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PESQUISA ETNOGRÁFICA EM MARKETING: PASSADO, PRESENTE E FUTUROS POSSÍVEIS

RESUMO

O artigo percorre períodos, eventos, contextos e pesquisas e projetos da Cultura do Consumo fora e dentro do Brasil. As contribuições da pesquisa qualitativa e em especial da etnografia norteiam a história que contamos. Foi possível delinear diferentes percursos da Cultura e do Consumo no passado e no presente fora e dentro do Brasil. Se os caminhos seguidos foram diversos, o nosso exercício sobre futuros possíveis traz aproximações locais, nacionais e internacionais na busca por novas construções metodológicas e teóricas da Cultura do Consumo em Marketing.

Palavras- chave: Cultura do Consumo; História do CCT; Pesquisa Etnográfica.

ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH IN MARKETING: PAST, PRESENT, AND POSSIBLE FUTURES.

ABSTRACT

The article covers periods, events, contexts, research and projects in the Consumer Culture sphere within and outside Brazil. Our account is guided by the contributions of qualitative research and especially ethnography, and reveals the very different pathways followed by Consumer Culture. In contrast, our attempt to guess possible futures in this area involve the analysis of similarities between local, national and international practices, in the search for new methodological and theoretical constructs in Consumer Culture and Marketing.

Keywords: Consumer Culture; CCT History; Ethnographic Research.

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1 INTRODUCTION

We define ethnographic research very simply as primarily qualitative research on a particular group, community, subject, or organization using multiple methods and especially depth interviews and participant observation. This excludes research relying on depth interviews alone, although it can include online research (often known as netnography) so long as it is not the sole method of data collection. Some prominent examples in marketing and consumer research include studies of river rafting (Arnould & Price, 1993), mountain man rendezvous re-enactments (Belk & Costa, 1998), and Burning Man festivals (Kozinets, 2002a). While these spectacles and adventures have a momentous character to them, the methods apply equally well to such mundane contexts as family uses of a table (Epp & Price, 2010), family meals (Heisley & Levy, 1991), stay-at-home dads (Coskuner-Balli & Thompson, 2013), and research firms presenting data to clients (Cayla & Arnould, 2013; Cayla, Beers, & Arnould, 2014). As the title suggests, the organization of this paper will move from past to present to possible futures in discussing ethnographic research in marketing. We will divide these periods into the categories: before 2005, 2005-2014, and after 2014. We will note not only the sorts of consumer and marketing ethnographic research and publications presented during these periods, but also significant events, geographic trends, and organizational contexts that formed or altered around new types of qualitative research, especially ethnographic studies, during these periods.

We also bring in the Brazilian experience with ethnographic studies. We recognize the great influence of some cultural historians and anthropologists who have provided the underpinnings of consumer culture research in Brazil. We also bring in recent consumer culture discussions and work of Brazilian marketing scholars. This is just one of the possible versions of the history that intends to be a starting point for understanding the new and growing spaces of interpretative methods, such as ethnography, in marketing research in Brazil. In our analysis of the Brazilian approach to consumer culture we follow the same division of periods as the one used in the case of consumer culture outside Brazil. Souza et al (2013) also suggest that changes occurred in consumer culture research in Brazil from 2005 onwards.

In the field of ethnographic research, in addition to the references from the marketing area cited in the course of this article, our suggested readings includes inspiring works from the anthropological tradition such as those written by Malinowski (1978), Marcel Mauss (1974), Victor Turner (1969), Clifford Geertz (1978), Marshall Sahlins (1979), just to mention a few, as well as the studies by Hy Marianpolsky (2006), Patricia

Sunderland and Rita Denny (2007,2014) that give a good orientation to the use ethnographic research to support the study of organizational problems in consumption contexts. These two types of readings aim to obtain an inside view of day to day life of consumer and organizations in order to describe and analyze them.

Ethnographic methods are not merely a singular research technique, as they can use various techniques depending on the context, history and focus of each study. In our article, ethnographic studies play a guiding role in our review of the history, the present context and possible futures of Consumer Culture in Marketing.

