miss this opportunity, you may not be in business when the next one comes along. Reserve your places TODAY"

Despite the handicap of being unable to attend MORE! a visit was paid to a local branch of the Institute of Marketing. The meeting was held at a five star hotel within reasonable walking distance. The weather broke during the journey resulting in a struggle against a thunder-storm and a rather laggardly arrival. My general appearance was not

helped by the hotel approach roads which had neither lighting nor pavements suitable for pedestrians. Regular customers apparently travel almost exclusively by car. It wasn't until a few days after the Institute gathering that I was told of the poor entrance I had made. Opinions varied but the consensus was 'he hasn't made the best of himself'. However, nothing more was said of my sodden presence during the evening. Although I had perhaps fallen on hard times compared to the assembled membership, I had once been a member of the Institute and had passed all my 'professional' exams. After an understandable moment of uncertainty I was welcomed by branch officials and allowed to stay for the Guest Speaker. The latter was an extremely high ranking manager from one of Britain's nationalised industries. He prefaced his address with the question

"There are no reporters in the audience? Good."

The phrasing and tone of this request seemed calculated to ensure that any reporters who were on hand would say nothing and pay attention.

The speaker then delivered a peaen to empire building and power seeking at its most ruthless. Particularly popular with the assembled rank and file was the detailed demolition of a sub-contractor who proved intractable, initially. The applause was sustained and genuinely enthusiastic. It was as if the speaker had described communal frustrations in a way which would help Institute members surmount the difficulties of their individual organisations. The Branch Committee were much more nervous about the whole affair. They seemed particularly wary of the embarrassment which would result from the speaker being quoted in public, especially by a reporter. An alternative line of conversation was attempted

"The speaker seemed very popular. Was he chosen because of his management style? His industry seems to be under a lot of pressure at the moment."

"Ah, no. These addresses are an opportunity for the visitor to speak in personal terms about some aspects or items of individual interest. Normally one might hope for a little more, shall we say, discretion."

As the evening wore on it became apparent that the officials of this branch took Marketing very seriously. They used phrases and concepts which I recognised from my vocational training as part of contemporary theories of Marketing. Encouraged by earlier anxieties over reputation and members conduct I took this to indicate the negotiation of a body of knowledge that might be considered the exclusive vocabulary of marketing managers. I asked for some assistance with my research. The initial response was one of interest and pleasure. The officials were pleased to talk about their jobs but would not consider anything beyond that.

Eventually the story emerged. Some weeks prior to my invitation a brace of salesmen had joined the Institute. They managed to obtain a copy of the official membership lists for the district. Equipped with the job titles, names and addresses and similar information concerning members the duo then sold these records to a series of insurance companies and related concerns. All the purchasers do business by speculative mail-shot. These unsolicited letters, competitions and offers are intended to have an effect not unlike that of door to door salesmen. This sales technique depends on the maintenance of large up-to-date collections of addresses. Professional bodies and societies, such as angling clubs or bridge groups, are of particular commercial interest because they maintain lists of subscribers. Information from these sources tends to be specific, accurate and recently compiled. Advertisers who buy such data feel their subsequent postal appeals are therefore less likely to go to the uninterested or the penurous. As these lists get older they are resold for lessening amounts. There is a similar decline in the likelihood of any of the later deliveries reaching either suitable or desirable customers. All of this is not to say that those who receive what is often known as 'junk mail' are not annoyed or inconvenienced.

Whilst no doubt embarrassing, these did not seem to be sufficient grounds for the Committee's obvious misgivings. The most unforgiveable aspect of the whole affair appeared to be the sense of betrayal felt by branch officials. Supposedly legitimate candidates had been admitted, by them, after a selection procedure intended to protect the Institute's standards. These rogue members, if such they were, had then found branch notions of adequate office practice equally permeable.

Apart from the implicit criticism of an Institute being unable to manage its internal affairs there would seem to be a more serious side to this. If members of the Institute of Marketing actively aspire to professional status then they must have access to a means of disciplining deviant practitioners. The two adventurers, who demonstrated undeniable ability in their coup, were expunged from the Institute membership. However, there is nothing approaching a guarantee to suggest this 'striking off' would jeopardise the further profitable use of those skills. The Institute therefore appears to recruit so few marketing managers that there is no need for those who are not enrolled to do so as a necessary adjunct to their careers.

This does not mean that marketing managers are not involved in a renegotiation of current understandings of 'professionalism'. The existence of the Institute and the concerns of its branch officials may be taken to offer a degree of support for Walker's (1976)[35] description of marketing as a nascent profession. However, given the Institute's apparent inability to differentiate between suitable members and supposedly deviant practitioners it seems likely that other parties to a negotiation of 'professional status' would be similarly confused. In terms of an understanding of marketing managers the emphasis would therefore seem to lie with those who are not members of the Institute of Marketing. Given the value of specialist vocabulary as an indication of exclusive knowledge and therefore a defensible meausre of professionism, Tyler (1978)[36] notes ,

> "As variation and context are important in determining how and when to speak, then the idea of language competence must include this knowledge as well as the more limited knowledge of appropriate grammatical form. Moreover, we all make mistakes; we stammer and stutter, make slips of the tongue, utter malapropisms and spoonerisms, and commit follies of grammar; and all of this can be taken as evidence of our intentions and identities. Our mistakes are normally interpreted as if they were not mistakes, as if they were more accurate indices to what we really wanted to say than what we actually said."

Brittan (1973)[37] indicates the range of assumptions implicit in such conversations. He argues that

> "... to delimit sociological grammar is not to specify the causal antecedents of social structure. This is a fallacy. Interaction does not create social structure. As I have implied, social structure and individuality are both processes or aspects of the way in which men relate to each other and through each other, to collectivities. But in the very act of relating they are allowing language, evaluation, rules of procedure to permeate their interaction. And these social and cultural facts are not sucked out of the air. They are already present in the social climate."

The visit to the Institute of Marketing was originally undertaken with the intention of collecting members' accounts of acceptable practice. Pahl and Winkler (1974)[38] explain that "professionalism is competence under any circumstances". Whilst accepting that the membership of the Institute would be unlikely to provide an exclusive 'professional' definition it was hoped that some points of interest or measure of consensus might emerge. Features such as these would then form the basis of conversations with marketing managers who were not in the Institute. Silverman (1975)[39] observes that,

> "in its (socially organised practice), it guarantees the orderly character of the world as members understand it"

Thus members of the Institute are, by virtue of their conference, bound to have an exclusive outlook. Similarly other marketing managers are unavoidably different because of their singularity. However, the assumption of embryonic professionalism could be taken to encourage expectations of a considerable degree of similarity between these points of view. Johnson (1972)[40] however, appears somewhat concerned.

> "The study of professions has tended to develop as a sub-division of this sub-division (Symbolic Interaction) and here we can see a frequent partiality not dissimilar to that occurring in the organisational field, with a tendency to view professions in terms of the professional's own conception of the problems to be considered."

A previous argument may be taken to touch on this. If an instance of behaviour is universally agreed to have been 'professional' then certain concessions are granted to those responsible, the minority who become 'professionals' as a result of the interaction. Should subsequent activity by this minority also reflect contemporary expectations or understandings of 'professionalism' then the 'professionals' accrue status, influence and authority accordingly. However, these

negotiations of respective social placings include a common sense understanding of context as a determinant of behaviour. Thus the pressures of expectation tend to be greatest when 'professionals' are seen to be in circumstances which demand those talents accepted as part of 'professionalism'. Cicourel (1974)[41] is explicit.

> "Members common knowledge permits typical imputations of behaving, dress, talking, motives, social standing, and the like to others in everyday exchanges, and each developmental stage in the socialisation process alters and utilises interpretive procedures and surface rules, language, and non verbal behaviour."

Thus an awareness of each other is unavoidable in a society which can claim both lay and professional understanding. Silverman (1975)[42] in noting that "understanding is always located within membership" is arguing a similar point of view. Moreover, the understanding in question will allow acceptable behaviour by a member of society when certain aspects of a situation are impenetrable. For example, specialist language may not only serve as a defensible perimeter for 'professionals' but also, by virtue of its opaqueness, indicate a 'professional' to the lay public.

Thus Johnson may be correct in ascribing partiality to the consideration of 'professionals' in situations which involve them as such. However, the social understanding implicit in the recognition of 'professionalism' as a legitimate form of activity concedes certain authority in given situations. If these situations can be seen to warrant 'professional' behaviour then to expect anything else is to outrage both 'common-sense'[43] and 'professional' understandings and so challenge the social order.

> "While it is true that events influence meaning, it is also true that meanings influence events. When this is being asserted they (Symbolic Interactionists) are saying that language is more than a mechanism for the expression of content or force; it becomes a shaping and constitutive element in the generation of meaning. The style of communication between people is, therefore, just as important as the content contained in the communication"

Therefore marketing managers who have aspirations of professional status must be seen to behave as professionals. This is not simply a matter of rejecting the laity. It has been established that a

successful professional must negotiate the role in terms of contemporary understandings and expectations. It would also appear, given the effects of language, that the discussion of 'professionalism' with marketing managers alters their behaviour as executives, 'professional' or otherwise. McCall and Simmons (1966)[44] argue that such renegotiations of social understanding are both unavoidable and endless.

> "We need confirmation of the way we interpret our identities from other people, but experience teaches us that there is always a discrepancy between our own interpretations, and those of our role partners. The identity we project in interaction is subject to misinterpretation. As a result, the actor is motivated to bridge the gap between his prjected idealised image, and the image that the audience holds ... interaction can be conceived of as ... a negotation ... with the ...participants engaged in the legitimation of their identities"

The fourth chapter of this thesis contains a demonstration of how such alterations can take place. Following Watson's (1977)[45] remark,

> "It must therefore be incumbent upon the writer to reveal to his audience his value position for two reasons. First one's values cannot be stated briefly in a few introductory comments or summarised in an appendix, and second, they are a part of one's <u>self</u> and <u>experience</u>, so the sociologists value stance must be brought from the background to the foreground"

it seems that, whilst one might not be value free, one could at least be consistent in one's 'self' exposure. However, Watson's strictures raise a series of problems. All those aspects of society and behaviour which might affect one's value stance are independently and collectively variable and therefore completely beyond control. Similarly, the intended discussions with marketing managers are not without their own difficulties. Berger and Luckmann(1967)[46] agree that

> "all social reality is precarious therefore language itself is precarious. There is always the possibility that alternative symbols or alternative meanings can be attached to conventional typifications"

In addition Brittan (1973)[47] argues that certain aspects of an event cannot be rendered explicit because of the nature of language.

> "... it is difficult to grasp the phenomenological aspects of interaction without encapsulating it in the language of normative discourse, yet if we fail to consider the undefined aspects of interaction we neglect an important aspect of social experience"

It was exactly this problem which presented itself during the previously described meeting of the Institute of Marketing. The original intention had been the collection of members' accounts of acceptable practice in Marketing. The resulting experience was not confined to such information. The most striking feature of the evening was the way in which members underscored their embarrassment, so making their stories not only credible but persuasive. The account which derived from these conversations was therefore presented in a manner intended to reflect these characteristics, in part at least. Wittgenstein (1958)[48] would appear to encourage such attempts.

> "We can only evoked in ourselves and other intimations of transcendence and recollections of subjectivity by means of indirect discourse, by hints, reminders, examples, exaggerations, and exhortations."

Bearing in mind that this investigation is concerned with 'professional' standards of behaviour, in both content and presentation, a measure of dissatisfaction with Watson is a poor answer to the question "How do we know that we are following the rules in the right way?"[49] Given the necessarily temporary nature of negotiated understanding, Silverman (1975)[50] offers the following.

> "The search for all-encompassing rules is endless and never successful. We only end it by practical considerations (getting on with things), when dealing with particular instances"

It would appear from this that whilst Silverman may be dismissive of rule systems as ends in themselves his argument can be seen to support the continual renegotiation of order as a necessary adjunct to the recognition of individual occasions. Blum (1975)[51] sees the world as accessible to a similar argument.

> "If to theorise is to employ rules for constructing a sensible and intelligible environment, then theorising describes the conditions of sensibility and intelligibility for some typical actor (rules and grammar). Such a construction acquires its authority (its reality) from its methodic, public character, and it 'exists' only in so far as it is accomplished"

Blum is advancing the concept of "the persuasive account", an individual interpretation of circumstances, implicitly partial and opinionated, offered to those involved in an incident not as a replication but as a version of those events which might enable the continuation of members' common sense understandings.

The nature of evidence.

Once, whilst working in a book shop in Liverpool, I was involved in a somewhat Mittyesque example of such a situation. The owner of the shop was on holiday and I was left as acting manager, having worked there before and so established a knowledge of the various representatives. This stretched to friendship with one or two of them. I had been left a list of books which were to be bought for stock and orders to exercise some discretion over anything else I might be shown. Samples in this trade are generally only the covers of forthcoming books, the representative being on hand for information and advice. However, when a book or author has an established reputation there are usually few problems in selection or quantity.

The nature of the shop encourages staff to read what customers read and talk to them about the texts. This has, over the years, generated an unusually high degree of empathy between customers and staff. The latter all maintain some degree of specialisation and individual customers' requirements became so well understood that very expensive books could be ordered with a very high degree of confidence. Typical of the predictive flair, displayed by the owner in particular, was an order for 100 American copies of 'Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance' six months before its release in Britain. It was a sell out.

