

**The Socializing Effects of Marketing Policies on
6-12 Year-old
Preadolescents.**

A Case Study.

Thesis

Presented to the Faculty of Arts

of

The University of Zurich

For the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

Elisabeth Alli
of Taverne-Torricella and Ligornetto TI

Accepted in the summer semester 2006 on the
recommendation of Prof. Dr. Kurt Imhof and Prof. Dr. Heinz
Bonfadelli

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Acknowledgments

“The belief that there is such a thing as physics, or biology, or archaeology, and that these ‘studies’ or ‘disciplines’ are distinguishable by the subject matter that they investigate, appears to me to be a residue from the time when one believed that a theory had to proceed from a definition of its own subject matter. But subject matter, or kinds of things, do not, I hold, constitute a basis for distinguishing disciplines. Disciplines are distinguished partly for historical reasons and reasons of administrative convenience (such as the organization of teaching and of appointments), and partly because the theories which we construct to solve our problems have tendency to grow into unified systems. But all this classification and distinction is a comparatively unimportant and superficial affair. *We are not students of some subject matter but students of problems.* And problems may cut right across the borders of any subject matter or discipline” (Popper, 1963, p.67).

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Introduction

In the next pages readers will discover our study that focuses on a topic that is a sure crossroad of many human and social sciences. We have decided to investigate the process that makes young people buy goods and services of firms. Although we have chosen a sociological approach, we were forced to acquire knowledge in psychology, economics, marketing and advertising sciences in order to fully explore the complexity of the situation.

The topic of our thesis is far from being original since the literature shows a variety of studies aiming to understand what influences children's purchasing behaviour. However, the freshness of our perspective consists in suggesting that beyond the commercial approach and the advertising strategies, there is a much broader process that influences children's buying behaviour. In fact, we strongly believe that commercial and advertising are just instruments of a more sophisticated project – marketing - whose goal is to convert children into consumers.

To test the veracity of our belief we, therefore, developed a general hypothesis that shaped the structure of the present work. The general hypothesis is: *Firms of mass products and services socialise preadolescents through their marketing policy.*

Following the above hypothesis, we organized the writing of our work as shown below:

- The first part (Conceptual Part) contemplates the description of the three main notions of the hypothesis such as socialisation (1. Socialisation: An Overview), marketing (2. Marketing Policy) and preadolescence (3. The Market of Preadolescents).
- The second part (Theoretical Part) of this work discusses the role of the new socializing agents (4. A New Way of Socializing). The discussion leads us to the theoretical frame developed by Mario Morcellini in *Passaggio al Futuro : La socializzazione nell'età dei Mass Media* (1994) (5. A Socializing Communication Theory). The goal is to draw a parallel between the process of socialisation and the marketing policy. In this second part of our work, we also take the opportunity to present, once more, the hypothesis (6. The Hypothesis). The objective is to separate the general hypothesis into a few propositions. This action will allow us to: a) simplify the general hypothesis and b) better test the veracity of the general hypothesis.

- The third part is called the Methodological Part. In this section, we will explain the *modus operandi* that enables the analysis of our general hypothesis in the fourth section. In this third section - that will coincide with our seventh chapter (7. Methodology) - the criteria that guided the selection of the firms we intend to analyze will be discussed. Moreover, we will present the six selected firms. They are Lego, Pokémon, McDonald's, Moevenpick, H&M and C&A. In the seventh chapter, we will also present the experts and the families that will be interviewed in the attempt of validating our hypothesis. The interviews will be performed via an interview guide, which will be presented and briefly discussed.
- In the fourth part of the work (Final Part), we will test the propositions (8. Results), then a discussion about the findings will be engaged (9. Discussions). Eventually, we will put a final word to the work with our last chapter (10. Conclusions).

PART I

CONCEPTUAL PART

1. Socialisation: An Overview

In this chapter we will present an overview of the term *socialisation*. In fact, for the understanding of our thesis - especially when we will compare socialisation to marketing policy - readers must have a general comprehension of the process that induces a human being to observe the rules and behaviours of society. Therefore, we will investigate the origins of the term socialisation, the definition of its scientific concept and its different meanings (1.1 The Origins of the Term *Socialisation*). Then, through a brief theoretical review of the concept *socialisation*, we will summarize some works that have described, from a narrow or broad point of view, the implication of socialisation within society (1.2 Some Theories of Socialisation). The purpose is to show the importance of the many theories for the scientific understanding of the concept. Before focusing on the instruments that allow the socialisation process (1.4 The Social Instruments of Socialisation), we will determine the two main types of socialisation (1.3 The Types of Socialisation).

1.1 The Origins of the Term *Socialisation*

The understanding of the origin of the term *socialisation* is of the utmost importance, especially with regards to the period it was first used and introduced as a scientific word. The reason of focusing on the origins of this concept is to discover (in Chapter 2) whether or not the birth of the concept of marketing preceded the birth of the concept *socialisation*.

The verb “to socialise” appeared in the French language around 1786 and its meaning was “to make someone social and capable to live in society” (Busino, 1985). Later, in the 19th century, it was also used to describe social relations among people. In the first half of the 20th century, social sciences started to gain interest in the process of socialisation.

1.1.1 One concept for many social sciences

It was only between 1930 and 1940 that socialisation took on the scientific meaning it has kept until today. It was, in fact, during that decade that the question of “how a child can grow into a social human being” became more and more frequent.

In 1939, the *American Journal of Sociology* published an article entitled “Symbiosis and Socialisation” written by Park and Dollard. Two years later, Miller and Dollard began to study how physiological needs influence the people’s needs in “The Social Learning and Imitation Review”. In 1939, Abram Kardiner, an American psychiatrist, psychologist and anthropologist, published “The Individual in its Society” (1939) in which he claimed that every society is characterized by its own

personality traits. These personality traits are produced by the central institutions of a given society.

The different backgrounds of these authors suggest that the issue of the socializing process appeared more or less at the same time in works of sociology, psychology and anthropology (Busino, 1985). Moreover, neither could authors like Sigmund Freud (1923), Emile Durkheim (1925), Jean Piaget (1948), Talcott Parsons (1955) or Noam Chomsky (1971) avoid the fundamental question of socialisation in their formulation of theories.

1.1.2 From education to socialisation

In a certain way, the term *socialisation* allowed scholars to better define a new problematic. The word *education* had just become too narrow to embrace the process of becoming a social human being. Education implied a judgement of values and consequently defined rules and precepts, whereas socialisation implied studying these rules and precepts in order to understand their function in the establishment of a personality. In other words, socialisation did not refer to the conformity or non-conformity to a moral code of education, since mankind and its ability to evolve had become the centre of the discussion (Busino, 1985).

Because in those days the notion of progress was very strong in the United States and the problematic of the “assimilation” of individuals was a real issue more than anywhere else, studies on socialisation showed a lot of intrusion and interventionism (Busino, 1985). The very first works on this matter were actually conducted in the U.S. Researchers tried to solve the immigration problem by proposing techniques to amalgamate the millions of immigrants the country was receiving each year and to help solve the dilemma of adapting people to new production means in order to promote development. We, therefore, understand why American psychologists and sociologists were so delighted by socialisation, what anthropologists refer to as acculturation (Busino, 1985).

1.2 Some Theories of Socialisation

There are many authors who have tried to formalize a theory about the concept of socialisation to describe its role within society. Among them we can find not only sociologists, but also anthropologists and psychologists. They gave their contribution to socialisation’s scientific definition. Later, some authors have tried to classify the many and different theories of socialisation (Hurrelmann, 2002; http://www.ac-bordeaux.fr/Etablissement/SudMedoc/ses/2000/co_theorie_socialisation.htm; http://www.skyminds.net/economie/05_homme_etre_social.php). Avoiding any categorization, we will just present an inventory of some influent authors who dealt

with the issue of socialisation. Our aim is to show the complexity of the theories, their diversity or similarity and, eventually, their importance for the understanding of such a complex concept.

Gabriel Tarde (1890), Emile Durkheim (1893) and Sigmund Freud, while studying the continuity of society, drew the first lines of the socialisation theory, trying to answer the question: “how does a society perpetuate itself?” They are considered to be the fathers of the socialisation concept (Busino, 1985).

1.2.1 Gabriel Tarde (1843-1904) and the imitation

Gabriel Tarde was a French sociologist and social psychologist who conceived sociology as based on small psychological interactions among people, the central forces being imitation and innovation. In fact, in his attempt to explain the process of permanence (or durability) in society, Tarde developed the concept of imitation. Following his theory, social life is made of individual inventions assuring the progress of society. On the other hand, thanks to imitation, the individual is capable to assure the spreading of inventions and the continuity of social life. Emile Durkheim was very sarcastic towards Tarde’s theory, which grants a fundamental place to personal initiative and to people’s individual paths. However, Tarde in his book « Les Lois de l’imitation » (1890), proposed an original thought that questions the genesis of society following its real components, which are not just its individuals, but the imitation flows that they develop. Tarde asserts that society works because there is a generalized imitation.

In today’s society, “imitativity” (the possibility of imitating) uses great and efficient channels whose implications are not yet fully understood.

(http://classiques.uqac.ca/classiques/tarde_gabriel/lois_imitation/lois_presentation_e_diteur.html). In fact, we are noticing a great conformity in trends and fashions.

1.2.2 Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) and the integration

The basis of Durkheim’s theory lays on the concept of integration. One of his fundamental questions was: “how and why are people integrated into society?” Durkheim’s first thoughts about socialisation are to be found in his PhD thesis “La Division du Travail” (Durkheim, 1893). While questioning individuals’ integration into society, his PhD thesis pinpoints once again the origin of the social order. He proposes a theory based upon norms and sanctions as a starting point for the social life.

For Durkheim, changes in society occur not for their utility, but because they are generated by mechanical causes like the increase of volume and density of population. These ideas are deepened in “Le Suicide” (Durkheim, 1897), where his

concept “anomy” defines a society in which norms and social rules have lost their efficacy in their role of assessing the social order. Deviant behaviours are a result of “anomy”. Furthermore, in “L’Education morale” (1925), published posthumously for educators, was also his first university course at La Sorbonne. The purpose was to give some hints that were supposed to help teachers introduce children to the social world. Durkheim was profoundly convinced that throughout “education” we could fix, modify and eliminate attitudes, inclinations and ideas thanks to the pressure and force exercised by groups and society (Busino, 1985).

1.2.3 Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) and the “id”

While studying the personality and the functioning of the id, Freud was brought to discuss socialisation (Freud, 1923).

“Freud theorized that the human personality has three distinctive and interacting parts and he used thermodynamics as an extended metaphor to explain this. Using this tripartite division, in 1923 Freud published the ground-breaking book: The Ego and the Id in which he named these three distinctive parts, the id, the ego, and the superego.”

http://www.humanthermodynamics.com/Freud.html#anchor_92

In order to explain its theory to the scientific community, Freud creates a psycho-dynamic paradigm. He constructed an analogy between thermodynamics and his psycho-dynamic model.

Freud's psycho-dynamic model may seem opaque to us today because the metaphor he used is now outdated. However, Freud, even though sometimes disapproved, is a greatly respected pioneer of psychology. In sum, Freud's theory of the unconscious explains that an individual has to face frustration in order to enter society and its world of rules. It is because of this, Freud’s perception of a human being is three partite: “id” (the unconscious part), “ego” (the conscious part) and “the super ego” (the social norms one internalizes).

“Freud's theory of the unconscious assumes a private, personal mind. It is a mind populated with wishes that have a biological, intrapsychic origin, and which follow endemic mechanical laws. When these wishes are denied access to consciousness they remain buried in the mind as unconscious residues which distort perception of self and others (Ratner, 1994). As for the socialisation, his works were fundamental since later they influenced those of theorists such as Parsons, Adorno and Horkheimer.

There are many of Freud's books worth mentioning, among them is: *Three essays on the theory of Sexuality* (Freud, 1905). In chapter 3, we will discuss a part of that book in relation with preadolescence along with some studies of Bandura (whose works are important for the concept socialisation) and Piaget (1948) - who will also be discussed in the next subchapter.

1.2.4 Jean Piaget (1896-1980) and the theory of constructivism

In his theory of constructivism, Jean Piaget pointed out the ability of an individual during its development to construct new elements of motor behaviour (schemes) from the combination of old schemes. That implies that socialisation is a constant construction, an interaction between the genetic program and the human experience. The growth of a child and its mental development are just one thing linked with the process of socialisation. Among the various concepts of Piaget's theory, Piaget defined four different stages to explain the child's development: infancy (0-2 years old), pre-operatory period (2-7 years old), concrete operation period (7-11 years old) and formal operation period (11 years old and on) (1966).

For the purpose of this study, we will only deepen the substance of Piaget's third stage. "Stage 3: concrete operations stage (from 7 to 11 years)" is often identified with the primary school period; it defines the moment in which the child has acquired the rudimentary conception of time, space, numbers, logic and conceptions: bases for an adult understanding of the world. By passing from stage 2 to stage 3 the individuals acquire conceptual balances. Nevertheless, a child is far from the possibility of stage 4 (formal operations stage, from 11 years old and on). Following Piaget's statements, the child still lacks of a logical thought.

In this intriguing theory, it is highlighted that a child can not be taught or forced into the next stage. Thus, socialisation also depends on the child's own development.

1.2.5 George Herbert Mead (1863-1931) and the symbolic interactionism

Like Piaget, G.H. Mead tries to explain socialisation through the observation of children's activities. Mead's concept of socialisation is embedded in his book *Mind, Self, and Society* (1934). Mead established a general theory about social order, which focuses on the smallest social system, such as the relation between two individuals. (Tripiet, 1991). For Mead, this relation distinguishes mankind from animals.

In *Mind, Self, and Society*, we can appreciate the construction of social personalities. In fact through cultural instruments, above all language, infants interiorize the diverse elements of the social relationships they experience. As a consequence, infants learn their place within society, the many roles that people have to play in it and, eventually, how to become adults thanks to the internalization of the behaviours

of the other people. Children's internalization of roles is performed through *play* (a symbolic way of playing in which the child will first play alone and then with an unreal person). By doing this, he/she will train to play the roles other people normally play. Finally, he/she will move on to the stage of the *game* (a game lies on norms). The child is now playing with other children (or people) since he/she has internalized different social roles.

1.2.6 Max Weber (1864-1920) and the values

Max Weber, as Mead, gave a big importance to the internalization of values. In fact, Weber believed that sociology was the science that tries to understand individual actions, which are the expression of the internalization of values. In his *L'Ethique Protestante et l'Esprit du Capitalisme* (Weber, 1965, first published in 1920) Weber insists that individuals behaviours have to be understood by taking into account their beliefs, which includes religious beliefs, and their understanding of the world. Although we are not spending many words discussing Weber's works, his thoughts and theory, as we will see later, have influenced a great number of authors and studies, among which was Alfred Schütz who further inspired the ethnomethodologist stream.

1.2.7 Alfred Schütz (1899-1959) and the phenomenology

Alfred Schütz was a philosopher and a sociologist. He studied and lived in Austria until 1939, when he fled Europe to go to the United States because of Adolf Hitler. There, he became a member of the faculty of the New School for Social Research. He worked on phenomenology and philosophy of, among others, Edmund Husserl. Schütz's principal task was to develop the phenomenological philosophy of Edmund Husserl as a basis for a philosophy of the social sciences. Although Schütz was never a student of Husserl's, he studied Husserl's work intensively seeking a basis for a "sociology of understanding", derived from the work of Max Weber. This work and its continuation resulted in his first book: *Der Sinnhafte Aufbau der Sozialen Welt* (literally, *The Meaningful Construction of the Social World*, published in English as *The Phenomenology of the Social World*) (1967).

The works of Schütz have been influential for the building of the ethnomethodology discipline, whose approach was developed by Harold Garfinkel.

Ethnomethodology analysis any social activity as if it was happening for the very first time. The attempt is to discover how that particular activity is put together by those who take part in it.

1.2.8 Talcott Parsons (1902-1979) and the structural functionalism

As for Max Weber, values are the centre of Talcott Parsons' theories. In fact, ever since the publication of "The Structure of Social Action" (1937), Parsons' big question had always been: "How can certain values unite a group or a society?" Parsons became familiar with authors such as Sigmund Freud (freudo-anthropologist) and Jean Piaget, who he liked very much. Thanks to this psychoanalysis tradition, he found the answer of his question that culminates with the publication of "The Social System" in 1951 (Parsons). Socialisation then became his key to understanding how values are interiorised in early childhood, during a process of identification.

In order to occupy a position into society, a human being has to learn a particular system of skills. The many and different positions into society will then lead to a social system. For Parsons, family has a capital role in the process of socialisation and through a reformulation of Freud's *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (Freud, 1905), Parsons tried to give credit to his own thesis.

1.2.9 Frankfurt School (from 1930 until the middle of 1960) and the Authoritarian personality

The term "Frankfurt School" is a familiar designation for the intellectuals affiliated with the Institute for Social Research at the University of Frankfurt am Main in Germany and for fellow theorists who were influenced by this group of intellectuals. Among the extensive research and the scientific papers produced by this group of scientists, one in particular, conducted by Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno and Erich Fromm, touches the issue of socialisation.

The three theorists experienced the German National Socialism and in 1937 they established what Horkheimer called, in his essay, the "Traditional Critic Theory of Society". The central question was to detect in which way the structure of power could configure citizen's personality, above all in middle class and proletarian families (Hurrelmann, 2002). In fact, during that period, the development of totalitarianism - a form of government where the state exercises absolute political and social control over most of all public and private behaviours, there is no regard for individualism and political opposition is typically subject to violent or arbitrary repression (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Totalitarianism> (April 2006)) – was due to the economic crisis and the subsequent fall of the middle class.

The theory explains how the authority of the parents was assaulted. This state of things would affect children's internalization of values and norms following Freud's psychoanalytic theory. As a result, in totalitarian societies, personalities would

transform into, what Adorno called an “authoritarian personality” (Hurrelmann, 2002).

Authoritarian personality is believed to be the result of an upbringing of rigid discipline and conditional affection (Adorno *et al.*, 1950). This theory shows through psychoanalytic elements how, under social nationalism and totalitarianism regimes parents are diminished in their socializing role, which harms the child’s social development. As we will illustrate in Chapter 4, nowadays some family scenes present some of the traits that were observed back in 1937 by Horkheimer and Adorno. However, through the concept of “culture industry”, which was coined by Adorno and Horkheimer, popular culture is seen as a good produced in series and therefore standardized (and, today, globalized) with the intent to manipulate the masses into passivity. Culture industries as pointed out by Adorno and Horkheimer cultivate false needs; that is, needs created and satisfied by capitalism. Still, under these circumstances, the profile of the authoritarian personality seems to have found a fertile ground in today’s society.

1.2.10 Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002) and the habitus

Pierre Bourdieu shared Weber’s view that society, contrary to traditional Marxism, cannot be analyzed simply in terms of economic classes or socio-professional ranks. Therefore, Bourdieu developed the concept of *Habitus*. The *Habitus* of Bourdieu does not take into account changes like those mentioned by Adorno and Horkheimer. Consequently, Bourdieu’s *Habitus* explains why society reproduces itself. The *Habitus* is in fact the product of social conditioning and it links behaviour to class structure. Following the existence of a *Habitus* in any individual (among them sociologists), Bourdieu insisted on the importance of a reflexive sociology in which sociologists must at all times conduct their research with conscious attention to the effects of their own position, and in particular their own set of internalized structures (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bourdieu> (April, 2006)).

For those who seek an extensive list of researchers who have given their contribution to the concept of socialisation, we suggest the book written by Hurrelmann (2002).

However, despite the diversity of the definitions of socialisation in the scientific community, sociologists agree upon the existence of two different types of socialisation : primary and secondary socialisation.

1.3 Primary and Secondary Socialisation

Socialisation is defined as the process by which an individual learns how to adjust to a group of people or to society following given rules. Socialisation, as we like to remind, is a key process that exists worldwide and ensures the transmission (or communication) of cultural values via socializing agencies.

Sociologists have distinguished two types of socialisation: the primary socialisation and the secondary socialisation. More exclusively, sociologists use the term of *primary socialisation* to describe the socialisation of children, whereas *secondary socialisation* is used when referring to the socialisation of adults.

1.3.1 Primary socialisation

Socialisation is the term used by sociologists to refer to primary socialisation. This can be explained, since primary socialisation is a central process, the goal of which is the integration of a child into a social group. Moreover, primary socialisation determines the ability or not to successfully experience secondary socialisation.

Primary socialisation focuses more than everything else on values. In fact, children have to integrate the different systems of values that exist in a given society. These will enable them to learn and play many different roles (son, father, doctor, friend, husband ...) that ensure the safeguarding or the transformation of society. As we will show in detail afterwards, the very first agency of children's socialisation is the family.

The success of primary socialisation lies on:

- the intelligence that allows to identify approved behaviours and
- the reinforcements that stimulate the appearance of approved behaviours : the system of rewards, punishments and constriction of frustration (Delruelle-Vosswinkel, 1990)

For the purpose of this work, whenever we will use the concept socialisation, we are referring to primary socialisation.

1.3.2 Secondary socialisation

The peculiarity of secondary socialisation is that it refers to adults. In fact, the process of socialisation does not end with childhood and adolescence, but continues throughout life. Speaking about all the different types of secondary socialisation, we can name political socialisation (Hymans, 1959; Easton, 1960) and eating

socialisation (Alli, 1995). Of course, these are just some types of secondary socialisation among others.

One of the many curiosities of secondary socialisation is that it can only occur when a correct primary socialisation has previously taken place. In fact, as explained by Orville Brim (1966), primary socialisation and secondary socialisation do not have the same objectives. Secondary socialisation is actually more linked to behaviours. Moreover, secondary socialisation has to lay upon values inculcated during childhood which can be an obstacle for a further socialisation. The acquisition of values allows an individual to play different social roles in a correct way.

1.4 The Social Instruments of Socialisation

No matter if it is primary or secondary socialisation, both processes share four main instruments -we could call them social instruments - to perform socialisation. These instruments, through which socialisation is implemented, are values, rules, agencies of socialisation and language.

1.4.1 Social values and social valued phenomena

In the field of social sciences, the concept of values or social values is often used without being defined. For Weber, values determine specific non rational behaviours (Bonte, Izard, 1991). For the sociologist G. Rocher, social values are ideal ways of being or acting. They are recognized as such from a social group who considers them a source of desire and worth (Rocher, 1968). Social values can be distinguished in two categories: social values and socially valued phenomena (Delruelle-Vosswinkel, 1990).

1.4.1.1 Social values

Social values include cultural values and social values. Both are seen as ideals that serve as a reference, as an appreciation and as a judgement. They define concepts such as good, nice, well, right, beautiful and true (Delruelle-Vosswinkel, 1990). Weber considered that the judgement of values can not be scientifically understood since the formulation of values is far from being rational (Bonte, Izard, 1991). Cultural values, such as the prohibition of eating pork for Muslims or Christians not eating meat on Fridays, penetrate deeper into the mentality than social values do since they are related to cosmology and religious beliefs (Corten, 1967).

In the web encyclopaedia Wikipedia, values are grouped in different categories: Healthy values and habits - *Sensual and Operational Values* -- (...) Moral values and norms - *Social and Religious/Traditional Values* – (...) Ethical values and

behaviour - *Economic and Political Values* – (...) Historical values and conduct - *Aesthetic and Theoretical Values*.
(http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Value_%28personal_and_cultural%29 (May 2007)).
However, each society has developed its own set of social values.

1.4.1.2 Socially valued phenomena

Socially valued phenomena manifest themselves in beings, behaviours and objects, (for instance, the Pope or other spiritual leaders) that will express values in a concrete or symbolic manner. Their judgments and/or appreciations are based upon intrinsic values (Delruelle-Vosswinkel, 1990).

During the whole work, we will refer to values while meaning social values.

1.4.2 (Social) rules or (social) norms

Each and every conduct that can be observed and measured, that is frequently repeated and/or shared by a group or a large number of people belonging to a society, calls for the existence of social rules (Delruelle-Vosswinkel, 1990). Rules or norms are always accompanied by sanctions and constantly express a social value. The respect of social rules, thanks to the fear of sanctions, guarantees the observation of the code of social values and eventually enhances social order.

Sanctions

When social rules are not obeyed, sanctions can be explicit (as foreseen by the law). When not explicit, the sanction can be expressed through reprobation, despise, exclusion from a group, indifference, etc.

Social deviances

When the process of socialisation is not successful or when social rules are not respected, we then face the issue of social deviances. Individuals manifest social deviances with social deviant behaviours. We can name social deviant behaviours, those behaviours that are not conformed to social norms and, therefore, related with negative social values. Deviant behaviours are a danger to the social system since they can produce disorder and eventually destabilize social institutions. Nevertheless, deviance can be positive or negative.

Positive deviance happens whenever an individual tries to approach ideal rules (becoming a saint, a hero, a martyr, etc. [Delruelle-Vosswinkel, 1990]) and follows ideal positive social values. Nevertheless, the term deviance is generally used to refer

to negative deviance: individuals who break the social rules and adhere to negative social values.

R.K. Merton (1976) proposed to distinguish deviance into three types:

- Aberrant behaviours: rules are broken but the deviant does not try to change the social order. Deviance is hidden (a burglar).
- Non conformist behaviours: rules are broken in order to change, replace or transform them. Deviance is overt (strikers),
- Rebel behaviours: rules and authority upon which rules rely are refused (people of Seattle).

1.4.3 Agencies of socialisation and socializing agents

The agencies of socialisation hold and spread social values. They also produce rules and monitor their application via the system of sanctions. The State is an important agent of socialisation, however within society we are used to recognize three main traditional agencies of socialisation. They are overall responsible for primary socialisation. These socializing agencies are the family, the school and the church. Their influence into the socializing process has diminished throughout the years and is now threatened. In fact, currently, peers and mass media are becoming very important agents in the process of children's socialisation.

1.4.3.1 Traditional agencies of socialisation

Traditional agencies of socialisation such as family, school and church used to be responsible for the socialisation of children. Morcellini (1994) theoretically portrayed them as offering a vertical and mediated socialisation. Their goal is to conform children to the values of society following the process that is described in Parson's theory of AGIL (Adaptation, Goal-Attainment, Interaction, Latent Pattern Maintenance and Tension Management); (Parsons, Shils et al., 1951).

The Family

The family is the very first group of people met by the child. Once upon a time, family meant clan, tribes, etc., but in the industrial days, it rhymes with two working parents and few children (often two), and is also known as nuclear family (Ferréol, 2000). The industrial environment witnessed the birth of mono-parental families, too, that is a single (working) parent at the head of the household (Ferréol, 2000). These new family structures restrain the influence and the role played by family as a socializing agency. Several socializing tasks have to be delegated to other institutions, mostly school and television.

Due to the limitation of birth, the child becomes merchandise in today's society. Its function is to solidify the happiness of adults (cf. articles on orphans and adoptions cf. *Courrier International*, 2005). Parents, in relation with the child, are then in a situation of demanders and no longer capable to enforce rigid rules. This situation, as we will discover in the fourth chapter, has important consequences in the socializing process (Busino, 1985).

The School

Around 1900, almost all the countries concerned with the Industrial Revolution adopted the primary free and obligatory school. The elementary education became a State monopoly and was taken away from the Church, which had contributed to its development. This innovation reduced the inequity of alphabetization and democratized the access to education. However, school proved, and is still proven, to be the place that provides the transmission of traditions (Petitat, 1982) and, therefore, the preservation of social classes.

Since 1900, the importance of primary school has kept growing, and it is now taking care of many socializing tasks normally accomplished by the family. For instance many parents ask the school board to anticipate the beginning of the school (that is public and free) for their offspring in order to relieve the family from custody expenses (preschool children's care weighs on parents' shoulders).

Nevertheless, the school faces enormous problems to keep up with the many demands and the new socializing agents such as television, radio, internet, etc. These are a big concurrence for teachers. Moreover, representatives of the education board protest that they spend more time teaching values and behaviours - that used to be a family's duty - than to perform instruction.

The Church

Church is the system of religious values related to the world of the sacred. Religious values are linked to the belief in dogmas and the latter shape different kinds of religious rites. Traditionally, family identity was given by the Church that framed highly significant moments of everyday life such as marriage, birth, confirmation and death.

Religious rites were used to canalize a lot of energy and granted the individual submission to the group. In this sense rites are normative systems that regulate one's action; they, therefore, had the power of socializing agencies. Nevertheless, today's churches are facing enormous difficulties while involving children and their families into their activities. They also suffer from the growing individualism of their members.

Since 1960-1970, Italian researchers have highlighted the loss of power of educational institutions such as school and religion (Morcellini, 1994). As far as religion is concerned, all ethical-moral systems tend to dissolve themselves into a general disintegration of society. The messages of the Church are no longer the “Word of Truth”, but one of the many languages among which the individual will choose (Morcellini, 1994).

1.4.3.2 The modern socializing agents

Slowly but surely, the voice of modern socializing agents has become more and more important in the life of children. There is not yet an overt clash between traditional actors and new socializing agencies; nevertheless, we can see that some minors spend more time with these new agents than with their parents (Morcellini, 1994). The impact of traditional agencies of socialisation is diminishing. Family, school and church are no longer capable to attract children whose attention is caught by the modern socializing agents. For instance, MTV’s cartoon series *Beavis & Butthead*, back in the 1990s, portrayed two characters, Beavis & Butthead, doing silly and dangerous things. It had to be preceded by a warning message inviting the spectators (most of all preadolescents) not to copy any of the characters’ behaviours since Beavis & Butthead were unreal characters. That is why, when talking about new socializing agents (peer and mass media), Morcellini refuses to grant them the title of full actors of the socialising process. In fact, he thinks that their goal is not consciously socialising. This prevents them from having a well-defined and structured project of socialisation.

Peers and mass media can then only be informal agents of socialisation.

The socialisation exercised by these modern socializing agents has been identified as self-socialisation (Morcellini, 1994, Baacke, 1999). The self-socialisation allows individuals to gain some independence in their socializing process. Nevertheless, their values tend to conform to those of a mass “young society”, which challenges the freedom one might seek. Moreover, it gives birth to conventionality in terms of taste, look, etc. (cf. section 1.2.9)

Peers

In her survey, Montandon (1997) highlighted that school and family are not the only place of children’s socialisation. In fact, peers hold an important position in the construction of children’s identity. Baacke (1999), while studying the influence that commercials have on adolescents, found out that today, more than in the ‘60s, peers and peer groups are central references in the self-socialisation process of children.