The Past: Outside of Brazil

Based on the definition above, the first ethnographic articles published in marketing and consumer research were the initial papers produced under the auspices of a project called the Consumer Behavior Odyssey (Belk, 1987, 1988, 1991; Belk, Sherry, & Wallendorf, 1988; Belk Wallendorf & Sherry, 1989; Belk et al., 1988; Holbrook, 1988; Kassarian, 1986; Sherry, 1987; Wallendorf, 1987; Wallendorf, Belk, & Heisley, 1988) as well as videos (Wallendorf & Belk, 1987). The Odyssey was conducted across the U.S.A in 1986 and its pilot project was held at a Southwestern U.S. swap meet in 1985. There had been calls for ethnographic research at about the same time (Hirschman, 1986; Sanders, 1987; Sherry, 1986). There had also been consumer studies using depth interviews (e.g., McCracken, 1987; Rook, 1985) before this, but not full-fledged ethnographic studies including participant observation. The Odyssey project is described in detail elsewhere (Belk, 1991; Belk, 2014).

It was a foundation moment for ethnographic consumer and marketing research, but it had been prefigured by a number of other papers and events. These included motivation research in the 1950s (Desmond, 2013; Kassarian & Goodstein, 2010; Levy, 2006; Tadajewski, 2006, 2010, 2013), Levy's work with Social Research, Inc. also beginning in the 1950s (Levy, 2006), a 1975 monograph on broadening the concept of consumer behavior (Zaltman & Sternthal, 1975), a 1980 conference on consumer aesthetics hosted by Hirschman & Holbrook (1980), papers by Hirschman & Holbrook (1982) and Holbrook & Hirschman (1982) on the experiential aspects of consumption, a 1984 Winter Marketing Educator's Conference hosted by Paul Anderson & Michael Ryan (1984), a 1985 theory workshop hosted by Paul Anderson, and a series of debates between Paul Anderson and Shelby Hunt (Anderson, 1983, 1986; Hunt, 1983, 1984).

There were also a number of papers and events that came on the heels of the Consumer Behavior

Odyssey that reinforced the paradigmatic upheaval that was taking place. They include a conference on marketing and semiotics (Umiker-Sebeok, 1987), McCracken's (1988) volume on culture and consumption, a volume on interpretive consumer research (Hirschman, 1989), and a number of ethnographic papers (e.g., Arnould & Wallendorf, 1994; Belk & Costa, 1998; Bonsu & Belk, 2003; Celsi, Rose, & Leigh, 1993; Heisley & Levy, 1991; Kates, 2002; Kozinets, 2001, 2002b; Kozinets et al., 2004; Mehta & Belk, 1991; O'Guinn & Belk, 1989; Peñaloza, 1994, 2000; Price & Arnould, 1999; Ritson & Elliott, 1999; Schouten & McAlexander, 1995; Sherry, 1990; Sherry & McGrath, 1989; Wallendorf & Arnould, 1991). There were also several papers on ethnographic research methods (e.g., Arnould & Wallendorf, 1994; Thompson, 1997). In 2001 Russell Belk and Robert Kozinets initiated the Association for Consumer Research Film Festival which has since spread from North America to the European, Asia-Pacific, and Latin American ACR conferences as well. And bi-annual ethnographic consumer research workshops at Southern Denmark University in Odense and Bilkent University in Ankara were also initiated. A number of edited volumes of largely ethnographic consumer and marketing research also appeared during this period (e.g., Otnes & Beltramini, 1996; Otnes & Lowrey, 2004; Sherry, 1995, 1998) as well as sole-authored ethnographic books (e.g., McCracken, 1995; Otnes & Pleck, 2003). Clearly ethnographic research had established itself and was gaining momentum during this period.

The Past: Brazil

There have been no projects in Brazil like the Consumer Behavior Odyssey (Belk, 1991; Belk, 2014) that could gather together researchers in different fields of knowledge in order to observe, photograph, film and interview consumers, thus fostering a culture of ethnographic research on consumption in marketing. The lack of a Brazilian marketing research like a Consumer Odyssey leads us back further into the past, before the 1980s, in order to trace the path followed by ethnographic research in Brazil.

We start with three great cultural historians who analyzed Brazil and who were part of the genesis of the Brazilian anthropological tradition: Gilberto Freyre, whose work was devoted to dense descriptions of Brazil and Brazilians, the patriarchal family, private life and social values (Freyre, 1933, 1969, 1990); Buarque de Holanda (1936, 2012) who explored the roots of Brazil using contributions from social psychology, history and sociology, with an acute awareness of the structures in place at that time; and Câmara Cascudo (1983) from whose vast knowledge production we highlight the study of Brazilian social life, eating habits and gestures.