Of vital importance was the understanding assiduously developed between the staff and the various forms of representative involved in the publishing, selling and warehousing of books. One benefit of this relationship was the way in which samples and advertising materials that were clearly unsuited to the shop or its clientele did not get presented for consideration as possible purchases. I was, therefore, somewhat abashed when a representative I didn't recognise treated me to some verbal pyrotechnics over an extremely uninteresting collection of books. More annoying was the way he steadfastly ignored an astonishing number of hints, cues and broad suggestions of departure. I eventually wondered if the representative should have given some consideration to the fairly easily divined nature of the shop.

"Don't you think it a little foolish to jeopardise the relationship between a publisher and a specialist book shop?"

"You should have told me before. There you go - specialist books from Rotterdam."

With this he dropped half a dozen books, vacuum packed in clear cellophane, onto the counter. Perhaps I blanched visibly; these books were specialised to the point of being advanced training manuals, with lots of very clear pictures and no doubt braille editions on request. I expressed some concern about the attractiveness of such works on a commercial basis given the poor quality of reproduction (despite numerous attempts), degrading contents, evocations of a gutter level culture and, above all, the appalling proximity of the city centre police station.

"No problem, boyo! I'll leave you that half dozen to put under the counter until the boss gets back and you can settle with me then."

Finally he left and the books were hastily pulled behind the counter. Later that same afternoon, another representative came round. We knew each other quite well so while he took note of our stock order I made a pot of tea. As I returned with the tea he said

"Clevely been in, then?"

"Ah yes. What do you know about his connection with Rotterdam. I mean, how serious is he?"

"Ha! We got them for him in Denmark. A bunch of us from the North West went over to a Book Fair and bought them for a joke. We got them out of slot machines in Copenhagen. The idea was to give him the books, knowing he wouldn't have the nerve to refuse, and then wait for his missus to find them. She'd have had the skin off his back."

"But why try and sell the things, why not just throw them away?"

"That's him all over. Likes to think he's been about a bit, y'know, a man of the world. Besides he might have made a few quid to cover his embarrassment."

This remark was initially heavily ironic and then almost pitiful as if in amazement at Clevely's gaucheness.

"Look, Clevely's not very successful. Everybody tries to beat him into shops, I mean, he's a 'blagger' (a salesman who will artificially inflate a product's potential with sales patter whilst taking care to leave grounds for blaming the retailer if the goods stick.) He treats books like soap powder, for God's sake! No wonder he drives a Lada, I'm amazed he hasn't been put on a bike."

With this far from cryptic pun, the representative produced a copy of Hans Giger's (1978)[52] 'Necronomicon'. This too was a cellophane wrapped collection of colour plate flesh in unusual states and although printed in disturbingly fine detail, of similar commercial plausibility. I didn't buy that one either.

This account can be seen as meaningful on several levels other than the demonstrated ambiguities. Firstly, the details may be given varying significance according to the importance placed on them by each member of the audience. However, the faults of the reputedly somewhat pedestrian Lada are not presented in isolation but as part of a relationship with aspects of Clevely's character. Thus the unavoidable pairing of a representative and his car is used, in this case, to further belittle both.

The development of Clevely's personality is not in itself unproblematic given the ambiguities in its presentation. His competence may be in doubt yet the teasing involves an undertow of pitying wonderment. Clevely's present from Denmark is similarly proscribed. Although a concerted attempt to embarrass him, great care is taken to ensure that the effect of these books upon his wife and employer is imagined rather than experienced. It is clearly important to all the representatives involved that Clevely should remain as the butt of the group. He would seem to represent the marginal character whose weaknesses reassure the others in the group about their standards and collective worth.

Clevely's insensitivity during visits to prospective customers and his continuous 'blagging' are also open to interpretation. Douglas (1970)[53] describes conditions under which Clevely's behaviour might be excused, by lay audiences at least.

> "Professional groups are especially likely to develop ... moral exceptions. The way in which the medical profession has over centuries developed the profound exceptions to the sacredness of the body and the privacy of the sexual organs is especially informative. But other professions have succeeded as well in constructing such situated moral exceptions."

However, there is some degree of difference between the admittedly fairly single minded conversation encouraged by rival representatives and the intransigence which typifies Clevel's sales technique. On this basis, the body of which he is the marginal or lowest member is unlikely to be seen as any more than semi-professional. As long as Clevely keeps his job book shop staff know that there are not enough 'good' representatives for him to be immediately ousted. Alternatively, the lack of large stocks of unsaleable books may be taken to indicate an overestimation of his inabilities.

More seriously, Clevely is actively defined by his failures despite the avoidance of obvious cruelties. This may well reduce his self esteem to the point where he can no longer tolerate trying to do business and drawing ridicule. The only release available for the tensions between the role he aspires to and the role society allows him would be resignation. Although Clevely is offering 'persuasive accounts' which invite disbelief, this can only go so far before his audience cease to pay attention. Thus the interplay between a tale and its telling may be seen as affecting perceptions of the original intent behind the account as well as the relative importance of its component parts.

However, the number of interpretations which a narrative will bear are limited from its conception. As the experience in the book-shop has been related in a certain way the insights available through other tellings are necessarily excluded. Wittgenstein (1972)[54] argues that the plausibility of an account is not solely negotiated by content and context; omissions and techniques of narration are equally important.

> "What I'm doing is also persuasion. If someone says: 'There is not a difference', and I say 'There is a difference', I am persuading. I am saying 'I don't want you to look at it like that'."

An emphasis on the unique nature of each account underlines the mutual accountability of both teller and audience. However, this negotiation does not exhaust the experiences or understandings involved in that account. Cicourel (1973)[55] asks

> "How does the actor in everyday life order and assign meanings to objects and events in his environment?"
>
> "How do observer and actor interpret each other's verbal and non-verbal behaviour and the context restricted setting?"

The question, then, is one of contemporary understandings of evidence and analyses such as that of the "marketing of marketing" have shown the problem to be neither easily excluded from the thesis nor readily resolved.

Similar difficulties have been demonstrated in those assessments of professionalism, commercially regulated exchange and "pilferage" which have, elsewhere in the chapter, been seen to suggest that both the fieldwork and the methodology of the thesis should be taken as aspects of an "anthropology of consumption". The following chapter is, accordingly, an evaluation of, and an expansion upon, Cicourel's (Op.cit) observations for it is felt that the nature of sociologically acceptable evidence necessarily involves the relationship between common sense understandings of objects and events and an appreciation of the environment within which these negotiations of order take place.

CHAPTER EIGHT

"Common sense understanding" and the "built environment".

The previous chapter was largely concerned with commerce as a medium for the negotiation of individual and group standings within society. This allowed the advancement of participation in trade and the appreciation of artefacts as fundamental to social competence in a consumer society. It is important to note that any common sense reality which might be devised from such an understanding would also include a presumption of mass production and mass employment. Furthermore, Cicourel's (1973)[1] interest in the everyday assignment of order and meaning to objects and events in an environment draws attention to what has been a somewhat problematic aspect of this investigation.

Essentially it will be argued that the landscape in which common sense understandings are negotiated may be seen as a significant mediator of any such agreement. This chapter is therefore intended as a demonstration of the way in which perceptions of physical space and the nature and value of buildings are all culturally mediated. In addition, an attempt will be made to describe aspects of the relationships which are seen as existing between visually based disciplines and those forms of analysis more often applied to assessments of production and exchange. Frampton (1980)[2] approaches the hub of the matter.

> "Building by virtue of its materiality and actuality cannot realise itself in terms of some redeeming future. For all its relative permanence it has no choice - like most instrumental acts - but to exist in its own historical moment. It has as its objective task the non-reductive realisation of man here and now".

Frampton's observation is perhaps best appreciated as a demonstration of the way in which the value accorded a building is mediated by contemporary understandings of its usefulness. This should not however be taken to mean that a structure which is currently unused is therefore useless. If buildings are awarded momentary value because of their use in "instrumental acts" yet remain characterised by "relative permanence" then surely some allowance has been made for their potential. Thus the execution of a deed may be tempered by preconceptions of the need for, and existence of, a place which is appropriate to the act. Warnock (1980)[3] does mention two incidents

in his history of the Edsel which are amenable to such consideration.

> "Bravely now Brown demanded an expansion of his "studio", pointing out there simply was no room for additional men who would be needed, to say nothing of the extra space required to build the first clay model. In a few days Brown was pleased to find his studio moved to the basement, to an area about five times that of the library. It didn't look much like the new styling team would ever make it on to one of the big and airy design rooms on the first floor."

Apart from Brown's understandable concern over the facilities afforded to the Edsel design team there is a curious undercurrent of ambivalence on the part of senior management. This may reflect a belief in the relative unimportance of any design feature, given the effect of Fords engineering, pricing and so forth upon potential customers. Alternatively, Brown's team may be a pawn in an inter divisional power struggle. Whilst Warnock suggests the latter both impressions and more would have been available to Ford employees. This second incident resulted from the original drawings being presented to Benson Ford[4].

> "nothing happened to satisfy Brown's almost daily plea for more space until L.D. Crusoe, Ford Division General Manager, visited the cramped studio and snapped "It's like trying to build a locomotive in a closet". A few days later, the 'E' group was moved to permanent studios on the main floor. Brown said he could never understand why Crusoe was able to do what Benson Ford (Group Vice President and Director of both Mercury and Special Products Division) apparently could not."

Olins (1978)[5] feels the attitudes of senior management are such as to make tensions over the distribution of space almost inevitable. He also argues that the overpowering and massy regularity of corporate buildings, especially 'sky scrapers' is deliberate and significant in terms of current understandings as well as executive assumptions about the future.

> "Corporations want to imply that they are calm, reasoned and disciplined, that their judgements and decisions are based on rational and unemotional assessments, that they are infallible. This cool arrogance reaches its apogee architecturally in terms of huge concrete and steel structures furnished as an elite fantasy world of chrome, glass, steel and Barcelona chairs."[6]

Olins touches on several points of major importance in this evaluation. The extract relies on contemporary understandings of the cultural value of buildings and furniture to the point where a list of materials and the name of a type of chair can, by inference, demonstrate the interrelationships and social significance of such artefacts. That these are the rightful trappings of the rich and powerful is similarly acknowledged despite Olins tendencies towards polemic and reification. It is essential to remember that any such attributions are the result of negotiations within society and that buildings are traded in like any other product in a consumer society. It should also be borne in mind that perceptions of the suitability of any given product must alter continuously as part of these negotiations. Martienssen (1976)[7] admits as much but appears not to grasp the significance.

> "The architect today is first, it seems, a professional man. He cannot, and this is of fundamental importance, see his project through on his own. Its physical making is in the hands of a vast number of contributory trades, crafts and even professions. He has, however, to see it through, and this has necessitated (as in fact the process of designing itself necessitates) his familiarity with, and understanding of, every trade involved. More than that he should be aware of the limits of potential in all these trades so that he himself can exploit and even extend them in creative designing."

The following is based on a series of interviews with a firm of commercial architects and offers insights into the mediation of order by negotiation. The introduction to this firm came from an environmental designer who had recently graduated from the Royal College of Art and then moved to the North where he was nowemployed by Messrs Fraser, Railton and Springfield in their eponymous partnership. Their service covered everything from an enquiry by a client to the completion of whatever work would embody those requirements.

Mr Fraser, the senior partner, was quite happy to talk about his business.

> "There's a lot of competition on everything from furnishings and interiors to entire sites. I insist on more than professional competence from my designers, they have to be flexible, and I won't work with builders who can't stay within a budget whatever the contract. I negotiate all the additional allowances, penalty clauses and surcharges and that's bad enough without your own people screwing up the details."

This ability with contractual minutae had apparently been gleaned from Mr Fraser's 30 years in architecture dealing with, as he put it,

> "clients who don't realise what the design process involves. They have no idea of what it costs for just a set of drawings and the relevant estimates. I have to convince them that the money will make a worthwhile difference."

When pressed on this, several of the designers said that because clients might not understand the design process they had to learn to trust the group to turn their money into a creditable asset. However, one of the senior draughtsmen explained that such was not always the case.

> "The large breweries are by far the most particular. They keep huge manuals of fabrics, colours and shapes which mustn't be used. There's also a list of approved accoutrements, a very tight budget, seating and capacity limits, a definite idea of 'house style' and an expectation of good work done on schedule."

The designer who introduced me to the firm agreed but felt much less certain of the partner's appreciation of the difficulties inherent in a site. My confidant's responsibilities for a project would normally be expected to cover the choice, purchase and installation of whatever constituted the job. He thought that whilst Fraser and the other partners might get the contracts, he kept them.

> "All that old sod does is a fast sales and P.R. job over an expensive lunch. We pick up the pieces of his bloody disastrous tendering though half the time I don' know how or why we manage. There's not enough "blue sky" (no limits) work to take the monotony out of this hacking for the breweries. It might mean steady money but it's as uninspiring as their keg, which is fitting, I suppose, but hardly worth the tens of thousands it costs to give all these pubs flock wall paper and vile carpets. I dunno .... you wish sometimes they'd let you use blue and yellow in a bar ... green beer might taste of something."

The final treat was to be invited to a site meeting to see the design group's "continuous market research" in progress. According to Mr Railton this meant leaving the customer as many options as possible for as long as possible. The designer who provided the entry into F.R.S. called it "the fudge factor" whereby deliberately low tenders

could be jacked up to profitability by dextrous use of the special effects clauses. The builders involved, in a rare uncharitable moment, called it "pissing about". It became clear as the meeting went on that many builders avoided this sort of work whenever possible. Others found it exciting and tendered for it with relish. Should one of the former have the contract, as was the case here, it fell to the designer to placate the builders, the partners being involved occasionally to reassure the customer of the service being given and to spot any last minute alterations which might facilitate payment.