Between 6-12 years of age, peer groups are quite homogenous regarding sex and age (Vayer, 1987, 1988). Peers have now become the children’s references in their search

for independence from the family group. They become the model of speaking, dressing and acting. In the fourth chapter, we will discuss the issue of peer groups in relation with their mutual influence.

Massmedia

Television and radio, written press and internet, Playstation and videogames are some items of the children's mass media environment. Following a study of SRG SSR (SGKM,1997), children are more keen on audiovisual tools than audio and written ones, that means that audiovisual tools have a big impact on their life.

Beuf (1976) says, "The family probably remains the most important socializing agent for our children, but increased use of television and the long hours spent in its presence by most American children have given it a role in their lives which we should not ignore. Television and the learning from it have become the most common experiences of young Americans regardless of race or social class. The common conscience that Durkheim feared it might have been weakened by industrial society is maybe rising Phoenix-like from its ashes to manifest itself in children who have been exposed to the same set of values by the mass media" (p.530). During a workshop at the Swiss Television (SGKM,1997), Bonfadelli explained that in today's children socialization, family and school are losing attractiveness whereas new socializing actors such as mass media have an important role.

Prophet-like, Cazeneuve (1972) predicted that due to the impact of television parents may have turned into simple interpreters of other people's words. Bonfadelli in fact noticed that television in many cases reduces and handicaps the family's "external" contacts (Bonfadelli, 1991). Eventually, television prevents and /or limits family members' interaction and becomes therefore a more important socializing agent than the family itself.

1.4.4 Language

Language seems to be the basic instrument and privileged mediator of all socializing processes. It is an instrument that enables the elaboration of symbols and signs and plays a significant role in the communication (Delruelle-Vosswinkel, 1990). Values and rules have to be communicated in order to be acquired and respected (Mead, 1934). Therefore, every socializing agency (formal or informal) must develop a proper language to communicate its priorities.

Language also affects and, therefore, limits and orients the socialisation process (Delruelle-Vosswinkel, 1990). For Luria (Luria, 1960) and Vygotsky (Vigotsky, 1981) language is the fact of exteriorising private thoughts, it enables beliefs and

plays a role of self-regulator of communication. Bernstein (Bernstein, 1971; 1973; 1975) explains that children's socialisation happens through language and following social classes divisions. It seems that upper class children tend to speak with a more elaborated code than children from the working class. Of course, Bourdieu could have explained this with his *Habitus* (Bourdieu, 1972).

1.5 Summary

Socialisation is a concept used to better define a process that differs from the educational course. Adopted in the 19th century as a scientific notion for many social sciences, different authors have tried to classify and describe its impact into society. Tarde insisted that socialisation was performed through imitation. Emil Durkheim, opposing its theory to Gabriel Tarde, highlighted the role of the integration while, Sigmund Freud portrayed socialisation from a psychological point of view. Jean Piaget's constructivism theory gave prominence to the learning process behind socialisation, while G.H. Mead focused on the child's internalization of values through the interaction during recreation. Max Weber pinpointed the importance of values for the understanding of social behaviours and Schütz phenomenology, which later influenced the ethnomethodological stream, gave prominence to the sense hidden in the individuals' daily activities. Talcott Parsons, in his theory of the social system, depicted family as the fundamental partner in the child's socialisation, while the "authoritarian personality" of Adorno presupposed that the absence of the parental socializing role would affect the child in a durable and frightening way. Finally, with the presentation of Pierre Bourdieu's *Habitus* and the reproduction of society's role, we learned that, among other things, when conducting research we always have to pay attention to our own socialisation's setting. In other words, we have to be aware of the observer's position in order to be able to diminish biases coming from his/her internalized structure. This is a methodological tool that will be very important to consider, especially in chapter 9 and 10 while discussing our findings.

Thus, despite the variety and the diversity of the theories, by saying 'socialisation' we refer to the temporal stages that transform a new-born into an adult able to enter a society or a specific culture. As time goes by, this infant will be capable to relate with its group because it shares the same frame of values, affections, intellect, morals, emotions, perceptions, corporal techniques, models of rules and language. The socializing process permits to change all or a big part of the general predispositions that allow to elaborate categories, to state judgements, to adopt or to sustain a position and eventually to be active (Statera, Bentivenga, Morcellini, 1992). This is the power we can confer nowadays to socialisation that it is exercised via social values, social rules, formal and informal agencies of socialisation as well as language.

We often refer to social deviance when mentioning individuals who failed their primary socialisation (negative deviance). It is in fact important to underline that during the socialisation and the acquisition of values, individuals shape their many roles that they have to play within society. If we make use of Erikson's theory (Erikson, 1950) to explain social deviance, we are suggested not to treat an adolescent as if it were an adult. In fact, its identity is not definitive and the risk is to confine the adolescent in a deviant identity. Coupled with the theory of the "authoritarian personality" (Adorno *et al.*, 1950), Erikson's theory is a major warning for the parents and whoever is in charge of young people's socialisation. Therefore, in the next chapter (2. Marketing), the main goal is to describe marketing policy in order to compare it with the process of socialisation and eventually measure its effect on youth (chapter 3).

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2. Marketing

As we have shown in the previous chapter, social values, social rules, languages as well as agencies and agents of socialisation are the indispensable “tools” to perform socialisation. In this chapter, we will provide an explanation of the various concepts building marketing policy. The goal is to compare the process of socialisation with the marketing policy. Therefore, we will analyze the origins of the concept *marketing* as well as the history of it (2.1 The Origins of Marketing). Eventually, before providing the definition of marketing policy and its tools to perform it (2.3 The Definition of a Marketing Policy and Its Instruments), we will try to show how marketing, as a theory, borrowed its many concepts from other social sciences (2.2 Interdisciplinary Developments of Marketing Thought).

2.1 The Origins of Marketing

The word “marketing” has various definitions despite its universal acceptance. It was created in the very beginning of the 20th century. Before that period, the explanation of market was mostly given by the economic theory. Nevertheless, this theory was not able to describe efforts that included distribution of goods and all the steps preceding this phase (that is, to conceive a product and to determine its price).

2.1.1 History of marketing

In 1976, Bartles published an updated version of his 1962 *The Development of Marketing Thought* called *The history of marketing thought*. The content of the book carefully explains the awakening of a marketing thought in our society. In fact, Bartles wrote, around 1900:

In the United States, not only did the market economy develop, but a new attitude toward business revolutionized the economy of the country and gradually affected the whole world. That revolutionary element was identified by the term “marketing”. The development of marketing was a result of circumstances. Environmental conditions focused attention on market practices. Industrial production was expanding; inventions created new products; population, education, and personal income were on the increase; social values exalted financial success; and new and widening markets offered unlimited opportunity for initiative and innovation. At the same time, the manner in which people regarded the market and practices also changed. Greater attention was given to the market, to its institutions, to its social role, and to the improvement of the practices of those who were engaged in market

undertakings. In those circumstances early concepts of marketing were formulated, and the modern practice of marketing had begun. Those circumstances gave birth also to the body of marketing thought that has since been developed. (...)The literature of this new body of thought has been read by college students of business. It has been the backbone of business teacher training programs on the graduate level. Even in secondary and vocational education, sometimes diluted and distorted, it has molded values, standards and motivations of our society. Seldom has a literature been so influential or a society so receptive to the influence of a new body of thought. (Bartles 1976, p. 1)

Social sciences enormously contributed to the growth of a marketing body of theory, too. In fact, during the 20th century, marketing itself became a science of its own. Nowadays, a definition of marketing upon which everyone agrees is: “Marketing is the business function that identifies an organization’s customer needs and wants, determines which target markets it can serve best and designs appropriate products, services and programs to serve these markets. However, marketing is much more than just an isolated business function - it is a philosophy that guides the entire organization. The goal of marketing is to create customer satisfaction profitably by building valued relationships with customers.” (Kotler et al., 1996, p. xiii)

2.1.2 The path of a marketing thought

The marketing theory is a result of attitude, beliefs and credos that shaped the last century of the second millennium. Today, we are therefore able to distinguish the decades that built marketing policies.

1900-1910: A decade of discovery

In the beginning of the 20th century, “the orderly gathering of market information began. Concepts were borrowed from established disciplines, such as economics, psychology, sociology, and scientific management, for the improvement of trade practice and management” (Bartles, 1976, p. 142). There was no formal textbook for marketing; each teacher gathered his or her own information. Nevertheless, the primitive literature attests that the marketing way of thinking has entered the academic world. “By the end of that decade the entity of the subject was sufficiently recognized to be identified by the term ‘marketing’” (Bartles, 1976, p. 142).

1910-1920: A decade for conceptualization

During the second decade of the past century, the effort was put on the conceptualization of different points that served as ground theory of marketing. As far as the economic world was concerned, there was an industrial growth. Many new specialty goods appeared on the market, constituting challenges for advertising and

salesmanship. Meanwhile, books on advertising, sales management, credits and collection on retailing were printed. As a matter of fact, words like “distribution”, “trade” and “commerce” were preceded by the term “marketing”. This state of things can be accounted by the evident need to identify a new concept. In the meantime, Butler, who acquired his marketing skills as sales manager with a large manufacturer, was asked to organize a course at University of Wisconsin on his life experience. Therefore, when Butler sought after a term to designate the field of activity useful to the salesman to build his campaign with care, he used the expression of “marketing methods”.

1920-1930: a decade of integration

During 1920-1929, the Golden Decade of 1900-, a great number of specialized marketing books were printed. All this was happening in an economical frame of prosperity. As a result, the knowledge of this new science became a fantastic support for the economical growth and was thereafter integrated in the daily activities by practitioners. “Studies of the wholesaler gave justification to its role and position in distribution. Market research, based upon surveys and censuses, promised a new area of marketing” (Bartels, 1976, p. 146). Starting from 1920, the offer of goods was greater than the actual demand. This situation gave new opportunities to buyers who were now able to choose. The a society of production was gently becoming to a society of consumption. In order to sell its goods, a factory had to make their products more appealing. The use of marketing concepts was then heavily sustained.

1930-1940: A decade of development

With the crisis of 1929, the Golden Decade was over. Many firms went bankrupt; the unemployment rate reached historical levels in the United States. The economic world had entered the so-called period of the Great Depression. During this time, the marketing concepts expanded themselves. Many texts were kept up-to-date while others were added to the general literature. As in the past decade, goods analysis was a present topic in the writings. The literature also presented an effort to simplify the new concept, as marketing started to become a subject taught even in secondary school. Periodical revisions of textbooks were made in order to achieve a standard of contents. There was, in fact, “a variety of unorthodox studies” (Bartels, 1976, p. 154). Textbooks borrowed concepts from physics, sociology, psychology and other social sciences with the goal of picturing the performance of the marketing system as a whole.

1940-1950: A decade of reassessment

1940-1950 was a decade of war. In his study of “marketing thought”, Bartels noticed an evident interruption in the literature production during this period. Nevertheless, there was a growing acceptance of ideas formalized in the past years. “Repeated effort was made to deal with marketing as a “whole,” and its aspects as institution – a

social institution – were interpreted.” (Bartels, 1976, p. 155). In those years, literature contemplates a new interest on consumer attitude as well as in marketing management. With their book *Marketing in the American Economy* Vaile, Grether and Revis showed that “the transcendent importance of this social institution (marketing) was a vast and complex function of our free-enterprise economy”. These side studies and approaches were a sort of expression that marketing theory had to enlarge and embrace other territories rather than a simply functional explanation. It was great time to conceive a whole theory that included all those fragments of research.

In the very beginning “it was not expected that such different interpretations of marketing would serve the same purpose.” (Bartels, 1976, p. 157). However, during the middle of the century these many interpretations allowed an integration of “marketing management, managerial problem solving and decision making, integration of marketing with the behavioural sciences, the case method of teaching marketing, and comparative marketing studies” (Bartels, 1976, p. 157).

1950-1960: A decade of reconception

During the 1950s, the concept of marketing was redefined and reformulated. There was a general effort to show the link between marketing thought and concepts developed in other social sciences. For instance, Wroe Alderson, in his “Marketing Behaviour and Executive Action” (1957), analyzed the concept of market behaviour as group behaviour of people seeking to achieve their intents through organized behaviour systems. Alderson called his theory a “functional theory of marketing” (Bartels, 1976, p. 158). Marketing organizations were, therefore, seen as tools able to serve the market interests. “Anderson introduced into marketing thought a variety of concepts from the social and physical sciences and presented an integrated theory of marketing such as had not been stated before. His ideas conceptualized some thinking then current and influenced the logic and terminology of writers in subsequent years.” (Bartels, 1976, p. 158).

1960-1970: The decade of differentiation

Throughout the decade of the ‘60s, marketing concepts, beliefs and arguments were rephrased. In fact, during the past period short articles about marketing had illustrated new areas for research. The ‘60s were a period in which marketing became more complex. Thanks to the prosperity after World War II, individuals had more money to spend. They could buy cars and then live in the suburbs away from the polluted cities. Life then became more compound. New instruments were therefore looked for to understand the new phenomenon. Authors started to pay attention to the importance of the social environment and to the fact that each and every nation had its rank of values.

1970-1980: The decade of social awareness

During the 1970s, the marketing department within a factory slowly became more important than the sales department. The years of Fordism, in which consumers bought everything there was on the market, were long gone. Due to fashion, the life of products got shorter and consumers' demands were now difficult to interpret. For all these reasons, marketing departments acquired more and more importance. People in these departments (also called marketers) acquired new responsibilities that were previously given to other departments. Marketers analyzed and studied the markets' needs and spread the information throughout the firm.

1980-2000: The years of marketing globalization

During the two decades that led the world into the third millenary, marketing thought became the global strategy to sell goods around the world. In many of the principal firms, the marketing department had disappeared. That was because it became the universal thought of the whole firm. "In a truly great marketing organization, you can't tell who's in the marketing department. Everyone in the organization has to make decisions based on the impact on the consumer" (Kotler et al., 1992, p. xiii). From the sales department up to the human resources department, marketing thought is the philosophy beyond every move. Furthermore, business became more and more global and so did the application of marketing thought. People from different areas, such as psychology, sociology, anthropology, architecture, etc., were called to work for the marketing cause, making its strategy more and more powerful.

2.2 Interdisciplinary Developments of Marketing Thought

Throughout the past century, the marketing thought has established itself as a science of its own. "It scarcely needed to be pointed out that the body of marketing thought does not consist entirely of marketing concepts. In addition, there is an abundance of factual, statistical, descriptive, narrative, and logical material filling in the disciplines and form the general corpus of thought. (...) Those disclaiming marketing as a science do so mainly on the grounds that marketing is but a formalized area of thought – a discipline – in the broader science of social behaviour" (Bartels, 1976 p.185).

Nowadays, we can look at the problem and state that "the implication of interdisciplinary study is that, in each of the major areas of social research, inquiry produces concepts and methodology peculiar to the interests of that discipline but useful also to other social scientists. One cannot work in social studies from the standpoint of his area's concepts alone." (Bartels, 1976, p. 186).

Polyanyi (1957), as many others, thought that marketing was not just a simple business activity. Its roots were in fact to be sought in a larger frame, into the sociological field. Polyanyi claimed that marketing was more than business, it was

practice. “Marketing is essentially a means of meeting and satisfying certain needs of people.” (Bartels, 1976 p.4). And, again, Bartels analyzed that when marketing incorporated concepts “from other fields [these] were sometimes accepted not as concepts but as unquestionable categories – as *things* instead of *thoughts*. They were tools to be used (...) It appears also that the incorporation of concepts from other social sciences into marketing thought occurred after an appreciable time lag, when the concepts had gained some circulation in general usage. That indicates that students of marketing may not have kept currently abreast of research in related fields and did not look elsewhere for ideas that might be helpful in explaining marketing as they conceived it” (Bartels, 1976 p. 186).

Economics, Psychology and Sociology were the three most generous human sciences since more than any other science they provided marketing with methods and concepts.

Bartels reminds that “Sociology is the third discipline that has provided concepts useful in the development of marketing thought. It is an area concerned with the understanding of human behaviour in groups and social settings. To the student of marketing it provided concepts increasing the effectiveness of marketing management and illuminating the institutional interpretation of marketing. (...) [In sociology] men are considered to be conditioned not only by factors considered by psychologists but also by *customs, mores, institutions, and values* produced by the society and by the relation to other people in the social structure. In addition to economic self-interest, mankind is motivated by self-respect, affection, desire for approval, pleasure, and irrationality.” (Bartels, 1976 p. 190).

Nevertheless, “the interests of sociologists have generally not coincided with those of marketing students. Sociologists did not write of marketing, and ‘marketologists’ made no reference to the works of sociologists in their writings” (Bartels, 1976 p. 190). Bartels points out that marketing borrowed concepts from sociology in an unconscious way. What is sure for Bartels is that we could group the sociological concepts that were borrowed by sets: (1) social motivation; (2) social groups; (3) social interaction; (4) social or cultural change; (5) ecology; (6) population (Bartels, 1976). In his *Consumer behaviour* (2003) John Desmond uses many psychologists (like Freud and Erickson), sociologists and anthropologists (like Mead, Bourdieu, Elias, etc.) and other famous authors from the social sciences to discuss about marketing. Chapter after chapter, Desmond shows the link between concepts from the social sciences that are a great source of inspiration for marketing policies.

In general, “marketing has been regarded as a means by which business supplies the needs of society, rather than as a means that *society* has sanctioned for meeting individual and social behaviour, often subordinating social values to economic and commercial purposes. Moreover, from whatever source derived, numerous sociological concepts have been introduced into marketing thought” (Bartels, 1976 p.

190). In the next section, we will analyze the marketing policy as whole. Our goal is to explain it in order to compare it later with the process of socialisation.

2.3 The Definition of a Marketing Strategy and its Instruments

In this section we will present the definition of the marketing strategy and its instruments. This should allow an analysis that aims to discover if the marketing policy can be a disguised process of socialisation. We, therefore, talk about the standard procedure that professionals who work in the marketing field use to perform their highest goal, such as selling goods to consumers. Our reference book is *Marketing Management* by Philip Kotler.

In 1965, a young professor named Philip Kotler published an article in the *Journal of Marketing* entitled “Behavioural Models for Analyzing Buyers”. This publication was followed by a book called *Marketing Management*. The book had a great success, it has been translated in more than 20 languages and in the year 2000 the twelfth edition was printed. Since then, it has become the most influential marketing textbook ever published. For years now, it has been referred to simply as the “Kotler”, after its author’s name. Dr. Philip Kotler is highly considered in the field of marketing today. Therefore, we will often quote Professor Kotler for the definition of the principles of marketing considering they are accepted worldwide. Moreover, these quotations will help us to show the similarity of concepts between marketing policy and social sciences.

2.3.1 Methods to collect information about potential buyers

Within the marketing policy, there is a variety of methods to collect information about potential buyers. In fact, marketing policy is often presented as a range of techniques that enable firms to sell their goods and services in a profitable manner (also known as marketing strategy). There are two mandatory steps in order to gather necessary information: (1) the marketing research and (2) the study of the buyer’s behaviour.

The marketing research

The first step in order to establish a product on the market is good research. Specialists in the field call this phase *market information* or *marketing research*. It is about gathering of information on market demands, customers, competitors, dealers and other forces in the marketplace. Marketing research is the function linking the consumer, the customer and the public to the marketer through information. Practitioners are engaged in a wide variety of tasks performing analysis of market potential, market shares, customers’ behaviour and other aspects. After the identification of the problem, marketers work with three options a) set up an

exploratory research, b) command a descriptive research; or c) elaborate a causal research. The techniques used to collect all this intelligence are well known in the world of social sciences (Dubois & Jolibert, 1989).

The customer's behaviour

The understanding of the customer's behaviour is a crucial point in marketing and has acquired an importance of its own. In fact, it is very capital for marketing to realize how a consumer thinks and acts. In the "Kotler" it is said that "consumer behavior is influenced by the buyer's characteristics and by the buyers' decision process" (Kotler et al., 1996, p. 300). Moreover, the textbook identifies four main factors shaping consumer purchasing behaviours: (1) cultural factors, (2) social factors, (3) personal factors and (4) psychological factors.

(1) Cultural factors

"Cultural factors exert the broadest and deepest influence on consumer behavior. The marketer needs to understand the role played by the buyer's culture, subculture and social class" (Kotler et al., *ibid.*, p. 270).

Culture. In the marketing theory "culture" is defined as the "most basic cause of a person's wants and behavior". (Kotler, 1996, p. 270). In fact, "Growing up in a society, a child learns basic values, perceptions, wants and behaviors from the family and other important institutions" (Kotler et al., *ibid.*, p. 271).

Subculture. The subculture is another important concept in the understanding of the cultural factors. Subculture is a fragmentation of culture and includes: "people with shared value system based on common life experiences and situations (...) nationalities, religions, racial groups, and geographic regions" (Kotler et al., *ibid.*, p. 271).

Social class. "Social classes are society's relatively permanent and ordered divisions whose members share similar values, interests and behaviors. (...) social class is not determined by a single factor, such as income, but is measured as a combination of occupation, income, education, wealth and other variables" (Kotler et al., *ibid.*, p. 271).

(2) Social factors

The social factors marketing theory includes concepts such as groups, family role and status.

Groups. Someone's behaviour can be influenced by an individual or by one or many small groups. "Groups which have a direct influence and to which a person belongs are called membership groups. (...) Reference groups are groups that serve as direct (face-to-face) or indirect points of comparison or reference in forming a person's attitude" (Kotler et al., *ibid.*, p. 273). Aspirational group – a group to which someone wishes to be part of – can also modify a buyer's decision. Opinion leader at least, "are people within a reference group who, because of special skills, knowledge, personality or other characteristics, exert influence on others" (Kotler et al., 1996, p. 273).

Family. "Family members can strongly influence buyer behavior" (Kotler et al., *ibid.*, p. 274). Two families can be distinguished within the buyer's life. The first one can be called "family of

orientation". It is the family in which the buyer is raised. The second family is the family of procreation (the buyer's wife and children).

Roles and status. "A role consists of the activities people are expected to perform according to the persons around them (...) Each role carries a status reflecting the general esteem given to it by society" (Kotler et al., *ibid.*, p. 276).

(3) Personal factors

Personal factors are identified as: buyer's age and life-cycle stage, occupation, economic situation, lifestyle, and personality and self-concept.

Age and life-cycle stage. Age and life-cycle stage are important personal factors in the buyer's behaviour since people change their habits, tastes, ideas as time goes on.

Occupation. People's job influences their purchase; therefore marketers try to identify its clients in an above-average job.

Economic circumstances. The economic circumstances experienced at a given moment by a buyer can influence his buying behaviour.

Lifestyle. "Lifestyle is a person's pattern of living as expressed in his or her activities, interest and opinions. Lifestyle captures something more than the person's social class or personality. It profiles a person's whole pattern of acting and interacting in the world" (Kotler et al., *ibid.*, p. 278).

Personality and self-concept. "Personality refers to the unique psychological characteristics that lead to relatively consistent and lasting responses to one's own environment (...) can be useful in analysing consumer behavior for certain product or brand choices (...)

The basic self-concept premise is that people's possessions contribute to and reflect their identities. In other words, 'we are what we have'" (Kotler et al., *ibid.*, p. 282).

(4) Psychological factors

Following the marketing theory, motivation, perception, learning, beliefs and attitudes are the psychological factors that influence buyer's choices.

Motivation. Motivation can be the motor of a purchase. In fact, "A motive (or drive) is a need that is sufficiently pressing to direct the person to seek satisfaction" (Kotler et al., 1996, p. 283). To deepen into this concept marketing theory has analyzed the contents of Freud's theory of motivation as well as the one developed by Maslow.

Perception. "Perception is the process by which people select, organize and interpret information to form a meaningful picture of the world." (Kotler et al., 1996, p. 285).

Learning. "Learning describes changes in an individual's behavior arising from experience. The practical significance of learning theory for marketers is that they can build up a demand for a product by associating it with strong drives, using motivating cues and providing positive reinforcement" (Kotler et al., *ibid.*, pp. 287-288).

Beliefs and attitude. "A belief is a descriptive thought that a person has about something (...) An attitude describes a person's relatively consistent evaluations, feelings and tendencies towards an object or idea. (...) Marketers are interested in the beliefs that people formulate about specific

products and services, because these beliefs make up product and brand images that affect buying behavior. If some of the beliefs are wrong and prevent purchase, the marketer will want to launch a campaign to correct them. (...) Attitudes are difficult to change. A person's attitudes fit into a pattern and to change one attitude may require difficult adjustments in many others. Thus a company should usually try to fit its products into existing attitudes rather than try to change attitudes. Of course, there are exceptions in which the great cost of trying to change attitudes may pay off' (Kotler et al., *ibid.*, p. 288).

For marketers the buying behaviour is then the result of the complex interaction of cultural, social, personal and psychological factors. It is of high significance to identify these factors in order to understand the consumers they are trying to influence. "The marketer's job is to understand the buyers' behavior at each stage and the influences that are operating. This allows the marketer to develop a significant and effective marketing program for the target market" (Kotler et al., *ibid.*, p. 300).

2.3.2 How to use intelligence collected

With the intelligence collected in the research phase, as well as by studying buyer's behaviour, marketers can finally segment and consequentially target the market in order to position their product.

Segmentation - Segmentation is the action proper to divide a market into different groups of buyers. The purpose is to better satisfy buyer's needs. Eventually, marketers will develop profiles of resulting segments.

Targeting - Targeting is the process during which a firm evaluates each market segments it has found and discusses about its attractiveness.

Positioning - Positioning occurs once a firm has segmented and targeted its markets. In fact, the positioning "works by associating products with product attributes or other stimuli" (Kotler et al., *ibid.*, p. 427).

2.3.3 The "four Ps" : Four instruments to perform marketing policy

Ultimately, positioning leads to the development of a marketing strategy to launch or confirm a product on a given market. The four instruments (product, price, promotion and place) are now called into cause. In fact, the product, the price, the promotion and the place become four factors serving the foundation of the marketing strategy called by specialists the "marketing mix".

The Product - The product is often depicted as the first variable within the marketing strategy. The product is, however, a concept that includes: brand, packaging and all the services it engenders. These elements transform the product into a dynamic and therefore variable factor. “Product is not merely a physical item but a complex concept that must be defined carefully. Marketers must develop a product strategy that calls for coordinated decisions” (Kotler et al., *ibid.*, p. 580). The product sold by a firm has to do with an imagery of values and beliefs that people adhere to. The product’s value within the context of marketing means the correlation between the consumer’s expectations of product quality to the actual amount paid for it (www.wikipedia.org (February 22nd, 2006 at 19.30 cet)).

The Price - “In the narrowest sense, price is the amount of money charged for a product or service. More broadly, price is the sum of all the values that consumers exchange for the benefits of having or using the product or service.” (Kotler et al., *ibid.*, p. 621). As for product, price is a variable used by a firm to reach its selling objectives. “The pricing strategy is largely determined by the company’s target market and positioning objectives.” (Kotler et al., *ibid.*, p. 645). The marketing strategy practices several price-adjustments that act as norms influencing people’s buying behaviour (see table below).

Price adjustment strategies						
Discount and allowance pricing	Discriminatory pricing (segmented pricing)	Psychological pricing	Value pricing	Promotional pricing	Geographical pricing	International pricing
Reducing prices to reward customer responses such as paying early or promoting the product	Adjusting prices to allow for differences in customers, products and locations	Adjusting prices for psychological effect	Adjusting prices to offer the right combination of quality and service at a fair price	Temporarily reducing prices to increase short-sales	Adjusting prices to account for the geographic location of customers	Adjusting prices in international markets

(Kotler et al., *ibid.*, p. 660)

The Promotion – The promotion is one of the four variables of the marketing strategy. It includes advertising, sales promotion, public relations and personal

selling. This set of tools works together to achieve the company's communication objectives.

Advertising - "Advertising is the use of paid media by a seller to inform, persuade and remind target audiences about its products or organization" (Kotler et al., *ibid.*, p. 754).

Sales Promotion - "Sales covers a wide variety of short-term incentives – coupons, premiums, contests, buying allowances – designed to stimulate consumers, the trade and the company's own *salesforce*. " (Kotler et al., *ibid.*, p. 754). *Salesforce* "is very effective in achieving certain marketing objectives and carrying out such activities as prospecting, communicating, selling and servicing and information gathering" (Kotler et al., *ibid.*, p. 785).

Public relations - "Public relation is about gaining favourable publicity and creating a favourable potential for building awareness and preference." (Kotler et al., *ibid.*, pp. 754-755).

Personal selling - "Personal selling is the most effective tool at certain stages of the buying process, particularly in building up buyer's preferences, convictions and actions" (Kotler et al., *ibid.*, p. 702).

The Place - The fourth variable of the marketing strategy is called place. "The place" includes all the channels through which a product must travel in order to meet and reach its final customer. In general, "retailing includes all activities involved in selling goods or services directly to final consumers for their personal, non-business use" (Kotler et al., *ibid.*, p. 856). Retailers are then companies whose primary business is to sell a given product or service to final consumers (for instance, speciality store, department store, variety store, supermarket, convenience store, superstore and hypermarket, service business, etc.). However, the non-retailers activity has been growing during the past years and has established as a way to deliver products to final consumers avoiding stores retailing. They instead sell through catalogues, direct mail, telephone, home TV shopping shows and/or on-line shopping. "The place" as far as store retailing is concerned can be perceived as the location where customers can acquire the product or service they are looking for. The place as far as non store retailing is a more direct way for the customers to acquire their product or service.

"A **speciality store** carries a narrow product line with a deep assortment within that line. Examples include stores selling sporting goods, furniture, books, cosmetics, jewellery, electronics, flowers or toys" (Kotler et al., *ibid.*, p. 858).

"A **department store** carries a wide variety of product-lines typically clothing and fashion accessories, cosmetics, home furnishings and household goods. Each line is operated as a separate department managed by specialist buyers or merchandisers" (Kotler et al., *ibid.*, p. 858).

"A **variety store** tends to be low-cost, self-service stores. They specialize in a wider range of goods than specialist stores, but have a narrower range compared to department stores. Also, these are more basic in terms of the level of extra amenities offered" (Kotler et al., *ibid.*, p. 859).

“**Supermarkets** are large, low-cost, low-margin, high-volume, self-service stores that carry a wide variety of food, laundry and household products” (Kotler et al.,ibid.,p. 859).

2.4 Summary

In this chapter, we have shown that marketing has established itself as a theory of its own along the decades of the 20th century. As Bartels pointed out, the construction of the marketing thought was achieved by the assimilation of various concepts from other social sciences: “The implication of interdisciplinary study is that, in each of the major areas of social research, inquiry produces concepts and methodologies peculiar to the interests of that discipline but useful also to other social scientists. One cannot work in social studies from the standpoint of his area’s concepts alone” (Bartels, 1976, pp. 185-186).