These historians helped construct a specific style of social science in Brazil. Geographical, climatic, economic, cultural and social differences, as well as a rich context of tribal origins and exotic ethnic and religious diversity paved the way for a genuinely Brazilian anthropology. Brazil ranks as a pioneer for bringing ethnographic studies into urban settings, everyday life and homes, while anthropologists from other countries continued to focus on the traditional contexts of tribal or primitive societies (Peirano, 1995, 2000).

Thus, after the cultural historians, we turn to the contribution of anthropology, the science that gave rise to the ethnographic method. As it is impossible to present the full scope of these contributions, we highlight the work of two Brazilian anthropologists, whose "thick descriptions" of the behavior of Brazilians have steered studies of consumer culture. Clifford Geertz (1978, p.7) used the term "thick description" to explain what is meant by the output of an ethnography. The descriptions developed through field notes are necessary to enable the researcher to "first of all learn and then present" the "complex", "strange", "irregular" and "inexplicit" structures that we can find in the work of Brazilian's anthropologists. We highlight the work of two anthropologists: Gilberto Velho (1973, 1978, 1980, 1981) who invites us to make the familiar strange in our daily lives in Brazilian urban and complex contexts; and Roberto da Matta (1979, 1999, 2003) who urges us to make the exotic familiar in Brazilian culture through analyses of myths and rituals found, for example, in carnival, football and religious beliefs.

Although it is generally agreed that the social sciences were slow to view consumption as an object of analysis, the approach to an "Anthropology of Consumption" was introduced by anthropologist Everardo Rocha in his research projects, striving to interpret representations of consumption in advertising narratives packed with dreams and magic (Rocha, 1985, 1995, 1996), and later called communication ethnography (Rocha, Barros & Pereira, 2005). Rocha's research themes link Anthropology to Marketing. The clarity with which this anthropologist writes about concepts that are important for consumption studies, such as ethnocentrism (Rocha, 1985) and myth (Rocha, 1986); and his description of the ethnographic method as "understanding others through their own values, rather than our own" (Rocha, 1985:20) almost naturally foster a link between ethnography grounded in the tradition of the social sciences and the contemporaneity of marketing.

When he was appointed a contributing professor at COPPEAD Graduate School of Business-UFRJ (Federal University of Rio de Janeiro), Everardo Rocha planted the seed for the development of a CCT group and created the first line of research in culture and consumption in Brazil (on the

anthropologist's publishing, see Rocha & Barros, 2006 and Rocha & Rocha, 2007).

Also particularly noteworthy is anthropologist Livia Barbosa, as a leading name in consumption studies. In her first work (Barbosa, 1987, 1992), Barbosa identified the typically Brazilian knack known as “*o jeitinho*” as part of the identity of Brazilians, grounded in the everyday meanings and practices that she analyzed. This anthropologist constructed links with English social sciences researchers working with culture and consumption, bringing Daniel Miller (1987) and Colin Campbell (1987) to Brazil for lectures during the early 2000s. Barbosa and Campbell (2006) organized a collection of papers with contributions from Brazilian and English sociologists and anthropologists in a book “*Cultura Consumo e Identidade*”. Barbosa (2006 pgs. 8 and 10) highlighted rising interest in culture and consumption studies in Brazil, stressing the translation into Portuguese “although somewhat delayed” of classics such as ‘Culture and Consumption’ by Grant McCracken (1986 [2007], 1987 [2003]) and ‘The World of Goods: toward an anthropology of consumption’ by Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood (1979 [2004]).

Other anthropologists added contributions to consumption studies through research projects addressing contemporary urban groups, including anthropologist Miriam Goldenberg (2005a, 2005b, 2011, 2013) in her studies of gender, beauty and body, and anthropologist Maria Claudia Coelho (2006) with her studies on gift given. We thus identify prosperous links between Brazilian Anthropology and Marketing. If, within the US context the Consumer Odyssey led to the inclusion of some anthropologists and sociologists on the permanent staff of business schools, this interaction took place differently in Brazil, where anthropologists preserved the traditional boundaries of their field of knowledge.