The meeting was over the construction of a new and expensive set of offices for a steel company. A major part of the contract insisted on the use of stainless and chromed steels in as wide a manner as could be tastefully imagined. This immediately caused some friction as the company was going through a very public bad patch and the idea of costly new offices running old plant might well appear tasteless. Fraser, however, felt that he could present the company's pride in itself in a way that the steel executives would appreciate. He also believed he could galvanise designers and builders into producing something the company would be proud of. After the meeting, which had been a triumph for the partners, one of the jobbing builders buttonholed the designer.

> "Are they serious? Using all these flash steels. They're bloody hard to work with and damned expensive when you can get 'em. Besides we've got no experience of steel, not on this scale."

The designer, who had originally been very excited by the project, was similarly unsure but for different reasons. He had recently seen some photographs in an international design magazine.

> "Well, nobody has. That's part of it or at least it was. There's a big pagoda in Japan with a stainless steel roof ..."

> "Bloody wonderful! Trying to convince everyone they're doing all right by copying the Japanese. No offence lad but this is the last time I work with any of this mob. They're puddled. How can you go on like this wi' no money?"

The designer then went on to describe the way in which the steel company would be presented :

"Adventurous but not foolhardy, hence the special steels, and confident but not boastful or unreliable, so it's display without ostentation. They should be really pleased with what they're getting providing Fraser doesn't annoy them too much with his bloody manoeuvring. There's room for developments so when this starts looking tired they'll have us back. As for their employees, well, I don't know, I suppose they get sold it the way Fraser and Railton convinced me."

In an assessment of the relationship between people and the buildings they occupy Martienssen (1976)[8] offers the following :

"A building cannot be complete without its tenants, as a stage set, however, brilliantly painted, is not complete without its actors ... A building, emptied in the natural course of the day's programme, is locked up, a symbolic as well as a practical gesture, signifying that it is excluded for a while from human experience of it, except for its face, looking silently, darkly, but perhaps significantly over its appointed place in the townscape."

There are a number of assumptions in this argument which, when made explicit, go some way towards demonstrating the extent to which architecture may be seen as a culturally mediated form of order. For example, Martiennsen appears to be discussing office blocks and the like rather than recommending that everyone sleep out of doors. However, this need not be the case. That the former is the intended meaning is implied by the supposition that buildings are normally to be found clustered together in townships. Furthermore, the locking of buildings is open to a number of interpretations : prisoners are locked in, thieves are locked out and the rights of property owners are reinforced. Clearly, by recognising these possibilties, questions of morality and the determination of tolerable behaviour become part of the societal evaluation of any given structure. In essence, a building may be put to a series of uses throughout its existence and be deemed appropriate to all of them. Le Corbusier (1978)[9] is suitably austere.

"Architecture is a plastic, not a romantic, affair"

So chapels are converted into private houses, hospitals become car parks and Martienssen's argument appears to develop another flaw. If a building is recognised as having an appointed place and accorded significance because of its exterior then common sense understanding must be such that structures do not have to be experienced in their original function to be meaningful. Ghost towns, ruins and open spaces are similarly accommodated because the attribution of meaning tends to be dependent on the culture represented by an observer and not that which gave rise to the construction. Most structures, however, are valued as a result of their active involvement in current negotiations of order rather than indirectly through their abandonment. Wolff (1981)[10] underwrites this view.

> "The importance of the sociology of art, however, consists in its critique of the ideology of timelessness and value freedom which characterises art theory and art history in the modern world. It enables us to see that art always encodes values and ideology, and that art criticism itself, though operating within a relatively autonomous discourse, is never innocent of the political and ideological processes in which that discourse has been constituted."

The following example offers support for Wolff's line of argument whilst retaining a certain noteworthy individuality. The Institute of Contemporary Arts agreed to a display of annotated photographs by John Fieldhouse and Rupert Gardner, postgraduates from the R.C.A. The exhibition was entitled 'Blockhausen' and sought to demonstrate dominant characteristics of the '1,000 Year Reich' but for some reason, it was cancelled at brutally short notice. Any opportunity to evaluate the exhibition by attending it or questioning witnesses is therefore denied by virtue of its non occurence. Nevertheless there are unused posters announcing the forthcoming event, one of which served as a focus for a description, by John and Rupert, of what would have been their exhibition.

'Blockhausen' was an analysis of the only facet of the Reich designed to last any time at all - The Atlantic Wall. As the structure is plainly militaristic and the construction only possible through great sacrifice and a feudal use of labour, the nature of the dominant minority, whose ideology has been encoded in the Wall, is explicit. Despite the retention of this atmosphere, the Wall has been revalued

to the point where those criticisms which would once have been treasonable are now so much a part of common understanding as to be almost superfluous.

Rupert went on to experience other aspects of the cultural determination of architectural values. He got a job in Sweden, working as a designer for a major sub contractor to Habitat; he also taught architectural drawing in Stockholm. His students declared him a Fascist because of his portfolio of interior designs and the behaviour they felt he was encouraging with his furniture.

There are a number of methodological complexities arising from the 'Blockhausen' exhibition which involve not only the considerable debate over written and spoken language but the concomitant difficulties inherent in the cultural mediation of visual understanding. Robinson (1981)[11] is explicit.

> "It is only in certain applied areas that the relationship between man and the physical world is considered in sociology... others have stepped in to fill what appeared to be a major lacuna. In particular geographers, psychologists and other professions concerned largely with the built environment have worked extensively in the area of people and their relationship to the physical world."

This is an important point because once it is accepted that contemporary negotiations of common sense reality involve an awareness of landscapes and the design of artefacts then any sociological assessment is similarly constrained. A measure of the contribution of visual understanding may be taken from the ability of Fieldhouse and Gardner to be convincing about an exhibition which exists, in essence, as no more than a form of talk. The achievement of this effect must derive, in part at least, from their socially recognised expertise in visual disciplines rather than a straightforward interest in the topic of discussion. Such an acknowledgement would, in turn, seem to indicate a social and cultural dependence on vision as a major element of understanding. Sharples (1981)[12] argues that if

> "ideology is a set of lived relations with the world made possible by knowledge"

then architecture has two functions. The first of these is the provision of consistent support to the form of knowledge which underpins contemporary "lived relations".

> "The second function is an increasingly important one in a society which is characterised by an ever expanding, ever differentiated market. In this phase of capitalist development there exists more buildings than ever before, more mobility of people so that they encounter more buildings and spaces, and hence more values and norms to learn about these. Handling the spatial has become a crucial 20th century skill and it provides the foundation for a whole range of capitalist social relations."

It may, however, be argued that Sharples apparent unwillingness to consider potentially useful insights from other disciplines has undermined his approach to an unnecessary degree. It should also be noted that his final emphasis, on the contemporary importance of "Handling the spatial", is considerably misplaced given the difficulties inherent in any human existence without notions of space, colour, movement, distance or form. These understandings are essential to the formation of any common sense reality whatever the mediating culture. The value of Sharples observation would therefore seem to lie in drawing attention to the relationship between ways of seeing and forms of thought and not the analysis of that interplay.

"The built environment" and commercial exchange.

In an attempt to develop this point it will be argued that the interpretations of architecture which may be seen as offering "consistant support" to "capitalist social relations" are, in fact, a product of social changes centred on the nineteenth century.

Those developments in the processes of mass production which enabled "a society ... characterised by an ever expanding, ever differentiated market" were also responsible for a considerably reworked environment. Emrys Jones (1966)[13] is succinct.

> "For most (cities) expansion came in the 19th century, and it it is this which forms the bulk of our urban inheritance. So much still survives that it plays an important part in any analysis of the city of today. The industrial city, the direct outcome of the industrial revolution, was the result of a much faster and wider urban growth than anything that preceded it."

The significance of nineteenth century architecture is not restricted to that residue which Jones sees as the embodiment of 'our urban inheritance'. Frampton (1980)[14] draws attention to other aspects of this industrial development.

"The accommodation of such volatile growth led to the transformation of old neighbourhoods into slums, and also to jerry-built new houses and tenements whose main purpose, given the general lack of municipal transport, was to provide as cheaply as possible the maximum amount of rudimentary shelter within walking distance of the centres of production. Naturally such congested developments had inadequate standards of light, ventilation and open space and poor sanitary facilities such as communal outside lavatories, wash houses and refuse storage."

The way in which subsequent industrial populations have continually renegotiated common sense understandings of space around these various structures can be seen as a part of the development of a social order dependent on, and solely reflective of, the relationship between mass production, mass employment and mass consumption. It is also important to realise that the understandings of space which enable such negotiations are as much a product of the industrial revolution as any other aspect of consumer society.

Most of the early factory workers had rural perceptions of landscape, a legacy of their migration from an impoverished and over-populated countryside to the newer mass produced environments. The differences could hardly have been greater or more disorientating for conscious uniformity was essentially unknown in rural architecture[15] yet fundamental to the development of industrial cities. Risebero (1982)[16] finds that, in the early nineteenth century :

"Life in Manchester had little dignity. Urban society was becoming stratified into two opposing groups: the employers who, in effect, owned everything, and the labourers who owned nothing but their own labour-power to sell for wages,and who worked not at the self regulated pace of the 18th century but in a totally new situation in which human activity was dictated by the machine. The layout of towns was determined by the most efficient and economic location for the factories; developments in building technology, in particular the use of iron and glass, more for the improvement of commercial and industrial buildings rather than houses; and the application of scientific discovery to technology, such as the introduction of gas-lighting to lengthen the working day, had a commercial basis."

This should not be taken as a lament for some lost Arcadia. In Levi-Straussian terms the debate has moved from the choice between 'raw or 'cooked' landscapes to the negotiation of socially acceptable recipes. Risebero(1982)[17] also draws attention to a noteworthy unevenness in the relationship between mass employment, mass production and mass consumption.

> "Workers were not yet thought of as consumers who could contribute to an expanding market by buying its goods, ... and there was little thought that they should live at anything other than subsistence level".

The development of Risebero's polarised society can be demonstrated in architectural terms for the Victorian city is, in many ways, a monument to the rise of the industrial bourgeois. This expansion of the social structure was also a product of the triangular relationship between mass production,mass employment and mass consumption. Risebero (1982)[18] highlights the significance of these people.

> "In 1850, with the population of Britain around 20 million, the middle class numbered no more than 1.5 million, yet this tiny group, whose emergence was the most significant social feature of the 19th century, was beginning to achieve economic domination of the world ... And the frequently-expressed feelings of pride in the engineering marvels of the age were those of a middle class discovering its identity".

The elevation of these parvenues is implicit in the aggregation of nineteenth century advances in street lighting, paved roads, public transport and sewerage systems in the places where they worked, lived and shopped. It would be difficult to underestimate the importance of the latter to the formation of middle class identity. Marx[19] hints at the value of differential consumption in social terms.

> "the separate individuals form a class in so far as they have to carry on a common battle against another class; otherwise they are on hostile terms with each other, as competitors"

The Victorian middle classes can thus be seen to have developed a sense of order which was grounded in their ability to exploit nineteenth century technology in a way which was denied to their contemporaries. This superiority meant an increasing independence of constraints such as darkness or the weather and a growing dependence on the buying and selling which not only supported the new high streets but provided an opening for that most bourgeois of innovations, the department store.

These same entrepreneurs were also quick to take advantage of an architectural breakthrough. The new technology enabled them to demonstrate the strength and respectability of their upstart enterprises by housing them in comparatively cheap multi-storey buildings. The facades of these structures are accordingly significant in at least two respects; their height and appearance.

The facade of a building is that aspect which is intended as its front or public face. As such it is generally the most ornate and impressive side of the structure. The Refuge Assurance Building in Manchester[20] is a spectacular example because it has three public faces or facades, all equally elegant. The remaining walls are of unrelieved, glazed, white brick, designed to reflect light into the structure whilst providing a cheap and reliable covering for the iron and steel framework which supports the entire construction. The facades are also clad in brick but in a range of colours and patterns intended to underscore the heavily detailed terra cotta mouldings and finely dressed stonework on the many doorways and windows. The effect is one of vigorous yet restrained opulence, the perfect impression for both the business and its owners.

Perhaps the most difficult aspect of this architectural expansiveness is the realisation that even apparently conservative styles such as the Victorian Gothic of Manchester Town Hall represent a revolution in nineteenth century aesthetics. Rapid improvements in the techniques of mass production enabled the widespread adoption of decorative details and materials which were traditionally handmade and therefore available to none but the rich. A recently rural population was thus presented with an unfamiliar profusion of signs which were otherwise recognisable as tokens of the wealth and respectability of the landed gentry. Frampton (1980)[21] argues that a similar change of emphasis may be found in another of the dominant Victorian styles.

> "The architecture of Neo-classicism seems to have emerged out of two different but related developments which radically transformed the relationship between man and nature. The first was a sudden increase in man's capacity to exercise control over nature .. The second was a fundamental shift in the nature of human consciousness, in response to major changes taking place in society, which gave birth to a new cultural formation that was equally appropriate to the life styles of the declining aristocracy and the rising bourgeoisie."

A further duality is apparent in the diversity of Neo-classical building for the idiom includes both Pall Mall House and the Britannia Hotel. The facade of the former is based on a multi-storey adaptation of a 'classical' motif, the frontage of a two storey Greek temple. The hotel is also a reworking but in the shell of Watt's Warehouse. This impressive building is unusual in that it overcomes an apparently unmanageable bulk without resorting to obvious vertical emphases like those of the Pall Mall's facade. The visual key is a roof line which suggests that the warehouse is either a number of related buildings or a short terrace.