While analyzing the marketing policy called “marketing mix”, we can notice that in order to sell commodities to consumers, four variables that can be compared to the four “tools” of the socializing process were developed. In jargon, they have been called: “*the four Ps*” (*product, price, promotion, place*). *Product* can be easily compared to the value that motivates one’s buying process. *Prices* can then be perceived as positive or negative norms stimulating or preventing the buying process. *Promotion* - with its set of direct and indirect announcements – can be defined as the language with which a company communicates while reinforcing the buying process. Last but not least, the *place* is the location where the product-value is distributed (and/or spread), where one can perform its buying process. In some cases, the *place* can be seen as a socializing agency. Moreover, all these four variables can be viewed in a broader concept of communication. Thanks to the proper package of the product, the best price, a good promotion and a finest distribution, firms communicate their selling purposes to their clients.

Nowadays, marketing policy plays a significant role in any business. For the purpose of this study, it is important to describe how marketing policy applies in the preadolescent market. Therefore, in the next chapter, next to the definition of the concept of preadolescence, we will portray the marketing activities in this particular segment of the population.

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3. The Market of Preadolescents

In the previous chapters, readers got acquainted with concepts such as socialisation and marketing policy. In this chapter, our goal is to focus on the application of marketing strategy to preadolescents. Therefore, we will first propose a definition of preadolescents (3.1 Preadolescent : A Definition). Then, social studies and works dealing with the issue of the influence of the media on young people and the buying process will be discussed (3.2 Social Studies and Research Dealing with the Issue of Preadolescents as Consumers). Eventually, we will go over various articles and textbooks about marketing on youngsters in order to: a) analyze the techniques used by “marketers” to transform a preadolescent into a buyer and b) picture the preadolescent market (3.3 Preadolescents as a Strategic Target).

3.1. Preadolescent : A Definition

In spite of the many existing terms to define young people, we have arbitrarily named preadolescents the group of people aged between 6 and 12 years old. These children are not yet teenagers (13-19 years old) – a term that in Anglo-Saxon societies has acquired a political, psychological, sociological and economic reality – but can no longer be considered infants or preschool children.

In Switzerland, following the figures of census 2000 (www.bfs.ch), the number of preadolescents is 583,390 (6 years old 78,938; 7 years old 80,466; 8 years old 83,018; 9 years old 82,543; 10 years old 84,238; 11 years old 85,228; 12 years old 88,958). A study performed by the Swiss marketing group IHA-Gfm from Hergiswil (www.ihagfm.ch) in 1994, perhaps the most extensive research ever conducted in Switzerland about children’s pocket money, allows speculating how much cash preadolescents receive per month. However, the above mentioned study, although performed with 747,300 children, did not take into account the Swiss-Italian child population. Therefore, when the study suggests that children are given pocket money from the age of seven and speculations might relate this fact with the start of primary school in Switzerland, it is wrong. In fact, in the southern region of Switzerland, school starts at 6 years of age. That is why ACSI (Associazione Consumatrici della Svizzera Italiana, www.acsi.ch) – a Swiss Italian association for customer – published in *Borsa della spesa* (ACSI, 2000) a guide meant to help parents to orientate their mini-customers (Storni, 2000). The guide suggests starting with a 1 to 3 francs “salary” per week during the primary school (ACSI, 2000).

Following all these facts, we can roughly guess – if the children’s “salary” has remained unchanged during all these years – that the monthly pocket money of Swiss preadolescents is 7,953,786.7 CHF, that is 95,445,441 CHF per year. To these

figures, we have to add money that children receive from relatives for birthdays and other (religious) occasions (Easter, Christmas, first communion, good grades in school, etc.). Therefore, although Switzerland is a small country, proportionally, its figures are not that far from the 24 billion (24,000,000,000) US dollars spent by children age 14 and under in the United States (Mc Neal, 1998a).

From the point of view of human sciences and more specifically of psychology, adolescence has received a lot of attention since it is an important period in the life of human beings. Silvia Vegetti Finzi, a Professor of psychology at the University of Pavia, has dedicated a whole book to this life's stage (Finzi, 2000), where she highlights the many changes that occur during adolescence, an "uncertain age" following the title of her book (*L'Età Incerta*). Nowadays psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists as well as paediatricians agree that not only adolescence is an unsure lifetime moment, but the frontiers of this life period are very uncertain as well. In fact, the age of puberty that used to determine the beginning of adolescence continues to decrease. What we have defined as preadolescence could, therefore, correspond to an age group crossing the beginning of adolescence. Consequently, considerations about adolescence will be taken into account in order to better describe our studying object.

However, if we refer to authors such as S. Freud (1905) and J. Piaget (1921, 1936, 1937, 1945, 1946, 1948, 1955-56, 1961), the period preceding puberty – 6 to 12 years old - acquires an importance and a reality of its own, even though these authors did not use the term preadolescence to define that period. Nevertheless, both of them offered a significant contribution to the understanding of this age group.

Freud gave a detailed description of child personality, whereas Piaget carefully described how the children's mind works in this phase. Freud called latency the period that stretches from 5-6 years old to the beginning of the puberty (11-12 years), whereas, Piaget called *concrete operation stage 3* the phase from seven to eleven years old. The proper of latency is that the child's sexual drive is minimized. This enables kids to develop intellectual and social skills suitable to the time of schooling. On the other hand, throughout the *concrete operations stage 3*, often identified with the primary school period, Piaget's child development theory defines the moment in which the child acquires the rudimentary conception of time, space, numbers, and logic: bases of an adult understanding of the world. The child's way of thinking becomes less and less egocentric. It is now able to take into account somebody else's point of view; it is able to order objects, numbers and things into categories. Concretely, it means that a child can answer questions in a consistent way, understand the concept of days (yesterday, today, tomorrow) and can be the subject of more or less reliable studies.

However, although confined in the latency period, preadolescents continue to be boys and girls and have highly and intense social relations especially with their peers. As indicated by some studies (Chase & Dummer, 1992 and Brustad, 1996), boys' self-esteem and peers' acceptance lays on their athletic capability. Boys feel that to be popular among peers you have to be good in sport. For girls, the peers' acceptance is related with their physical appearance (Adler, Kless & Adler, 1992; Chase & Dummer, 1992).

In a socio-political perspective, the age of six corresponds with the beginning of the mandatory school system (elementary or primary school), whereas, the age of 12 (more or less) is the end of elementary school. In this sense, the 6 to 12 year-old period is a time during which society accepts that the central role of the family - as very first agency of socialisation - is diminished. The so-called preadolescents have now the ability to be socialised by other agencies such as school, church (catechism normally begins with six years), scouts, sport institutions, firms, etc. As a concrete example of socialisation performed by other institutions, we can name the complementary activities of Hermitage Museum Foundation. They are meant for a public age from 6 to 12 years old (<http://www.fondation-hermitage.ch/>). Another example is five days of entertainment organized by the University of Lausanne together with EPFL and Migros just for kids ages from 6 to 12 years old (www.unil.ch, farnaz.moser@epfl.ch and egalite@rect.unil.ch, publication sept. 23rd, 2004).

Following these two illustrations, in the next section, our intent is to analyze scientific works in the social field of sciences that have studied the buying process, the media influences, the consumer behaviour and the market place in relation with young people and more specifically with preadolescents.

3.2 Social Studies and Research Dealing with the Issue of Preadolescents as Consumers

We have learned that preadolescents are not only an age group, but also a socio-political and psychological entity. We, therefore, pursue our work by analyzing in which way studies and research in the field of social sciences - about preadolescents and market's influence - have served the interests of marketing, providing tools ready to be applied in the marketing strategy.

3.2.1 Research in the field of mass media and sciences of advertising

Mass media research and sciences of advertising study the relation between mass media and/or commercial and human behaviour. An article written by Heinz

Bonfadelli (1999), attempts to categorize the many works that have been produced about children and young people in this particular field. The author identifies four main categories, although he warns that some areas should be investigated with empirical works.

Children and commercials

Following Bonfadelli, a range of studies deepen the theme of changes occurred in society, in the market pertaining to children and young people. More specifically, some works deal with the structures and the development of commercial offers and/or the relation among children, young people and commercials.

What about commercials?

A second range of studies focuses on the content of commercials. These works try to answer questions like: ‘how large is the commercial offer?’, ‘How did it develop?’, ‘What is the dominant form and strategy?’, or ‘What role do the protagonists of commercials play and who are they?’ .

How understandable are commercials?

A third range of works tries to portray how young people and children use mass media and commercials: how capable they are to decode their messages, to get influenced or how long can they sit in front of mass media and commercials, etc.

Child behaviour and commercials

Finally, a fourth range of studies shows the existing relationship between mass media, commercial exposure, children and young people’s behaviour.

Each of these four categories could be looked at with three different perspectives:

- (a) a pessimistic perspective in which mass media and commercials can be accused of threatening children and young people’s lives with their influence
- (b) a neutral perspective where mass media and commercials are considered part of today’s environment;
- (c) a normative perspective (or functional) where the mass media fill in a socializing role (Six, 1991; Bonfadelli, 1999).

Studies in mass media and the advertising sciences age very fast, as works can rapidly become obsolete due to the quick democratization of new mass media that shapes new forms of commercials (Eidenbenz, 2004). For instance, at the end of the ‘80s, very few people could have imagined the great impact of internet on preadolescents; fewer would have thought that internet could have become a commercial support. Under those circumstances, we can state that rare were those who, in the ‘80s, could bet on the explosion of interactive mass media - more appealing than television – and capable to enter children’s and young people’s lives

so easily. To counter the aging of studies in mass media research and advertising sciences, we therefore decided to limit the literary review and to mention only some works whose main purpose are still convincing today.

Following this idea, in a previous study (Bonfadelli, 1991), Bonfadelli made his position clear by emphasizing that television and mass media can not be the only responsible for violence problems or buying influences. He stated that mass media and commercials might be a symptom and not the problem. He, therefore, suggested a broader analysis of the issue of children, mass media and commercials. In fact, the dominant dilemma is the limitation of free time possibilities such as playgrounds, green areas, etc. The growth of mass media and commercials offers might be a direct or indirect consequence of the environment restrictions. Therefore, the many German studies, the goal of which is usually to produce evidence that will help the publication of pedagogic material to enable children and young adult to cope with negative mass media and commercials' influences (Aufenanger, 1999; Paus-Hasebrink, 2004), have to be accompanied by specific actions that can become a valid alternative to mass media partnership. In fact, Schramm (1961) realized that children spend time in front of television mainly because they are bored and do not know what else to do.

As we could verify through many different studies in the field of research in mass media and sciences of advertising, the question of the age of the population is not pivotal. The decision to study a particular age group is merely done to show that the younger you are the harder it is to understand the difference between commercials and program, or the older you are the more money you have to spend on products advertised by commercials. In other studies, the age is just a component of the population that is not questioned further. The goal is only to show whether or not commercials influence childrens behaviour. However, Italian research has shown (www.altroconsumo.it/map/src/12011.htm) that until the age of 12 children are incapable to fully grasp the peculiarities of advertising. Pugelli (2002) wrote a book that explains among other topics the interpretation of commercials given by children, according to their age. These studies were able to shake public opinion and eventually norms of conduct were written in order to protect 12 year-old children and younger who are the targets of commercials.

As for the usefulness of these studies for marketing purposes, we can be affirmative. Marketers could be able to use these scholarly materials to sharpen their goals. Moreover, since these studies analyze the many channels through which information circulates, marketers can gather concrete facts on how to hit their audience best. In particular, some mass media research and works in the advertising sciences offer very detailed intelligence that for ethical reasons marketers should not be able to obtain directly.

3.2.2 Psychology

The field of psychology that has investigated the influence of mass media and commercials on children and young people owes, a lot to the psychologist Albert Bandura and his social learning theory (see Bandura, 1962, 1965, 1969, 1971a, 1971b, 1973, and Bandura, Ross & Ross 1963; Bandura & Waltrers 1963; Bandura, Grusec & Menolve 1966). In fact, thereafter, his concepts – especially the vicarious social learning, which is the human capability of learning through someone else’s experience – have been applied to depict the impact of television violence portrayals on anti-social behaviour, with research examining the role of modelling processes in learning of pro-social behaviour and cognitive skills. As for studies and research linked to commercials’ influence on young people and Bandura’s theory, Atkin (1976) explains: “the study most relevant to commercial advertising impact is a social learning analysis of public service announcements by Liebert, Sprafkin and Poulos (1975). (...) Based on their experience, the authors recommend these rules for message construction: defining target audience clearly, highlighting central message while varying peripheral content across a series of spots, using familiar and relevant experiences to optimize immediate recognition and understanding, utilizing action to attract attention and interest, employing verbal labeling cues to emphasize action sequences, and emphasizing strong positive consequences of the behavior”.

Evidence, such as that produced by Atkin (1975) during his analysis of 470 commercials on children, shows how advertisements are built following the peculiarity of Bandura’s theory. Fifteen years after this study, commercials still follow Bandura’s theory (Statera, 1992). To understand this persistence we will quote one of Bandura’s major statements : “Of the numerous cues that influence how people will behave at any given moment, none is more ubiquitous or effective than the action of others (...) behavior is prompted and channeled by the power of example”. Nowadays, commercials like the series, “I’m loving it” (McDonald’s 2004) are nothing but the adaptation of Bandura’s vicarious social learning to the reality of today. Therefore, we can conclude that marketers use concepts of Bandura to meet their goals and be effective with the promotion variable in their marketing policy.

A very comprehensive and updated work regarding the research and studies made on the field of children and television advertising is probably the one of Kunkel (2001). The author classifies the facts in five big categories: *1) Children’s exposure to television*, which following the author’s findings, it is impossible to determine since the television setting has totally changed as “the boundary between commercial and noncommercial content has been blurred as never before by media industry practices in the 1990s (Efron, 1999; Thorson & Schumann, 1999)” (Kunkel, 2001, p. 376). *2)*

The nature of the advertising environment, which is very complex to determine since it includes all the possible ads that children can watch. However, when focusing only on the children advertising message, this primarily falls into four product categories: toys, cereal, candy and fast food restaurants (Kunkel, 2001). **3) *Children's comprehension of advertising***, which increases with the age of the child. **4) *Children's attitudes toward television advertising***, which shows that in general children do not react pessimistically toward television commercials, however, older children have less positive attitudes toward ads than younger children. **5) *Effects of television advertising on children***, which shows that the bigger the child's exposure to television ads, the greater the pressure on parent-child interaction upon purchase request .

After a deep analysis of over 100 studies and scientific reports ranging from the early '70s to 2001, Kunkel concludes that:

“Children are a special audience, with limited information-processing capabilities that constrain their early understanding of the nature and purpose of television advertising. Because of these limitations young children are simply more easily persuadable than older children or adults. They are more trusting of advertising claims and appeals and more susceptible to commercial persuasion. Although most of these measures are clearly of value, they hardly resolve all of the concerns about children's unique vulnerability to television advertising.”
(Kunkel, 2001, p. 388).

Once more, these findings confirm that commercials can persuade young children to ask their parents to purchase the item they have seen. As for the age of the population, none of the studies seemed to pay a particular attention on the definition of a specific group of young people. Many works, in fact, use age groups only to state that the younger a child is, the worse his/her understanding will be of television. Moreover, what is capital in this type of research is to establish a clear relationship between children and young people on one side and mass media and advertising effects on the other side.

3.2.3 Sociology

Sociology through its (mass) communication branch – and thanks to the big heritage of the Frankfurt's School – concentrated at first in producing theoretical critics about mass communication society. These critics were of course not useful for marketing purposes, however, they pointed out potential dangers that can be seen in today's monographic studies on the topic of children and consumption (Lange, 1999;

Baacke, 1999; and Goetz 2001, Paus-Hasebrink 2004). In their literary review about children's and young people's consumption, Lydia Martens, Dale Southerton and Sue Scott state:

“The sociology of consumption pays relatively little detailed and systematic theoretical attention to children, while the sociology of childhood tends to view children's consumption through what can be called the 'production of consumption' approach. This is surprising given the range of empirical and theoretical debate in the sociology of consumption, where 'mode of consumption', 'consumption as aesthetics' and 'material culture' represent three further approaches.”. (Martens, Southerton, & Scott, 2004).

This interesting article gives an exhausting review about studies on children's consumption performed in sociology. The outcome is that in order to understand young people's consumer behaviours, it is extremely important to investigate the process “through which children consume, and of the way that children experience and understand practices of consumption orientations, and of the influence of other adult and child actors within the networks that make up their daily life.” (Martens, Southerton, & Scott, 2004).

Studies like the one conducted by Mario Morcellini (1994) and the ongoing Nonsolomedia (<http://www.mediazone.info/site/it-IT/>, Sept 2004) can be quoted as empirical and theoretical analyses that take into account Martens', Southerton's and Scott's observations. Morcellini's works, in fact, describe and reinvent a theoretical explanation about mass media influence on young people's lives and their consumer behaviour – in terms of buying goods and services, or simply, in terms of young profit from free time. In *Passaggio al Futuro* (Morcellini, 1994), Morcellini gives mass media the role of informal agencies of socialisation – or socializing agents. This is a very important fact that supports our hypothesis, which will be developed in the next chapter.

Another work that seems to follow the recommendation of Martens et al. (2004), although anterior to this article, is the book *Crescere con lo Spot* (Statera, 1992). In this work, mass media are depicted as places where social values and lifestyles can be learned. Moreover, marketers can find original empirical data explaining how commercials are perceived by children and young people.

In the work of Morcellini (Morcellini, 1994) most of the data used are produced by Eurisko - www.gfk-eurisko.it. Eurisko, which was established in 1972, operates in the social and marketing research sector where, in terms of experience, size and turnover, it is one of Italy's foremost organizations. The use of Eurisko's figures in Morcellini's 1994 work indicates the significant advance that marketing has acquired. It seems as if marketers are now able to produce their own data that,

afterwards, are analyzed by sociologists. Therefore, besides the contribution to the understanding of the role of mass media and commercials in young people's change in social context, Morcellini's study serves and reinforces the marketing purposes since it delivers a finer analysis of the situation.

Always in the field of sociology and young people's consumption, the analysis performed by Elmer Lange (1999) is curious and worth a mention. Lange examines youngsters' buying behaviour and highlights that the purchasing motivations are more complex than Maslow's model (1957). Young people do not buy simply because they have to satisfy their basic needs. On the contrary, some young people's purchasing behaviour is a compensatory action to balance lack of love, attention, or to acquire importance. The author brings evidence that the extrapolation of this behaviour conduces to the profile of consumer addiction. Moreover, in his article, Lange claims that compensatory buying behaviours, as well as buying addiction, have to do with family socialisation. The article implies that young people who receive little love and recognition from their family have a higher risk to suffer from the buying problem mentioned above. Lange's arguments go in the same direction of our hypothesis. In fact, its data show how commercials can be socializing agents and, as informal agencies, can strongly influence a young buyer's behaviour.

All the works presented, so far, have this in common: they can easily serve marketing goals since they offer precise information about the population of young people. Nevertheless, in these studies the age of the target group does not seem to be an important matter. As for the studies in psychology or media research and advertising sciences, the age is just a piece of information that is not questioned further, and preadolescents do not receive any attention as an entity of its own.

This short review allows us to say that social sciences (mass media research and sciences of advertising, psychology and sociology) have produced a lot of scholarly material about children's consumption. Many of these works offer very useful information for marketers. Thus, in the next section, we will concentrate on the work of marketers in the preadolescent market.

3.3 Preadolescents as Strategic Target

As in the field of social sciences, marketing, too, has bent on the topics of young people's buying behaviour and consumption. Nevertheless, marketers' motivations differ from authors in the social sciences, since their goal is eventually to sell as many products and services as possible. Following this imperative, research and collection of data diverge a lot in the quality and in the presentation of their findings. The latter often look like textbooks full of guidelines on how to be successful when

dealing with the young people's market. Therefore, this section will analyze the questions, methods, techniques and strategies used by marketers to x-ray their object. The reference book we will be using is written by James Mc Neal (Mc Neal,1992). Professor Mc Neal was in fact portrayed as the "Pope of Marketing" on young people (*Le Monde Diplomatique*, 24 Sept. 1995).

To understand and differentiate the work of marketers and the work of a researcher in the social sciences, both interested in the preadolescents' market, we will define the role of the marketer (3.3.1 The role of marketer). Then, we will explain how information collected in social sciences studies - dealing with the issue of children's consumption – together with facts assembled by marketers served the crucial action of segmenting a given market population, targeting and positioning the product on the market (3.3.2 Segment, target and position). Moreover, we will discuss some studies in the business area that will help our understanding of what a marketing goal is. At the end of this section, we will provide some examples to illustrate how the "four Ps" strategy works on the preadolescent market (3.3.3 Three markets and four Ps).

3.3.1 The role of marketer

To be able to eventually judge the work of marketers, it is important to describe it. We found a very complete definition in Mc Neal's book:

"The importance of parents, marketers, and educators cannot be overstated in children's consumer socialisation, but the pivotal role of the marketer should be underlined. It is the marketer who provides the specific mix of products, describes them in advertisements, then packages, prices, and displays them. It is the marketer who lays out the store, determines its operating hours, the degree of light, noise, traffic. It is the marketer who decides the number of checkout stations in a store. All of these efforts and activities, and many more, also determine in great part what the child consumer will learn, feel, think, want, and how he or she will behave toward the marketplace. Marketers have discovered through research that a significant portion of adults, perhaps 20 percent, are anti-shoppers. That is, one person in five does not like shopping and would not do it if it were not necessary. It is not known how early in life this negative attitude toward the marketplace starts, but it may have its genesis in childhood just as positive attitudes toward shopping do. Marketers who show sensitivity and provide assistance to these consumer-trainees can help assure that negative attitudes toward the marketplace do not develop, and that children get the most satisfaction from it. By doing this the marketer will be making an important contribution to our economic system as well as to the kids and

their parents, and at the same time will begin an alliance with these new customers that can last a lifetime. The marketer who targets kids as customers is often described in any but positive terms by some parents, consumer advocates, and cause seekers. This negative characterizing often is deserved as a result of unethical practices toward kids. Such charges, true or false, only highlight the very basic role that marketers play in children's development of economic behavior." (Mc Neal, 1992, pp. 12-13)

In this detailed description of the marketer's job, Mc Neal declares that marketers have a socialising role. A statement that fully supports our hypothesis: *Firms of mass products and services socialise preadolescents through their marketing policy.*

In 1997, Gene Del Vecchio published, *Creating Ever-Cool: A Marketer's Guide to a Kid's Heart*. As Mc Neal, Gene del Vecchio, too, in his front and back flap, gave a synthetic explanation about the job of a marketer targeting kids. Once again, we found that his definition was in the same line of our hypothesis and complementary to what Mc Neal wrote in 1992 :

"Disney. McDonald's. Barbie. "Sesame Street." Nickelodeon. Nintendo. These brands and a handful of others are truly world class, for they have found a hidden place in a child's heart, and formed a bond that the child holds dear. The people who helped create and develop such brands understand the timeless, emotional needs that all children share. They know a child's fantasies, hopes, and dreams. They know the many guises of fun. They know the precious role their brands play in a child's life. And they know how to keep their brands continuously fresh, and "ever-Cool," year after year." (Del Vecchio, 1997, front flap)

The description of people who developed famous brands for children is very ambiguous. In fact, those marketers are depicted as if they knew a child just like a parent would. We, therefore, realize that marketers have to acquire the same sensitivity that enables parents to educate and, furthermore, socialize their child. A role that turns marketers, the brand they are working for and, eventually, the firm that holds the brand into a socialising agent.

In the next section, we will consequently study how knowledge about children is pulled together by marketers in order to succeed the process of (consumer) socialisation.

3.3.2 Segment, target and position

In order to operate a segmentation of population, to target the most attractive segment and, finally, to position the product, marketers need a lot of information. As shown above, social sciences offer a part of this intelligence. Research has a capital role even in marketing to preadolescent. “The notion that we must always practice good marketing research principles regardless of the market is good sense and good science. But the results can be misleading when applied to children, because what researchers think of as good marketing research principles are usually adult based” (Mc Neal, 1998b).

Following this statement, Mc Neal proposes research techniques in order to get usable information. Eventually, an optimal data collection will help segmentation, target and positioning actions.

3.3.2.1 Segmentation

The proper of segmentation is to define a group of buyers in the market. The principal discriminating factor in a young population is by far the age. Although the period between three and eight years of age can be considered as childhood, the requests of this population in terms of buying needs vary a lot (Gregory M. Rose, 2002). Schmid (1997), as well, speaking about segmentation explains one of the peculiarities of children’s market: “A major challenge is that the database, which is invaluable for most catalogue marketers, is constantly being out-dated. Five year-olds going to kindergarten become six year-olds and change sizes, interests and products their parents will purchase. Unless a cataloguer caters to several age ranges, it finds itself constantly in the new customer acquisition mode” (Schmid, 1997, p. 30).

As shown above, mass media research, advertising sciences, psychology and sociology do not principally focus their attention on the age group. On the contrary, age group is very essential for marketers. “Today’s children are not just a group of blossoming young customers or just one market of 37 million potential buyers. They constitute market segments, in fact, relatively complex market segments” (Mc Neal, 1992, p. 14). John Desmond, while explaining Erickson’s stage in the development of personality, claims:

“Marketers have been aware of the life-cycle for many years and this has been incorporated by many organizations into their arsenal of segmentation devices. Financial institutions aim to capture their customers early and to maintain their loyalty to the grave (...) One of the most intensive areas of research and product development for firms has been the start of the life-cycle, where increasing attention is

being paid to issues such as brand recognition and advertising effectiveness among infants and young children. (...) One reason given for targeting young children is because the young mind is especially retentive of information and any information, including that pertaining to brand identity, and symbolism will be retained for life if the associations are learned young enough” (Desmond, 2003, pp. 258-259).

Moreover, following Mc Neal’s statement, children can be divided by variables such as age, gender, income, geography, lifestyles, product usage and benefits. Furthermore, segmentation of children differs from that of adults since children can be considered as a *future market*, for the car industry or cigarettes, as a *market of influencers*, for vacations (Joanne Connell, 2004) and as a *primary market*, with services and products such as candies, sport activities conceived just for them (Mc Neal, 1992). As reported above, the Hermitage Foundation and Migros have targeted 6 to 12 year olds, reading Mc Neal, we realize that “as the decade of the ‘90s gets under way, we can expect marketers to treat the children’s market as a major market to be segmented into smaller, more profitable ones – just as they do for adults. Recently, children as a primary market have been segmented by age into young (4-6), school age (7-9), and tweens (10-12)” (Mc Neal, 1992, page 6). Children, in fact, “like adults, may be considered young, middle-aged, and old. The three groups also called preschoolers, school children and tweens (not kids, not teens, but in *between*)” (Mc Neal, 1992, p. 16).

3.3.2.2 Targeting

Nowadays, new studies show that each child market segment can become a target with its own attractiveness. In particular, the book written by Acuff and Reihel (1997) uses psychological findings to carefully describe how to be successful in the many different age groups. Roedder, Sternthal and Calder (1983) and Roedder and Lakshmi-Ratan-Rammath (1992) showed that younger children are more likely to adopt new products than older ones. The study performed by Roedder et al. (1992), carefully explains that younger children are more attracted by new products than older children are since, roughly said, younger children – compared to older ones - lack the ability to evaluate similar existing products with the new products on the market. The article of Cook and Keiser (2002) entitled “Betwixt and be Tween: Age Ambiguity and the Sexualisation of the Female Consuming Subject” demonstrates how segments can be socially produced.

“By focussing on advertising in major magazines that were designed to tap consumers’ sentiments and longings, we find representations of parental values. Advertising not only associated commodities with the child’s look of wonder, but suggested that children were the portals to

the new world of consumption by their natural desires. Advertisers drew upon sentiments rooted in the romanticism of the 18th and early 19th centuries, but, by 1900, these ideas that associated children with a positive view of nature and timeless wonder were adapted to commercialization. While these ideas contrasted sharply with the rational/developmentalist ideas of early 20th-century child-rearing manuals, experts gradually adapted a permissive approach that largely coincided with the messages of advertising” (Cook & Kaiser, 2002).

All these works bring evidence that targeting is an activity that implies gathering all favourable facts to approach the object with sensitivity and empathy, especially when approaching the market of young people.

3.3.2.3 Positioning

When they reach the level of positioning, marketers know a lot of things about their targeted population, such as their habits, their dreams, their wishes, their hates, their desires, their fears, their secrets, etc. All they have to do is to link this information with the service or products they wish to sell via a value that will make the product seem unique. Eventually, young people will confound the value with the product itself.

Del Vecchio (1997) tries to explain how to perform the challenging task of positioning a product into the kids’ world. The most important thing is to be aware that when one deals with children nothing has to be taken for granted. Something, that an adult may consider common, can be special for kids (Del Vecchio, 1997). To succeed with a product, marketers have to enter the child’s world of emotions and link their product with a particular feeling. “Disney uses mightily the concepts of magic, fantasy, and wishes. Cinderella has her fairy godmother. Aladdin has his genie. Dumbo has his magic feather. Wish upon a star and it just might come true – with Disney. Magic, fantasy, and wishes are a very important part of the Disney aura, its brand persona, and its point of difference” (Del Vecchio, 1997, page 178).

As stated, positioning is about making the difference between two same products. Acuff and Reiher (1997) present a detailed analysis of age emotions, so as to allow positioning a product as close as possible to the target.

When studying the children’s and preadolescents’ market, the fact is that almost every product could sooner or later be sold to them, and this because, as explained by Mc Neal (1992), children constitute three markets (primary market, influencers market, and future market). In the next section, while analysing the “four P’s”, we will try to pick examples of marketing policies developed for these three markets.

3.3.3 Three markets and “four Ps”

At last, positioning allows the development of a marketing policy for a given product. In this section we will analyse the marketing strategy for each of the three markets depicted first by Mc Neal (1992).

3.3.3.1 The primary market

Mc Neal (1992) defines the primary market as “a market in their own right – in the sense that they[kids] have money of their own, needs and wants, and authority and willingness to spend the money on those needs and wants” (p. 15).

Studies have shown that preadolescents are given by their family some spending money; most of it is spent to buy sweets. Let us then discuss the product “M&M’S”.

M&M’S

M&M’S have a similarity to the well-established Swiss product Smarties. Yet, with the power of their marketing strategy M&M’S company has tried to position its product targeting the kids’ population differently.