Both Everardo Rocha and Livia Barbosa have demonstrated concern over the increasingly widespread use of ethnographic methods in market research studies commissioned by companies (Barbosa, 2003; Rocha, Barros e Pereira, 2005). Barbosa (2003) distinguishes between “ethnographic marketing” – referring to the use of this method in market research studies – and “anthropology of consumption”, apparently between the use of the research method by anthropology and by marketing, with the latter characterized as an area of applied knowledge that does not aspire to any level of theorization, in contrast to the anthropology of consumption which focuses on the development of theories.

From the marketing manager's standpoint, the limited use of ethnography may be attributed to the dominance of the positivist tradition in consumer research behavior in Brazil as well. It was only after

the second half of the 1990s that we find papers urging the importance of encompassing new methodological paths for Brazilian marketing research (Barros, 2002, 2004; Casotti, 1997, 1998; Castilhos & Cavedon, 2003; D'Angelo, 2003; Rocha & Barros, 2004; Rocha et al. 1999; Rossi & Hor-Meyell, 2001; Rossi & Siveira, 1999; Vieira, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2003; Vilas Boas, Sette & Abreu, 2004) including ethnography, among other methods and also those described as ethnographically inspired or quasi-ethnographic methods. The latter terms are used when the research does not include a prolonged stay in the field and/or does not use participant observation as the anthropological tradition recommends (Rocha e Barros, 2006).

The Present: Outside Brazil

The watershed event that we are using to separate the past from the present is the publication of an invited article by two associate editors of the *Journal of Consumer Research*, Eric Arnould and Craig Thompson (2005). The paper was a review of the qualitative research that had been published to that point in the journal, categorizing these papers into four conceptual areas: Consumer Identity Projects, Marketplace Cultures, the Sociohistoric Patterning of Consumption, and Mass-Mediated Marketplace Ideologies and Consumers' Interpretive Strategies. Although not all of this research was ethnographic according to our definition and the review only included *JCR* papers, the paper was critically important because it gave the field of non-positivist consumer research a brand name: Consumer Culture Theory. CCT researchers came together the next year at the first annual Consumer Culture Theory Conference, hosted by John Sherry and Russell Belk at Notre Dame University. In 2012 the Consumer Culture Theory Consortium was formed and now sponsors the annual conferences. In 2014 the ninth annual conference is took place in Helsinki, Finland, as the format that has evolved is alternating every other year between North America and Europe. Most years have also resulted in a volume of the best papers from the conference (e.g., Belk & Sherry, 2007; Sherry & Fischer, 2009) as well as several special issues of journals (e.g., Askegaard & Scott, 2013 b; Bengtsson & Eckhardt, 2010).

Since 2005 there has continued to be a prominent stream of ethnographic consumer and marketing research in journals such as the *Journal of Consumer Research*, *Consumption Markets and Culture*, *Journal of Consumer Culture*, *Marketing Theory*, *Journal of Retailing*, *Journal of Marketing*, *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, *Qualitative Market Research*, and *Journal of Marketing Management*. Joy and Li (2012) review this research using the basic four conceptual areas identified by Arnould and

Thompson (2005), but detailing some of subcategories such as consumer identity and marketing myths, global consumer identity projects, consumer identity and post-assimilationist research, identity-public policy and transformative consumer research, consumption environments and consumer experiences, and brand communities and consumer resistance. Edited as well as single-author books of consumer ethnography have continued to appear (e.g., Cova, Kozinets, & Shankar, 2012; Tian & Dong, 2011; McCracken, 2005; Sunderland & Denny, 2007). And articles as well as edited and single-author books on ethnographic marketing and consumer research methods have also emerged (e.g., Belk, 2006; Belk, Fischer & Kozinets, 2013; Kozinets, 2010; Moisander & Valtonen, 2006).