These considerations were encouraged by an unintentional irony of Victorian architecture; the Warehouse owed its bulk to a technology which belittled mere size by making the multi-storey structure a nineteenth century commonplace. Whitworth Street is a magnificent example of the resultant crowding as it is entirely composed of tall buildings which are very close together. This proximity produced the 'canyon effect' by reducing the skyline to a narrow strip directly overhead and so provoked a radical restructuring of common sense understandings of space. It was no longer possible for a multi-storey building to be considered in isolation or from a low elevation.

Buildings which had once been considered in these terms were thus devalued by the proliferation of Victorian arrivistes which not only obscured these older structures but made them seem inappropriate by visibly altering the basis of comparison. The wholesale abandonment of low elevations meant that even recent structures like the 'Refuge' Building could no longer appear as their origins might have suggested. Whilst the 'Refuge' is eminently Victorian in bulk, its design and proportions, even its campanile, are those of an Italian Renaissance palazzo, the difference being that whereas the palace would have skirted a space which was sufficient for the full and proper appreciation of its width, the 'Refuge' is situated on a roadside and can only be experienced in high elevation. It therefore appears to be even taller and more massive than it actually is.

That such impressions were vital to nineteenth century understandings of space can be shown by the popularity of a simple but effective trompe l'oeil. Many of the more minor Victorian concerns were accommodated in buildings of indeterminate size and quality. These structures generally comprised two party walls, a plain brick rear and a facade which extended well beyond the roofline. An observer in front of the structure would thus be suitably impressed yet unaware of whatever shortcomings might lie behind.

The architecture of the vertical emphasis was not restricted to Victorian facades for it can also be seen in the manifestly public interior of buildings like the Cotton Exchange or Victoria Railway Station. Here the visual impact is intense not simply because of the number of walls or the space they enclose but because of the fifty or sixty feet between the floor and the decorated ceilings. The whole is an echo of Victorian urban geography and as such will serve as a reminder of the extent to which 'redundant' space is dependent upon wealth and social standing.

Similarly, many Victorian structures embody an entrepreneurial outlook which is in complete contrast to the massive predictability of contemporary commercial architecture. Of the latter, Olins (1978)[22] observes that

> "Corporations want to imply that they are calm, reasoned and disciplined, that their judgements and decisions are based on rational and unemotional assessments, that they are infalliable. This cool arrogance reaches its apogee architecturally in terms of huge concrete and steel structures".

The same self-confidence can be seen in those early industrialists whose adventurousness ran to mills and warehouses that were knowingly designed and built at the limits of nineteenth century technology and were therefore more than a little unpredictable, given the loads imposed on them. Some of these buildings have suffered a slow collapse of the facade whilst others have simply fallen in on themselves. That workers and customers were generally unaware of their indulgence in these structural frissons is a measure of their exclusion from any determination of their physical environment.

This stricture was, however, unlikely to be questioned or even recognised as its development was no more than a part of the changes in common sense understandings which were demanded by Victoria architecture and the acceptance of mass consumption as a necessary social practice. That there is a similar visual grounding to contemporary trading can be shown in architectural terms by a move away from the vertical facade. The argument may also be seen to offer incidental support to those marketing theorists who insist that it is not the availability of products which is problematic but the necessity of making a few choices amongst many.

Victoria high streets are still used for shopping but the visual stress is no longer a matter of appearing upright. Frontages are effectively cut off at the first floor by bands of strong colour and neon lighting designed to focus consumers attention on the shop window and the entrance. Even names are diminished as chain stores, the distributive adjunct to mass production, can often be recognised by a glimpse of the corporate colour scheme which appears throughout every branch. Thus Barclay's Bank is turquoise, Woolworth gold on red and so on.

These horizontal lines are strengthened by the use of two or three adjoining windows under one bar of colour and perhaps a first storey parapet which, in offering shelter to prospective customers, effectively blinds them to anything above the window. In visual terms, the shop is no longer an irregular compound of several buildings but a one storey whole. The widespread use of brightly coloured plastic canopies represents, in effect, a simpler version of the same outlook. This change of emphasis is eminently necessary for consumers who have long been aware of the existence of shops no longer need the reassurance of an impressive frontage. Their attention is increasingly focussed on nothing more than the most immediate form of access to the range of products available. Thus, in terms of Martienssen's earlier argument, locked glass doors are not barriers but windows, an open invitation to indexical trading or window shopping. Why else would the lights be on when the store is closed?

'Indexical trading' is based on the idea that trade is an everyday medium of expression within contemporary society and members are therefore required to establish and reinterpret the continually shifting meanings and relative values of each mass produced artefact or 'word'. The argument then assumes that for a 'language' of artefacts to be practicable on this scale, consumers must be capable of according significance to more products than they own, an ability which depends, in part at least, on their being able to see these items in a shop window or on a market stall where an assessment can be made without the risks or misunderstandings that might arise from an ill-considered purchase. It is also felt that the relationship between an artefact and its showcase will affect the negotiation of indexical values as consumers from different social groupings find a given product to be more or less desirable because of their perceptions of the currently acceptable meanings that may be attributed to this and to every other aspect of the possible transaction.

New shopping centres like the 'Arndale' in Manchester reflect such an understanding. The building is physically huge and completely dwarfs those Victorian department stores and warehouses which have survived its construction. The outside of the 'Arndale' is devoid of any detail other than a covering of ceramic tiles, in two desolate shades of brown, and its name in vast blue letters. The interior is a logical extension of many of the innovations made in the development of nineteenth century cities; the 'roads' are paved over and without vehicles, the weather is completely excluded and so, too, is natural light. This final point alone may be taken as a significant demonstration of the way in which commercially regulated exchange has enabled one of the bases of visual understanding to be renegotiated. Victorian arcades such as that in St. Anne's Square were designed for customers who thought that the proper appreciation of colour depended upon daylight. The 'Arndale' offers no such alternative, presumably because the ability to judge colour under artificial light is now assumed to be a commonplace skill. The shops themselves consist of nothing but floor upon floor of nameboards and glass frontages; the place will hold thousands of people and is generally full.

The acceptance of a causal relationship between urban architecture and the demands of an industrial culture may thus be seen to encourage a common sense understanding of space grounded in the certainty that, within industrial society, legitimate power reshapes the physical world. It follows, then, that the weaker members of the social structure in question will be visibly lacking in any such capacity. Risebero (1982)[23] observes that Victorian cities were founded on this understanding.

> "In mid 19th century Britain, despite the ruthless efficiency of the industrial sector and the vast profits it was making, the tenuous urban life it had propagated seemed on the point of collapse. If working-class housing was bad, so too were the overcrowded workhouses, orphanages and insane asylums, the inadequate and primitive hospitals and public workhouses provided through the parish rates and by sporadic charity. The level of public health was appallingly low, and with inadequate sewerage and polluted water supplies, but widespread cholera epidemics in 1832 and 1848 encouraged earlier progress in public health than in working class housing."

This echo of Engel's survey of working class housing in Manchester is offered in contrast to the comfortable Victorian suburbs of Fallowfield, Withington and Didsbury. It should be noted that even though many of these buildings were assemblies of standard pieces chosen from a builder's catalogue, the ensuing variations were of such subtlety and clarity that a simple difference in the mouldings over a front door would describe the relative worth of a householder. The following incident would seem to suggest that whilst the contents of a house may attract more attention nowadays, the building itself is not yet bereft of meaning.

A one man architectural practice called Clive embarked on a joint venture with a small Nottinghamshire builder. The intention was to develop a field into a little estate of twelve or fourteen simple but well built homes, suitable for first time buyers. Clive was afraid that the undoubted quality of construction might not be enough to distinguish these few from the nearby Wimpey and Barrett estates where houses were available with mortgages from the builders and many similar inducements. He therefore designed simple porches for the joint venture buildings. They gave the houses an undeniable character whilst adding to their robust and well founded appearance. Clive

showed his plans to his partner, who was pleased with the design of the houses and the layout of the estate but irked by the porches :

> "They'll have to go to keep the price below £15,000 and we've got to do that to sell them. After those Wimpeys, who's going to take out a bigger mortgage for a porch?"

The importance of this shift in common sense understandings of structure can be shown by an examination of Jones (1966)[24] assertion that for most cities "expansion came in the 19th century, and it is this which forms the bulk of our urban inheritance." That these symbols of a social revolution should now be seen as cultural heirlooms is surely a demonstration of the way in which dominant social groups reshape the physical world as a measure of their own legitimacy. Mies Van Der Rohe's (1926)[25] definition of architecture is appropriate for he sees it as

> "the will of an epoch translated into space"

So the physical degredation and subsequent demolition of much of Moss Side, Hulme and Ardwick began not with the inhabitants abandoning their terraces but with the official announcement that these were now slum clearance areas. This form of sanction is fundamental to the negotiation of contemporary understandings of space because the architecture of poverty is rarely considered to be worthy or capable of preservation. It should also be remembered that while many of the more formidable Victoria buildings have been similarly dismissed far fewer have been completely destroyed. For the most part, the facades remain.

These relics are significant; their preservation demonstrates that whilst buildings may not be specific terms in an exact visual langauge, they are an embodiment of the current social order and therefore a restraining influence upon any renegotiation of current understanding. Watson (1977)[26] notes that

> "The industrial capitalist mode of integration (between social groups) is maintained, however, much modification may occur, as long as a structure of advantage is maintained in which the dominant social groups by and large remain the most advantaged in terms of the goods available in the society, and that this position of advantage remains dependent on the utilisation of labour power on a basis where property, profit and market criteria are central."

'This position of advantage' owes its considerable stability to the processes of exchange which both constitute and mediate industrial culture. The social groups that derive their standing in such a society from their participation in the requisite forms of trade are thus in no position to contemplate radical alternatives for their commonsense understandings of the world are necessarily bounded by their involvement. Wolfe (1981)[27] provides a suitable example in his analysis of the Purists. These avowedly non-bourgeois architects believed that the architecture of an industrial society could only be 'pure' and 'honest' if it reflected the importance of workers and not the elitism of the bourgeois.

> "It had been decided, in the battle of the theories, that pitched roofs and cornices represented the "crowns" of the old nobility, which the bourgeoisie spent most of its time imitating. Therefore, henceforth, there would be only flat roofs; flat roofs making clean right angles with the building facades. No cornices. No overhanging eaves."

The similarly grounded "principle of expressed structure" appears to be a direct assault on the basis of common sense understandings of space.[28]

> "The bourgeoisie had always been great ones for false fronts (it hardly needed saying), thick walls of masonry and other grand materials ... to create a dishonest picture of what went on inside, architecturally and socially. All this had to go... Henceforth walls would be thin skins of glass or stucco. (Small glazed beige ceramic bricks were okay in a pinch). Since walls were no longer used to support a building - steel and concrete or wooden skeletons now did that - it was dishonest to make walls look as chunky as a castle's. The inner structure, the machine made parts, the mechanical rectangles, the modern <u>soul</u> of the building must be expressed on the outside of the building, completely free of applied decoration."

The Purists were contemporaries of the Russian Revolution and saw themselves as offering a similar challenge to bourgeois society. Le Corbusier's (1978)[29] Purist manifesto describes the inevitability of it all.

> "The history of Architecture unfolds itself slowly across the centuries as a modification of structure and ornament, but in the last fifty years steel and concrete have brought new conquests, which are the index of a greater capacity for construction, and of an architecture in which the old codes have been overturned. If we challenge the past, we shall learn that

> "styles" no longer exist for us, that a style belonging to our own period has come about; and there has been a revolution".

The somewhat limited nature of this insurrection can be shown by an examination of its architects dependence on reworkings of Victoria architectural symbolism. The "principle of expressed structure" is a case in point for the Purist wall, the 'honest' exterior of simple ceramic bricks, is also to be found on those aspects of the Refuge Assurance Building which were not built onto an open road and were never intended for public viewing. Whilst these walls of glazed white brick were originally meant to reflect light into the Assurance Company offices, they would now seem amenable to the suggestion that Le Corbusier's visual 'revolution' was a straight forward inversion; Bauhaus as the Victorian bourgeois backside made public.

The"worker architects" were equally traditional in their disregard for Le Corbusier's (1978)[30] word of warning.

> "On the existing principle of property, it is impossible to establish a constructional programme which will hold together. And so the necessary building is not done."

The Purists insisted upon offering their visions on the open market where the bourgeois, who could afford them,were understandably indifferent. Wolfe (1981)[31] is explicit.

> "The brutal fact of life was that it was difficult for compound[32] architects to get work unless there was a government - usually socialist - that had decided, in effect : We need a new look around here, and you fellars have one. Here's the budget; go to it; do what you will."

It should not, however, be though that because of this apparent lack of success, the compound architects and their 'way of seeing' should be excluded from any debate over the relationship between commercially regulated exchange, the determination of spatial understanding and asymmetries of contemporary social structure. Heskett (1980)[33] argues the point in a way which also suggests a number of complex links between the education of 'professional' groups in general, their subsequent social standing and the importance of whatever work they may do thereafter.

> "In sum, the list of industrial products emanating from the Bauhaus was hardly sufficient in range or accomplishment to warrant sweeping claims regarding its significance. In the context of the overall development of design in one of the world's leading industrial nations, moreover, Bauhaus products appear no more than a miniscule contribution from an avant-garde fringe group.
>
> Its educational significance, in contrast, has been enormous, its methods forming the basis of art education in institutions the world over."