At first, M&M’s were just a product meant for soldiers (www.m&ms.com). But every paediatrician knows how children, kids, and preadolescents are fond of sweets. The product, therefore, had a natural market. The marketing strategy has then focused on the segment of young people.

Products

Today M&M’s brand portfolio presents a variety of more or less eight different chocolate candy boxes and/or products. The first popular product – six colours chocolate candies held in a brown pouch – is now called milk chocolate candies. In Europe, due to the presence of Smarties, the product, M&M’S peanuts, has become more famous. M&M’S peanuts are presented in visible yellow bags. They are chocolate covered peanuts that come in different colour candy coating.

Price

The brand portfolio product with the lowest price is more or less 1.20 francs. It is an affordable price for a preadolescent, who is seeking to purchase sweets. In fact, in today’s western society, anybody can offer him/herself an M&M’S bag.

Promotion

“M&M’S® Milk Chocolate Candies were first manufactured in 1940, when Forrest E. Mars, Sr. formed the company in Newark, New Jersey. His original idea was to offer chocolates with a sugar shell that could be sold throughout the year and wouldn’t melt during the summer” (<http://us.mms.com/us/about/products/milkchocolate/>).

In 1954, simultaneously with the introduction of the peanuts line, M&M’S went on TV and the chocolate candies became the stars of their own commercials.

A unique selling proposition was created: “Melts in your mouth not in your hands”. A sentence that could relieve parents who are always worried that chocolate melts, and, therefore, it is likely that they

would not have to clean everything that children touch. Nowadays, advertising suggests that M&M'S is becoming the movie session's candies. Finally, the product is supported by an interactive website designed for kids.

Place

In the '80s, M&M's entered the international market and became available in the western world. Distribution in Switzerland occurred mostly in kiosks, on a strategic shelf of a height to enable kids to see and reach them.

3.3.3.2 Influence market

Mc Neal (1992) defines the "influence market" as the market in which young people play the role of influencers. Three main areas where this influence is exerted can be listed:

1. Items for children
2. Items for the household
3. Non-household items. These items often are major purchases and include vacations, automobiles, clothing, restaurant, meals and recreation things (Mc Neal, 1992, pp. 63-64).

Mr Propper

Mr Propper is a product used to clean the house. The principal target of Mr Propper is parents. However, the way it has been positioned makes it a desirable product for young people as well.

Product and Promotion

Mr Propper product's properties are personified in Mr Propper, a black, bold and muscular man who makes all the dirt disappear with a touch of magic. Nowadays, the website of www.meisterpropper.ch is mostly designed for kids.

Price and Place

When addressed to preadolescents, Mr Propper sells a universe of fantasy and magic above all. Available at almost any store, it is the product a kid can point at in a shelf asking his or her mom and dad to buy it.

3.3.3.3 Future market

Mc Neal (1992) defines the "future market" as the second source, for a retailer or a producer, to obtain new customers. In fact, the first source of new customers is the competitor's clients. "Children who have not yet entered the market place are the other source of new customers. When nurtured, they tend to become more loyal customers for marketers than those obtained through switching strategies. However, a relatively long period of nurturing is needed before they become bona fide customers for a particular product or store." (Mc Neil, 1992, p. 91). To illustrate future market we have chosen Shell gas stations.

Shell

Shell is a leading supplier of motor oils to all kinds of customers (www.shell.com) and one of the many gasoline companies that sells gas around the world.

Product

Shell gas stations are widely spread around the world. Shell offers oils, fuels, financial services, dynamic business solutions and more to businesses of all sizes. Among the public, the company is known mainly for its oil. Due to the nature of the products it sells, Shell belongs to the children's future market. However, during special occasions, Shell proposes toys related to their brand (Lego's Ferrari, Shell being a sponsor of Formula 1 Ferrari's team) or stamps to collect – enabling oil price's reduction.

Price

The price of gasoline has become an issue all over the world, therefore, offering special children toys in relation with the purchase of fuel or the stamps to collect (a very interesting and appealing experience for children (see Chapter 7, section 7.1.2 and Chapter 8)) makes the purchase somehow more enjoyable, especially for children who get the feeling that the company is thoughtful and cares about their amusement.

Promotion and Places

With an easy access to their gasoline station and an important communication strategy, Shell is a well-established brand in the mind of preadolescents.

3.4 Summary

The analyses of research in the field of preadolescents market and advertising gave us the opportunity to verify and discuss a variety of information that we will try to summarize in the next few lines.

In fact, we discovered that the age group preadolescent, from 6 to 12 years old, is not a proper category in the social sciences, although evidence makes it clear that this age frame can be considered a sociological group. In fact, 6 to 12 year olds are not yet teenagers but the majority of them attend school regularly. Psychologically, they live what Freud called the latency period and can be localized in Piaget's third stage called the *stage of concrete operations*.

As we have highlighted, some firms target 6 to 12 years old as a group, where very peculiar marketing segmentations suggest that 6 to 12 years old can be divided into three new subgroups such as young (4-6), school age (7-9), and tweens (10-12) (Mc Neal, 1992). Still, preadolescents - in the social sciences at least - can be defined as a silent group since they never were the proper studying object of research, although following the data of the Swiss Statistical Office, there are over half a million in this age group (www.bfs.ch).

Many works have tried to analyse the world of children's consumption and children's purchasing behaviour, discussing indirectly the group of preadolescents.

Italian studies pointed out that until 12 years of age a child can not grasp the full meaning of a commercial spot. Thus, today's preadolescents, although exposed to advertising like any other group (Kunkel, 2001), are unable to completely understand the full meaning of a commercial. That is a supplementary unifying characteristic of this silent minority."

Our review showed that the amount of literature dealing with the issue of children, young people and kids is impressive. Media research and advertising sciences, psychology, as well as sociology, produced intelligence to show or explain the relation between young people and the market of goods. Nevertheless, marketing was the only branch that could articulate and eventually give some coherence to all the intelligence collected, giving birth to textbooks and guidelines to understand the parameters of the children market. Moreover, children marketing theorists like Mc Neal reveal that one has to strategically become a partner of children's socialisation to be successful in that market. As explained by Kunkel (2001), we can not expect government and the advertising industry to protect children's interests alone:

"Of course, parents have an important role to play in this equation in terms of socializing their children's consumer behavior. More recently, media literacy curricula in the schools have been employed to teach children to be "smarter" consumers of television advertising as well as programming. Yet neither of these mediators can accelerate young children's understanding of the advertising process beyond the limits of their cognitive capabilities at certain key points in their development". (Kunkel, 2001, p. 389)

In order to get close to children, marketers and their firms have to use communication channels (the "P" identified with promotion in the marketing policy). It is, therefore, crucial – if we want to investigate the process of consumer socialisation – to have a close look at the world of mass media in terms of socialising agents enabling the firms' messages to reach and be effective in the preadolescent world. Consequently, the next chapter will be devoted to the explanation of the power acquired by mass media within the society of preadolescents.

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PART II

THEORETICAL PART

4. A New way of Socializing

In the first chapter, we discussed the concept of “socialisation”. The purpose was to depict what the process of socialisation is. Then, in an attempt to compare this process with the marketing policy, in chapter two, we analyzed the origins of marketing as well as the marketing strategy in Chapter 2. In Chapter 3, we portrayed the preadolescent and its market. Eventually, in this chapter, eager to deepen the approach by which firms get close to the preadolescents, we will make a step backwards and visit the process of socialisation once more.

Nowadays, we witness the rise of new socialisation agents, privileged partners in the preadolescents’ socialisation process. Therefore, in the next paragraphs, we will explain the changes that occurred in society (4.1 A Changing Society). Then, we will draw a portrait of today’s parenting style and the parental role in the process of socialisation (4.2 New Family New Socializing Defy). This will lead us to list some of the new socializing agents and their importance for preadolescents (4.3 New Socializing Agents).

4.1 A Changing Society

Society has changed quite a bit since sociologists like Emile Durkheim or Talcott Parsons defined socialisation. The topic of society’s changes has been central in many books, scientific and less scientific writings, among which is *Bonjour Paresse* (2004) - that depicts in a humorous way the non-sense of business companies and their social environment.

In many cases, sociologists have shown how these changes have caused uncertainties and have affected socio-political conditions. The collapse of the Welfare State, whose policy relied on old presuppositions, is a tangible sign of the tenor of these modifications. In *Die Diskontinuität der Moderne* written by Imhof und Romano (1996) - a deep historical-sociological analysis about the crisis of modern societies is being made - the authors show how modernity was built upon social changes. In this book inspiring thoughts are formulated about how the change of the world perspective has eventually modified the process of socialisation: “Die Überlappung der Weltperspektiven reproduziert sich in den strukturzentrierten Phasen des sozialen Wandels durch politische, mediale und ökonomisch-kommerzielle Kommunikationszentren, die die öffentliche Meinung bearbeiten und damit den Sinnzirkel reproduzieren“ (Imhof & Romano, 1996, p. 223). Moreover, if we combine some of the postulates of *Il Posto dei Calzini* (Marazzi, 1994) with the proposals of Imhof and Romano (1996), we can highlight a central point.

Before the era of industrialization, the sphere of production was essentially domestic. Therefore, in many cases, family life overlapped with handmade work ordered by a third party (often an entrepreneur or industrialist). However, since the industrialist would show up only once production was completed, people working at home had the freedom to organize their schedule and their social life according to their professional task (Marazzi, 1994). These were the pre-industrial times. In the industrial days people have been asked to work in a factory – away from home - under new rules and moreover a new schedule.

As for the socialisation process, parents had to gradually give up their central role. The preponderance of family unit as an agency of socialisation diminished in order to let the world of industrial capitalism flourish (Marazzi, 1994). In fact, a new working system was imposed and the fracture of the family as socializing agency could not be avoided. From then on, life has been divided into a professional sphere and a private sphere. The implementation of mandatory education has given schools an important place into the preadolescent socialisation process. As stressed in *Die Diskontinuität der Moderne* (Imhof & Romano, 1996), the compulsory schooling has opened the gate to a homogenous kind of socialisation:

“Die Bildungsinstitutionen und die Veröfentlichkeit moderner Gesellschaften zeichnen sich dadurch aus, dass sie Kleingruppen familialer, nachbarschaftlicher bzw. freundschaftlicher Art von ihren Lebensweltreproduktionen entlasten und damit die Variabilität von kultureller Reproduktion, sozialer Integration und Sozialisation reduzieren (...) So wie die Schule die Reproduktion partikulär-gemeinschaftlicher Lebensräume durch generalisierte Erziehungsstile teilweise substituiert, so erweitert und sichert ein homogener Sinnzirkel die intersubjektivierung der Lebenswelten. Die Kulturelle Reproduktion wird über die Institutionen der Massenmedien fortgesetzt, die Verortung in Raum und Zeit und der Bezug zu den Dingen, die >man< jetzt bespricht, wissen sollte, tut oder nicht tut etc., garantiert. Auch bezüglich der sozialen Integration ersetzt die Veröfentlichkeit einen Teil der Integrationsfunktionen privater Lebensräume. Hergestellte Öfentlichkeit vermittelt Legitimitätsstandards für soziale Beziehungen und verschafft Identifikationen mit Politikern, Stars, Sportlern bzw. Sportmannschaften und Zugehörigkeitsgefühle zu politischen Einheiten wie die Nation oder Region bzw. zu sozial biologischen Gruppierungen wie Jugend, Erwerbstätige oder Alte. Schließlich lassen sich durch die Vermittlung generalisierter Handlungsfähigkeiten und Handlungsnormen auch Sozialisationsprozesse medial voll-ziehen : Die handlungsnormierende Kraft der Gesellschaftsromane des 19. Jahrhunderts setzt sich über die Hörspiele und die >soap opera< des Fernsehens fort –

Verhaltensstrukturierung geht hier mit Unterhaltung einher“ (Imhof & Romano, 1996, pp. 248-249).

School taught people, among other things, to refer to and listen to a common prototyped message. The advent of mass media could not be made on more fertile ground: an audience ready to buy standardized information and willing to let this information be socializing. At this stage, and for the purpose of our study, it is interesting to analyze how family has lived throughout these changes and how its influence in the process of today's socialisation looks like.

4.2 New Family New Socializing Defy

On 12th January 2005 - for its 100 year special edition-, the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* put out an article titled “Das dritte Jahrtausend began am 11. September 2001”. (“The Third Century began September 11th, 2001”, our translation) Indeed, the reality of this shocking event, made it possible to talk shamelessly about business crises and society decadency (cf. publication of Michael Moore's “Stupid White Man”, 2002). September 11 was the alarm clock that signalled the beginning of a new era. This period was full of new challenges for family as well as for its socializing mandate.

In fact, family as a socializing agency could not escape from the societal earthquake that has involved probably every single social space. Of course, this period had begun a long time before September 11. Elmer Lange (1997) situates the family change around the mid-‘60s. Traditional families as they had been portrayed with many children and many generations living under a same roof are nowadays becoming exceptions. New family's formulas such as recomposed family, divorced family, mono-parental family, nuclear family ... have grown into the social landscape. According to show *Temps Presents* (March, 2006), in 20 years children living in a classical family (with both biological parents) will be a minority. As a matter of fact, Gene Del Vecchio's (*Creating Ever-Cool*, 1997) definition of “family” is “all the people living in the same house”. With many observers, we fearlessly push this definition even further to “all the people living under the same roof for a given period of time”. Such a definition underlines the temporality, instability and fragility of the new family unit.

A common trait of the various familiar structures is the fact that adults, who are supposed to play a parental role and, therefore, are supposed to be the socializing instance are more and more abdicating because they are overloaded with problems and other pending issues. In fact, social obligations (professional, marital, etc.) are such that parents do not even realize that new and old agents are carrying out their socializing mission. In this sense, we think that this is the main element causing what

Morcellini and Süß have identified as the loss of attractiveness in the socializing process within family as socializing agency.

In a changing society, parental styles had to change as well. Thanks to authors such as Martin and Maccoby and Gottman, we will discuss these modifications.

4.2.1 Parental styles following Martin and Maccoby

In 1983, Maccoby & Martin (P.H. Mussen, 1983) wrote a scientific article and, following a deep analysis of the scientific literature, proposed a table summarizing the parental styles. Four clusters were identified according to a two-dimensional classification. On one side, there is a parental control-demand dimension, whereas on the other side there is a parental child –interest and child-acceptance dimension.

	Accepting Responsive Child-centered	Rejecting Unresponsive Parent-centered
Demanding controlling	Authoritative-reciprocal High in bi-directional communication	Authoritarian Power assertive
Undemanding, Low in control attempts	Indulgent	Neglecting, ignoring, indifferent, uninvolved

(P.H. Mussen, 1983, p. 39)

“Authoritarian power assertive

“In the authoritarian pattern, parents’ demands on their children are not balanced by their acceptance of demands from their children (...) Children are expected to inhibit their beginning and demanding, and in extreme cases they may not even speak before being spoken to. Parents attach strong value to the maintenance of their authority, and suppress any efforts their children make to challenge it. When children deviate from parental requirements, fairly severe punishment (often physical) is likely to be employed.” (pp. 39-40)

“The Indulgent-Permissive Pattern

Parents labeled as permissive are those who take a tolerant, accepting attitude toward the child’s impulses, including sexual and aggressive impulses; who use little punishment, and avoid, whenever possible, asserting authority or imposing controls or restrictions; they make few demands for mature behavior (e.g., table manners or carrying out tasks); they allow children to regulate their own behavior and make their own decisions when at all possible, and have few rules governing the child’s time schedule (bedtime, mealtime, TV watching). (...) many of the permissive parents were also cool or uninvolved. This group of parents, then, includes both indulgent subgroup and a subgroup who are closer to the indifferent-neglecting cell of our fourfold classification.” (p. 44)

“Authoritative-reciprocal high in bi-directional communication

It is a pattern of family functioning in which children are required to be responsive to parental demands and parents accept a reciprocal responsibility to be as responsive as possible to their children's reasonable demands and points of view. (...) The pattern that Baumrind calls authoritative includes the following element: 1. Expectation for mature behavior from child and clear standard setting; 2. Firm reinforcement of rules and standards; using commands and sanctions when necessary; 3. Encouragement of the child's independence and individuality; 4. Open communication between parents and children, with parents listening to children's point of view, as well as expressing their own encouragement of verbal give-and-take; 5. Recognition of rights of both parents and children.” (p. 46)

“The Indifferent-Uninvolved Pattern

By involvement, we mean the degree to which a parent is committed to his or her role as a parent, and to the fostering of “optimal child development” (...) However, variability in involvement above and beyond this base level is considerable, ranging from the parent who is completely consumed by the parenting role to the parent who is heavily involved in other activities and has little time or attention to spare for the child. The uninvolved parent is likely to be motivated to do whatever is necessary to minimize the costs in time and effort of interaction with the child. In general, the parenting styles that are associated with low levels of involvement are likely to reflect a desire to keep the child at a distance (...) With decreasing involvement (and concomitantly decreasing levels of interaction between parent and child), some parenting functions will correspondingly decrease in importance or drop out altogether, whereas others will be maintained.” (p. 48)

The many challenges and pressures that families have to endorse (Gene Del Vecchio, 1997), affect parental strengths to put up with authority. Families have gently given up their control on children. Therefore, the parental control-demand dimension, highlighted by Maccoby and Martin, is fading. Furthermore, during an interview with the Director of SOS Telefono Infanzia, a Swiss association active in the prevention of child abuse, it was pointed out that today physical punishments are very rare (Alli, 2006) whereas the uninvolvedness of parents prevails. In another interview published in *Cooperazione*, Dr Föh states that nowadays there are two main opposing types of parents. The first type corresponds to a completely uninvolved and distant style and the other type describes parents who are too much present in their child's life; each parental style is incapable to keep the right distance (*Cooperazione*, 2005).

These attitudes can be illustrated with the following situations. A mother once told me how happy she was that police had set up the curfew so she did not have to exercise her authority on her 7 year old son to get home at a given time. Another mother told me her stratagem to set in contact with her 8 year old daughter. And this, despite the fact that she was in a school camp and monitors had instructed parents not to call in order to limit homesickness. Finally, a part-time working mother admitted to take days off from work when her kids were at school so she could really enjoy her spare time. All behaviours are questionable and not free from consequences for the children's understanding of authorities, rules and parental roles.

4.2.2 Parental styles following Gottman

While observing these parents' conducts, it is not surprising to discover that almost 15 years after Maccoby and Martin, Gottman wrote: *The Heart of Parenting How to Raise an Emotionally Intelligent Child* (1997). That is a sort of guide to grow a sensitive child, following Daniel Coleman's theory (Daniel Coleman is the author of the bestseller *Emotional Intelligence*, 1996). Gottman's book had enormous success amongst parents who were seeking new solutions to cope with their powerful children - above whom they could exercise limited control and authority. In that sense, this writing signalled a major shift in the art of parenting.

Gottman, like Maccoby and Martin, identifies four parental styles: the dismissing parent, the laissez-faire parent, the disapproving parent and the emotion coach. In his book, there is an overt attempt to suggest that emotion coach is the highest achievement in parenting. It is very interesting to note that in Gottman's clusters only one parental style is portrayed as exercising authority on children. The difference between the clusters of Maccoby and Martin and those assessed by Gottman is another token of the changes occurred in the family unit.

“The Dismissing parent

(...)Shutting the door on negative feelings is a pattern of behavior many Dismissing parents learned in childhood. (...) Adults who were raised by needy or neglectful parents may also have problems facing their kids' emotions. Accustomed to taking a rescuer role since childhood, these parents assume too much personal responsibility for fixing their children's every hurt, righting every injustice. It's a superhuman job that soon becomes overwhelming; parents lose perspective about what their children really need. (...) Over time, such parents may begin to see all their kids' expressions of sadness or anger as impossible demands. Feeling frustrated or manipulated, these parents react by disregarding or minimizing their children's distress. They try to shrink the problem down to size, encapsulate it, and put it away so it can be forgotten. (...) Because Dismissing parents often value smiles and humor over darker moods, many become masters at “making light” of their children's negative emotions. They may attempt to tickle a sad child (...) or poke fun at an angry child's bad feelings. (...) Many parents who trivialize or discount their kids' emotions feel justified in doing so, because their offspring are, after all, “just children.” Dismissing parents rationalize such indifference with the belief that kids' concerns over broken toys or playground politics are “petty”, especially when compared to adult-size worries about things like job loss, the solvency of one's marriage, or what to do about the national debt” (Gottman, 1997, pp. 53-55).

“Disapproving parent

Disapproving parents have much in common with parents who dismiss their kids' emotions, with a few distinctions: they are noticeably critical and lacking in empathy when they describe their children's emotional experiences. They don't just ignore, deny or trivialize their kids' negative emotions, they disapprove of them. Disapproving parents can be quite judgmental of their children's emotional experiences, sizing up extenuating circumstances before deciding whether a situation warrants comfort, criticism – or in some cases punishments. (...) The tragic irony of these results is that parents who dismiss or disapprove of their children's emotions usually do so out of the deepest concerns for their children. In attempts to protect their kids from emotional pain, they avoid or

terminate situations that might bring about tears of tantrums. In the name of building tough men, they punish their sons for expressing their fears or sorrows. In the name of raising kind-hearted women, they encourage their girls to swallow their anger and turn the other cheek. But in the end, all of these strategies backfire, because children who aren't given the chance to experience their emotions and deal with them effectively grow up unprepared to face life's challenges" (pp. 57-60).

"The Laissez-faire Parent

Unlike disapproving and dismissing parents, some of our study subjects proved to be accepting of their children's emotions, eager to embrace unconditionally whatever feelings their children expressed. I refer to this style of parenting as "Laissez-Faire". Such parents are filled with empathy for their kids and they let them know that whatever they're going through, it's okay by mom and dad. The problem is, Laissez-Faire parents often seem ill-equipped or unwilling to offer their children guidance on how to handle negative emotions. These parents have a hands-off philosophy about their kids' feelings. They tend to see anger and sadness as a matter of letting off steam: Let your child express emotions and your work as a parent is done. (...) Again, the irony is clear. With their all-accepting attitude, Laissez-Faire parents intend to give their children every opportunity for happiness. (...) they seem genuinely puzzled about what a parent can offer beyond unconditional love. (...) because they fail to offer their kids guidance on how to handle difficult emotions, their kids end up in much the same position as the children of Disapproving and Dismissing parents – lacking in emotional intelligence, unequipped for the future" (pp. 61-63).

"The emotion coach

In some ways, emotion-coaching parents aren't that different from Laissez-Faire parents. Both groups appear to accept their children's feelings unconditionally. Neither group tries to ignore or deny their kids' feelings. Nor do they belittle or ridicule their children for emotional expression. (...) however in that Emotion-Coaching parents serve as their children's guides through the world of emotion. They go beyond acceptance to set limits on inappropriate behavior and teach their kids how to regulate their feelings, find appropriate outlets, and solve problems. (...) When children feel emotionally connected to their parents and the parents use this bond to help kids regulate their feelings and solve problems, good things happen. As stated earlier, our studies show that children who are Emotion-Coached do better in terms of academic achievement, health, and peer relationships. They have fewer behavior problems, and are better able to bounce back from distressing experiences. With emotional intelligence, they are well prepared to handle the risks and challenges that lie ahead" (pp. 63-68).

In his book, Gottman presents a 40 page chapter (1997, pp. 69 -109), the five key steps to become an emotion coach. Although it is an honourable attempt to give tips on how to become the "perfect parent", and this despite parents' real lack of time and energy, the raising of emotion coaching parents might be strongly inhibited by the reality of things. In fact, nowadays, the condition of family households is very explosive. At any time, family can be broken or divided and big shifts in the educational and the socialisation process might appear. These dramatic circumstances can serve other's interest. Thus, in a very opportunistic manner, Gene Del Vecchio (1997) dedicates his 12th chapter to "understand the shifting family structure". "This chapter is about a child's household planet and about some of the key changes taking place (...) Each can lead to opportunities for the observant marketers to help create a brand, freshen an existing one, or enhance the bond a brand has with the child" (Gene Del Vecchio, 1997, p. 138). As regards to sudden

changes that can happen in a household and can lead to uncertainty and confusion for the children, Gene Del Vecchio mentions that “the inhabitants grow. Relationships shift. Parents divorce. People move to new neighborhoods.” (p. 138.)

In a global and comparing perspective, Gene Del Vecchio noticed the following changes:

“Kids are expected to grow up faster

Today, some 26 percent of households with children under 18 have only a mother at home, and 4 percent have only a father. Additionally, 70 percent of moms work full- or part-time, leaving the child to spend his time in day-care or to come home to an empty house. Today’s children are often responsible for tasks not expected of the previous generation of kids. They cook and clean more often. And they shop” (p. 138).

“Kids have a greater need to be and feel safer;

Some children leave for school long after a parent has already left for work. Some kids come home from school before the parent arrives. These situations create a need for added safety (...) and have already spawned the growth of day-care centres, home alarms, and even beepers” (p. 138).

“Kids have a greater need for family;

As families become separated by the nature of our evolving society, kids have a greater need for the bonds that family provides. In survey after survey, kids continue to say that family is vital to them” (p. 139).

“Grandparents play a growing role

In a flashback to another time, grandparents are on the comeback trail. As single, working and divorced parents become more prevalent; grandparents shoot in to help with the grandchild’s upbringing” (p.139).

Del Vecchio description of children’s social and affective environment shows the unsteadily emotional milieu of today’s kids. Moreover, he highlights the lack of stable human socializing figures. Paus-Hasenbrink (2004) examining the predominance of babysitters and child-day-care comments about the emergent depersonalization of primary socialisation. As a result, in an attempt to fulfil the need to be in contact with a secure presence, children’s addiction to television and mass media seems the natural answer. Additionally, mass media with the variety of programs look like they are able to satisfy the role of traditional agencies like family, church and school. Therefore, the following anecdote should not come as a complete surprise: When the young European audience discovered in early 2005, the song *Lonely* (2004) sung by Aykon, a very simple tune with lousy music that says,

“Lonely, I am so lonely, I have nobody, I’m on my own,” etc., it became a big hit. Certainly, some preadolescents might have identified with the words of this song and played it like their anthem.

Radio as other new socializing agents influence all children from their early age: “Kinder wachsen heute in einer globalisierten Medien- und Konsumkultur auf. Es erscheint ihnen selbstverständlich, dass es viele Fernsehsender und –Programme gibt, Zeichentrick und Werbespots sind ihnen bestens vertraut. (...) Sie mögen Medienstars wie die Maus und die Teletubbies oder die Pokémon, Digimons und die Bionicles“ (Paus-Hasenbrink et al., 2004, p. 9). Studies discussed in the book of Aufenanger and Neuss (1999) show how, already at the age of kindergarten, the parental style influences the attitude children have towards mass media and their manipulating authority. However, the authors observe that today, despite family’s control, many children have to watch television alone. Older children as preadolescents, not only watch TV but a variety of different new and old media. Thus, listening to radio, surfing, downloading, e-mailing, chatting on the internet, calling and “texting” with proper cell phone, playing with the computer or the videogame - independently and autonomously – have become serious alternative ways of socialisation. Facing this enormous mass media’s choice the word “Multioptionsgesellschaft” (Süss, 2004) seems, as well, an appropriate way to describe the various possibilities one has to choose its own socializing path, in a complex social environment like today.

4.3 New Socializing Agents

New socializing agents have grown from the ashes of traditional socializing instances. Peer groups and mass media are more and more identified under the label of new socializing agents. Süss claims “Traditionelle Werte und Normen wurden ausser Kraft gesetzt, Institutionen wie Kirchen oder Parteien verlieren täglich an Bedeutung (...) Schulen und Hochschulen sind durch eine Kultur der Langsamkeit geprägt und werden von anderen Wissensträgern, unter anderem auch von den Medien überholt“ (Süss, 2004, pp.49-53). In his book, Süss (2004) proposes 2 tables to order the growing scene of the many mass media and their technology.

Table 1: Category of Individual Media (by Süß (2004, p. 57))

Medien der öffentlichen Kommunikation	Medien der Individualkommunikation	Medien der virtuellen Interaktion
Fachbuch, Belletristik	Briefe, Telefax, E-Mails	PC-Computerspiele
Zeitungen, Zeitschriften, Flugblätter, Plakate	Festnetz-Telefon Mobiletelefon (Ton, Text, Bild)	Spiele auf Handhold Computers (Gameboy, etc.)
Comics, Bilderbuch	Pager (Text)	Tamagotchi, Furby, etc.
Skulptur, Bild, Foto	Elektronische Agenda	Videokonsolenspiele
Kino, Film, Fernsehen, Video	Personal computer	Virtual Reality – Simulationen (Spiele)
Radio, HiFi-Anlage, Walkman, MP3-Player	Privates Video	Virtual Reality – Simulationen (Konstruktionshilfen, Übungen)
Internet-Publikationen (Text und Bild)	Foto	Automaten (Bancomaten, Billett-Ausgabegeräte, etc.)
Video	Zeichnung, Skizze	Roboter

Table 2: Choice of Media Tools and Technology (by Süß (2004, p. 58))

Produktionsgeräte	Distributionsgeräte	Rezeptionsgeräte
Drucklettern	Druckmaschinen	Printprodukte
Schreibmaschine	Kopiergeräte	Bildschirmdarstellungen
Personal Computer	Internet, Intranet	Personal Computer
Foto-, Film-Kameras, Tonaufnahmegeräte	Kabel, Satelliten, Rundfunkwellen	Radio-, Fernsehempfangsgeräte
Funkgeräte, Telefon	Kabel, Satelliten, Wellen	Funkgeräte, Telefon
Personal Computer	Disketten, CD-Rom	Virtual Reality-Geräte
Fotokamera (digital oder analog)	Fotofilm	Gedruckte Fotografie, Diaprojektor, Bildschirm
Filmkamera (digital oder analog)	Videokassetten, DVD	Video-, DVD-Abspielgerät
Personal Computer	Hellraumfolien	Hellraumprojektor
Mikrofilmkamera	Mikrofilm	Mikrofilmprojektor

Franz Eidenbenz in his article “Surfen – Chatten – Spielen – Wetten“ raise the problem of the @Generation (Eidenbenz, 2004) – young people using the new mass media as a valid tool of daily interaction- and its addiction to new mass media. Eidenbenz explains that these new mass media, like cellular phones, computers, internet, etc., have a set of characteristics that perfectly match with young people’s identity needs. For instance, the screen-to-screen reality is much easier to sustain

than a face-to-face situation. “Das Internet stellt einen virtuellen Raum dar, welcher als eine Welt betrachtet werden kann. In den verschiedenen Welten gelten unterschiedliche Rahmenbedingungen und Regeln. Die Aspekte der virtuellen Kommunikation kommen der im Jugendalter wichtigen Identitätssuche entgegen“ (Edenbenz, 2004).