One of the trends that has emerged during this most recent period in consumer and marketing research is an increased emphasis on brands, retailing, and corporations (e.g., Belk & Tumbat, 2005; Holt, 2004; Kozinets, et al. 2004; Muñiz & O'Guinn, 2001; Schroeder & Salzer-Mörling, 2006; Thompson & Arsel, 2004; Twitchell, 2004). With impetus from David Mick, a bi-annual Transformative Consumer Research Conference began in 2005, which also features a great deal of CCT research. That conference is dedicated to transforming consumer behavior for social and environmental good. Marketing academia has seen strong growth in CCT research over this period, with marketing programs with strong concentrations of qualitative/interpretive consumer researchers emerging in Universities in Europe, North America, South America, and Australia. In industry as well there has been strong growth in what is often called applied anthropology or business anthropology (e.g., Anderson, 2009; Cayla & Arnould, 2013; Cayla, Beers, & Arnould, 2014; Sunderland & Denny, 2007). CCT tracks have also been institutionalized at Association for Consumer Research (ACR) and winter American Marketing Association (AMA) conferences as well as CCT Editors and Associate Editors at *Journal of Consumer Research* and Associate Editors at *Journal of Marketing*. The annual AMA-Sheth Doctoral Consortium and the ACR Doctoral Colloquium have CCT tracks as well. Multiple CCT scholars have served as presidents of ACR during this period. In Europe a bi-annual Interpretive Consumer Research workshop initiated by Richard Elliott has been held since 1998, while in Asia and Europe Mike Lee initiated a bi-annual anti-consumption conference in 2006. A number of additional qualitative/interpretive conferences have also emerged including three by Stephen Brown in Northern Ireland, two by Karin Ekström in Sweden, two by Dominique Bouchet in Denmark, two by the COPPEAD group in Brazil, one on the anthropology of consumption and markets at University of California, Irvine, a workshop on qualitative methods for the Korean Research Association in Seoul, four on applied anthropology in

China, seven Ethnographic Praxis in Industry Conferences (EPIC) around the world and consumer videography workshops in the US, Canada, Mexico, Brazil, Australia, Sweden, and France. And Sage publishers has honored three CCT scholars- Morris Holbrook, Sidney Levy, and Russell Belk in their *Legends of Consumer Behavior* series comprised of multi-volume sets of their works. It has been a highly successful decade for CCT research and researchers in terms of gaining recognition and prominence for this field.

The Present: Brazil

From the second half of the 2000s onwards, there seems to have been more concern in Brazil over discussing the methodological characteristics of scientific knowledge focused on marketing. Some of these papers highlight the predominance of positivism, but also the steadily expanding presence of interpretative studies in marketing research. Furthermore, discussions are also found that explore different theoretical proposals and qualitative research methods (Ayrosa, 2013; Borelli, 2012; Campos, Casotti & Suarez, 2006; Cerchiaro, Sauerbronn & Ayrosa, 2004; Costa, Guerra & Leão, 2011; Dalmoro, Peñaloza & Nique, 2014; Desjeux, Suarez & Campos, 2014; Leão et al., 2012; Faria, 2013; Sauerbronn & Ayrosa, 2009, 2010; Sauerbronn, Cerchiaro & Ayrosa, 2011; Souza & Mello, 2009; Schmitt, Esteves & Rossi, 2013).

This period also saw an expansion in the range of themes and contexts covered by consumption studies which began to discover Brazil's intriguing level of cultural diversity. We find studies of consumption and identity (Castilhos, 2007; Castilhos & Rossi, 2008; Castilhos & Vieira, 2012; Barboza & Ayrosa, 2013; Barboza & Silva, 2013; Barros et al., 2010); research focusing on specific consumer groups that are rarely in consumer behavior studies, such as low income consumers (Mattoso & Rocha, 2006; Barros, 2007; Barros & Rocha, 2007; Mattoso, 2008; Pinto & Lara, 2008), homosexuals (Pereira & Ayrosa, 2012a, 2012b) and people with disabilities (Farias & Casotti, 2014). We also find studies that analyze consumption in different areas focus such as collections (Pépece & Prado, 2012), beauty competition (Netto et al. 2010), branding (Costa e Leão, 2010) and gender (Sauerbronn, Ayrosa & Barros, 2008; Fontes, Borelli & Casotti, 2012; Tonini & Sauerbronn, 2013). Some studies have their focus on specific product categories: food (Casotti, 2005; Fonseca 2011), hygiene and beauty products (Campos, Suarez & Casotti, 2006), erotic products (Walther, 2012; 2014), luxury products (Soutilha, Ayrosa & Cerchiaro, 2013) and the consumption of plastic surgery (Borelli & Casotti, 2012). Finally, we highlight studies which explore themes that are more

critical of consumption such as responsible consumption, consumer resistance, anti-consumption and category abandonment (Suarez, Chauvell & Casotti, 2012; Santos, Silva & Chauvel, 2013; Ayrosa & Barros, 2013; Cordeiro et al, 2013; Dalmoro, Peñaloza & Nique, 2014; Borelli, 2014; Suarez, 2014).