There would thus appear to be a clear parallel between the "new look" architecture and those marketing managers who aspire to professionalism and the commercial arbitration of consumer tastes through the medium of mass produced goods. That both construction and consumption may be seen as a significant part of Watson's (Op.cit)"capitalist mode of integration" is apparent from the way in which these "worker houses" were built; as reflections of Le Corbusier's (1978)[34] "Engineer's Aesthetic".

> "Industry on the grand scale must occupy itself with building and establish the elements of the house on a mass-production basis.
>
> We must create the mass-production spirit.
>
> The spirit of constructing mass-production houses.
>
> The spirit of living in mass-production houses.
>
> The spirit of conceiving mass-production houses.
>
> If we eliminate from our hearts and minds all dead concepts in regard to the house, and look at the question from a critical and objective point of view, we shall arrive at the "House-Machine", the mass-production house, healthy (and morally so too) and beautiful in the same way that the working tools and instruments which accompany our existence are beautiful."

This argument is clearly based on the understanding that, in any industrial society, the dominant visual paradigms are both grounded in, and perpetuated by, the uniformity and precision of mass production. That a more specific social structure was intended can be shown by an examination of the "House-Machines" themselves as a means of encouraging the "spirit of living in mass production houses."

> "and how did the workers like worker housing? Oh, they complained, which was their nature at this stage of history. At Pessac the poor creatures were frantically turning Corbu's cool cubes inside out trying to make them cozy and colorful. But it was understandable. As Corbu himself said, they had to be "re-educated" to comprehend the beauty of the "Radiant City" of the future. In matters of taste, the architects acted as the workers' cultural benefactors. There was no use consulting them directly, since as Gropius had pointed out, they were as yet "intellectually undeveloped."

Wolfe's (1981)[35] analysis of the "critical and objective point of view" may thus be seen to involve a certain degree of pragmatism for this brand of "socialism" would appear to offer little or no threat to the established social order. That such is, in fact, the case can be demonstrated by an examination of some of the Purists visual symbolism.[36]

> "And how did worker housing look? It looked non-bourgeois within an inch of its life: the flat roofs, with no cornices, sheer walls, with no window architraves or raised lintels, no capitals or pediments, no colors, just the compound shades, white, beige, gray and black. The interiors had no crowns coronets either. They had pure white rooms, stripped, purged,liberated. freed of all casings, cornices, covings, crown mouldings(to say the least), pilasters, and even the ogee edges on table tops and the beading on drawers."

Purism's somewhat austere approach to differential consumption echoes the social order encoded in Victorian spatial understandings for whilst the 'bourgeois' may choose to retain their 'impurities' a lack of these trappings does not make the 'workers' pure or prevent the denial of those few details and intricacies which had come to be recognised as appropriate to their standing. A similarly one-sided belittlement is apparent in Gropius' work.[37]

"Gropius decided that the workers should be spared high ceilings and wide hallways, too, along with all of the various outmoded objects and decorations. High ceilings and wide hallways and 'spaciousness' in all forms were merely more bourgeois grandiosity, expressed in voids rather than solids. Seven-foot ceilings and thirty-six-inch wide hallways were about right for ... recreating the world."

In the way that nineteenth century factories had been bigger and more impressive phrases in the architectural language which housed their employees, so these 'worker' houses were small reflections of contemporary industrial understanding. The idea of domestic architecture as an adjunct to and a derivative of mass production is still visible in new buildings such as 'Fort' Ardwick and 'Fort' Hulme where pre-fabricated concrete sections have been glued together to produce replacements for recently demolished slums from the nineteenth century. Kurokawa (1977)[38] argues that the developments of a burgeoning technology have done nothing to remove these social and structural asymmetries.

> "In the past prefabrication of buildings was developed in order to rationalize construction. This way, prefabs enabled the building industry to lower costs, shorten the period of construction and unify the quality of the goods produced. Regrettably, however, prefabs have so far failed to produce in construction a revolution in quality of the order of that brought about by the Model T Ford or the Mustang".

The notion of "worker housing" as a synonym for contemporary notions of poverty is underwritten by Wolfe's (1977)[39] description of how Americans behave when they can afford to move out of the architecture they know as "the projects."

> "But somehow the workers, incurable slobs that they were, avoided .. "the projects", as if it had a smell. They were heading out instead to the suburbs ... and buying houses wuth clapboard sliding and pitched roofs and shingles and gaslight-style front-porch lamps and mailboxes set up on top of lengths of stiffened chain that seemed to defy gravity, and all sorts of other unbelievably cute or antiquey touches, and they loaded these houses with "drapes" such as baffled all description and wall-to-wall carpet you could loose a shoe in, and they put barbecue pits and fishponds with concrete cherubs urinating into them on the lawn out back, and they parked twenty-five-foot-long cars out front and Evinrude cruisers up on tow trailers in the carport just beyond the breezeway."

This necessarily lengthy quotation is significant in at least two ways for the commercially regulated exchange of buildings and land is not only shown to reflect the asymmetries of consumption that are characteristic of contemporary society but to underpin these negotiations of order by serving as a medium for the explication and subsequent

control, of the natural world. That common sense understandings of structure now amount to more than explicit versions of the "Engineer's Aesthetic" can be further demonstrated by the following, which also suggests that the originally Victorian insistence upon orderly building is still a precursor to the reshaping of the everyday physical world.

An architect from Llanelli noticed that, as the older houses there came to be thought of as inadequate, they were replaced with modern brick buildings, laid out in straight lines. Earlier builders, who were natives of the town, had used the local landscape to break up those winds which are now sweeping the streets. In his critique of the Purist's unwavering aversion to pitched roofs, Wolfe (1981)[40] notes that even the architecture of the 'visual revolution' presupposes the primacy of social order in the shaping of common sense understandings of space.

> "At this swath of the globe (the Fifty-Second Parallel), with enough snow and rain to stop an army, as history has shown more than once, there was no such thing, as a functional flat roof and a functional facade with no over-hang ... Nevertheless, there was no turning back from the flat roof and the sheer facade. It had become the very symbol of nonbourgeois architecture"

The renegotiation of common sense assumptions such as the suitability of a building can thus be seen as a demonstration of architecture as a medium of cultural exchange. Although widely recognised as a social practice, these exchanges are perhaps not fully appreciated for they show the acceptance of architecture as a technology imposed upon a landscape to be a conceptual heirloom from the nineteenth century revolution in spatial understanding.

More important, in terms of the relationship between contemporary appreciations of space and social structure, is the way in which access to the visual languages is restricted. As Barthes (1979)[41] explains

> "We are all... accused, deprived of language, or worse, rigged out in that of our accusers, humiliated and condemned by it. To rob a man of his language in the very name of language: this is the first step to all legal murders".

This linguistic imbalance is very much a part of contemporary culture for the visual aspects of society are inseparable from the trading habits which are both grounded in, and perpetuated by mass production, mass employment and mass consumption. The importance of Barthes' argument and that of architecture as a means of asserting notions of order upon the world, can be gathered from the following, in which Jencks (1983)[42] debates and then resolves an ambiguity in the construction of his studio, 'The Garagia Rotunda'.

> "Since prefabricated doors and screens (13 in all) were used extensively, it was necessary to pick out the actual entrance, so a conventional pediment marks "the front door".... To get rid of central door jambs, which would have blocked a clear view on to the main balcony deck, three glass doors were fixed together as a wall and slung as a travelling barn door which, when open, slides into the overall entrance frame. Thus there is a redundancy of doors-doors to heighten the act of entry, exit or transition. It could have been called the 'Door House' were it not named the 'Garagia Rotunda'".

Whilst the durability of Jencks' studio may well be uncertain, the nature of his construction reflects a social structure which is necessarily stable. As Silverman (1975)[43] observes,

> "Indeed, perhaps the very attempt to generate community by our speech makes us forgetful of the community (the method, the truth) that is always already there within our speech."

So it is that those who have little to trade are legitimately denied anything other than a crude appreciation of what they are lacking whilst those who have something to offer may appreciate their wealth in more concrete terms.

CHAPTER NINE

A conclusion.

The thesis was originally intended as an investigation into the role of marketing managers in U.K. companies, the aim being the examination of the relationships, actions and perceptions of practitioners in commercial organisations.

Initial reading implied a strong similarity in the development of both marketing and personnel management as nascent professions. An analysis of personnel managers by way of semi-structured interviews suggested that such an approach might be used to collect data concerning marketing managers.

Trial interviews with marketing managers determined that interview data might be seen to describe recognisably professional characteristics such as the use and development of specialist language or the ready acceptance of a code of conduct imposed by a credible professional body. The work was also intended to enhance the interpretation of verbal data from marketing managers by further reading and a critical comparison with the inspirational study of personnel managers.

Whilst some preliminary work had supported the original approach, the development of the thesis suggested that the technique and the data were increasingly incompatible. Thus a methodology that was designed to obtain and analyse verbal evidence now seemed to imply that marketing managers are not only an integral part of the developing interrelationships between trading patterns and social structures but that these underlying formations are represented through visual and physical evidence, in the form of 'consumer goods' and industrial artefacts, and therefore central to the conception of marketing as a social and commercial practice.

It then seemed appropriate to consider the analysis of this evidence in terms of those aspects of art and design which discuss coherence in unspoken languages for these forms of understanding can be shown to reflect the domination of contemporary culture, by certain groups within the social structure in a way which is outside the traditional scope of sociological evaluation. Similarly, design theory offers a description of consumption

as a visual codification of legitimate market and industrial processes whereby this domination may be seen as formative'good taste'or the socially acceptable aspect of consumption.

Additional readings in anthropology provided appreciations of ownership and practices of distribution which led to a methodology capable of encompassing the social and cultural processes associated with the consumption of artefacts and contemporary variations in the "cultural design of persons and goods". These trading patterns tend to reinforce and transcend organisational and societal boundaries in ways which expose consumers and marketing managers to constraints and influences which are considerably beyond those of the commonly accepted view of marketing. This, in turn, enabled a further analysis of both marketing and marketing managers as socially located aspects of the "creation and movement of goods."

The relationship between these patterns of exchange and the structure of contemporary society made it apparent that would- be professionals such as marketing managers might be seen like established professionals or, by implication, any other band of workers, as kinship groups and not simply functional or work based gatherings. However, the acceptance of trading patterns and kinship groups as means of communication meant furthe r difficulties for the physical location of these forms of order also emerged as a significant determinant of common sense understandings.

A significant relationship has therefore been demonstrated between contemporary exchange patterns and the generation of an urban architecture which both reflects and determines the social asymmetries that derive from the dependence of industrialised kinship groups upon mass consumption, mass employment and mass production. Any debate over such as the 'suitability' of a building is thus rather more than the negotiation of contemporary understandings of space for architecture is also a medium for the determining of social structures and the nature of commercial exchange processes.

These "ways of seeing" are necessarily negotiated as adjuncts to, and in accordance with, the more commonly observed parameters of everyday reality; speech and the written word. The evaluation of these understandings

led in turn to the consideration of the visual bases of sociologically acceptable evidence and the means by which the visible aspects of trade might be seen to legitimise commercial exchange as a social practice.

A further assessment of these dimensions showed that whilst well established visual disciplines, such as fine art and certain aspects of photography, have been described as socially located practices, their importance to the determination of everyday understandings of commerce and the visible world has not been appreciated to the same extent. These pre-eminent "ways of seeing" have accordingly been taken as means of expression for those with "the power to speak", a codification of the visible which not only underpins the visual aspects of consumption but also legitimises commercial exchange as a reflection and a reinforcement of the current social structure.

The parallels between everyday understandings of the visible and the asymmetries of contemporary speech and text are further exemplified by the Edsel case study. This was originally intended as an investigation of practical marketing management but developed into a demonstration of the similarities between the imbalances of commercial organisations, the structure of industrial society and the nature of current exchange processes. The case study also showed how an industrial artefact such as the Edsel might first symbolise "the power to speak" and then be reinterpreted within the terms of these same asymmetries.

This process of evaluation is of considerable concern to marketing managers who aspire to "the power to speak" yet claim responsibility for the assessment of commonsense commercial reality and the continuous reappraisal of industrial artefacts by potential customers. Whilst there is some uncertainty over the ability of marketing managers to organise themselves into an exclusive professional body, their apparently singular concern with mass consumption remains, as does their dependence upon the similarly grounded and interrelated practices of mass employment and mass production.

As determinants of everyday reality and the asymmetry of social structure these exchanges have been given further consideration within the terms of anthropology and the design of industrial artefacts. Whilst marketing managers may be considered on these grounds, the former approach also applies to professionalism and professionals in general and, indeed,

to any other kinship group within contemporary society. The latter discipline is similar in that it enables the "power to speak" to be encoded in the visible aspects of industry and thereby extends and reinforces the asymmetries that characterise the organisation of social and industrial reality.

This wider viewpoint clearly rests upon contemporary understandings of evidence for analyses of such as the "marketing of marketing" have shown the problem to be neither easily avoided nor readily resolved. Similar problems with the assessment of commercially regulated exchange, the built environment and even "pilferage" would therefore seem to suggest that the fieldwork and the methodology should be taken as a reappraisal of the nature of sociologically acceptable evidence.

The thesis has accordingly considered visual elements in conjunction with verbal elements which have, traditionally, been considered in isolation. The resulting evaluation is correspondingly fuller and adds to theories of perception and the social construction of knowledge whilst developing understandings of mass consumption, mass employment and mass production as aspects of an "anthropology of consumption."