To explain the significant differences between a screen-to-screen and a face-to-face relationship, Eidenbenz proposes the following table:

Table 3: (Title: Screen to Sscreen Face to Face (Eidenbenz, 2004))

Online, virtuell “screen-to-screen”	Offline, real “face-to-face”
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • anonym oder wählbar • idealtypische Identifikationen • Kontakt einfach, hemmungsfrei • Abgrenzung einfach • Projektion aufgrund weniger Informationen • Wahrnehmung begrenzt : Emotionen intensiv, wenig konfliktbeladen • sinn-arm, meist nur optisch 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • persönlich • realistischere Selbstwahrnehmung • Kontakt komplex, angstbesetzt • Grenze schwieriger • Komplexe Fremdwahrnehmung • Wahrnehmung komplex : Integration von Widersprüchlichkeit • Sinnlich, alle Sinne

Table 3 shows the advantages offered by the screen-to-screen (on-line or virtual) relation as well as the disadvantages that a face-to-face (offline, real) relation implies for young people.

During a discussion in a chatroom (screen-to-screen), individuals’ identities can remain anonymous or disguised under a nickname. Moreover, it is always possible to pretend to be someone else or to idealize his/her physical appearance. That is not feasible during a face-to-face discussion where parties are supposed to look into each other’s eyes. To engage in a talk with somebody, we do not know through texts, e-mails or via chats if it is a lot easier than in a bus. Besides, in a screen-to-screen relation, one is more spontaneous and acts without too many complexes. Interacting with somebody in a face-to-face situation can be a source of anxiety that can diminish natural self-confidence and asks for a respect of the partner involved in the discussion. Therefore, the new mass media offer an interesting way to connect and communicate when one feels insecure about his/her own identity.

In order to organize a theoretical comprehension of these new actors of the socializing process, it is important to understand the relation that concepts like “new socializing agents”, “(traditional) agencies of socialisation”, “self-socialisation” and “*Fremdsozialisation*” have with one another.

4.3.1. New socializing agents vs. traditional socializing agencies

Purposely, Morcellini (1994) uses the term of new socializing agents to describe the new partners of the young people's socializing process (see Scheme 1). In the literature, the new socializing agents are proposed in opposition of (traditional) socializing agencies.

Peer groups, television, radio, computer, videogames, etc. (see Table 1 and Table 2 in this chapter for a more extensive list) can certainly be listed under the concept of new socializing agents. Nevertheless, as evidenced in Morcellini's book, peer groups nor any other mass media, can be eligible to the full status of socializing agencies since their goal, by far, is not socializing (Morcellini, 1994). For instance, internet offers socializing models but its primary goal is not to socialise young people. The question is then how will children who grow up under the influence of the new socializing agents look like to a sociological point of view? Statera (1992), in his book *Crescere con lo Spot* – which could be translated “To grow up with commercials” - describes and analyzes this generation who takes television as a valid alternative to learn social norms and values. His empirical outcomes show that young people are disenchanted by television and that they no longer have a passive attitude with it (Statera, 1992). Twelve years after this Italian work, new findings assert that although television is still a team-mate in a youth's spare time, young people no longer watch television and videogames alone. As explained by Morcellini – referring to an ongoing project (with 934 minors in the region of Rome, called *Nonsolomedia. Luoghi e percorsi del tempo libero*) (<http://www.mediazone.info/site/it-IT/>, Sept. 2004) – television “has become rather the midpoint of a new approach, a pretext of more interactive uses and above all a pretext to stay in a group. First among all uses are VHS and DVD sessions. Even cinema is closely chasing television”. In any case, although television is losing its leadership, it remains, along with mass media and peer groups, a powerful socialising partner of the preadolescent scene. In fact, they have challenged the traditional socialising process by offering what Morcellini and Baacke have called self-socialisation.

4.3.2 New socialising agents and “self-socialisation” (Morcellini, 1994; Baacke, 1999)

The perspective of self-socialisation (Morcellini, 1994, Baacke 1999), as explained in the first chapter, is one of the likeable aspects offered by the new socialising era (see Scheme 1). In fact, it happens when socialisation becomes more and more democratic. As a consequence, it is no longer vertical (authoritarian) and unquestionable, like theory portrays socialisation of traditional agencies, but horizontal (democratic) and interactive.

During the process of self-socialisation, young people no longer have a passive or semi-passive role (Morcellini, 1994; Statera, 1992) and can decide the intensity of their own exposure to a socialising message. Theoretically, individuals can question, change, interrupt and zap socialising agents at any time. For instance, preadolescents who wish to learn how to have sex have an alternative, away from the traditional agencies. It is an escape from the answer, “I will tell you all about when you will be older”. It is an option from school that sets the age of sexual education classes at around 14 years of age or from the church that preaches to have sex only once married.

Today, a preadolescent can learn via internet how to have sex – we would not like to be misleading while raising the issue of young adults, sex and internet. Too often, unfortunately and miserably, sex is being trivialized without ethic or morality on the internet scene. As a result, some parents have blocked the access to sex-sites. However, preadolescents might turn to other new socialising agents and rent a more explicit DVD or ask- a more experienced peer. Although this socialising process can be dubious, the attractive assets are a certain lack of restrictions and a dose of self-determination. In fact, we have to recognize that new socialising agents offer individuals the possibility of being in charge of their own socialisation since, apparently, peers and mass media have no socialising aim. “Mediennutzung als Selbstsozialisation bedeutet, dass die Sozialisanden die Wahl von Medien und Medieninhalten selbst steuern, über Medienzeiten und Medienorte in relativer Autonomie entscheiden und die Bedeutung der Medieninhalte im Rezeptionsprozess eigenständig konstruieren” (Süss, 2004, p. 67). Certainly, tools such as television, radio or cell phone can not have socialising goals. However, actors behind the scenes can categorically use these mass media and peer groups for different purposes.

4.3.3 New socializing agents and “Fremdsozialisation” (Süss, 2004)

“Fremdsozialisation” is the concept used by Süss (2004) to explain that the new agents of socialisation can nevertheless have clear socializing intents when manipulated by other people or institutions (see scheme 1). “Fremdsozialisation bedeutet hier, dass andere Personen oder Institutionen versuchen, den Medienumgang der Heranwachsenden zu lenken im Hinblick auf fremdbestimmte Sozialisationsziele“ (Süss, 2004, p. 67). McNeal describes the beginning of “Fremdsozialisation” with Television:

“When the war was over in 1946 the baby boom began. Within a five-year period the number of kids increased over 50 percent`. (...) through that 1950s innovation called television, children were presented with things to want – Barbie dolls and Big Wheels, Sugar Pops and Frosted Flakes, to name a few. TV

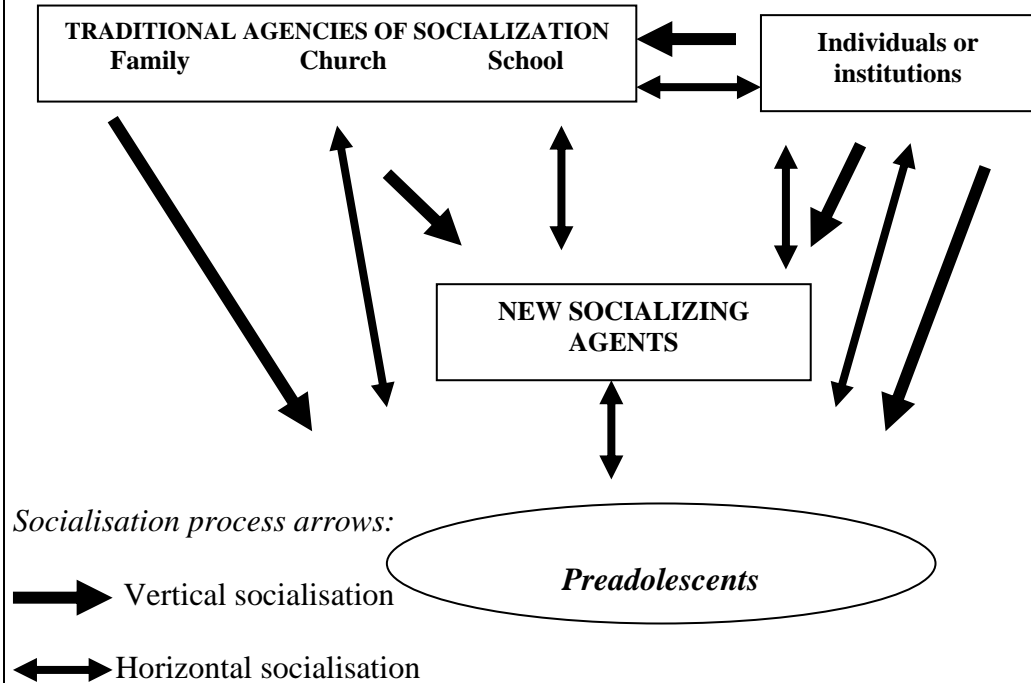
advertising to children was used and even abused, so much in fact that by the 1970s there was a strong movement among consumer advocates and business regulators to get rid of it. (...) And the Federal Trade Commission almost did in 1978. Probably this one action symbolized more vividly than any other the unbelievably rapid growth of children as consumers and the concurrent marketing efforts aimed at them” (Mc Neal, 1992, pp. 4-5).

On April 20, 2004 the newspaper *Le Temps* explained, in an article about marketing and preadolescents, how Companies try to influence preadolescents by utilizing their leaders as ambassadors of their products. Thus, a limited number of preadolescents are chosen for their leading appearance. Then, they are offered free products that should be worn or used while in the company of their friends in order to make them want that particular product.

“La stratégie des ambassadrices est bien pratique lorsque les budgets publicitaires sont maigrichons. Plutôt que de financer des campagnes dans les médias, cette méthode utilise directement – et gratuitement – la cliente ciblée. Pour les parfums So... ?, une centaine d’ambassadrices de charme ont été choisies en Suisse, dont une trentaine en Suisse romande. Dans les villes principalement, avec l’espoir que la bonne odeur et la rumeur fassent le reste, selon la logique des dominos. Voilà qui décline dans le cours de récréation des méthodes publicitaires plus traditionnelles, comme vêtir une star lors d’une cérémonie médiatique, ou choisir une actrice pour incarner une marque. Nommer des ambassadrices tient à la fois du buzz marketing (littéralement, « marketing du bourdonnement » misant sur la bouche-à-oreille), et du street marketing, qui distribue produits et échantillons dans une population donnée. « On peut aussi parler de marketing tribal » explique François Courvoisier, professeur à la Haute Ecole de gestion de Neuchâtel. Une marque « infiltre » une tribu, capte son « mode de vie » et en devient le signe distinctif. » » (Le Temps, 2005, p. 36).

Scheme 1 is our attempt to summarize today’s socialisation scene with traditional agencies, new socializing agencies and individuals or institutions performing different processes of socialisation in relation with preadolescents. The arrows are simple or double and imply, respectively, that any instance of socialisation can offer a vertical or a horizontal socialisation process. In fact, we are a little bit reluctant to reduce the traditional agencies to unquestionable socializing actors only proposing a vertical and authoritarian socialisation.

Scheme 1: New Agents and Traditional Agencies in the Preadolescents' Socializing Process



4.4 Summary

In this chapter, we have shown that the changes that occurred in society modified the family structure and, eventually, the family as a socializing agency. By comparing the parental styles proposed by Maccoby and Martin (P.H. Mussen, 1983) with those presented by Gottman (1997), we were able to appreciate that, nowadays, parents exercise less authority and control over their children. Therefore, kids are more and more strangers to rules and obedience. As a result, they tend to avoid submission when relating with others.

On the other hand, Gene Del Vecchio's (1997) contribution helped us grab the emotional and affective picture of children's environment: a frightening image where young people and, therefore, preadolescents replace the growing lack of family stability with the consumption of mass media. Thus, mass media and peer groups – the new socializing agents – seem the natural socializing figures of this changing society. In fact, both of them perform self-socialisation (Morcellini, 1994; Baacke, 1999). Moreover, with the introduction of the process of "Fremdsozialisation" (Süss, 2004), new socializing agents can be trivialized and used to serve other goals. Thus, the concept of "Fremdsozialisation" – that can literally be translated as external socialisation -, confined the concept of self-socialisation to the free choice of mass media and peer groups (Süss, 2004). As a consequence, mass media and peers

groups, when manipulated by third parties, serve other institutions' goals to acquire the full status of socializing agency.

The setting illustrated by Morcellini (2004) corroborates the thesis that young people are the vehicle of the cultural innovation. Morcellini's data indicate that the young population is the actual explorer of new technological frontiers and communication networks: "PC[s] (91%), Internet (75%), but above all cell phone[s] (96%)" (Morcellini, 2004). These media serve, most of the time, the necessity to stay in contact with peers. Nevertheless, we can not adhere to the statement that socialisation can either be vertical, horizontal or "external". Many other clusters can be met in the everyday life. However, we agree that the emergence of a new way of socialisation, with proper norms and actors, calls for the need of a theoretical framework capable to include our hypothesis.

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5. A New Socializing Theory

A new socializing theory is what is needed now to allow a new and general reflection about the socializing process that we are witnessing today. As highlighted in the previous chapter, nowadays, the process of socialisation is a combination of many different agents and agencies. Every one of these actors is pursuing its own interest. In fact, the instability of society caused a modification in the perceptions of individuals and the complexity of society (*Multioptionsgesellschaft*, Süss 2004) challenged the social identity. The speed and intensity of those changes affect values and, eventually, the socializing parameters. In this, *Multioptionsgesellschaft* dominated by values of stability, the ways to learn and to get socialised are more and more complex, although vital for the integration (Süss, 2004).

In 1994, Mario Morcellini decided to schematize a new theory of socialisation that we would like to use – in spite of its limits - as our theoretical framework to test our hypothesis : *Firms of mass products and services socialise preadolescents through their marketing policy*. Therefore, in the following chapters, we will try to present Morcellini's thoughts (5.1 Socialisation in the Age of Mass Media), his theory (5.2 A Comparison between Socialisation and Communication) and, eventually, we will try to summarize through some models how socialisation is working nowadays (5.3 The Design of a New Area of Socialisation).

5.1 Socialisation in the Age of Mass Media

In 1994, when Morcellini wrote *Passaggio al Futuro: La Socializzazione nell'Età dei Mass Media* (*Passing into the Future: The Socialisation in the Era of Mass Media*, our translation), he was a professor of sociology of communication at the University La Sapienza of Rome and coordinator of the Institute of Communication Sciences. In 2005, while teaching in the same university, Morcellini was elected President of the Communication Sciences Department.

In *Passaggio al Futuro: La Socializzazione nell'Età dei Mass Media* (1994), Morcellini pointed out two very important issues: 1) The old paradigms are incapable to fully explain today's crisis of the traditional socialising agencies, moreover, they cannot completely integrate the role of the new agents of socialisation such as the mass media. 2) Following this situation, Morcellini realized that there had not been a new conceptualization of the theory of socialisation. Therefore, he tries to show the limit of the old paradigm and, while proposing a new socialising theory, presents the similarities between the socialisation and communication processes.

5.1.1 The limit of the classical theories of socialisation

In his analysis of Emile Durkheim's socialisation theory, Morcellini emphasizes "the substantial cancellation of the pole of subjectivity" (our translation from "la sostanziale cancellazione del polo della soggettività", (*Passaggio al Futuro*, 1994, p. 44). The same reproach is made for Talcott Parsons. Parsons and Durkheim are, in fact, accused of having a unilateral, constrictive and dogmatic conception of socialisation that does not take into account the cooperation among individuals.

Cooperation is indeed an aspect that Jean Piaget did not fail to highlight. Following Piaget, Morcellini shows how socialisation should be envisaged as an interaction and an exchange among individuals. This claim brings Morcellini to talk about the concept of "social exchange" of Georg Simmel that is reinforced by the theory of Exchange of Blau (1964). These investigations allow Morcellini to state that exchanges represent a warranty to the conformity to group's norms as well as the full deployment of values shared by the community (Morcellini, p. 48). Morcellini greets Homans' theory (1961) that emphasizes the role of small informal groups. In Homans' thought, Morcellini sees a sure overcoming of the structural-functionalism "motionlessness" (p. 47). Although belonging to functionalism and only indirectly analyzing the socializing process, Robert K. Merton brings an interesting point of view with the theories about the "reference group". What pleases Morcellini is that Merton admits the coexistence of contradictory values of aggregates and social groups within a same system. Therefore, for Merton, social instability is always possible whereas in Parsons's theory it is difficult to integrate.

Through these theories Morcellini tries to prove that socialisation is above all a matter of exchange of sense among individuals belonging to a same system. This is a fundamental starting point that motivates Morcellini to further explore the relation between socialisation and communication.

5.1.2 The communication experience within the socialisation process

Although his thoughts are prior to those of Parsons, Morcellini evokes the modernity of G. H. Mead's theory. In fact, Mead grabs the building of the "mind" and the "self" during the interaction moment. As for Mead, the experience of social communication becomes "mind" when the role of the other is internalized (Morcellini, 1994, p. 55). Through social communication one acquires and learns social skills, abilities and behaviours. Therefore, it becomes clear how the identity building process is integrated in the interaction between the individual and society. Following Mead, the subject becomes capable of choosing independently, which are its relevant moments of communication worth to be internalized. In this sense, Mead offers a significant enrichment because he shows the impossibility to separate the

social actor from its socializing and communication process. Therefore, the individual gains autonomy and can now be conceived a subject fully aware of things. In this same line, Morcellini mentions Max Weber's work (1922) that, thanks to Boudon's explanation, invigorates the concept of socialisation and his embedment with horizontal dimensions like the role played by the group of peers, social interactions, the importance of status and roles.

Blumer (1968), Husserl and Schutz are all authors what allow Morecellini to nourish the idea that socialisation is more and more self- determined by individuals and by their ability to communicate interactively with society. Therefore, in Morcellini's opinion, socialisation and communication share a same universe.

5.2 A Comparison between Socialisation and Communication

Innovatively, Morcellini, while constructing a new theory of socialisation, compares the process of communication with the process of socialisation. Both processes have in fact a starting actor who communicates and/or socialises. This transmission has of course contents and channels through which the interactions are mediated. Then, the message reaches the recipient to whom it is addressed. To test his statement, Morcellini borrows, in the beginning, the paradigm of Lasswell (cited from Morcellini, 1994, p. 66) from the communication research; subsequently he applies the scheme of Lasswell revisited by Dennis McQuail (1989).

5.2.1 The Lasswell paradigm

Who says?
 What?
 Through which channel?
 To whom?
 With what effect?

(Scheme 1 Laswell Paradigm, our translation)

Morcellini employs Lasswell's model - which has been used as a reference point for the conceptualization of the components of the communication process - to compare socialisation to communication.

Who says?	1	society
What?	2	values
Through which channel?	3	agencies
To whom?	4	individuals
With what effect?	5	socialisation

(Scheme 2: Lasswell Paradigm and Parallel with Socialisation, our translation)

In an effort to clarify in which way the communication process could be compared with the socializing process, Morcellini proposes to analyse the five components that allow communication:

- (1) In the process of socialisation, society is indeed the institution that says and inspires the message;
- (2) Values, norms and rules are the content of the messages communicated by society;
- (3) The agencies work as the channels through which the messages are spread;
- (4) The individuals are the recipients of the messages emanated by society;
- (5) Socialisation is the effect produced by the messages.

Eventually, Morcellini suggests the following table (cf. Table 1) while realizing that "the theoretical elements of the classical tradition of socialisation and communication have pursued the same path during the first half of the 20th century, sharing a common conceptual ground" (Morcellini, 1994, p. 68).

Table 1 : A Comparison between Communication and Socialisation (our translation)

COMMUNICATION	SOCIALISATION
<p>Society</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> <p>Values</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> <p>Agencies</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> <p>Subject</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> <p>Role</p>	<p>Source</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> <p>Message</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> <p>Channel</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> <p>Receptors</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> <p>Effect</p>

However, not satisfied with Lasswell's model where the subject had no autonomy, and eager to find a more interactive model, Morcellini tests the comparison between socialisation and communication through the model of Lasswell's conception revisited by Dennis McQuail.

5.2.2 McQuail's model

To gratify his quest of a more interactive communication model, Morcellini uses McQuail's Model (1989) :

Who is communicating with whom?	Senders and recipients
Why do we communicate?	Functions and goals
How is communication performed?	Channels, languages, codes
About which topics?	Contents, references, etc.
What are the consequences?	Effects

(our translation)

He then tests again the comparison between socialisation and communication with the table below (Table 2).

Table 2: Dennis McQuail's paradigm and Comparison with Socialisation (our translation)

PARADIGM	COMMUNICATION	SOCIALISATION
Who is communicating with whom?	Emitters and recipients	Society/Subject
Why do we communicate?	Functions and goals	Socialisation
How is communication performed?	Channels, languages, codes	Agencies
About which themes?	Contents, references, etc.	Values
What are the consequences?	Effects	Roles

With McQuail's scheme it is possible to appreciate that the "socialisator" and the "socialised" are in relationship with one another. Society is no longer the only tenant of socialisation; therefore, even the subject is capable of socialisation. This scheme then presents an overt interpretation of socialisation where socialisation is "no longer a standard box, (...) but a reference point" (Morcellini, 1994, p. 75).

5.3 The Design of a New Era of Socialisation

After a theoretical analysis about the traditional paradigm of socialisation, Morcellini outlines and comments the new socializing process. In his discussion about the new paradigm of socialisation, Morcellini stresses that the crisis of the traditional agencies of socialisation lies as much in their incapability of interaction as, eventually, in the impossibility of the subject to live the process of socialisation like a free experience. In fact, the turning point of the “new wave” of socialisation (Morcellini, 1994, p. 157) is that the socialisation becomes related with the person and stops to be expressed in an authoritarian, hierarchical and one-way manner.

Morcellini uses, throughout his book, the word “vertical” to depict the way in which the message of socialisation is transmitted by traditional agencies towards individuals. Of course, we are here on a theoretical base and on a reduction of the daily experience that pushes to formalize reality into rigid clusters.

The following table and figure (Table 3: Styles of Socialisation and Figure 1: A journey throughout Socialisation) show respectively 1) how to characterize the traditional agencies as well as the new socializing agents and 2) how to understand young people’s journey through socialisation.

5.3.1 The styles of socialisation

Theoretically, we are facing two distinct styles of socialization, whereas Morcellini agrees that reality is much more complex. Individuals could meet great school teachers, priests, etc. who will make the aura of mass media less important. Morcellini, while formalizing this tendency with a table (cf. Table 3), names the traditional socialisation process “mediated socialisation” and the new socializing wave “im-mediate socialisation” (socialisation without mediation). Morcellini does not see these two socializing styles as rivals but more as one being an alternative of the other with “mediated socialisation” being the first socialisation experience above which other socializing experiences can take place. Therefore, Table 3 should not be seen as an exclusive classification and division of traditional socializing agencies and modern socializing agencies. Reality is in fact a lot more multi-faceted picturing the two styles of socialisation embedded one into the other.

Therefore, with Table 3, Morcellini tries to depict the fields of the mediated socialisation and the im-mediate socialisation.

Table 3 : Styles of socialisation (our translation)

	MEDIATED SOCIALISATION	IM-MEDIATE SOCIALISATION
Context	Prevalently institutional	Institutional and/or daily
Mode	Transmission prevalently vertical	Transmission through interaction
Channel	Formal agency more than informal	Informal agency more than formal
Recipient	Units	Subjects
Finality	Values' internalization	Information/building/social exchange

As explained by Morcellini, the mediated socialisation regroups traditional agencies, such as school, family and church. Therefore, it determines an ethical, religious and moral set of values capable to shape subjective behaviour. The word “mediated” defines the way by which transmission and social mediation of cultural legacy is performed. The cultural patrimony is conveyed through these agencies. Furthermore, subjects of mediated socialisation (providers and users) agree (at least on the language and the ritual) upon the centrality of the transmission (Morcellini, 1994, p. 25). This mediated socialisation acts like a sort of dowry and gives an imprinting to the individual behaviour. Mediated socialisation is counterbalanced by im-mediate socialisation. In fact, im-mediate socialisation works as a second layer above mediated socialisation. Mass media, friendship, peers group or “aggregationism” - informal and spontaneous groups - and “associationism” - the tendency of being part of a sport team, art class, and scouts - are found in the field defined by the im-mediate socialisation.

This socialisation is characterized by the autonomy of the subjects (user and provider). The user feels he/she is the protagonist and that he/she is able to decide its proper media, proper friends and references. There is no longer a mediation of cultural values, but a real exchange of experiences. Within the im-mediate socialisation there is a lack of reliability on the transmission and on its deep sense, but not on the activity of transmitting. The power of the im-mediate socialisation is linked to two variables: 1) the actual deficit in the traditional socialisation and 2) the

factual existence of a socialisation perceived as newer and more adapted to the changes occurred in society (Morcellini, 1994).

Of course, between the mediated socialisation and the im-mediate socialisation, a wide range of processes of socialisation are possible. Nevertheless, theoretically, mediated socialisation and im-mediate socialisation are the two extreme poles.

5.3.2 The two poles of socialisation

In another table, Morcellini pinpoints what he calls the reference poles of socialisation (Table 4). In particular, he tries to clarify the reasons that may push a young boy or a young girl to feel more comfortable with mediated socialisation or with im-mediate socialisation. Let us interpret the second row of Table 4 and illustrate how to read the information in the different cases. The socialisation reference system is the section “Social and communitarian environment”. In this case, the higher the involvement with the social and communitarian environment, the stronger the influence of mediated socialisation (left hand column). On the other side, the lower the “social and communitarian environment” involvement, the stronger the influence of im-mediate socialisation (right hand column) is.

Table 4 : Socialisation References Poles. Prerogatives and overlapping

SOCIALISATION (Prevalently) MEDIATED	SOCIALISATION REFERENCE SYSTEM	SOCIALISATION (Prevalently) IM-MEDIATE
High involvement	Social and communitarian environment	Low involvement
High identification	Origin of social class	Low identification
Involving affective-educational models	Relations within family	Lack of or intermittent parental role
Efficient involvement	Family socio-cultural background	Deficit of involvement
Efficient and involving didactical and building models	School experience	Indifference; observation without participation, low involvement
Exposure (even great) to mass media without collusion with other practical forms and cultural expression	Cultural communication and expression	High exposure to Mass Media never filtrated, immersion into musical trends
Ordered and scheduled by the family (even during free-time)	Budget-time styles of management	Out-door oriented (even when at home)

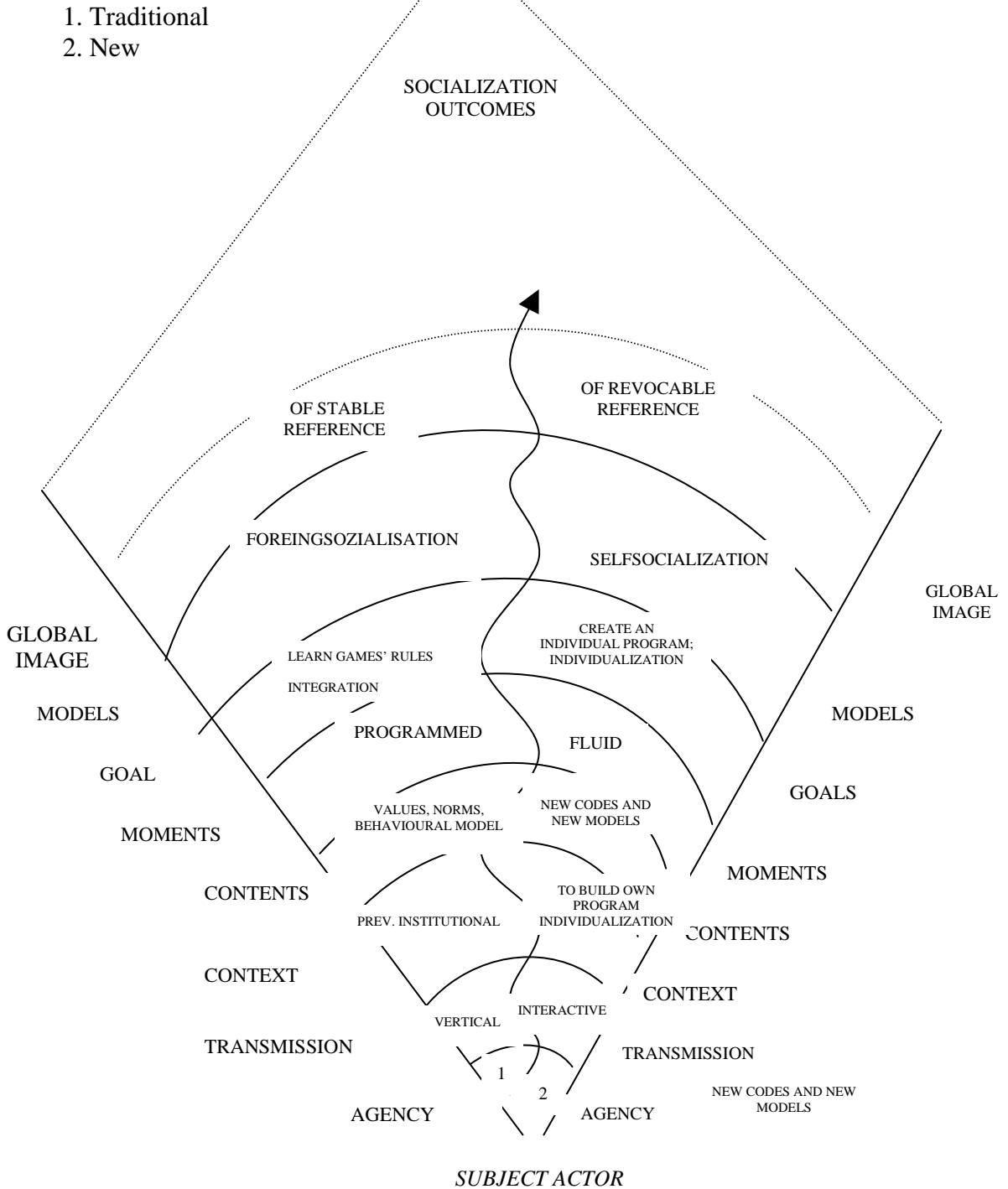
Availability and meaningfully	Free-time possibilities and equipment	Absent or very poor
Prevalence of formal associationism and sport practice	Aggregations/associations	Immersion in informal aggregationism

Although not evident to read in Table 4, the choice between one pole of socialisation or the other does not rely on the subject's complete awareness. The reasons that motivate this or that decision are due to the degree of subject involvement. Eventually, by the interactive opportunities it receives. For instance, the emotion-coach of Gottman (1997) is a parent that presents the appealing interactive skills that a preadolescent seeks in the new socializing agents.