Outstanding among these consumer behavior studies are ethnographic studies rooted in marketing research at various institutions and in different regions of Brazil (Borelli, 2014; Castilhos, 2007; Castilhos, & Rossi, 2008; Cavedon et al., 2007; Fleck, 2008; Pereira, 2009; Scaraboto, 2006.). The work by Souza et al. (2013) of CCT publications in Brazil's two main business conferences (ENANPAD - and EMA -) signal the existence of CCT research groups in Brazil, a gradual increase in the number of CCT publications, especially after the publication of Arnould and Thompson (2005), and the prevalence of ethnographic studies - more than 50% in the 81 articles analyzed.

These two conferences - ENANPAD and EMA - underwent sweeping change. Papers that were formerly submitted to a single area called Marketing were divided into five thematic areas, offering space for methodological plurality within the predominance of quantitative studies using a positivist approach. Two innovative steps were undertaken, such as the initiative of submitting ethnographic videos in 2007 and the creation, at last, of the "culture and consumption" theme in 2009. During the first year, this new track ranked second by number of submissions, and this trend has been maintained. The initial expectation that this track might attract more researchers from the social science fields did not eventuate, although the large number of papers underscores the rising importance of CCT field in Brazil.

However, indications of stronger links between the social sciences and marketing can be noted such as the creation of the ENEC – National Consumption Studies Meeting and the discussion undertaken by three anthropologists on the new prospects for anthropological methods in marketing at an annual business management conference (Rocha, Barros & Pereira, 2005). One of these prospects involves "netnography", a term proposed by Robert Kozinets (1998, 2002b, 2006, 2014) for the adaptation of the ethnographic method to the virtual environment. This method uses textual discourse to understand cultural meanings and practices and involves varying degrees of participant observation. Traditional ethnography observes consumers in their daily actions whereas netnography observes online communications. However, its procedures are similar to those of traditional ethnography because it also uses field notes and is concerned with establishing a trusting relationship with those who are being researched (this is discussed in detail in Robert Kozinets' book published in Portuguese in 2014).

Brazilian journals are starting to give more space to consumer culture such as the discussion of interpretative methods and the use of ethnography (Rocha & Barros, 2006; Rocha & Rocha, 2007) and the publication in Portuguese, even if more than twenty years later, of two seminal CCT articles published in the *Journal of Consumer Research*: Dennis Rook's (1985 [2007]) ethnographic study of consumption rituals and the theoretical essay by the anthropologist Grant McCracken (1986 [2007]) on the movement of consumer goods' meanings.

Also particularly noteworthy are internationalization trends in the Brazilian scholarly world, such as easier access for doctoral students at universities to leading CCT researchers, such as York (Canada), Odense (Denmark), Arizona (USA) and Aalto (Finland). The international context buttresses theoretical and methodological training in consumer culture, while at the same time underscoring the need to set up multi-cultural research groups to broaden the context of CCT research.

The Workshop conducted by Russell Belk to Brazilian's researchers in 2014 was an opportunity to discuss, based on a variety of readings recommended beforehand, not only the history of Consumer Culture Theory (CCT), but above all its ways of pursuing methodological and theoretical legitimation as an area of knowledge. After this meeting it was possible to visualize a more integrated future for CCT research in Brazil. Some educational proposals are already being drawn up, such as sharing doctoral program courses at different schools in order to train researchers to cope more easily with physical distances, shrinking cultural gaps and deploying what the ethnographic method advises: make the familiar strange and make what we find exotic familiar.