There are, however, a number of points which evade this apparent finality yet warrant further attention because they arise from the completion, if not the origins, of the thesis. Perhaps the most obvious of these is the paradox whereby marketing managers who would be recognised as professionals are, in effect, attempting a codification of the already formal procedures by which commercial organisations respond to changes in the nature and form of contemporary exchange.

This restructuring of everyday industrial reality involves a significant element of "bricolage" and whilst the thesis does consider individual consumers as cultural and physical "bricoleurs", the patent complexity of their search for order offers both scope and justification for a further appreciation of "bricolage" as a social skill and as an aid to the analysis of negotiated reality.

The 'closed world' of the "bricoleur" is also appropriate to the development of kinship groups for trade may not only be seen as a form of commercial "bricolage" but as a medium of social exchange whereby the structure of a given society may be negotiated. However, in view of the asymmetries of contemporary social groupings, it would seem that the relationship between "the power to speak", the nature of kinship groups and the significance of industrial artefacts is neither explicit nor fully realised. This argument also suggests that professionalism in marketing may involve discrimination on sexual grounds for everyone who claimed to be a marketing manager was accepted as one yet only four women gave interviews.

If such is indeed the case, the consideration which has been given to 'pilferage' would have to extend to other of the kinship groups that are part of common sense understandings and everyday commercial reality yet lack "the power to speak". This would in turn allow practices such as unemployment, barter and the 'black' economy to be seen as aspects of the exchange mechanisms which determine the asymmetries of contemporary social structure and thereby the further development of an "anthropology of consumption."

Whilst these issues are all drawn from the text and clearly worthy of consideration in their own right, they also reflect a more general discussion within the thesis, of the way in which social structure is negotiated through the medium of commercially regulated exchange. This debate involves two points which are perhaps of more immediate concern if only because they arise from the work as it stands. One centres upon the changes in my sense of 'self' that have accompanied the writing and rewriting of the thesis whilst the other revolves around the acceptability of the work as an account of the everyday world.

The experiential nature of the research and the slow evolution of the text make it difficult, if not impossible, to imagine either the likely alternatives, had I chosen to do something completely different, or even the number of individual steps which which I came to make an end to the thesis. That there have been changes is undeniable yet for all the personal and intellectual satisfaction I have gained from giving shape to

my original uncertainties, I am not at all certain that I would willingly endure the completion of another such work. Apart from the obvious wear involved in a project that has taken years to complete, there comes a point when it seems somehow inappropriate to be worrying over the likes of "The New Picasso Eraser - Do Not Eat - Non Toxic".

Part of this attrition is the result of my original "innocence" about the work and the discipline required to make my own understanding into an acceptable and explicit account of contemporary exchange processes. That I should nevertheless rely upon evocations and intimations to achieve the effect is characteristic of both my approach to the affair and my view of the world. I do, however, accept that these same characteristics make the work exclusive by making it recognisable for, as has been demonstrated, the assumption of an individual viewpoint necessarily involves a parallel admission of some degree of reinterpretation or incomprehension on the part of a given audience.

This appears to be an arrangement of some standing for the following is the first memory I have of myself that does not depend upon someone else's recollection yet no one in my immediate family can remember the story or anything like it.

When I was small I lived with my parents in my great aunt's house. I was not supposed to play amongst the black currant canes at the bottom of the garden but I often did so because I was curious about the other side of the fence and the canes would hide me whilst I looked.

I can still remember the canes and the little pile of soot raised around each one to keep the slugs away; I can even remember the fence and its rough unpleasant texture but the other side defeats me. It is as much a mystery as it ever was.

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1982 Op. Cit. Pahl (1974) offers another side to this recommendation

"a reluctance to engage in discourse with those in other intellectual traditions and on certain matters of general interest may reflect a certain narrowness and a limitation of intellectual horizons"

The implications for marketing as an independently developed discipline are poor. Anderson believes that managers from other traditions or backgrounds find little or nothing in marketing which is worthy of note and so refuse to pay its practitioners a great deal of attention. Pahl argues that the practitioners are too clannish. Of course, both cases might be appropriate if the discipline were less well developed than its sponsors had supposed.

PAHL, R.E., "Sociology's conflicting tradition"

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"Marketing is a pervasive social activity that goes considerably beyond the selling of toothpaste, soap and steel. Political contests remind us that candidates are marketed as well as soap; student recruitment by colleges reminds us that higher education is marketed; and fund raising reminds us that "causes" are marketed" (page 10)

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"Because it has its purpose to create a customer, any business has two - and only these two - basic functions: marketing and innovation. They are the entrepreneurial functions.

Marketing is the distinguishing, the unique function of the business. A business is set apart from all other human organizations by the fact that it markets a product or a service. Neither Church, nor Army, nor School, nor State does that. Any organization that fulfils itself through marketing a product or a service, is a business. Any organization in which marketing is either absent or incidental is not a business and should never be run as if it were one". (page 53)

25. WATSON, T.J.

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30. SILVERMAN D. "Reading Castaneda; a Prologue to the Social Sciences".

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31. WATSON, T.J.

1977, Op. Cit., Page 69

"The distinctiveness of my contribution to the study of occupationl entry processes derives from my examination of the case of an occupation which is characterised by being a bureaucratic one, an emergent one and one whose nature is more ambiguous than many others. The case of the personnel specialist will indicate the need for any general theory of occupational 'choice' to recognise that occupations can be entered at points in one's career later than the initial entry to work, that career 'status passages' are very much influenced by organisational structures and strategies, and that occupational socialisation and identity is very much to be understood in terms of situational adjustments as well as 'prior orientations'".

The parallel with this study should be apparent, especially if one accepts Walker's (1976) point about the examination of "an occupation such as marketing which is practised almost totally in an institutional setting" (Page 8, Op. Cit.)

However, Watson (1977) does argue that if the structure of industry

"is to be understood largely as a development of various <u>means</u> by which dominant social groups establish themselves and maintain their advantaged position in the social order, we can see that organisations are a fundamental element of the political order in society. Inasmuch as work is made available by these controlling organisations, we can see that the structure of opportunities is related to the political order of society" (Page 69)

More till be made of this in following chapters.

32. WATSON, T.J.

1977, Ibid. (p.20)

33. SILVERMAN D. "The Theory of Organisations"

1970, Heinemann, London (Pp 184-185)

34. KOTLER, P. "Marketing Management; analysis, planning and control"

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"Cognitive dissonance theory says that the amount of dissatisfaction (The amount of dissatisfaction depends on the size of the difference between expectations and performance) will be less because the consumer will try to reduce the dissonance by imputing higher performance.

The smart seller will make claims for a produce that are congruent with its quality so the buyer experiences satisfaction. Some sellers even understate performance levels so that consumers will experience higher-than-expected satisfaction with the product.

Thus we see that brand experience has an important effect on subsequent brand preference. If the purchased brand fails to deliver the expected satisfaction to the buyer, the buyer will devise downward his or her attitude toward the brand and may even eliminate it from his or her evoked set. On the other hand, a satisfying experience will tend to strengthen the buyer's brand preference". (Page 166)

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51. BRITTAN, A. "Meanings and Situations"
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52. BRUNVALD, J.H. "The Vanishing Hitchhiker; Urban Legends and their Meanings"
1983, Picador, Collins, Glasgow (p. 16)

53. BRUNVALD, J.H.
1983, Op. Cit. (Pp17-18)

54. GIDDENS, A. "New Rules of Sociological Method"
1977, Hutchinson, London (p.102)

55. GIDDENS, A.
1977 Op. Cit. (Pp 106-107)

56. GIST, R.R. "Marketing and Society: A Conceptual Introduction"
1971, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., N.Y.

"Thus, an appeal is thought of as rational if it presents serious, hard evidence about price or performance of a product or service. Conversely an appeal is thought of as emotional if it is based upon such judgemental matters as aesthetics, self-esteem, peer acceptance and similar bases" (Page 48)

Gist's contribution to the theory of Marketing and its relationship to society is discussed in some depth in Chapter VI

57. KOTLER, P. "Marketing Management: analysis, planning and control"
1967, 1st Edition, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.
Marketing Applications of the Marshallian Model (Page 83)
1976, 3rd Edition Op. Cit., (Page 79)
Chapter 4 concerns Consumer Behaviour and states that "each consumer good offers a bundle of utilities". Only one of the subsequent models of consumer behaviour (all of which are discussed in very simple terms) accords with such an assumption. It is argued that "the consumer follows the principle of utility maximization" and will therefore "not allocate all of his income to any one product because of the principle of diminishing marginal utility". No matter how attractive a product, additional units of some other product would give him more satisfaction than more units of the same product.
This is the application of the Marshallian Model.

58. ISHERWOOD, B. & DOUGLAS M., "The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption"
1980, Penguine, Hardmonsworth, Middlesex (p. 177)

59. ISHERWOOD, B. & DOUGLAS M.
1980, Op. Cit. (p.15)

60. SAHLINS, M., "Culture and Practical Reason"
1976, University of Chicago Press (Pp 166-167)

61. WALKER,D.
1976, Op. Cit. Page 8

62. OLINS, W.
1978, Op. Cit.

63. KOTLER, P. & ZALTMAN, G. "Social Marketing: An Approach to Planned Social Change"
1971, Journal of Marketing, Vol. 35, July pp. 3-12 (p.3)

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1. SAHLINS, M. "Culture and Practical Reason"
   1976, University of Chicago Press, Chicago (Pp 1660167)
2. SAHLINS, M.
   1976, Op. Cit. (Pp 166-167)
3. ANDERSON, P.F. "Marketing, Strategic Planning and the Theory of the Firm"
   1982, Journal of Marketing, Vol. 46 (Spring) Pp - (15-16)(p.15)
4. KOTLER, P. "Principles of Marketing"
   1980, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey p.17
5. LINSTEAD S.A., "The Bloody Worm: The Production of a Consulting Report" (Pp 24-25)
   1984, Personnel Review, Vol. 13, No. 1 (Pp 21-26)
6. BRAVERMAN, H. "Labor and Monopoly Capital"
   1974, Monthly Review Press, New York, London (P.14)
7. WILENKSY, M.L. and LEBEAUX, C.N. "Industrial Society and Social Welfare"
   1965, Free Press, Collier-Macmillan, Toronto (P.8)
   cited in
   WALKER, D. "The Professionalization of Marketing in Britain"
   1976, September, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Aston in Birmingham
8. SAHLINS, M.
   1976, Op. Cit. (Pp 166-167)
9. ECO, U. "A Theory of Semiotics"
   1979, Midland Books, Indiana University Press, Bloomington (p.21)
10. MAUSS, M. "The Gift; Forms and functions of exchange in archaic societies"
    1974, R.K.P., London (P.2)
11. GIST, R.R. "Marketing and Society; A Conceptual Introduction"
    1971, Holt, Rinehart, Winston, New York (P.55)
12. PALMER, R. Page 138 "James Brown", "The Rolling Stone Illustrated History of Rock and Roll" (Edited by Jim Miller) (P.138)
    1976, Rolling Stone Press, Random House, New York
13. WOLFE, T. "Mauve Gloves and Madmen, Clutter and Vine"
    1977, Corgi Books/Bantam Books, New York (p.189)

14. ECO, U. "A Theory of Semiotics"
1979, Midland Books, Indiana University Press, Bloomington (P.7)

15. GIDDENS, A.,"Central Problems in Social Theory"
1982, Macmillan, London (p.12)

16. GIDDENS, A.
1982, Op. Cit. (P.16)

17. CICOUREL, A., "Cognitive Sociology; Language and Meaning in Social Interaction",
1973, Penguin Education, Hamondsworth, Middlesex (P.111)

18. WOLFE, T., "Mauve Gloves and Madmen, Clutter and Vine"
1977, Corgi Books/Bantam Books New York (Pp 177-178)
Tyler (1978) is less generous
"The formalist naively thinks the truth is in what we say, but our everyday experience confirms that our saying conceals more than it reveals"
TYLER, S.A. "The Said and The Unsaid; Mind, Meaning and Culture" 1978. Academic Press, New York (P.15)

19 GIDDENS, A. "Central Problems in Social Theory"
1982, Macmillan, London (Pp 42-43)

20. GIDDENS, A., "New Rules of Sociological Method"
1977, Hutchinson, London (P. 105)

21. GARFINKEL, H. "Studies in Ethnomethodology"
1967, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey (P. 100)

22. GARFINKEL, H.
1967, Op. Cit. (P. 96)

23. GIDDENS, A.
1977, Op. Cit. (P.113)

24. MAUSS, M. "The Gift; Forms and functions of exchange in archaic societies"
1974, R.K.P., London (p. 3)

25. ECO, U.
1979, Op. Cit.

26. GIDDENS, A.
1982, Op. Cit.

27, KOTLER, P., ZALTMAN, G. "Social Marketing: An Approach to Planned social Change" Pages 3-12 (P. 4)
1971, Journal of Marketing, Vol. 35, July

28. GIDDENS, A.
1982, Op. Cit. (P. 46)

29. GARFINKEL, H. "Studies in Ethnomethodology"
1967, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey (Pages VII-VIII)

30. GIDDENS, A. "New Rules of Sociological Method"
1977, Hutchinson, London (P. 41)

31. LURIE, A. "The Dress Code" (review article)
1976, 26th November, "The New York Review of Books"

32. POOLE, R.C. in LEVI-STRAUSS, C., "Totemism"
1973, Penguin University Books, Harmondsworth, Middlesex (P.50)

33. LÉVI-STRAUSS, C. "The Savage Mind"
1976, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London (P. 17)

34. LÉVI-STRAUSS, C.
1976, Op. Cit. (P.16)

35. LÉVI-STRAUSS, C.
1976, Ibid. (p. 21)

36. PAPANEK, V. "Design for the Real World"
1980, Granada Publishing, Frogmore, St. Albans, Herts (Pp 78-79)

37. DOUGLAS M. "Purity and Danger"
1966, R.K.P. London (p. 96)
This quotation raises an ethical question of some seriousness. There is what I presume to be a typographical error in the original which is not in my version.