5.3.3 The journey throughout socialisation

In an attempt to offer a more dynamic scheme that sees the choice between the two poles of socialisation, Morcellini presents a figure (Fig. 1) that symbolizes a journey throughout socialisation. Therefore, for young people, socialisation becomes a trip through mediated socialisation and im-mediate socialisation. Figure 1 presents the advantage of a more flexible interpretation of the two poles of socialisation since it allows us to take into account all the nuances of socialisation between a "rigid" process of socialisation and a very "flexible" one.

Figure 1 : The Journey throughout Socialisation



Through Figure 1, Morcellini tries to explain the sinuosity of the new process of socialisation (p. 160) where the individuals react to the stimuli given by the socializing partners (traditional agencies and new socializing agents) and negotiate the importance that they want to give to the single moments of their socializing experience. The winding arrow stands for the repeated changes of reference poles from right, where the traditional agencies lay, to left – the rampart of the new socializing agents. Socialisation appears like the resultant of different chances, opportunities, messages, codes, etc., and it is never predetermined (cf. *Multioptionsgesellschaft*).

If schools, church or parents are able to propose high involving models, they can be a valuable alternative to mass media and peers (Morcellini, 1994). This indication makes sense also in Baacke's analysis (Baacke, 1997). Baacke was able to observe that in families where there is a lack of warmth, love and involvement, young people tend to turn to commercials and ads, and eventually, they develop either "purchase addiction" or "compensatory purchase" attitudes, which can be viewed as two responses to a savage socialisation to purchase.

Thus, the process of socialisation of an individual is always a single history, even if the outcome can be the same. For instance, figures indicate (Alli, 2005) the leading brand for leisure sport shoes and clothes is Puma, and the majority of preadolescents wear this brand. This proves that it is a sort of "totalitarianism" exists even in a "free" socialisation process.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that it is possible to compare socialisation to communication while giving a prominent place to the subject/individual. In fact, the subject, nowadays, wishes a more interactive socialisation process. Moreover, thanks to the theoretical discussion elaborated by Morcellini, we are now able to differentiate two theoretical poles of socialisation.

The first pole is made of the traditional agencies of socialisation - such as family, church and school, and it is called *mediated* socialisation. The second pole encloses the new socializing agents, like mass media and peer groups, and is called *im-mediate* socialisation. The cluster of the mediated socialisation is characterized by a (quasi) unilateral, authoritarian and vertical transmission of values, norms and sets of behaviours. The cluster of im-mediate (or un-mediated) socialisation offers an interactive and democratic style. In the im-mediate socialisation, norms, values and behaviours are presented like experiences to which one may decide to adhere or not. However, these two poles of socialisation do not rival with one another and are not

exclusive. They are, in fact, always an alternative in young people's socialisation process. Moreover, they have to be considered as ideal types. In this sense, they reduce reality in order to formulate theories. Additionally, Morcellini explains that the impact with mass media does not imply a less important socialisation or a diminished role of the traditional agencies. The early intervention of mass media takes place in a socialisation "home made", preceding the contact with school or peers. Furthermore, there is not a competition among traditional and new socializing actors. New socializing agents are in fact seen as an educational scene that proposes innovative life styles, utilizing alternative codes and alternatives modalities that are more attractive (Morcellini, 1994, p. 159).

As shown in Figure 1, the thesis of Morcellini enables to contemplate the variety of socialisation styles. In addition, the important information offered by Morcellini's thought is the fact that the power of socialisation no longer belongs to society. It is, in fact, mastered by the subject who decides the orientation and the extent of the involvement he/she wants to attribute to a socializing partner. Thus, the process of socialisation looks more like a journey where the individual establishes its own trip schedule from the pole of the traditional agencies to the pole of the new socializing agents and back again. "The issue of the socializing partners becomes: how to conquer the subject" (p. 163). As a recommendation, Morcellini stresses that the predominance of new socializing agents relies on the content and the form of their messages. It is central, suggests Morcellini, that the traditional agencies, in order to compete with the new wave, learn their appealing lexicon and meet the expectations of the subjects. However, the conquest of the subject brings back the spectrum of a phantom: totalitarianism.

Nevertheless, confident with this new theoretical perspective, in the next chapter, we will show how we intend to test our hypothesis following Morcellini's theoretical frame.

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6. Hypothesis

The goal of this chapter is to explain our hypothesis (6.1 Explanation of the Hypothesis). In order to clarify it, it will be dissociated into shorter propositions that will subsequently be tested with the theoretical framework and concepts we presented in the previous chapters (6.2 The Propositions of the Hypothesis).

6.1 Explanation of the Hypothesis

Through the hypothesis:

“Firms of mass products and services socialise preadolescents through their marketing policy”,

we wish to inquire whether Companies, or firms, (we will use the word Company as a synonym of the word firm) that sell mass products and services to the population are capable to socialise the preadolescents with their marketing policy. Furthermore, our hypothesis means that behind a marketing policy there is a socialisation process that is taking place. Additionally, it means that Companies are acting like socializing agencies or socializing agents. The test of this hypothesis is very important since it will help the scientific discussion about the influence that firms have on preadolescents.

6.2. The Propositions of the Hypothesis

Following the general hypothesis we can distinguish eight propositions:

- 1) Firms of mass products and services propose values.
- 2) Firms of mass products and services propose norms.
- 3) Firms of mass products and services propose behavioural models.
- 4) Firms of mass products and services develop a specific language to communicate with preadolescents.
- 5) The marketing policy can be compared with the socializing process.
- 6) Firms of mass products and services play the role of new socializing agents or agencies of socialisation.

7) Firms of mass products and services offer a mediate and/or an im-mediate socialisation.

8) Preadolescents consider firms of mass products and services as agencies or agents of socialisation.

Let us discuss the implications of the previous eight propositions in the next lines.

6.2.1 Firms of mass products and services and values

With the proposition:

“Firms of mass products and services propose values”,

we intend to investigate whether a Company is capable to emanate principles that can be compared to values to which one adheres, while selling its products and services. This is a pre-requirement that must be satisfied in order to consider a Company as an actor or an agency of socialisation.

6.2.2. Firms of mass products and services and norms

With the proposition:

“Firms of mass products and services propose norms”,

we intend to investigate whether a Company is capable to emanate rules of conduct similar to norms, while selling its products and services. This is a pre-requirement that must be satisfied in order to consider a Company an actor or agency of socialisation.

6.2.3 Firms of mass products and services and behavioural models

With the proposition:

“Firms of mass products and services propose behavioural models”,

we intend to investigate whether a Company is capable to emanate standardized manners like behavioural models while selling its products and services. This is a pre-requirement that must be satisfied in order to consider a Company an actor or agency of socialisation.

6.2.4 Firms of mass products and services and language

With the proposition:

“Firms of mass products and services develop a specific language to communicate with preadolescents”,

we intend to analyze whether a Company has developed a particular code, or language, that characterizes it and distinguishes it from other Companies, while selling its products and services. As discussed in Chapter 2, every socializing agency (formal or informal) must develop its own language to communicate its priorities. This is therefore another pre-requirement in order to grant to firms of mass products and services the status of actor or agency of socialisation.

6.2.5 The marketing policy and the socializing process

With the proposition:

“The marketing policy can be compared with the socializing process”,

we intend to test the similarity between the socialisation process and the marketing policy. If we succeed in this attempt, this will mean that a firm socialises, maybe unconsciously, preadolescents to purchase, while selling products and services.

6.2.6 Firms of mass products and services as partners of socialisation

With the proposition:

“Firms of mass products and services play the role of new socializing agents or agencies of socialisation”,

we intend to verify if Companies have a place in the preadolescents’ socializing universe and, finally, to picture how their process of socialisation is performed.

6.2.7 Firms of mass products and services and their type of socialisation

With the proposition:

“Firms of mass products and services offer a mediate or/and an im-mediate socialisation”,

we intend to verify whether the characteristics of a firm of mass products and services are more similar to those of an agency of socialisation or those of a new socializing agent. In other words, we would like to verify which type of primary socialisation is offered by a Company. This will allow a further discussion about the appeal of the company's socializing process. Eventually, the outcome will enable us to state whether there is a socializing intent behind the socialisation offered by a Company.

6.2.8 Preadolescents' perception of firm's socializing role

Finally, with the proposition:

“Preadolescents take firms of mass products and services as agencies or agents of socialisation”,

we intend to analyze how preadolescents let the Companies be partners of their socializing process.

6.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have fragmented our main hypothesis (*Firms of mass products and services socialise preadolescents through their marketing policy*) into eight propositions in order to make our general supposition easier to understand. These eight statements are : 1) Firms of mass products and services propose values; 2) Firms of mass products and services propose norms ; 3) Firms of mass products and services propose behavioural models; 4) Firms of mass products and services develop a specific language to communicate with preadolescents; 5) The marketing policy can be compared with the socializing process; 6) Firms of mass products and services play the role of new socializing agents or agencies of socialisation; 7) Firms of mass products and services offer a mediate or/and an im-mediate socialisation; and lastly, 8) Preadolescents take firms of mass products and services as agencies or agents of socialisation.

The validation of these eight propositions should enable us to verify if Companies can be defined as partners of the preadolescent's socializing process. In fact, Morcellini claims that today young people mix different stimuli that come from the diverse partners of their socialisation “to seize those particular aspects that make them different from the others, but at the same time allow them to be integrated in their social and communicative world” (Morcellini, 1994, p. 166, our translation). Therefore, Morcellini uses the expression “black market of socialisation” to explain that there is a parallel and informal process of socialisation next to the “standard” socialisation provided by the traditional agencies.

In the next chapters, we will present the methodology through which we intend to test our propositions, as well as a part of Morcellini's theoretical frame.

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PART III

METHODOLOGICAL PART

7. Methodology

Our hypothesis has been divided in eight propositions, and in this chapter, we will show how we intend to test each one of these propositions and eventually the general hypothesis. Following the nature of our propositions, we have utilized and looked for the most suitable way to test it. Therefore, we have organized the chapter in many different sections. The first section will present the six firms we will analyze in order to test our propositions (7.1 The Selected Firms). Then, we will discuss the many validation procedures (7.2 The Validation Procedures). Finally, we will dedicate a section to the interlocutors – marketing experts and families whose advice is central in order to test some of our propositions (7.3 Interlocutors Presentation).

7.1 The Selected Firms

Below, you will read a detailed description of the six firms (and/or brands) we have chosen to analyze. In order to give the best possible picture, we will explain the business and the products of the firm, their position in the market as well as its marketing policy. There are several criteria that guided the choice of these six firms. First of all, we have chosen three different categories of products: toys, restaurants and clothes. For each of these categories, we looked for a worldwide established Company (and/or brand) and a Company (and/or brand) that was well known in Switzerland, as our interviewees live in Switzerland. Moreover, the selected firms indirectly or purposely target children since they are the final users of their product or service. The chosen firms are Lego (7.1.1 Lego), Pokémon (7.1.2. Pokémon), McDonald's (7.1.3 McDonald's), Moevenpick (7.1.4 Moevenpick), H&M (7.1.6 H&M) and C&A (7.1.6 C&A).

7.1.1 Lego

Lego is an international Company based in Billund, Denmark. It is known worldwide for its Lego bricks, a toy that had been among the most popular games ever. In fact, in 1999, The American magazine *Fortune* and then in 2000, The British Association of Toy Retailers named the Lego brick "Toy of the Century" (XX century). However, on January 8, 2004 a record DKK 1.4 billion deficit for the 2003 fiscal year was announced. Organizational changes took place and Kjeld Kirk Kristiansen, the grandson of founder Ole Kirk Christiansen, returned to take a more active part in the daily running of the Lego Group (Dorjee Kokasang, 2005).

In this section, we will try to summarize the history of Lego (7.1.1.1 History of Lego), its marketing policy (7.1.1.2 Marketing policy of Lego), and finally, we will discuss the purpose of the analysis that we will make in Chapter 8 (7.1.1.3 The goal of the analysis).

7.1.1.1 History of Lego

In 1932, Ole Kirk Christiansen, master carpenter and joiner, established his business in the village of Billund, Denmark. Among his products were wooden toys. His son, Godtfred Kirk Christiansen, joined the business at the age of 12. In 1934, the company and the products adopted the name of Lego from the Danish words "LEg GOdt" ("play well"). In those days the motto was "Only the best is good enough". In 1955, the first Lego brick was exported to Sweden and the first foreign trade was established in Germany in 1956. In 1960, for the second time in its history, fire destroyed part of the productions at Lego. After this episode, the production of wooden toys was stopped entirely.

By 1966, Lego bricks were sold in 42 countries, and in 1968, the first Legoland Park – an amusement park with little houses and little villages made of Lego - was created in Billund. In 1973, a new Lego logo replaced the various logos used until then. In 1980, according to a survey, 70% of all Western European families with kids under 14 had Lego bricks in their home, but in 1998, for the first time in history, Lego faced a deficit. (<http://www.lego.com/eng/info/default.asp?page=timeline>).

7.1.1.2 The marketing policy of Lego

In order to give an updated picture of Lego's marketing policy, let us discuss the years 2004 and 2005.

Product: The Lego products belong to the toy market. The nature of the different products addresses more a boys' audience, although the company has made great efforts to propose some creations for girls, such as the castle of a princess and a line of self-made jewellery. Within the Lego offer, there were some licensing products – toys that are directly related to famous TV characters (e.g. Harry Potter).

Promotion: After a long period of "silence", around Christmas 2004, Lego commercials were again transmitted on the Swiss national television; they showed toys such as spaceships, vessels, etc. The French Unique Selling Proposition (USP) of the advertisement concept is "Lego l'aventure continue" (Lego the adventure goes on, our translation). Moreover, we would like to point out that besides its commercials, Lego communicates only in English, Danish and German via its website.

Price: The prices of the different Lego products clearly position the brand on the "influence market", as suggested in Chapter 3. In fact, even if preadolescents have money to spend, they can hardly afford the expense of buying a box of Legos. Therefore, they have the role of influencers because they are not the final purchasers, but just the final users.

Place: In Switzerland, Lego has no selling points; its bricks are sold in toy stores or big department stores among other playthings. Marketers at Lego are also pursuing another channel in order to attract more children towards their bricks. This channel has a whole concept called: “Lego Educational Division”.

“LEGO Educational Division is the division of LEGO Company that is dedicated to the field of teaching and learning. LEGO Educational Division develops learning concepts that inspire students to use their creativity and innate curiosity through experiencing things themselves. LEGO Educational Division’s learning concepts include teacher’s guides and student materials that help a teacher adapt her/his teaching to meet official curricula. All LEGO Educational Division learning concepts are based on comprehensive scientific research. Our aim is to ensure that teachers receive the best support and guidance possible when they choose to use our products in class. This is why LEGO Educational Division’s learning concepts can only be purchased from dealers that specialize in learning materials.”
(<http://www.lego.com/education/default.asp?page=2>) .

7.1.1.3 The goal of the analysis

Different printed articles (Dorjee Kokasang, 2005) and internet websites like www.lego.com have pointed out the crisis Lego is undergoing. Lego is no longer the popular toy that it used to be. We are sure that while investigating whether or not the Lego Company tries to socialise preadolescents through its marketing policy, we will be able to better understand the difficulties the company is facing and surely could give an outline to reach the goal of the owner and Vice Chairman of the Board of Lego Group Kjeld Kirk Kristiansen :

“In the future, I see the LEGO brand encompassing more action, more fun, and more excitement than ever before. The LEGO brand will be visible in the everyday family landscape and always within reach for children all around the world. This will enable children at all times to engage in playful activities that encourage hands-on and minds-on creation, togetherness and the sharing of ideas. In the future, the LEGO Group will continue to break down existing norms and convert them into creativity and imagination on a child's own terms. That's why I picture the LEGO brand as the world's strongest brand among families with children. Maybe not the biggest, but the best. I imagine the LEGO name known by all as a brand experience offering an integrated universe of play designed to stimulate children's creativity, imagination and learning” (www.lego.com).

7.1.2 Pokémon

In 1996, *Pokémon* was a Japanese cartoon series. Then it was exported to the United States and to some European countries. Pokémon became very popular among preadolescents and, finally, became a very well-known brand. The brand became very successful in terms of sale with what marketing specialists call product licensing. In fact, never before had a brand entered the preadolescents market so quickly. As a matter of fact, if you surf under www.google.com and enter “pokemon”, there are more than 10,000,000 web-addresses since 1996.

The book *Medienkindheit Markenkindheit* (Paus-Hasenbrink, 2004) analyzes this sensational history and the story of the internationalization of this brand, trying to understand how and why the tale of Pokémon has shaken children’s imagery (Paus-Hasenbrink, 2004, pp. 111-133).

In this section, we will try to summarize the history and the story of Pokémon (7.1.2.1 History and story of Pokémon), its marketing policy (7.1.2.2 Marketing policy of Pokémon) and finally, we will discuss the purpose of the analysis that we will make in Chapter 8 (7.1.2.3 Goal of the analysis).

7.1.2.1 History and story of Pokémon

Pokémon, the name of the successful cartoon series, is a contraction of “Pocket Monster”. Under this name, you can find 251 pocket monster characters. Each one has a name and a personality. The protagonists of the cartoon series – or the identification figures (Paus-Hasenbrink, 2004)- are Ash Ketchum (a 10 year old preadolescent whose dream is to become the best monster-trainer ever) and his little pocket monster Pikachu. The story tells that Ash left his family in order to go and compete with other peers. The episodes are about Ash training monsters and competing against other “monster-trainers”.

Four main reasons can explain the Pokémon phenomenon. 1) The children and preadolescents like television. Pokémon built its reputation via its cartoon series that was transmitted on television. 2) In addition, children, more than adults, are fascinated by the world of animated images (Boehme-Duerr, 1999).

“Die Rezeption findet instinktiv statt und ist, wie das sprichwoertliche Kitzeln in der Magengrube, eine autonome koerperliche Spontanreaktion. Die visuellen Reizmuster wie Formen, Bewegungen werden unmittelbar rezipiert. (...) Das Verhaeltnis zwischen visueller und akustischer Ebene ist gepraeagt durch die Bildueberlegenheit“ (Paus-Hasenbrink, 2004, pp. 112).

Cartoons are, therefore, the key to children’s imaginations. 3) For children, the acoustic aspects are as important as the video itself. Therefore, the dialogue, the

music and acoustic effects are central elements. In the United States, during the adaptation of the Pokémon cartoon series to a western audience, these single parts were particularly paid attention to:

“Hauptcharakteristikum der US-Adaptionist also die Bemuehung, durch eine konsequente Steigerung sowohl visueller als auch akustischer Reize fuer eine Dynamisierung der Serie Pokémon hin zu einem action-dominierten Zeichentrick-Programmangebot zu sorgen“ (Paus-Hasenbrink, 2004, pp. 112).

Pokémon could concentrate and mix together television transmission, animated images and appealing acoustic elements.

Lastly, 4) preadolescents became mesmerized by this cartoon series because it deeply portrayed the mother and child relationship with love and care.

„[M]it der sehr engen Beziehung von Ash und Pikachu wurde schliesslich fuer die kindlichen Rezipienten dass Modell einer affektiv hoch besetzten Beziehung zwischen Kind und Pokémon geschaffen: In Tamagotchi verbunden, fuer das es seinerzeit auch intensive Fuersorge und Pflege zu uebernehmen galt“ (Musfeld, 1997).

„Bewusst wurde der Aspekt der Identifikation mit dem Taschenmonster im Film fokussiert. Daher kann insgesamt gesehen von einer Gleichzeitigkeit progressiver und regressiver sowie rationaler und irrationaler Tendenzen in der Pokéworld ausgegangen werden. Gerade diese Konstellation macht offensichtlichleinen grossen Teil der Faszination der Produktwelt Pokémon aus“ (Paus-Hasebrink, 2004, p. 129)

7.1.2.2 Marketing policy of Pokémon

Let us analyze the four marketing variables (product, price, promotion and place) as far as Pokémon marketing policy is concerned.

Product : At first, *Pokémon* was just a cartoon and belonged to the children’s primary market. However, under the product licensing, Pokémon converted itself into thousands of products belonging to primary market (playing cards, little characters, etc.) as well as influence market (school case, Game Boy cassettes, etc.).

Price : Prices greatly differed depending on the product (from a few francs up to hundreds of francs).

Promotion : Eventually, the biggest advertising for all the products was the popularity of the cartoon series, its language, the trend, fashion and wishes it awoke. The cartoon series has been available to Swiss children in German, French and Italian.

Place : The sale of the main licensed products, such as Pokémon collection cards and Game Boy cassettes, was enormous. At a period, almost any shop would sell a Pokémon article.

“Der Erfolg Pokémons wird immer wieder an den Umsatzen des GameBoys und der Sammelkarten, den Besucherrekorden der ersten Kinofilme und den Quoten der TV-Serien gemessen. Auch der Umsatz der Licensing-Produkte spricht fuer sich. Die Rolle des Internets am Erfolg der Marke Pokémon kommt jedoch selbst in Zusammenhang mit der Verbreitung und Knuepfung des Produktnetzes kaum zur Sprache“ (Paus-Hasebrink, 2004, p. 130).

7.1.2.3 Goal of the analysis

Through the analysis of Pokémon brand – and beside our main interest that is to determine whether or not Pokémon tries to socialise preadolescents via its marketing policy- we will try to understand whether the great and rapid accomplishment of Pokémon is due to an intentional and premeditated strategy of socialisation as suggested in Medienkindheit-Markenkindheit :

“PokéWorld als Raum der Selbstsozialisation: Der Erfolg Pokémons ist auch darin zu sehen, dass die Produkte Nintendos die Agenda des Schulhofes und der Peer-Kommunikation am Nachmittag in der Nachbarschaft gerade aufgrund ihres Bezugs zur Gleichaltrigengesellschaft und deren Eigenarten besetzten und beherrschen. Die Anknuepfungspunkte sind bereits im japanischen Original vorhanden. Durch die Filminhalte werden die Spielprinzipien ueber den Game Boy und die Sammelkarten symbolisch im Kinderalltag verortet. Im Lebensraum Schule verschmelzen heute die beiden Handlungsfelder Unterricht und Peer-Kontakt (...) Wichtig in diesem Alter ist das Sammeln von Gegenstände und Informationen. Der Schulhof als Tauschboerse von z.B. Sammelkarten steht hierfuer als Symbol. Ueber das Leitmedium Fernsehen oeffnet sich die Tuer zur PokéWorld und der Unterhaltungskonzern Nintendo bahnt sich dann mit weiteren Licensing-Produkten seinen Weg in die Kinderzimmer“ (Paus-Hasebrink, 2004, p. 129).

7.1.3 McDonald's

McDonald's is a worldwide Company that no longer needs a presentation.

“McDonald's is the leading global foodservice retailer with more than 30,000 local restaurants serving nearly 50 million people in more than 119 countries each day. The McDonald's history began with our founder, Ray Kroc. The strong foundation that he built continues today with McDonald's vision and the commitment of employees”
(www.McDonald's.com).

In the following sections, we will try to summarize the history of the company (7.1.3.1 History of McDonald's), their marketing policy (7.1.3.2 Marketing policy of McDonald's) and the goal of the analysis (7.1.3.3 Goal of the analysis).

7.1.3.1 History of McDonald's

Ray Kroc, at 52 years old, invested his entire life savings to become the exclusive distributor of a milkshake maker called the “Multimixer”. Hearing about the McDonald's hamburger stand in California owned by Dick & McDonald running eight Multimixers at a time, he packed up his car and headed west. It was 1954. Ray Kroc had never seen so many people served so quickly. He pitched the idea of opening up several restaurants to the McDonald brothers, convinced that he could sell eight of his Multimixers to each and every one. "Who could we get to open them for us?" Dick McDonald asked. “Well," Kroc answered, "what about me?" Ray Kroc opened the Des Plaines, Illinois restaurant in 1955 and never looked back. In 1965, McDonald's went public with the company's first offering on the stock exchange. (http://www.McDonald's.com/corp/about/mcd_history_pg1.html)

Today, there are tens of thousands of McDonald's restaurants serving millions of people daily around the world. The incredible growth and success of McDonald's can be summed up with the first thought that went through Ray Kroc's mind when he first saw McDonald's: "This will go anyplace."

(<http://www.McDonald's.ca/en/aboutus/history.aspx>)

7.1.3.2 Marketing policy of McDonald's

Below you have a presentation of the McDonald's four marketing variables.

Product : “McDonald's is one of the world's most well-known brands and holds a leading share in the globally branded quick service restaurant segment of the informal eating-out market. It serves items like Happy Meal, French fries, Big Mac, Quarter Pounder, Chicken McNuggets and Egg McMuffin”

(www.mcspotlight.org/issues/advertising/).

Product and Price : It is a little bit difficult to classify McDonald's products. By their prices, McDonald's products could be categorized as preadolescents' primary market. In fact, either with their spending money or with the money the parents give them for their meal, preadolescents could afford to buy their food at McDonald's. However, for preadolescents spending the weeks in the country -a long way from cities and suburbs-, the McDonald's experience can happen only with the collaboration of parents (or adults) that can drive them to the restaurant. Therefore, in this case, McDonald's positions itself on the "influence market".

Promotion : "McDonald's spend over two billion dollars each year on advertising: the Golden Arches are now more recognized than the Christian Cross. Using collectable toys, television adverts, promotional schemes in schools and figures such as Ronald McDonald, the company bombards their main target group: children. Many parents object strongly to the influence this has over their own children. McDonald's argue that their advertising is no worse than anyone else's and that they adhere to all the advertising codes in each country. But others argue it still amounts to cynical exploitation of children - some consumer organisations are calling for a ban on advertising to children. Why does McDonald's sponsor so many school events and learning programmes? Are their Children's Charities genuine philanthropy or is there a more explicit publicity and profit motive?"

(www.mcspotlight.org/issues/advertising/)

The advertising history of McDonald's shows the concepts beyond the communication strategy: "Over the years, McDonald's has developed TV advertising campaigns that have become, like McDonald's, a part of our lives and culture. McDonald's commercials have focused not only on product, but rather on the overall McDonald's experience, portraying warmth and a real slice of everyday life. This "image" or "reputation" advertising has become a trademark of the company and created many memorable television moments and themes, including: McDonald's is Your Kind of Place (1967), You Deserve a Break Today (1971), We Do it All for You (1975),

Two all beef patties special sauce lettuce cheese pickles onion on a sesame seed bun (1975), You, You're The One (1976), Nobody Can Do It Like McDonald's Can (1979), Renewed: You Deserve a Break Today (1980 & 1981); Nobody Makes Your Day Like McDonald's Can (1981), McDonald's and You (1983); It's a Good Time for the Great Taste of McDonald's (1984), Good Time, Great Taste, That's Why This is My Place (1988), Food, Folks and Fun (1990), McDonald's Today (1991), What You Want is What You Get (1992), Have you Had your Break Today? (1995), My McDonald's (1997), Did Somebody Say McDonald's (1997), We Love to See You Smile (2000), i'm lovin' it (2003). McDonald's original advertising symbol was a winking little fellow named "Speedee", designed to promote McDonald's fast service. In the 50s and early 60s, McDonald's drive-in restaurants were easily identified by their red and white tile buildings, which were capped with a slanted

roof and framed on either end by a single golden, neon arch. Restaurants began to use the advertising theme, "Look for the Golden Arches" and in 1961, the "Speedee" symbol was replaced by a new logo - an "M" slashed with a line, symbolizing the neon arches and restaurant roofline. The arches, updated over the years, remain the advertising symbol for the company and are now one of the most recognized icons in the world." (www.McDonald's.ca/en/aboutus/marketing_themes.aspx).

As far as communication is concerned, McDonald's has produced a serious effort in translating and adapting its website to the culture and country in which it operates. As for Switzerland, the McDonald website is in German, French and Italian.

Furthermore, McDonald's put a special attention on its "personal selling" (cf. section 2.3.3) who is usually young, children friendly and multicultural.

Place : McDonald's company ensures the daily distribution of its products via its many restaurants spread around the world. These are affiliated to the company via the franchisees concept – "The parties involved typically enter a franchise agreement, which binds the parties together through contractual provisions. This is an arrangement whereby someone with a good idea for a business (the franchisor), sells the rights to use the business's name and sells a product or service to someone else (the franchisee)" (www.wikipedia.com). "At first, local franchisees focused all of their energies on marketing within their own communities, primarily in print advertising. With the evolution of television and the rapid growth of McDonald's across the United States and into Canada in the late 1960s, it quickly became apparent that local advertising would not be enough to promote the system's growth as a North American chain with a single brand identity. In 1967, the franchisees created a special fund whereby a percentage of restaurant sales would go towards. By pooling resources, McDonald's gained access to the venue of television advertising" (www.McDonald's.ca/en/aboutus/marketing_themes.aspx).

7.1.3.3 Goal of the analysis

Through the analysis of the McDonald's Company, the results of which will be shown in Chapter 8, we will try to show whether or not the world success of the company is related with the fact that with its marketing policy, McDonald's socialises preadolescents.

7.1.4 Moevenpick

At first Moevenpick was just a chain of restaurants in Switzerland. "We aren't doing anything extraordinary, we are simply successful because we are doing quite normal things in an extraordinary manner," said Ueli Prager (born 1916), the founder of Moevenpick. Ueli Prager, the son of a Swiss hotelier founded the business in 1948. Nowadays, "Moevenpick is a multinational group of companies with Swiss roots.

The Moevenpick Group places its strategic focus on the hospitality business comprising gastronomy, hotels and wine. The group has four operational independent units: Moevenpick Restaurants, Marché International, Hotels & Resorts and Wine. Its activities are centred primarily in Central Europe and the Middle East. Today, the Moevenpick Group employs roughly 13,600 people world-wide. The Moevenpick-Holding shares are traded at the SWX Swiss Exchange in Zurich.” (www.moevenpick.ch). In this section, we will summarize the history of Moevenpick (7.1.4.1 History of Moevenpick), its marketing policy (7.1.4.2 Marketing policy of Moevenpick), and finally, we will discuss the purpose of the analysis that we will make in Chapter 8 (7.1.4.3 Goal of the analysis).