Possible Futures: Outside Brazil

Any speculation about the future of ethnographic consumer and marketing research is, of course, just that—speculation. However there are some debates emerging about what is missing in CCT research as well as regarding interpretation of CCT's history to date. One set of relevant papers is in a special issue of *Marketing Theory* edited by Søren Askegaard and Linda Scott, based on papers presented at the 2012 CCT Conference. In their lead paper in that issue, Askegaard & Scott (2013a) argue that many activities that occurred in Europe in building the CCT tradition have been ignored in locating the key events in the growth of CCT primarily in North America. More importantly for the future of CCT, they, along with Askegaard and Linnet (2011) and Moisander, Peñaloza, & Valtonen (2009) and Moisander, Valtonen, & Hirsto (2009), emphasize that the focus of CCT research has been too much on the individual and needs to shift to consider more the cultural context

and structural variables like class, gender, and social class. Similarly the paper in the special issue by Thompson, Arnould, & Giesler (2013) calls for less focus on the individual as the agent of consumer behavior and more focus on structural variables as well as more managerially relevant work. Echoing the representational crisis in anthropology over the past thirty to forty years, they also call for more emic work privileging the voice of the consumer. The managerial perspective suggested by Thompson, Arnold, & Giesler has not been universally embraced however. In the same special issue however, Cova, Maclaren, & Bradshaw (2013) call for more radical thinking and resistance to marketing cooptation. And Badje (2013) calls for moving away from regarding the consumer as the dominant agent of consumption and embracing an Actor Network Theory perspective which gives objects equal footing.

Bode & Østergaard (2013) arguably offer the special issue's most circumspect paper. It maintains that there will always be fads, fashions, and theoretical flavors of the month in CCT research. Belk (2014) agrees and welcomes the next wave of revolutionary perspectives. Using the example of the topic of consumption communities, Coskuner-Bali (2013) shows how theoretical constructs within such movements legitimize themselves. This is a process that will continue, with each new wave seeking to legitimize itself at the expense of those that have gone before.

Besides the articles in the special issue of *Marketing Theory* on CCT research, several other *Marketing Theory* papers have pointed to other lacunae in Consumer Culture Theory work to date. One previously missing focus in CCT research that has been called out is work on non-Western contexts (Araujo, 2013; Jafari et al., 2012; Piacentini & Hamilton, 2013). And indeed, such work is starting to appear (e.g., Askegaard & Eckhardt, 2012; Kniazeva & Belk, 2012; Minowa, 2012; Moufahim, 2013; Ourahmoune & Özçığlar-Toulouse, 2012; Sobh, Belk, & Wilson, 2013). Besides taking a broader cultural perspective, it can also be argued that CCT research should take a broader historical perspective. There is some recent research beginning to implement this perspective as well (e.g., Karababa, 2012).

A further trend that has become evident in CCT research is the move to increased emphasis on theory. Journals have increasingly privileged theory over context. Increasingly the research is theory-enabled (i.e., there is a theoretical perspective before the research is begun), but grounded theory emerging from the data is still occasionally employed. Most CCT research continues to live somewhere between these two extremes and dialectically tacks between the data and prior theoretical literature in its analysis. The great hope is that CCT will one day generate its own truly significant theories of marketing and

consumption. If there is one thing that we would hope for in the future of CCT, it is this.

Possible Futures: Brazil

In Brazil, anthropologists have not yet become professors in the marketing area and we do not have a project such as a Consumer Odyssey, whose experience enchants us. We dare say that we have not yet developed a conscious and shared strategy for our reading, research and studying activities, but have rather built up a Brazilian "capital" of research projects and research groups, some of whom already define themselves as CCT groups and use methods that resemble ethnographic ones to observe the rich subjectivity of life and consumption.

Our exploration of possible future paths for consumption ethnography and market research encompasses reflections, discussions and proposals from consumer culture researchers elsewhere in the world, suggesting a favorable outlook for Brazilian research. There are widespread demands to expand the cultural and historical viewpoints of CCT research, in addition to building up a specific theoretical body for this field of knowledge. We agree, because Brazilian society offers a massive diversity of historical, demographic, economic, political, religious and cultural contexts that have enflamed a bubbling cauldron of consumption practices and expressions by urban groups, virtual communities and grassroots movements as well.

Conventional research practices are unable to deal with the specific characteristics of the Brazilian population, and are powerless to lift the cloak of invisibility, including groups such as the very poor, the elderly and the handicapped, for example. These rich contexts and groups indicate a promising future for Brazilian consumer culture research and ethnographic methods. We note that this is our version, or just one of the possible versions of the past, present and future of ethnographic research methods in Brazil. We place on record here our firm intention to foster local, national and international links - some already initiated - that will continue the construction of this history, or introduce new versions. These links also extend and enrich methodological expertise, critical thought and consequently theoretical constructions of consumption studies.

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