38. GOULDNER, A. "The Dialectic of Ideology and Technology"
1976, Macmillan Press, London (P. 250)

39. PAPANEK, V.,
1980, Op. Cit.

40. SPERBER, D. "Rethinking Symbolism"
1979, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (P. 89)

41. GIDDENS, A.
1977, Op. Cit. (P. 104)

42. SAHLINS, M. "Stone Age Economics"
1974, Tavistock Publications, London (Pp 51-52)

43. MAUSS, M.
1974, Op. Cit. (Pp 11-12)

44. GIDDENS A.
1977, Op. Cit. (P. 123)

45. VOLOSINOV, V.N. (1973) in
Hebdige, R. "Subculture: The Meaning of Style"
1979, Methuen and Co., London (P.17)

46. GIDDENS, A.
1982, Op. Cit.

47. MAUSS, M.
1974, Op. Cit.

48. CICOUREL, A. "Cognitive Sociology: Language and Meaning in Social Interaction"
1973, Penguin Books, Hamondsworth, Middlesex (P.87)

49. ECO, U.
1979, Op. Cit. (P. 180)

50. BROOKS, J. "Business Adventures"
1969, Gollancz, London (Pp 41-42)

51. WARNOCK, C. GAYLE, "The Edsel Affair ... What Went Wrong"
1980, Pro-West, Paradise Valley, Arizona, (P. 81)

52. GIDDENS, A.
1977, Op. Cit. (P. 40)

53. My thanks to Dr Andrew "Butcher" Northeast for this slice from the other side of life.
Dr. Northeast also offered a less gruesome example which clearly demonstrates the importance of common sense understandings of things to ethnomethodological studies by describing the everyday reality that results from a misinterpretation of ambiguity.
The doctor had been invited to a medical conference in Bristol. He wore waterproofs because of the dreadful weather and travelled down on his motorcycle. Andrew parked the 1984 model Ducati Hailwood Replica (Cash? But of course, sir, that will be £3,800) outside the hotel which was the venue for the conference and walked up the steps to the front door. As he entered, a member of the hotel management snapped "What have you got for us this time?" "Nothing" said the doctor, a trifle nonplussed. "Then what are you doing here?" "I'm a delegate at the conference, not a despatch rider". There was a moment's frosty silence. "You'd better come in then. I suppose we'll have to find somehwere to put your things" ...
Dr. Northeast peeled off his sodden waterproofs to reveal an immaculate bespoke suit. He produced a pair of hand made shoes from his briefcase, put them on and walked away, leaving the staff to take care of the gear which sat in a dripping heap in the middle of the lobby.

54. ECO, U.

1979, Op. Cit.

"The production and employment of objects used for transforming the relationship between man and nature" has given rise to a number of commentaries. One of the most enjoyable is "The Flounder" by Gunter Grass. (1979, Penguin, Hamondsworth, Middlesex). For example,

"He told me about other rivers and about the ocean, which is much larger. Like a swimming newspaper he brought me news, reported all sorts of heroic and mythological gossip. A God name Poseidon had commented on some quotations from Zeus, and the Flounder now commented on the commentaries. He supplied glosses on female deities - one was called Hera. But even when he stuck to cold facts I didn't understand very much. He told me for the first time about the metal that can be smelted out of rock with the help of fire and poured into sand moulds to cool and harden." Bear in mind, my son! Metal can be forged into spearheads and axes." (Pages 25-26)

More of this in the next chapter.

55. GIDDENS, A.

1982, Op. Cit. (Pp 46-47)

56. GIDDENS, A.

1977, Op. Cit. (P. 113)

57. BERGER J. "Ways of Seeing"

1972, Penguin, Hardmonsworth, Middlesex

58. BARTHES, R. "Mythologies"

1981, Granada/Paladin, Frogmore, St. Albans, Herts (P.159)

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1. McHOUL, A.W. "Telling how texts talk: Essays on Reading and Ethnomethodology"
   1982, R.K.P. London (Page 7)
2. JONES, T. "Chaucer's Knight; The portrait of a medieval mercenary"
   1982, Eyre Methuen Ltd., London (Preface X)
3. McHOUL, A.W.
   1982, Op. Cit. (Page 13)
4. McHOUL, A.W.
   1982, Ibid (Pages 14-15)
5. BARTHES, R. "Mythologies"
   1981, Paladin/Granada Publishing, Frogmore, St. Albans, Herts (Pages 148-9)
6. GARFINKEL, H. "Studies in Ethnomethodology"
   1967, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J. (Page 3)
7. JONES, T.
   1982, Op. Cit. (Preface X)
8. BERGER, J. "Ways of Seeing"
   1983, B.B.C. Books, Penguin, Harmondsworth, Middlesex (Page 7)
9. HOCKNEY, D. "David Hockney"
   1980, Edited by Nikos Stangos, David Hockney/Thames and Hudson, London (Page 193)
10. HOCKNEY, D.
    1980, Op. Cit. (Page 193)
11. HOCKNEY, D.
    1980, Ibid (Page 194)
12. CLASTRES, P. "Society Against the State; The Leader as Servant and the Humane Uses of Power Among the Indians of the Americas"
    1977, Mole Editions, Basil Blackwell, Oxford (Page 127)
    A superb demonstration of the visual and ethnographic significance of Clastres' argument can be found in a single sentence from "The Autumn of the Patriarch" by Gabriel Garcia Marquez (1978). The Patriarch, the despotic ruler of an unnamed South American country, has just died for the second time, the first having been his double, Patricio Aragones.

    "Only when we turned him over to look at his face did we realize that it was impossible to recognise him, even though his face had not been pecked away by vultures,because none of us had ever seem him, and even though his profile was on both sides of all coins, on postage stamps, on condom labels, on trusses and scapulars, and even though his engraved picture with the flag across his chest and the dragon of the fatherland was

displayed at all times in all places, we knew that they were copies of copies of portraits that had already been considered unfaithful during the time of the comet, when our own parents knew who he was because they had heard tell from theirs, as they had from theirs before them, and from childhood on we grew accustomed to believe he was alive in the house of power because someone had seen him light the Chinese lanterns at some festival, someone had told about seeing his sad eyes, his pale lips, his pensive hand waving through the liturgical decorations of the presidential coach, because one Sunday many years ago they had brought him the blind man on the street who for five cents would recite the verses of the forgotten poet Ruben Dario and he had come away happy with the nice wad they had paid him for a recital that had been only for him, even though he had not seen him, of course, not because he was blind, but because no mortal had ever seen him since the days of the black vomit and yet we knew that he was there, we knew it because the world went on, life went on, the mail was delivered, the municipal band played its retreat of silly waltzes on Saturday under the dusty palm trees and the dim street lights of the main square, and other old musicians took the places of the dead musicians in the band."

MARQUEZ, G.G. "The Autumn of the Patriarch"

1978, Picador, Pan Books, London (Pages 7 - 8)

13. ADAMS, L. "Art on Trial from Whistler to Rothko"

1976, Walker and Company, New York (Page 211)

14. "Creative Review" September (Page 11)

1984, Marketing Week Communications, Kingly St., London W.1.

15. TIGHMAN, B.R. "But is it Art?. The Value of Art and the Temptation of Theory"

1984, Basil Blackwell, Oxford (Page 145)

16. WOLFE, T. "Mauve Gloves and Madmen, Clutter and Vine"

1977, Corgi Books/Bantam Books, New York (Page 160)

17. ADAMS, L.

1976, (Op. Cit) (Page 211)

18. BERGER, J. "Ways of Seeing"

1983, B.B.C. Books, Penguin, Hardmonsworth, Middlesex (Page 23)

19. BOURDIEN, P. DARBEL, A. "L'Amour de l'Art" Appendix 5 Table 4

1969, Editions de Minuit, Paris

Cited in Berger, J. (1983) Op. Cit.

20. GREGORY, R.L. "The Intelligent Eye"

1975, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London (Page 11)

21. WOLFF, J. "The Social Production of Art"

1981, Macmillan, London (Page 137)

22. NASH, J.M. "The Age of Rembrandt and Vermeer; Dutch painting in the Seventeenth Century"
1979, Phaidon, Oxford

"Vermeer died in 1675, age 43, and was buried in Delft on 15 December. He died in debt" (Page 257)

"But from the moment of his purchase of the house in Bresstraat (1639) Rembrandt was never out of debt. For sixteen years he struggled, constantly borrowing from new creditors to satisfy the old. In 1656, to avoid bankruptcy, he applied for the liquidation of his property"

"Rembrandt died in Amsterdam on 4th October, 1669, in the deepest poverty, survived only by his illegitimate daughter, Cornelia, his recently widowed daughter-in-law and a seven month old grand daughter, Titia" (Both Page 252)

None of which is any excuse at all for ignoring the stunning pictures created by these artists. They may be appreciated at their best in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Three visits there have left me quite certain that no words can do these painters justice; they have to be seen.

23. WOLFE, T. "The Painted Word"
1980, Bantam Books, New York, (Pages 67-68)

24. GREER, G. "The Obstacle Race; The Fortunes of Women Painters and their Work"
1979, Farrar Straus Giroux, New York (Page 7)

25. GREER, G.
1979, Op. Cit (Pages 6-7)

26. PETERS, M. "Coming a financial cropper", "Design and Art Direction"
1983, 12th August, 22 Lancaster Gate, London (Pages 14-15)

27. CLASTRES, P.
1974, Op. Cit. (Page 127)

28. WOLLHEIM, R. "Art and Its Objects"
1975, Peregrine Books, Harmondsworth, Middlesex (Page 113)

29. SAATCHI, D. "Master Copies" "The World of Interiors"
1983, October, Pheros Publications, Conde Nast Publications, London (Page 144)

30. SAATCHI, D.
1983, Op. Cit. (Pages 146 and 150)

31. FAWCETT, A. and WITHER, J. "Style Wars 1583-1983"
1983, December, "The Face" No. 44, London, (Pages 72-73)

32. HEBDIGE, R. "Subculture: the meaning of style"
1979, Methuen and Co., London (Page 130)

33. RAPOPORT, A. "The Meaning of the Built Environment: A Nonverbal Communication Approach"
1982, Sage, Beverly Hills, Calif. (Page 19)

34. HALL, D. "Space Oddity", "The World of Interiors" (Page 162)
1983, December, Pharos Publishing, Conde Nast Publishing,London

35. RAPOPORT, A.
1982, Op, Cit. (Page 21)

36. RAPOPORT, A.
1982, Op. Cit. (Page 22)

37. BEARDSMORE, R.W. "Art and Morality"
1971, Macmillan, London (Pages 11-12)

38. PAPANEK, V. "Design for the Real World; Human Ecology and Social Change"
1980, Granada Publishing, Frogmore, St. Albans, Herts (Page 104)

39. SCHARF, A. "Art and Photography"
1979, Penguin Books, Hardmonsworth, Middlesex (Page 195)

40. JEFFREY, I. "Photography: A Concise History"
1981, Thames and Hudson, London (Page 47)

41. ROSEN, N. "Artopoly: a giant game for dealers, curators and artists" (Page 10)
1983, 19th December, "The Guardian", Manchester and London

42. JOYCE, P. "David Hockney on Photography" (Page 326)
1983, 16 December, British Journal of Photography No. 6437, Vol. 130, London

43. SONTAG, S. "On Photography"
1980, Penguin, Hardmonsworth, Middlesex (Page 6)

44. BAKER, S. "Visual Persuasion; The Effect of Pictures on the Subconscious"
1961, McGraw-Hill, New York
Baker's book is so determindly visual in emphasis that it has an index but no page numbers. The quotation is from the second page of the first chapter.

45. BAKER, S.
1961, Op. Cit. (Third Page of Chapter 3)

46. GARFINKEL, H. "Studies in Ethnomethodology"
1967, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey (Page 11)

47. MAUSS, M. "The Gift; Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies"
1974, R.K.P., London

Perhaps the most important difference between industrial and 'archaic' forms of trade is the latter's apparent tendency towards wide ranging systems of exchange which involve artefacts that are far too valuable for any one person to own.