7.1.4.1 History of Moevenpick

In 1948, Ueli Prager opened the first Moevenpick restaurant in the Claridenhof in Zurich. The Swiss gastronomy scene was bowled over by the concept. Prager was offering delicacies for city people who are in a hurry. A seagull picking a morsel in mid-flight gave name to the restaurant, although the letter “w” in Moewe was changed to a “v” as it made for a better logographic expression of the bird’s flight. Prager’s groundbreaking concept of fast and high-quality food spread rapidly across Switzerland. Further operations were opened in Bern, Geneva, Lugano and Zurich.

In 1960, he founded his own purchasing and import company and set up a central factory. “Silberkugel” opened in Zurich as an American-style fast-food, take-away restaurant. About this time Moevenpick launched the first brand items. “Der Himmlische”, the first in a series of premium products, was soon a favourite among coffee connoisseurs. In 1963, Prager made the daring move across the border, opening a restaurant in Munich. In 1970, the first wine cellars were opened in Germany and Switzerland and called Caves Moevenpick. In 1972, the production of Moevenpick Premium Ice Cream commenced in Bursins in Canton Vaud.

Shortly afterwards, Moevenpick opened the first two hotels in Glattbrugg and Regensdorf and sold licenses for branded products in Germany. The first hotels outside Europe were opened in Egypt and Canada. In the early ‘80s two innovative gastronomy concepts were created: the Caveaux Wine Bar and Marché Moevenpick, a restaurant where guests wonder between colourful market stands and watch their meal being prepared from fresh ingredients. In 1984, Moevenpick created the Almond Waffle, a tasty edible package for Moevenpick Premium Ice Cream. In the meantime, licensees in Canada, New Zealand, South Korea and the USA were distributing Moevenpick branded products. In 1992, the founder, Ueli Prager, sold his majority stake to the German Baron August von Finck. More Marchés were opened in Switzerland, Austria, England, Germany, Indonesia and Singapore. In 1995, Moevenpick demerged the “Silberkugel” brand and eight operations in the city

of Zurich. In the year of the 50th anniversary since the founding of the company, Moevenpick founded the Moevenpick Hotels & Resorts AG with Kingdom Holding as a 30 per cent stakeholder. On the motorway near to Wädenswil, Zurich, the first Cindy's Diner, American retro-style fast food restaurant was opened.

Following the introduction of extensive organisation changes in 2000, Moevenpick began operating as a decentralised group with the five independent divisions Hotels & Resorts, Gastronomy, Wine, Fine Foods and Mövenpick Produktions AG. Mövenpick Hotels & Resorts was repositioned as a hotel management company in the 4- and 5-star segment with focus on Europe, the Middle East and North Africa. The division added operations in Italy, Morocco, Tunisia, Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey and the Gulf Region to its portfolio.

In 2001, Moevenpick Produktions AG was renamed Deliciel AG; the division subsequently repositioned itself as an increasingly independent producer of fine foods. As a consequence of group strategy adjustment and the ensuing compression of the scope of diversification, Moevenpick sold Deliciel AG to Panetta Holding in October 2002. On March 31, 2003 Moevenpick sold its ice cream business to Nestlé. Since the beginning of 2003, Moevenpick has been transforming itself into a classic holding organisation with lean structures. The group divisions are consistently operated as independent subsidiaries and holdings, primarily on the basis of financial and strategic guidelines (www.moevenpick.ch).

7.1.4.2 Marketing policy of Moevenpick

Despite of the diversity of Moevenpick products and services, we would like to focus our analysis only on the restaurants of the group which are very popular among Swiss families.

Product : Nowadays, Moevenpick belongs to the preadolescents' future market. In fact, the website states: "Moevenpick Full-Service Gastronomy pampers its customers like a classical gastronomic host. The restaurants in Germany and Switzerland offer the popular Moevenpick classic dishes as well as a wide choice of local and seasonal food for the whole family."

Prices : Prices at Moevenpick greatly depends on the choice. However, most of the time, the menu exceeds preadolescents' spending money.

Promotion : Only in the German section of the website, Moevenpick presents a special corner addressed to families and their children (www.moevenpick-gastronomy.com/restaurants/de/Familie/Angebot.htm). This website shows Moevenpick's children's treats, children's menus, children events (e.g. birthday party), as well as Moevenpick engagement for children in need. However, it seems as

if Moevenpick's communication is by far not addressed and conceived for a preadolescent audience. Moreover, there is no television commercial about the Moevenpick restaurants; therefore, the restaurant themselves become the main advertising location. Just a small part of the website dedicated to restaurants is translated in French and Italian and nothing is said about the restaurant traditional children's treat. The waitresses (the personal selling) at Moevenpick do not respond to a particular preadolescent reference group.

Place : There are about 30 Moevenpick restaurants in Switzerland and Germany. In Switzerland, they are always located in a central spot of an important town or on the highway next to a gas station.

7.1.4.3 Goal of the analysis

Through the analysis of the Moevenpick restaurants, we will try to identify the role of the marketing policy of Moevenpick restaurants. In fact, we want to investigate whether or not via, its marketing policy, Moevenpick restaurants wish to socialise preadolescents or to discourage them. Eventually, in Chapter 8, we will make a broader analysis and comment on the predictable relation among preadolescents and Moevenpick restaurants.

7.1.5 H&M

"H&M is a fashion store selling clothes and fashion accessories. Today, H&M operates in 22 countries and has more than 45,000 employees all working to the same philosophy: to provide fashion and quality at the best price" (www.hm.com). As a matter of fact, the USP of the Christmas 2005 advertising campaign for the Swiss French audience was "Des cadeaux somptueux à des prix fabuleux" ("Sumptuous gifts at fabulous prices", our translation). As the leading fashion retailer in Europe, H&M has around 188,000 shareholders and is one of the most heavily traded shares on the Stockholm Exchange (www.hm.com). In this section, we will try to summarize the history of H&M (7.1.6.1 History of H&M), its marketing policy (7.1.6.2 Marketing policy of H&M), and finally, we will discuss the purpose of the analysis that we will make in Chapter 8 (7.1.6.3 Goal of the analysis).

7.1.5.1 History of H&M

Erling Persson, founder of H&M, opened the first Hennes store in Vasteras, Sweden in 1947. Hennes (the Swedish word for "hers") sold only women's clothes. In 1968, Persson bought Mauritz Widforss, a hunting store located in Stockholm. A stock of men's clothing came with the store, so the company began selling both men's and women's clothes and changed its name to Hennes and Mauritz.

Since 1982, H&M has continued to go through a period of rapid expansion. It now sells clothes and cosmetics in over 620 stores in 13 countries in Europe. In March 2000, it opened its first store in the U.S. on 5th Avenue in Manhattan. Since then, it has opened nine more stores and will open another 75 in the next three years (www.company.monster.com/hennes/).

7.1.5.2 Marketing policy of H&M

The description of H&M marketing policy on the H&M website shows the high conceptual degree beyond the marketing policy of the company.

Product and price : H&M belongs to preadolescents' "influence market ". As for products and prices, "our business concept is to give the customer unbeatable value by offering fashion and quality at the best price. To be sure we can offer the latest fashions we have a design and buying department that creates our clothing collections" (www.hm.com).

Price : Moreover, the explanation of H&M lowest prices is very transparent : "We ensure the best price by: having few middlemen, buying large volumes, having extensive experience of the clothing industry, having a great knowledge of which goods should be bought from which markets, having efficient distribution systems, being cost-conscious at every stage" (www.hm.com).

Promotion : In term of promotion :

"H&M communicates in many different ways: through the media, on billboards, in television commercials, on the Internet – and above all in our stores and through our employees. All the advertising must act as an informative and inspiring invitation to our stores. The advertisements are largely identical in all our markets, but the media mix is adapted to local needs and conditions. We use many different channels such as our stores, billboards, the daily, weekly and monthly press, catalogues, the Internet, TV and cinema. H&M's campaigns often give rise to great interest. Our marketing has a major impact and it is therefore essential to convey a positive and healthy image. H&M's advertising images do not aim to communicate a specific ideal. We use different characters and a mix of different looks and styles to advertise our various concepts for women, men, teenagers and children" (www.hm.com).

However, H&M's advertisements never portrayed elderly people. Purposely for preadolescents the company states:

“We have special guidelines for the advertising of our children's concepts. Our target group is the parents, not the children. This means that we do not place advertisements in media aimed directly at children. As far as the children who take part in our campaigns are concerned, we are satisfied that they take part of their own free will. Whenever children are involved in a photo shoot there is always a representative of H&M present to ensure professionalism and the safety of the children. We market clothes for both boys and girls of different ages. By using children from different cultures we highlight the diversity of society” (www.hm.com).

Last but not least, H&M has put an extraordinary effort in its personal selling to those who are mostly good-looking, fit, young (20-30 years-old), female and multicultural.

Place: The “place” variable is consistent with the general marketing policy of the company. “Ever since its earliest days H&M has always set great stores by finding the best business location - so you will always find us in the best shopping districts” (www.hm.com) .

7.1.5.3 Goal of the analysis

The goal of the analysis of the H&M Company is to determine whether through its marketing policy H&M socialises preadolescents. Moreover, we will try to discuss whether the reasons of its incredible success among young people lie only on the following company’s statement:

“At H&M, everyone is working towards the same goal - giving the customer unbeatable value through the combination of fashion, quality and price. We have a wide range and new goods are delivered to our stores every day. To make things clearer for our customers we have divided up the range into a number of different concepts. We offer fashion basics as well as clothes with a high fashion content within each collection, so that customers can easily combine different garments and find their own personal style. This allows customers to choose from a wide range - from updated classics to the height of the latest trends” (www.hm.com).

7.1.6 C&A

C&A is a well established clothes factory in Europe. “C&A” is just the contraction of Clemens & August; the names of the two German brothers who opened up the first store. In this section, we will try to summarize the history of C&A (7.1.6.1 History of C&A), its marketing policy (7.1.6.2 Marketing policy of C&A), and finally, we will

discuss the purpose of the analysis that we will make in Chapter 8 (7.1.6.3 Goal of the analysis).

7.1.6.1 History

“C&A is one of the leading fashion retail companies in Europe. Indeed, it has been for decades. In the 17th century, members of the Brenninkmeyer family traded in linen and textiles. However, the story began 200 years later, when the brothers Clemens and August (hence C&A) left their home town in Mettingen, Germany, and opened up a textile warehouse in Sneek, Netherlands in 1841” (www.c-and-a.com).

The first C&A store that opened its doors there in 1861 was a great success. It was one of the first outlets to offer made-up products “i.e. ready-to-wear items of clothing in various sizes” to a broad public, at favorable prices. The Company grew, and by 1910, succeeded in opening a substantial number of stores in the Netherlands. The further developments were international. Thus in 1911 (Germany) and 1922 (England) the first companies outside the Netherlands were founded.

A second wave of opening followed the Second World War in a very non-uniform social and economic climate. “It began in 1960 with stores in Belgium. In 1968 C&A opened stores in France, 1969 in Luxembourg, 1977 in Switzerland and 1980 in Spain. Austria followed in 1984, Portugal in 1990, the Czech Republic in 1999, Poland in 2001 and Hungary, as the youngest of the 12 C&A countries in Europe, in 2002” (www.c-and-a.com).

7.1.6.2 Marketing policy of C&A

As for the other firms, we have summarized the four variables of the marketing policy of C&A.

Product : C&A portrayed itself as a Company selling “Fashion for young and old, fashion that fits every occasion and suits every style. That is how C&A makes life more pleasant for millions of customers. C&A has been providing Europe with quality clothing at reasonable prices for more than one hundred years”. (www.c-and-a.com).

Price : The C&A market is an “influence market” for preadolescents. In fact, the prices are such that the young clients can not afford to buy the products with their spending money.

Promotion : The C&A 2005 television advertising message during Christmas was “La mode è prix sympa” (Fashion at a nice price (our translation)). C&A USP is: “Europe’s house of clothing for the entire family”. Although, during the past years, C&A tried to present itself in a younger way, but the cliché of shops for adults

remains. As far as the internet communication is concerned, the C&A website for Switzerland is in German and French only. The selling personal is mostly made of indigenous people identified as adults (30 years-old and older).

Place : Today, C&A has 783 stores, 132 kids stores and 17 Clockhouse shops and over 30,000 employees in Europe. As for Switzerland, C&A has 64 shops, 10 *Kids Stores* and 3 *Clockhouse Shops*. The shops have central positions in the main towns of Switzerland.

7.1.6.3 Goal of the analysis

The goal of the analysis of C&A store is to determine whether through its marketing policy C&A socialises preadolescents. Moreover, we will try to discuss the place this company occupies in preadolescents' buying experience and to give sense to C&A philosophy statement:

“C&A is a company characterised by values that are also important aspects of family life. As a privately owned company, we take a long-term approach to our company objectives and our business relations. We cultivate and maintain lasting relations at all levels, be this with our customers, employees, suppliers or all other parties with whom we work together on a daily basis. At the same time, however, we are in competition with others. Therefore, on the other hand, it is equally important for us to have a strong presence in the market and to act responsibly in our environment”. (www.c-and-a.com).

In the next paragraphs, we will discuss the different validation procedures we will adopt in order to corroborate our eight propositions.

7.2 The Validation Procedures

Our eight propositions were divided into two types of propositions:

A. Fundamental propositions

- 1) Firms of mass products and services propose values;
- 2) Firms of mass products and services propose norms;
- 3) Firms of mass products and services propose behavioural models;
- 4) Firms of mass products and services develop a specific language to communicate with preadolescents.

In fact, propositions 1 to 4 allow verifying if it makes sense to consider that a firm's marketing policy is a complete process of socialisation.

B. annex propositions

- 5) The marketing policy can be compared with the socializing process;
- 6) Firms of mass products and services are new socializing agents or agencies of socialisation;
- 7) Firms of mass products and services offer a mediated and/or an im-mediate socialisation;
- 8) Preadolescents take firms of mass products and services as agencies or agents of socialisation.

Propositions 5 to 8 already admit that a firm is an agency or agents of socialisation. Therefore, the effort is put on the identification and characterization of the socializing process of the firm.

In the next sections (7.2.1 Propositions 1 to 4 and their validation procedure; 7.2.2 Proposition 5 and its validation procedure; 7.2.3 Proposition 6 and its validation procedure; 7.2.4 Proposition 7 and its validation procedure; 7.2.5 Proposition 8 and its validation procedure), we will explain the testing procedure we have chosen.

7.2.1. Propositions 1 to 4 and their validation procedure

Propositions 1 to 4 will be validated thanks to an interview with some marketing experts who will be presented in Section 7.3. In the next paragraphs, we will carefully detail how we will transform the propositions into questions (7.2.1.1 From propositions to questions), how we will then build an interview guide (7.2.1.2 The marketing experts' interview) and, eventually, how the interview is run (7.2.1.3 The interview procedure).

7.2.1.1 From propositions to questions

In order to build an interview guide for the marketing experts, we have transformed the following propositions into questions:

Table 1

Propositions	Questions
1) Firms of mass products and services propose values;	<i>What can be said about the values that firms convey?</i>
2) Firms of mass products and services propose norms ;	<i>What type of sanction - positive or negative - do firms have? (rephrase: What are the strategies that firms use to build clients' fidelity?)</i>
3) Firms of mass products and services propose behavioural models;	<i>Do you see any behavioural model being proposed by firms?</i>
4) Firms of mass products and services develop a specific language to communicate with preadolescents.	<i>How would you define firms' communication to its audience? Did they develop a proper or appealing language?</i>

In the following lines, we will explain how we turned propositions into questions.

Values and firms. Proposition 1) “Firms of mass products and services propose values” has been transformed into the following question : *What can be said about the values that firms convey?*

The formulation of the question “*What can be said about the values that firms convey?*” implies that the experts agree upon the idea that any Company has its own values. However, using an open question, we invite the experts to speak freely. Therefore, we are contemplating the possibility that an expert would answer that a given firm has no values. In fact, while running the interview and later while discussing the results, we will greatly pay attention on the fact that, as seen in Chapter 2, the meaning that marketers attribute to “value” differs from the signification given by sociologists.

Norms and firms. Proposition 2) “Firms of mass products and services propose norms” has been transformed into the following question: *What type of sanction - positive or negative - do firms have? (Rephrase: What are the strategies that firms use to build clients' fidelity?).*

With the formulation of the question: “*What type of sanction - positive or negative - do firms have?*” as well as the rephrase “*What are the strategies that firms use to build clients' fidelity?*” we tried to use concepts that were not too ambiguous and, furthermore, that were understood by our interviewees. Our goal is to encourage the experts to name the firm’s instrument with which it “hooks” its client and motivates him/her to buy its products. We have decided to rephrase the sentence in order to better respond to the experts’ conceptual frame by replacing “norms” with the term “sanctions”. The use we make of “sanctions” in our questions still refers to the social

sciences concept and can be misleading. Therefore, in the reshape of the question, we push the expert to name the sanctions (or norms) by calling them “strategies to build the client’s fidelity”.

Eventually, we wish to discover what are the methods used by a firm to invite a subject to buy its products. With the reformulation of the question, we avoid the problem of paying attention to the different meaning that the concept “norm” has for marketers. The choice of using an open question gives the experts the opportunity to answer as freely as possible.

Behavioural models and firms. Proposition 3) “Firms of mass products and services propose behavioural models” has been transformed into the following question : *Do you see any behavioural model being proposed by firms?*

The formulation of the question: “*Do you see any behavioural model being proposed by firms?*” calls for the experts’ spirit of observation. In fact, we would like them to highlight whether a given firm can be responsible for preadolescents’ behaviours. Again, we proposed an open question since we have not found a scientific list portraying the existing behavioural models.

Language and firms. Proposition 4) “Firms of mass products and services develop a specific language to communicate with preadolescents” has been transformed into the following question: *How would you define firms’ communication to its audience? Did they develop a proper or appealing language?*

With the formulation of the question: “*How would you define firms’ communication to its audience?*” We would like the experts to freely tell us about their opinion on a given firm’s communication strategy. Moreover with the closed question: “*Did they develop a proper or appealing language?*” we try to ask, in a subtle way, if the firm has developed a special communication concept.

Following these general questions, we will build a specific interview guide for our expert.

7.2.1.2 The marketing experts’ interview

The transformation of the four propositions into questions allows us to build the “Experts’ Interview Guide” (see Appendix A). The “Experts’ Interview Guide” starts by asking the expert to specify his/her working activity as well as his/her position within his/her Company. For each firm we have chosen to investigate, we asked whether the expert has ever heard about it. If the expert says “no”, we will ask him/her to comment on the fact that a Company has not raised his/her attention. Thanks to this expert’s comments, we would like to have a judgment on the

importance for each and every firm to have a good communication strategy. The questions resulting from the four propositions were then adapted to the six firms (cf. appendix A). The “Experts’ Interview Guide” is five pages long.

7.2.1.3 The interview procedure

The interview is led orally, either face to face or on the phone. During the interview, the interviewer is holding the five-page guides while reading the different questions in the language agreed with the expert.

The answers will be written by the interviewer, right in the apposite space. When the question has been misinterpreted, we will try to rephrase the questions or better explain the purpose of the questions.

The duration of the submission of the questionnaire will be 40 minutes.

7.2.2 Comparison between the marketing policy and the socialisation process

Proposition 5 will be validated thanks to a comparison with the McQuail paradigm presented in Chapter 5. In the next paragraphs, we will carefully detail the questions we will try to answer in order to validate Proposition 5, and eventually, we will specify the source of the information we will use to respond to the 5 questions.

The marketing policy and the McQuail paradigm

Proposition 5) “The marketing policy can be compared with the socializing process” will be validated by answering the questions on the right column in the table below. This implies that we have to prove, as shown in the last column (blue answers), that a firm’s marketing policy can correspond to Dennis McQuail’s paradigm.

Table 2

PARADIGM	COMMUNICATION	SOCIALISATION	MARKETING
Who is communicating with whom?	Emitters and recipients	Society/Subject	Firm and individuals
Why do we communicate?	Functions and goals	Socialisation	To sell
How is communication performed?	Channels, languages, codes	Agencies	Through promotion (firms)
About which themes?	Contents, references, etc.	Values	Products
What are the consequences?	Effects	Roles	Developing a customer behaviour

The source of our knowledge: For each one of the six firms, we will reply to the five questions of the paradigm individually and borrowing the information from each firms' website. The fact that it will be possible to reply to the questions will enable us to draw a comparison between marketing and socialisation and, eventually, to state that the marketing policy can be compared with the socializing process.

7.2.3 Firms as socializing agencies or socializing agents

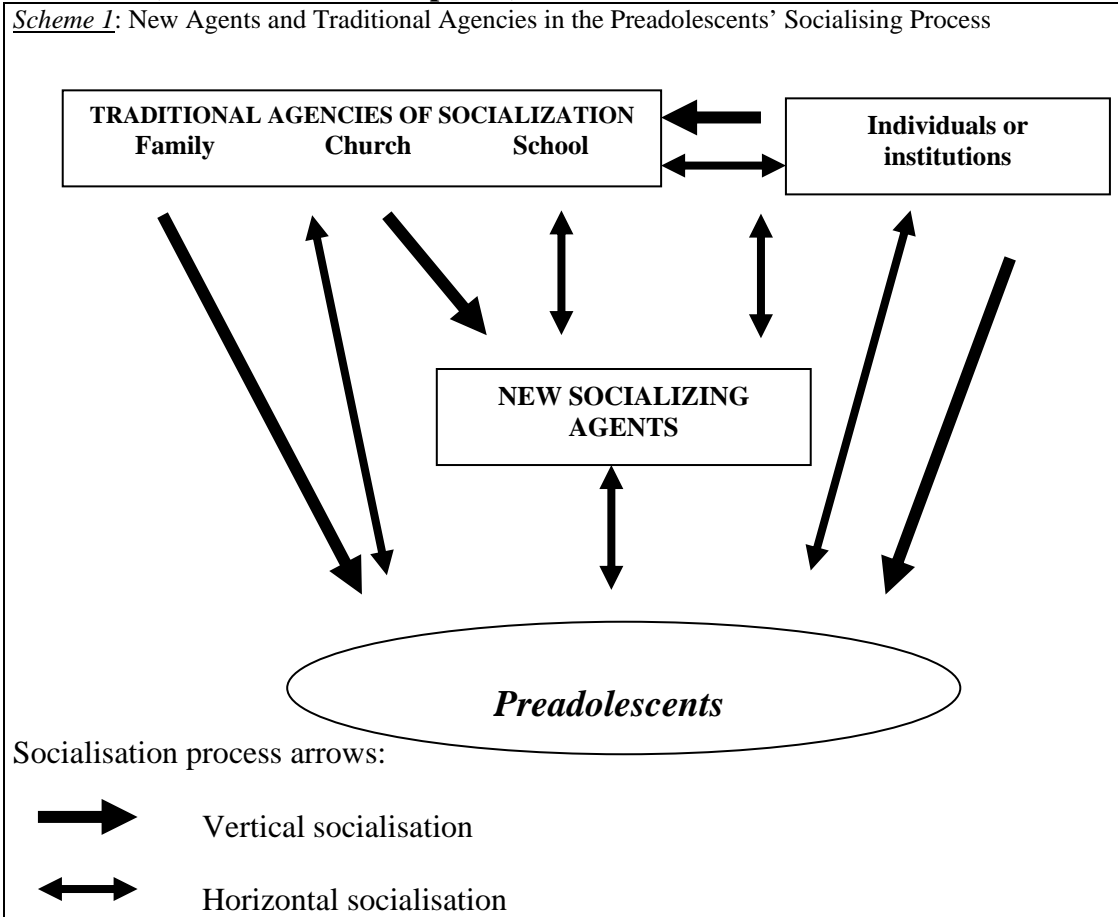
Proposition 6 will be validated following Scheme 1 of Chapter 4. In the next paragraphs, we will carefully detail how the analysis of the scheme will take place and, eventually, where the information for the analysis comes from.

Defining the firm's position as an actor of socialisation

Proposition 6) "Firms of mass products and services play the role of new socialising agents or agencies of socialisation" will be validated with Scheme 1 of Chapter 4. The goal is to position the selected firms in Scheme 1. For each one of the six firms we will examine: 1) the relation between the firm and the traditional agencies, 2) the relation between the firm and the new socializing agents and 3) the relation between the firm and the preadolescents.

Scheme 1 (Scheme 1 from Chapter 4)

Scheme 1: New Agents and Traditional Agencies in the Preadolescents' Socialising Process



The source of our knowledge: In order to evaluate the place that the six firms have in the table, we will carefully analyze the content and information of each firm’s website. Eventually, whenever possible and necessary, we will try to get in touch with employees or connoisseurs of the firm to collect more facts. As already mentioned in the previous chapters, we expect that the reality is more complex than Scheme 1, and, therefore, we are ready to discover other socializing clusters that are not contemplated in the model.

7.2.4 Firms’ mediated or im-mediate socialisation

Proposition 7 will be validated following Table 3 of Chapter 5. In the next paragraphs, we will carefully detail how the analysis will take place and eventually where the information for the analysis comes from.

Defining the firm’s type of socialisation between mediated or im-mediated socialisation

Proposition 7) “Firms of mass products and services offer a mediated and/or an im-mediate socialisation” will be validated with Table 3 of Chapter 5. In fact, table 3 of chapter 5 defines the fields of the mediated socialisation and of the im-mediate socialisation. For each one of the six firms, we will, therefore, examine whether it belongs to the mediated or to the im-mediate field of socialisation. The following five queries will enable us to sharpen our investigation. 1) What type of context does the firm have? Does this context confer reliability to the firm? Is the firm ephemeral or is it for the long run? 2) How did the transmission of the message take place? Is it a vertical communication or does it allow interactivity? 3) Through which channel does the firm communicate? 4) Who are the recipients? 5) What is the goal of the communication? Questions 1 to 5 are, respectively, related with rows 2 to 6.

Table 3 (Table 3 from Chapter 5) Styles of Socialisation

	MEDIATED SOCIALISATION	IM-MEDIATE SOCIALISATION
Context	Prevalently institutional	Institutional and/or daily
Mode	Transmission prevalently vertical	Transmission through interaction
Channel	Formal agency more than informal	Informal Agency more than formal
Recipient	Units	Subjects
Finality	Internalization of values	Information/building/social exchange

The source of our knowledge: In order to evaluate the place that the six firms have in the table, we will carefully analyze the content and information of each firm’s website. Eventually, whenever possible and necessary, we will try to set in contact with employees or connoisseurs of the firm to collect more facts. As already mentioned in the previous chapters, we expect that the reality is more complex than Table 3 and, therefore, show other socializing clusters that are not contemplated.

7.2.5 Preadolescents’ perception of firm’s socializing role

Proposition 8 will be validated thanks to an interview with three families and their preadolescent children. The family will be presented in Section 7.3. In the next paragraphs, we will carefully detail how we transformed the propositions into an

interview guide (7.2.5.1 From proposition to an interview guide) and eventually how the interview will be led (7.2.5.2 The interview).

7.2.5.1 From proposition to interview guide

In order to validate Proposition 8, “Preadolescents take firms of mass products and services as agencies or agents of socialisation”, we have to know, following Table 4 of Chapter 5, what is the reference system of the preadolescents we are interviewing. To obtain this piece of information, we will ask the parents and the preadolescents to describe their daily life. If needed, we will ask the family to be more specific on given themes that allow us to have a clear idea of the preadolescent reference system.

Then for each firm, we will ask the preadolescents to share with us his/her feelings towards them. What we are looking for is to know the preadolescents’ opinion on the values that the firms are conveying (Do they buy the product sold by the firm?) and the preadolescents’ perception about the norms of the firms (How important is it for the preadolescents to buy the product or service sold by the firms? Why is it important for the preadolescents to buy the product or service of the firm?). Do preadolescents notice any behavioural model that goes along with the purchase of the product? (Is it trendy to have the firms’ products?). Do preadolescents notice any special language that goes along with the firms? (Do preadolescents remember any particular sentence, word or jargon proper to the products and the firms?)

7.2.5.2 The interview

The interview with the family will be performed with the presence of the preadolescent who is interviewed and of at least one of the parents. The interview will take the form of a pleasant discussion about the preadolescents’ socialisation reference system and the preadolescents’ opinion on the six firms (see Appendix B). Anytime we feel that the information the parents or the preadolescents are giving us is not clear or not related to our investigation, we will formulate a direct question. Parents and children can freely answer our questions; however, whenever possible we will try to have the preadolescents’ final advice. The interview will last between 30 and 40 minutes and will be recorded on a tape with previous agreement of the family. The language used for the interview will be the mother tongue of the preadolescents.

Table 4 (Table 4 from Chapter 5): Socialisation References Poles. Prerogatives and Overlapping.

SOCIALISATION (Prevalently) MEDIATED	SOCIALISATION REFERENCE SYSTEM	SOCIALISATION (Prevalently) IM-MEDIATE
High involvement	Social and communitarian environment	Low involvement
High identification	Origin of social class	Low identification
Involving affective-educational models	Relations within family	Lack of or intermittent parental role
Efficient involvement	Family socio-cultural background	Deficit of involvement
Efficient and involving didactical and building models	School experience	Indifference; observation without participation, low involvement
Exposure (even great) to mass media without collusion with other practical forms and cultural expression	Cultural communication and expression	High exposure to Mass Media never filtrated, immersion into musical trends
Ordered and scheduled by the family (even during free-time)	Budget-time styles of management	Out-door oriented (even when at home)
Availability and meaningfulness	Free-time possibilities and equipment	Lack or are very poor
Prevalence of formal associationism and sport practice	Aggregations/associations	Immersion in informal aggregationism

7.3 Presentation of the Interviewees

In the following paragraphs, we will present the marketing experts (7.3.1 Presentation of the marketing experts) and the three families (7.3.2 The presentation of families) that will enable us to test Propositions 1 to 8.

7.3.1 Presentation of the marketing experts

The principle with which we have chosen our three marketing experts is that their Company's business should not, or only marginally, be related with preadolescents. What we wanted to avoid was a bias resulting from a marketing expert having to judge its targets' competitors' strategy. Furthermore, the experts' fields should be as varied as possible in order to get different inputs. Therefore, we have picked an expert from the industry of gamble (Kyril Gossweiler), an expert from the tobacco industry (Jean-Michel Toinet) and, also an expert from the financial industry (Giorgio Kruesi). We have decided not to interview the marketers of the firms we are analyzing (see section 7.1) since we apprehended conflicts of interest and some propaganda while asking a marketing manager to answer questions about his / her own Company.

7.3.1.1 Kyril Gossweiler

Kyril Gossweiler is responsible for marketing, research and development at the Loterie Suisse Romande (www.loterie.ch). Loterie Suisse Romande was founded in 1937. Its goal is to organize lottery games and then redistribute the benefits to cultural and charity associations. Since the products of the Loterie Suisse Romande are considered gambling, the firm's target is not the preadolescents. During the remaining pages, we will refer to Kyril Gossweiler as "Expert 1".