"In theory these valuables (mwali or polished armshells, and 'sonlava'; red spondylus shell necklaces) never stop circulating. It is wrong to keep them too long or to be 'slow or 'hard' with them; they are passed on only to predetermined partners in the armshell or necklace direction" (Page 22)

Sahlins (1974) suggests that land ownership is as important as Mauss's (Op.Cit) argument

"As an economic rule, there is no class of landless paupers in primitive society. If expropriation occurs it is accidental to the mode of production itself, a cruel fortune of war for instance, and not a systematic condition of the economic organization" (Page 93)

SAHLINS, M. "Stone Age Economics"

1974, Tavistock Publications, London

48. WILLIAMSON, J. "Decoding Advertising; Ideology and Meaning in Advertising"

1983, Marion Boyars, London, (Pages 1 and 2, Preface, Fourth Impression)

49. SOTTSASS, E. "Design and Art Direction"

1983, November, London (Page 41)

50. MAUSS, M.

1974, Op. Cit. (Page 4)

51. MAUSS, M.

1974, Ibid, (Page 77)

52. WARNOCK, C.A. "The Edsel Affair ... What Went Wrong" Page 106

1980, Pro West, Paradise Valley, Arizona

53. BAKER, S.

1961, Op. Cit. (Fifth Page of Chapter Eight)

CHAPTER FIVE

1. KOTLER, P. & LEVY, S. "Broadening the Concept of Marketing" Journal of Marketing Vol. 33, No. 1, January 1969, pp. 10–15

2. a. ALDERSON, W., GREEN, P.E. "Planning and Problem Solving in Marketing, 1964, Irwin.

   b. ALEXANDER, R.S., BERG, T.L. 'Dynamic Management in Marketing' 1965, Irwin Harewood, Illinois

   c. BERG, T.L., SHUCHMAN, A. 'Product Strategy and Manegement', 1963, Holt, Rinehart, Winston, N.Y.

   d. FISK, G. 'Marketing Systems, an Introductory Analysis', 1969, Harper Row, N.Y.

   e. FIELD, G., DOUGLAS, J., TARPEY, L.X. 'Marketing Management, a Behavioural Systems Approach', 1966, Merrill Books, Columbia, Ohio

   f. KELLEY, E.J., LAZER, W. 'Management Marketing: Perspectives and View Points, A Source Book' 1967, Irwin

   g. LEIGHTON, D.S.R. 'International Marketing: text and cases', 1966, McGraw-Hill, N.Y.

   h. KOLLAT, D.T., BLACKWELL, R.D., ROBESON, J.F. "Strategic Marketing", 1972, Holt, Rinehart, Winston, N.Y.

   i. LIPSON, H.A., DARLING, J.R. 'Introduction to Marketing: An Administrative Approach' 1971, John Wiley, N.Y.

   j. FOX, E.J., WHEATLEY, E.W. 'Modern Marketing Principles and Practice' 1978, Scott Foresman, Tusker, Georgia.

3. Practitioners and theorists of marketing, who are generally well aware of the Edsel, tend to discuss its failure in everyday terms as the result of a singular oversight.

   "In the management culture, and in the particular context of market research, perhaps the most wide-spread myth is that of the Ford Edsel.

   According to the tale as it is told at seminars and conferences, after the Second World War Ford were determined to re-establish the market position which the Model T had given them a generation before. They strove to ensure that no part of all the necessary rituals would be overlooked. In particular they mounted a massive market research campaign designed to discover what Americans would be looking for in a car they would buy by the million.....

So the Ford emissaries went away and told their designers what they had learned. The designers went away and came up with a car that had all the right qualities. And the Ford management slept easily, secure in the belief that they were 'market-oriented' and therefore secure from harm."

CLEVERLEY, G. "Managers and Magic"

1971, Longman Group, London (Pages 81-82)

Hartley (1981) appears to underwrite this line of criticism.

"Marketing research studies on the Edsel automobile covered a period of almost ten years"

HARLEY, R. "Marketing Mistakes"

1981, 2nd Edition, Grid Publishing, Columbus, Ohio (Page 117)

4. WARNOCK, C. GAYLE "The Edsel Affair ... What Went Wrong",

1980, Pro West, Paradise Valley, Arizona (Page 2)

5. Ibid (Page 272)

6. MAJARO, S. 'International Marketing: A Strategic Approach to World Markets',

1978, Allen & Unwin, London (Page 79)

7. LEVITT, T. 'Marketing for Business Growth'

1974, McGraw-Hill, N.Y. (pages 38-39)

8. REYNOLDS, W.H. 'The Edsel, Ten Years Later", p.42 'Business Horizons', Fall Edition

1967 (Page 42)

9. BROOKS, J. 'Business Adventures'

1969, Gollancz, London (Page 36)

10. Ibid (Page 35)

11. WARNOCK, C. GAYLE

1980, Op.Cit. (Page 3)

12. KOTLER, P. "Marketing Management; analysis, planning and control"

1967 1st Edition, Prentice Hall, N.J.

1972 2nd Edition, Prentice Hall, N.J.

1976 3rd Edition, Prentice Hall, N.J.

13. KOTLER, P. 'Marketing Management; analysis, planning and control',

1980, 4th Edition, Prentice Hall, N.J. (Pages 363-364)

The 5th Edition (1984) makes no real attempt to develop this analysis.

14. BUSINESS WEEK "Ford Hands the Wheel to Youth",

Sept. 26th 1959, McGraw-Hill, New York

15. DEUTSCH, J.D. 'Selling the People's Cadillac; The Edsel and Corporate Responsibility'

1976, Yale University Press - New Haven, London

16. WARNOCK, C. GAYLE
1980, Op. Cit. (Page 3)
17. Ibid. (Page 4)
18. DEUTSCH, J.D.
1976, Op. Cit.
19. WARNOCK
Op. Cit. 1980 (Page 5)
20. DETROIT FREE PRESS
May 19th 1955
21. WARNOCK, C. GAYLE
1980, Op. Cit. (Page 133)
22. Ibid (Page 33)
23. Ibid (Page 69)
24. Ibid. (Pages 69-70)
25. Ibid. (Page 88)
26. Ibid. (Page 90)
27. Ibid. (Page 91)
28. Ford Motor Company was a private concern until 1957 (January) when it went 'public'. The Ford family maintains a controlling interest.
29. BROOKS, J.
1969, Op. Cit.
30. WARNOCK, C. GAYLE
1980, Op. Cit. (Page 26)
31. BROOKS, J.
1969, Op. Cit. (Page 27)
32. WARNOCK, C. GAYLE
1980, Op. Cit. (Pages 25-26)
33. BROOKS, J.
1969, Op. Cit. (Page 32)
34. Ibid. (Page 32)
35. Ibid. (Pages 32-33)
36. Ibid.(Pages 34-35)
37. Ibid.
38. WARNOCK, C. GAYLE
1980, Op. Cit. (Page 56)
39. LARRABEE, E. "The Edsel and how it got that way"
'HARPER'S MAGAZINE', 1957, September
40. WARNOCK, C. GAYLE
1980, Op. Cit. (Pages 57-58)

41. BROOKS, J. "The Fate of the Edsel"
'NEW YORKER', 1960, 26th November
42. BROOKS, J. 'BUSINESS ADVENTURES'
1969, Gollancz, London
43. BROOKS, J.
1969, Op. Cit. (Page 123)
44. WARNOCK, C. GAYLE
1980, Op. Cit. (Page 246)
45. MAYER, M. "Madison Avenue U.S. : The Inside Story of American Advertising"
1961, Penguin, Harmondsworth, Middlesex (Pages 123-124)
46. MAYER, M.
1961, Op. Cit. (Pages 127-128)
47. Ibid. (Page 128)
48. WARNOCK, C. GAYLE
1980, Op. Cit. (Page 243)
49. Ibid. (Page 239)
50. Idem. (Page 241)
51. "Now Comes the Edsel"
1956, "Newsweek", 26th November in
DEUTSCH, J.G.
(1976) (Op.Cit.)(p. 36)
52. "Time Magazine
1957, October in
WARNOCK, C.G.
(1980) Op. Cit.
53. "Speed Age"
1957 October in
WARNOCK, C.G.
(1980) Op. Cit.
54. "Car Life"
1957, October in
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'The whole concept of 'Run What ya Brung' demonstrates the ambiguity inherent in the reading of possessions as indicative of the mores of their owners. 'Run What ya Brung' is an edict common amongst motorcyclists who attend 'drag' racing meetings. Whilst most of the sprints are for specialised machinery beyond any other use, there is a class of competition involving solely those machines which have been ridden to the race track over public roads. These latter motorcycles are usually standard road bikes which have been heavily modified. The possibility of arrest by authorities which are supposedly jaundiced towards any form of motorcycle is intended as a limit on the extent to which these machines can be transformed. However, given the professed feelings of deviancy which bind riders and spectators there is obviously great kudos attached to the piloting of machines of demonstrably marginal legality. Similarly, whilst reinforcing the group against the outside world, there is a distinct status accruing to those who 'Run what they brung' which is not conferred on riders of standard machinery.

This divide is emphasised by the very expense of running a high performance motorcycle. The rider is thus taken to have a deal of technical and financial expertise as well as sprint technique. These fractional differentiations by performance and construction define the individual riders explicitly and completely. The machines must not only possess venomous acceleration but sound faster, for the theatrical way in which these motorcycles are ridden serves not only as an aggressive exclusion of those who disdain this form of life but underwrites and continues a clearly defined and legitimate hierarchy within these groups. More importantly, in terms of the comparison with business men launching products, there is, through the adroit use of noise and appearance, a reputation to be made with spectacular failures. These could never have been competitive runners but the manipulation of their public disgrace allows the rider an appearance of ability and bravado beyond the limitations of the now uniquely disgraced vehicle.

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23. "Blaggers", "Wallys" and "Sharks"

These are all categories of sales representative drawn from the sales force of a Double Glazing and Cavity Wall Insulation business. According to two of the fitters who have to install the goods sold by these travellers the descriptions were intended as no more than a joke but proved popular and stuck. Perhaps the least unknown in this representative sample is the sobriquet 'blagger'. A 'blagger' is a commercial traveller, agent or representative who makes a practice of inflated, misleading patter when promoting distinctly ordinary merchandise. 'Blaggers' also leave themselves a loophole so that when retailers become angry over stock which isn't selling the blagger can blame the retailer and seem justified, in his own eyes at least.

'Wallys' are also known as 'wombles'. They do not care for great amounts of work - nor are they motivated by greed, avarice or bonus schemes. However, these gentle creatures can generally be relied upon to complete their sales quotas. They will then take time off in lieu of attempts at earning bonuses. They are pleasant and harmless, having only one natural enemy.

'Wallys' and 'Sharks' do not get on at all. The latter work long hard hours, are jealous of their sales information and prospects, and enjoy earning lots of money. There is also a tendency for 'Sharks' to be short tempered and avoided, especially when they number as many as two or three. 'Sharks' have differing views over what is the most important part of a salesman's job and tend not to join professional bodies. They do however appear to enjoy the 'camaraderie' of the road more than most.

The structure of this firm is such that whilst the majority of representatives fall into none of these categories their organisational lines are at the mercy of this triad.

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27. The Overnight Sensation Crisp Company
I made up the numbers on a visit to a North Western crisp factory well-known for its wide range of products. During a resultant conversation with one of the line managers I learned that certain flavours sufferedisproportionately from 'pilferage'. Management were of the opinion that the relevant shifts must be 'completely bent'. It was later decided, as sales returns of new brands came in from all over the country, that the shop floor had conducted a little 'in-house' market research and everyone wanted the same flavours. The shifts concerned with their manufacture were simply catering for as many as possible. Some of the warehousemen were also being less than rigorous.

Some weeks later, when working on a short contract frying potatoes for a rival company whose plant had burned down, a friend from this same factory told me that the crisps in question weren't worth stealing. So they were left alone. This may be taken as an unwillingness to give away something of no value. It might also be a matter of an outside contract getting special supervisory attention.

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   "Ignored or else held in contempt by working people, Bauhaus design eventually triumphed as a symbol of wealth and priviledge attuned chiefly to the tastes of businessmen's wives. For example, Mies's most famous piece of furniture design, the Barcelona chair, now sells for $1,680 and is available only through one's decorator. The high price is due in no small part to the chair's Worker Housing HºnestMaterials : stainless steel and leather"
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15. Rural architecture was very much a community affair for it depended upon local labour and indigenous materials to produce rather basic structures which were clearly characteristic of an area and yet still individually identifiable. Native skills were vital because understandings of weather and drainage would be as important in determining a building's final shape as the curves in the roof timbers or the flaws in the stone. The apparent romanticism of this empathy is heightened by the comfortingly human scale of rural construction for few buildings would have risen beyond two storeys. These restrictions are perhaps best explained by the astonishing poverty which meant that, for most of the rural population, neither the time nor the tools were available for more complex work.

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20. With the exception of those whose locations are noted in the text, the examples quoted in this chapter are all in Manchester. They were observed in situ and the written reference is to the buildings as they appeared to the author when walking round the city. Whilst there is no doubt that Manchester should be experienced in such a manner there are lesser alternatives which will serve as substitutes. Any Victorian architecture is amenable to similar consideration and if that should fail there is always
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1978 (Page 250)

30. LE CORBUSIER Ibid.
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31. WOLFE, T., Op. Cit.
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32. "After the war, various compounds - Banhaus, Wendingen, de Stijl Constructivists, Neoplasticists, Elementarists, Futurists - began to compete with one another to establish who had the purest vision. And what determined purity? Why, the business of what was bourgeois (sordid) and what was nonbourgeois(pure)"

33. HESKETT, J. "Industrial Design"
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34. LE CORBUSIER, Op. Cit.
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35. WOLFE, T., Op. Cit.
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36. WOLFE, T., Ibid.
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37. WOLFE., T. Idem.
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Kurokawa is not just an architectural theorist. He designs and sells structures which embody the following recommendations.

"Prefabrication is the basis of the capsule, but capsule housing is intended to produce a qualitative change in the meaning of a building.
Prefabricated buildings in the past consisted of standardized and factory produced pillars, beams and walls, but without interchangeability of parts. A cardinal feature of the capsule, on the other hand, is that its parts can be replaced ... Moreover, proliferation is possible by adding additional compartments. Therefore, a capsule must be composed with such functional units as a bath unit and a kitchen unit as basic units. This marks a switch from composition by parts to composition by functional units"

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