7.3.1.2 Jean-Michel Toinet

Jean-Michel Toinet is the director of the world marketing department at Philip Morris International (www.pmintl.com). Philip Morris International, based in Lausanne, Switzerland, is one of the largest tobacco companies in the world: It produces many of the world's best-selling cigarette brands, including the most popular brand worldwide. Considering the products sold by Philip Morris International, the Company is not entitled to target minors. During the remaining pages we will refer to Jean-Michel Toinet as "Expert 2".

7.3.1.3 Giorgio Kruesi

Giorgio Kruesi is the responsible of the sponsoring department of Banca del Gottardo, a Swiss Bank working in the field of private banking (www.gottardo.com). Banca del Gottardo headquarters are based in Lugano. Banca del Gottardo has Europe and overseas bank branches. Its target is by far not preadolescents, although

the bank's sponsoring activities support among others recreational events for young athletes. In the following pages, we will refer to Giorgio Kruesi as "expert 3".

The experts' statements and answers are personal and do not engage their Companies.

7.3.2 Presentation of families

The principle behind the choice of the families we have interviewed was that they had to have preadolescent children. Moreover, we have tried to contemplate the variety of family's structure, and therefore, we decided to interview a mono-parental family, a working parents' family and a "traditional" family - where the mother does not work and stays at home. The three families were asked to participate freely and anonymously to this study. Therefore, they will always be presented as "Family 1", "Family 2" and "Family 3".

7.3.2.1 Family 1

Family 1 consists of a working father and a housewife mother, two children - a seven year old daughter and a six year old son. The family lives in a side house in the suburbs of a city. The mother has no school degree, whereas the father completed the Swiss mandatory school. The interview was performed with the mother and her daughter.

7.3.2.2 Family 2

Family 2 consists of an unemployed mother and an 8 ½ years old son. It is a mono-parental family since the father passed away on July 2005. The family lives in an apartment in the city. The mother has a secretary degree, whereas the father had no degree and was unemployed before his death. The interview was performed with the mother and her son.

7.3.2.3 Family 3

Family 3 consists of a working mother, a working father and three children - a girl of six years and two boys, respectively, 10 ½ years and 12 ½ years old. The family lives in a villa in the suburbs of the city. Both parents have university degrees. The interview was performed with the mother and her 10 ½ year old boy.

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PART IV

FINAL PART

8. Results

This chapter is structured following the eight propositions presented in the previous pages. Therefore, we will have eight main subchapters (8.1 Values and Firms; 8.2 Norms and Firms; 8.3 Behavioural Models and Firms; 8.4 Language and Firms 8.5 Comparison between the Marketing Policy and the Socialisation Process; 8.6 Firms as Socialising Agencies or Socialising Agents; 8.7 Firms' Mediated or Im-mediate Socialisation; 8.8 Preadolescents' Perception of Firm's Socialising Role). The data are ordered by firms.

8.1 Values and Firms

During the propositions' tests, we first dealt with the values of the firms. Below, you will find the data of Proposition 1. As highlighted in Chapter 7, the meaning of values for marketers is not completely the same as for researchers in the field of human sciences. Therefore, we will always try to interpret the expert's definition of values.

Proposition 1: *Firms of mass products and services propose values.*

8.1.1 Lego

The three experts are familiar with the brand and the Company Lego. They agree that there are values that are conveyed by the company. However, Expert 1 claims their contradiction: "The values conveyed by Lego are not consistent with Lego's initial philosophy of education, construction, ability to build independency and lasting experiences. Today, with the licensing product concept, Lego follows trends. Its values become ephemeral and change with the tendency".

Expert 2, as Expert 1, noticed Lego's values change because of trend: "The values I perceived are fantasy and creativity, although, I must say that Lego is slowly losing them. It is now following the tendency".

Eventually, Expert 3 confirmed the colleagues' analysis while pushing his examinations a bit further: "I think that Lego tries to develop children's intellect, their ability and even their physical ability. Personally, I find that the values associated with Lego are good because they help the children to situate themselves in the environment, to build and construct. However, as time goes by, I have noticed that Lego follows trends. As a result, it is losing its initial values while becoming a plaything among other. I think that Lego has lost a lot of creativity. Its toys no longer communicate the idea of construction. Nowadays, children do not play with Lego

bricks but with the car or the character they have built. There, I see a great loss of creativity. The toys are now related to a given world and the child has not a lot of opportunities to change it. In the old days, Lego allowed a huge place to fantasy. Today, while giving predigested environments, Lego competes with the virtual environment of computer games, with no chance to win”.

8.1.2 Pokémon

Although Expert 1 and Expert 3 are familiar with the brand Pokémon, they are not fully aware of all the products that have been developed thereafter. Nevertheless, their knowledge about the brand allows them to answer partially to our questions. Expert 2 is familiar with the brand Pokémon and is aware of the market generated by Pokémon product licensing. When talking about Pokémon, the experts do not refer to the cartoon series. As a matter of fact, Expert 1 states, “There are no values associated with this brand.”

With the concept value, Expert 1 only refers to value in the marketing conception (see Chapter 2). “It is just pure marketing without a real value behind it.” Expert 2 is even more radical in its evaluation: “I have to say that there are zero values within Pokémon, nothing worth to incorporate.” With the concept value, Expert 2, just like Expert 1, only refers to positive values. The same considerations about the use of the concept value can be applied to Expert 3, who highlights the marketing design behind the brand Pokémon: “In my opinion, there are no values that are associated with Pokémon products. It is a well designed marketing strategy to hook children”.

8.1.3 McDonald’s

The three experts are familiar with the brand and the Company McDonald’s. Although they all agree on the fact that McDonald’s Company conveys values, their perception is different. For Expert 1, McDonald’s values are changeable: “McDonald’s values are a response to competitors’ and enemies’ attacks. Therefore, McDonald’s values are built in reaction. They are not proactive values. Values are modified under clients’ pressure. Therefore, values at McDonald’s change all the time”.

Expert 2 dwells on the eating habit conveyed by the Company: “In my opinion, the values that McDonald’s conveys are : to eat junk food. However, their strategy is such that people buy their products anyway”.

Finally, Expert 3 points out that McDonald’s values differ with the type of client: “I think McDonald’s values changes with whom McDonald’s is addressing to. As a matter of fact, McDonald’s attracts two profiles of clients: 1) those who wish to eat

cheaply and rapidly and 2) children and of course their parents. Certainly, the two profiles can be combined. In order to keep these clients, McDonald's has developed related values: rapidity, amusing atmosphere for children, etc.”

8.1.4 Moevenpick

The three experts are familiar with the brand and the Company Moevenpick. They have different opinions while talking about its values. Expert 1 asserts that he does not consider Moevenpick as being a family restaurant and criticizes the uniformity of its values: “I never thought about Moevenpick restaurants in terms of a family restaurant. Their concern is about the standardization of their restaurants and their ice cream. Their values marry their idea of standardization”.

Expert 2 affirms that Moevenpick does not communicate any value (either positive or negative). “I don't see any values conveyed by Moevenpick,” while Expert 3 reminds of the old Moevenpick's values while acknowledging today's confusion: “There was a time where I associated Moevenpick with good food, good menu. However, I think that times have changed and that the general service and offer have decreased. Personally, I have perceived some confusion and an unclear strategy as far as communication and values are concerned.

8.1.5 H&M

The three experts are familiar with the brand and the company H&M. Experts 1 and 2 express heavy criticisms towards H&M's values. Expert 1 blames H&M popularization of the idea of wasting. “They have no ethical vision at H&M. They base their success on the useless, and the appearances, while leaving out the good, (they prosper). People have to spend money at H&M just for the sake of spending money. H&M conveys the idea of waste. “*Wear these clothes 4 times after all they have cost you only 9 bucks*”. This idea might be good for children who grow up fast, but it is a frightening value. The notion of the quality of the product is no longer there and it is replaced by the frantic purchase. It is like if they were selling clothes to throw away. What is important here is: to follow the fashion and the trend. For young people the idea, I see behind, is “*you are what you wear*”.

Expert 2 perceives that the values that H&M convey are linked with eating disorders: “When I see their commercial, I think that the idea they convey to young girls is “*it is nice to be anorexic*.”. I think that this is frightening for young girls as well as their parents”.

On the contrary, Expert 3 feels more serene about the values of H&M : “I perceived the values of youth, fashion, to be ‘in’ ... all this at a low cost.”.

8.1.6 C&A

The three experts are familiar with the brand and the Company C&A. Expert 3 is the only one who states that C&A conveys values for elderly people: “When I think about C&A, I can’t help but think about tradition, old fashion, elderly and out of style. Of course, I don’t think that these are the values pursued by the firm. However, this is my general perception”.

Expert 1 and Expert 2 observe a general lack of positive or negative values. Expert 1 also reproaches to C&A the little communication effort to inform its clients about the good quality of its products: “There is nothing that comes out of C&A: not good values, nor bad values. I am sure that they sell good quality but the information does not reach the customer,” while Expert 2 appreciates the absence of any values :“I don’t see any values associated with C&A”.

The answers and the statements of the three experts suggest that Lego, Pokémon, McDonald’s, Moevenpick and H&M spread or used to spread values whereas for C&A, Experts 1 and 2 believe that the Company has no values at all. On the contrary, Expert 3 thinks that there are values spread by the Company (old fashioned), however they might not intentionall be those pursued by the management.

Following these first results about values and firms, we will present the findings showing whether or not firms propose norms in the next subchapter.

8.2 Norms and Firms

After testing the values conveyed by the selected firms, we analyzed the firms’ norms that these have adopted. Below, you will find the data of Proposition 2 following the answers of the experts. As specified in Chapter 7, we did not use the concept norm while interviewing the three Experts. Furthermore, we found that they were more comfortable with the rephrase of the question: “*What are the strategies that firms use to build clients’ fidelity?*”

Proposition 2 *Firms of mass products and services propose norms*

8.2.1 Lego

Experts 1 and 3 perceive that Lego’s strategy to hold its young clients lies on children’s habit to collect objects. Expert 1 states, “With the idea the more the better, Lego can incite children to buy more and more Lego bricks and to build more and more things. However, Lego can keep its clients only when they are little. It is a

product that is for children only”. Expert 3 adds more elements to attest this argument: “in my opinion, Lego keeps its clients because the bricks themselves have an aspect of collection. Children wish to gather supplementary boxes of Lego bricks. And boxes are changing constantly. I suppose it is a strategy that is addressed to parents because they are the final purchasers. So we have the gathering aspect on the children’s side and the facts that the basis boxes (boxes with the basic bricks) are changing and always contain new things. These two features coupled together can explain the fact that, a child will receive more and more Lego”.

On the contrary, Expert 2 denies that Lego has an active strategy of clients’ fidelity: “I don’t think that Lego has a proper strategy to keep its clients. I would even say that their strategy is passive. They have the monopoly of the products and they know that it is a good product. For instance, I bought a box of Lego for my son because I remembered that when I was little I had a lot of fun with it. Today, as Lego is getting more products licensing related ... the fun goes with the trend”.

8.2.2 Pokémon

The three experts recognized that Pokémon was very successful among children and that this was due to a well-thought client’s fidelity strategy. However, their analysis can not be complete since they never really examined Pokémon’s tactic. As a matter of fact, Expert 1 says, “Children are doped, they are like in a setup, that is how it goes.” Expert 2 guesses, “I think that children bought Pokémon products only because it was trendy,” while Expert 3 admits his unawareness about Pokémon world: “I am not very familiar with their products, therefore, I can guess that the success of its products is due to a performing marketing policy”.

8.2.3 McDonald’s

Unanimously, all three experts state that McDonald’s has developed a strategy to obtain client’s fidelity. Expert 1 lists a series of elements that are meant to keep the clients: “The Happy Meal concept: you buy it and you have a toy, the fact that McDonald’s simplifies the life of children and adults, etc. People go to McDonald’s because it is practical, fast and after all you can eat at a reasonable price. And I must say that children love it since kids wouldn’t eat something they would not like”.

P Expert 2 points out the role played by McDonald’s in building its client’s fidelity. “McDonald’s is very active as far as building clients’ fidelity is concerned. Advertising and commercials, Happy Meals and its presents, amusement oasis, its clown Ronald, etc. those are some of the elements that keep the clients”.

The analysis of Expert 3 reflects the idea that McDonald's client's fidelity strategy differs from target to target. "McDonald's has a strategy to keep its clients. Again, following the type of clients it wants to reach it must adapt its strategy. In this sense there are many strategies".

8.2.4 Moevenpick

The three experts agreed on the fact that Moevenpick has no visible strategy of young clients' fidelity. In this sense, Expert 1 replies: "I don't see any special effort to keep children. Moevenpick offers a correct welcome of its guests in its restaurants. Personally, I find the menu a little bit expensive compared to McDonald's when, after all, they offer the same dish (as for children). Moreover, it is certainly not because you offer a corner with a table and some Lego bricks that you have developed a children concept".

Expert 2 is even more concise: "I don't see a proper strategy of client's fidelity," while expert 3 admits that Moevenpick might have its clients' fidelity strategy but it is imperceptible to him. "Of course, I think that Moevenpick wishes to build fidelity, however, I don't see any precise strategy. Again their might be some confusion in the house".

8.2.5 H&M

The three experts agreed that H&M has built a strategy to keep its clients. Expert 1 clearly points out the pressure that H&M puts on buying new clothes. "It has been suggested that you have to have new things every four months, because nothing lasts. Therefore, you have to keep on buying".

Expert 3 has a similar analysis: "H&M has developed a clear strategy. One of its strength, it is its seasonal renewal of its collections, the fact that it is trendy and modern".

Eventually, Expert 2 notices the consistency between H&M's target and the strategy proposed "H&M has developed a clients' fidelity strategy according with its target. Through advertising, through a teenager fashion and look and through the impression that while buying H&M you are following the trend, H&M attracts young people".

8.2.6 C&A

The three experts agree on the fact that C&A has no visible client's fidelity strategy. As a matter of fact, Expert 1 notices, "I don't see any overt intent or attempt to keep the clients at C&A." Expert 2 statements argues: "There might be a strategy, but I

don't see it," and, finally, Expert 3 confirms his colleagues' judgments. "Personally, I don't perceive any strategy. When talking about C&A, my first thought is that it is old".

For the three experts it makes no doubt that Lego, Pokémon, McDonald's and H&M have a strategy to keep their clients, even though Lego's strategy does not seem so active. As for Moevenpick and C&A, experts do not see the implementation of a fidelity strategy for preadolescents. Nevertheless, we decided to pursue our investigation with Moevenpick and C&A.

8.3 Behavioural Models and Firms

As a vital element in the socialisation process, we analyzed firms' behavioural models. While interviewing the experts, we rephrase the question: "*Do you see any behavioural model proposed by firms*" with the question "*Do you see any lifestyle that goes along with the firms and its products?*". We allowed ourselves to use, as a synonym of "behavioural model" the concepts of "lifestyle or style of life" admitting that behind a lifestyle there is a behavioural model.

Proposition 3: *Firms of mass products and services propose behavioural models.*

8.3.1 Lego

Expert 3 shed an interesting light about the behavioural model being spread by Lego: "I think that Lego is trying to respond to children's aspirations. As for the boys, they proposed the theme of adventure, conquest, space vessels. For girls, Lego developed houses, etc.," while Experts 1 and 2 respectively state that Lego is not spreading any particular behavioural model. Expert 1 says, "I don't see any particular behavioural model or life style coming from Lego". Expert 2 confirms, "I don't perceive any lifestyle that goes with Lego. To me, it is just an educational toy".

8.3.2 Pokémon

As Experts 2 and 3 were not 100 % familiar with Pokémon, only Expert 1 could reply to the question concerning its behavioural model: "The behavioural model is a marketing set up. That's all. Everything is constructed, it is fake and vain".

8.3.3 McDonald's

The three experts agree on the fact that McDonald's propose a behavioural model; however, their perception is different. Expert 1 insists on McDonald's homogeneity: "McDonald's behavioural model is the standardization. There is the feeling that

wherever we go, we know that at McDonald's we will find the same food and that toilets are always clean. There is also a certainty about what we are eating. In fact, we know what we are being served because they have a worldwide policy. That is maybe the good thing about globalization".

Expert 2 manifests as well the idea that McDonald's searches a uniformity in the eating behaviour of its clients : "I see the standardization and popularization of eating junk food in a hurry".

Finally, Expert 3 confirms the existence of a behavioural model: "At McDonald's everything is thought to spread a very particular lifestyle".

8.3.4 Moevenpick

For the three experts Moevenpick's attempts to propose a behavioural model are neither perceived, nor successful. Expert 3 attests Moevenpick's failure while proposing a behavioural model. "I think there is an attempt via their menus to propose a lifestyle, however I am not sure they are succeeding in proposing it".

The replies of Experts 1 and 2 about the existence of a Moevenpick behavioural model are harsh. As a matter of fact, Expert 1 answers, "Not at all," and Expert 2 confirms. "I am afraid, not".

8.3.5 H&M

The three experts agree on the fact that H&M proposes a behavioural model. Expert 1 notices that H&M grants poor people the possibility to adopt the look of wealthy and fashionable people. "It allows poor people to follow the fashion. At H&M you can find everything at a low cost. It is practical since it is not always easy to assume the expenses related to being trendy".

Expert 2 shows that the behavioural model proposed at H&M goes beyond the idea of poverty. "I think that H&M proposes the image of a (fashion) top model " while, Expert 3 confirms the analysis of Expert 2. "I believe that the behavioural model being proposed by H&M is young, modern, dynamic and trendy at a low cost".

8.3.6 C&A

The three experts do not see any behavioural model being related with C&A. Here are their answers to the questions "*Do you see any lifestyle that goes along with C&A and its products?*" Expert 1 laconically answers. "Not at all" and Expert 2 is even

shorter. “No!” while Expert 3 picks on the C&A image “I think the whole C&A concept is old”.

The Companies that unanimously propose behavioural models are H&M and McDonald’s. However, the validation of Proposition 4 is made with all of the six firms.

8.4 Language and Firms

Finally, we have inquired on the language used by the firms to communicate their messages. Below, you will find the data of Proposition 4 following the answers of the experts.

Proposition 4 *Firms of mass products and services develop a specific language to communicate with preadolescents*

8.4.1 Lego

The three experts perceive a gap in the Lego communication strategy. As a matter of fact, Expert 1 points out, “I haven’t seen Lego commercials lately. In general, I don’t think that Lego communicates a lot with its audience”. Expert 2 denounces the loss of the dimension of creativity in its communication. “Somehow, I feel nostalgic. I see that the Lego bricks with which I played had a different meaning. Today, I see that the Lego bricks I buy for my child are related to fashion e.g. Harry Potter, the cartoons, etc. Lego communicates a pre-digested way of playing and all the communication around creativity and spontaneity is lost”.

Expert 3 highlights Lego’s communication problem. “Lego is no longer capable to keep up with its competitors. It is somehow beaten by the events. It has a great difficulty in communicating its position and its products depend too much on trend”.

8.4.2 Pokémon

Expert 2 and 3 are not familiar with Pokémon and therefore can not express their opinion on Pokémon’s communication strategy. However, Expert 1 thinks that Pokémon has developed a strategy to communicate with its audience: “The language that goes along with Pokémon is related to the cartoon series”.

8.4.3 McDonald’s

The three experts agreed that McDonald’s has developed a specific language to communicate with its audience. Expert 1 underlines how McDonald’s varies its

communication strategy: “The communication of McDonald’s is an answer to the attacks it receives. Its communication budget is huge and makes the difference. Its slogan is: ‘eat more’”.

Expert 2, as well, highlights that the importance of McDonald’s advertising budget allows it to develop a specific language, but he thinks that there are good elements in McDonald’s communication strategy. “McDonald’s has the means to present a coherent and global communication strategy that reaches the two year-old boys as well as the old people. Among McDonald’s communications efforts, I greet their message to help children in need through its foundation. I think that in a way this help developed the idea of charity in children”.

The analysis of Expert 3 focuses on the changes occurred in McDonald’s communication strategy while asserting that a specific language has been conceived at McDonald’s. “I think that the McDonald’s communication concept has changed especially in Europe. At first, the restaurant did not invite people to stop. I think that the idea behind was to prevent people to sit for hours and eventually to stop the constant flow of costumers and their rotation. In fact, it is important that the machine keeps on going. Nowadays, McDonald’s restaurants are very friendly and very appealing especially for a family who would like to spend a pleasant time while eating. Moreover, I think that McDonald’s has reinforced its communications toward adults. First of all, I think at McDonald’s they must have thought that it was inappropriate to target children with a product that nutritionists define as junk food. Secondly, I think that after all in order to have children to come to their restaurants, they have to motivate the parents to take them there”.

8.4.4 Moevenpick

The experts have different opinions about the Moevenpick communication strategy. Expert 1 claims the modest and standardize communication. “There is very little communication about the restaurants. Communication is very standard”, Expert 2 denounces the lack of communication. “I don’t see a clear communication strategy”. Eventually, Expert 3 states that Moevenpick communication is not children oriented: “In my opinion, their communication strategy is not meant for young people”.

8.4.5 H&M

Expert 2 does not see that H&M has developed a tangible communication strategy: “I don’t see a specific language coming out of H&M”. Experts 1 and 3 clearly see an attempt to spread a message. Expert 1 re-proposes the idea of constantly changing clothes. “At H&M, it is told that you must always have something new”. Expert 3 indicates how H&M communication strategy has become gentler than it used to be:

“H&M communication is less aggressive than it was at the beginning with all these famous models. However, it spreads a message that is ‘to be trendy at a low price’. Sometimes, I wonder about the quality of their products”.

8.4.6 C&A

The experts feel that the communication strategy of C&A is for old people. Expert 1 states, “C&A transmits an idea of old and out of fashion. Nothing is said about their quality that I supposed is better than at H&M”.

Expert 2 admits that he has not noticed their communication strategy and he supposed that this is because C&A might refer to old people only. “I don’t see their communication strategy. Maybe it is more related with old people and appears in newspapers read by them”.

Expert 3 questions himself about the success of C&A’s shops. “The C&A logo inspires old fashion. Sometimes, I wonder whether they have clients in their shops”.

Following the Experts’ statements, only Pokémon, McDonald’s and H&M have developed a specific language in order to address their clients.

The test of these four propositions – we have called fundamental propositions - allowed us to collect evidence to discuss whether it makes sense to refer to firms’ marketing policy in terms of a process of socialisation. In this sense, the presentation of the results of Proposition 5 (in the next subchapter) is highly interesting since results challenge the findings of the four fundamental propositions.

8.5 Comparison between the Marketing Policy and the Socialisation Process

The comparison between the marketing policy and the socialisation process was an important test for the validation of our general hypothesis. Below, you will find the data about Proposition 5 following the reply to McQuail paradigm’s questions. The findings are listed for each firm.

McQuail PARADIGM questions:

Who is communicating with whom?

Why do we communicate?

How is communication performed?

About which themes?

What are the consequences?

Proposition 5 : *The marketing policy can be compared with the socializing process*

8.5.1 Lego

In order to reply to McQuail's paradigm's questions, we have analyzed the Lego website, commercials and magazines. We have also spoken with some toy stores retailers as well as some Lego connoisseurs. The findings allow stating that in general, **Lego is communicating with** children and adults. In fact, through its few television commercials, Lego sets in contact with children above all. However, when Lego advertises in magazines that are addressed to children, the information is driven to adults as well. As for the Lego catalogues, although there are a lot of pictures, the information is meant for adults. Furthermore, on the website, Lego has designed a proper corner for its young target and has recently developed a corner just for parents. As far as **the purpose of Lego communication**, the main goal is to sell its products. This intent is palpable whether you watch the television commercials, the advertisements in the magazines or its catalogues. **The communication is performed** via catalogues, television announcements and advertisements. The amount of television communication is very little and reaches its peak during Christmas time. The Lego website is in Danish, German and English and, therefore, discriminates French and Italian-speaking preadolescents in Switzerland. **The communication themes** of the Lego Company are about the fun and the joy one may have when playing with Legos. When Lego addresses specifically to adults it emphasizes the exploration and educational part of the toy. **The consequences produced** by Lego communication are to encourage clients to buy Lego bricks. However, financial problems at Lego make it clear that the communication effort does not produce the consequences Lego's management is looking for. Facts report that people buy less Legos and children play with Legos less than before.

8.5.2 Pokémon

In order to reply to McQuail's paradigm's questions, we have analyzed some websites dedicated to Pokémon and we have watched some episodes of the cartoon series. We attended a lesson given by Professor Suess at the University of Zurich (2000-2001). Professor Suess has in fact held some courses entirely dedicated to the

phenomenon of Pokémon. **Pokémon cartoons series communicates with** preadolescents. As a matter of fact, the target of Pokémon was at the elementary school. Moreover, Pokémon cartoon series has been translated in many different languages. The Swiss audience could therefore watch the episodes in their mother tongue: French, German and Italian. The goal of the **Pokémon cartoon series' communication** is entertaining its audience. As a matter of fact, in the western adaptation of the cartoon special audio and language effects were performed in order to appeal preadolescents. **The communication is performed** via the television cartoon series. In fact, the episodes and the movie have been the biggest communication events. Still today preadolescents buy DVD with episodes of Pokémon. **There are many themes** in the Pokémon cartoon series. The main one is the mother–child relationship portrayed with Ash and Pickachu. The themes of competition and victory are also there as that is the basis of the whole story. **The consequences** are that the cartoon's target would passionately follow each episode and subsequently want to have almost everything related to Pokémon's world in order to live on the themes the cartoon series expresses. Through the licensing product, Nintendo has sold many videogame cassettes and has developed a lot of new games.

8.5.3 McDonald's

In order to reply to McQuail's paradigm's questions, we have analyzed the Swiss (German, French and Italian), the Canadian and other international websites of McDonald's. We have watched the advertising campaigns in the press, television commercials and visited some of the restaurants. **McDonald's is communicating** with its target that includes preadolescents. McDonald's carefully translates and adapts its message to the mother tongue and culture of its audience. Therefore, in Switzerland every single commercial is in French, German and Italian. The McDonald's websites as well are translated in the three main Swiss languages. The clear intent of **McDonald's communication** is to make its audience visits its restaurant and buys its food. As for preadolescents, this means that McDonald's invites them to buy Happy Meals and come to one of the McDonald's restaurants where they can meet Ronald (McDonald's clown and entertaining figure). **Communication is performed** in different manners especially via television and magazines advertising campaigns and, last but by no mean least, within McDonald's restaurants. Very often, in the surroundings of a McDonald's restaurant, many billboards indicate to the clients the way to the restaurant. As for preadolescents, **McDonald's communication themes** are about to love McDonald's products and to feel good about McDonald's. As a matter of facts, some McDonald's advertising campaigns clearly suggest that you have to bring a child to McDonald's to make him / her happy. **The consequence of McDonald's communication** is a planetary success for their restaurants.

8.5.4 Moevenpick

In order to reply to McQuail's paradigm's questions, we have analyzed the website of Moevenpick and have visited some of its restaurants. We have noticed that **Moevenpick** does not use television **to communicate** with its clients. Moreover, Moevenpick communication is not specifically addressed to a preadolescent audience. In its website, Moevenpick family's corner is not translated in French or Italian. This precludes Moevenpick to communicate with a part of its national audience. **The biggest communication** between Moevenpick and its clients is **performed** in its restaurants. In fact, next to the Moevenpick ice creams, the restaurants are the strongest advertising channel. **The goal of Moevenpick communication** is to make people go to its restaurants and taste the different menus. **The communication themes** are the quality of the food as well as Moevenpick monthly menus. **The consequences of Moevenpick** communication are that they have built a lasting relationship with a business public during the week and a lower upper class audience (during weekends) interested in tasting the many Moevenpick menus' propositions.

8.5.5 H&M

In order to reply to McQuail's paradigm's questions, we have analyzed the H&M Swiss (French and German) and international websites, we have watched television commercials; we have looked at their paper magazines and have visited their shops. **H&M communicates with** its audience among which you find preadolescents. Nevertheless, H&M states it does not target children through its television and billboard campaigns, but their parents. The clear **intent of H&M communication** is to sell its products. H&M engages huge amount of money to communicate and to attract its client. Therefore, **H&M communication goal** is to sell its products. **Communication is performed** with all suitable channels in relation with the location and culture of the country where H&M activities are. H&M shops, as stated in H&M website, are its principle source of communication. The television commercials, the billboard campaigns are translated in the language of the country, however, for Switzerland, H&M has translated its website in French and German only. **The H&M main themes** are fashion and trend. **The consequences about H&M communication** are that a lot of people, especially young people, buy H&M clothes. For instance, a few years ago, H&M asked a famous tailor to design some clothes for H&M clients. The event was popularized via the television, the internet, the newspapers, etc. Clothes were sold in a limited edition. The result was that in less than 60 minutes most of the famous tailor designed articles were sold.

8.5.6 C&A

In order to reply to McQuail's paradigm's questions, we have analyzed the C&A website and television commercials. We visited one shop. We called C&A to get more details about one of its television commercials.

The audience with whom **C&A wishes to communicate** to is the whole family as stated in its website. The main goal of C&A communication is to make people buy its products. Moreover, it seems that the low prices and the many sales operated by C&A are a big attraction for low budget clients. **The C&A communication is performed** very little, nowadays, via television announcements, some catalogues and newspapers and through its shops and website. The website, which is in French, German and Italian, for Switzerland, presents a game that could be addressed to preadolescents. **The main theme** and therefore C&A USP is the fact that C&A has cheap articles, but lasting quality. **Consequences** produced by the communication performed by C&A are that the clients who shop at or visit C&A usually have a low budget or look for cheap products. There are very few preadolescents in C&A shops and, when they are in the shop, they normally accompany the family.

Thus, the marketing policy of Lego, Pokémon, Moevenpick, McDonald's, H&M and C&A can answer to the questions of McQuail's paradigm. It is therefore interesting to read the results of the validation of Proposition 6 that qualifies the firms' socializing role.

8.6 Firms as Socializing agencies or Socializing Agents

Below, you will find the data of Proposition 6. They are the consequence of our attempt to position the firms on Scheme 1 of Chapter 4, which describes the new agents and the traditional agencies in the preadolescent's socializing process. The data are ordered by firms, and for each firm, we will present its place in the scheme mentioned above.

Proposition 6: *Firms of mass products and services play the role of new socializing agents or agencies of socialisation.*

8.6.1 Lego

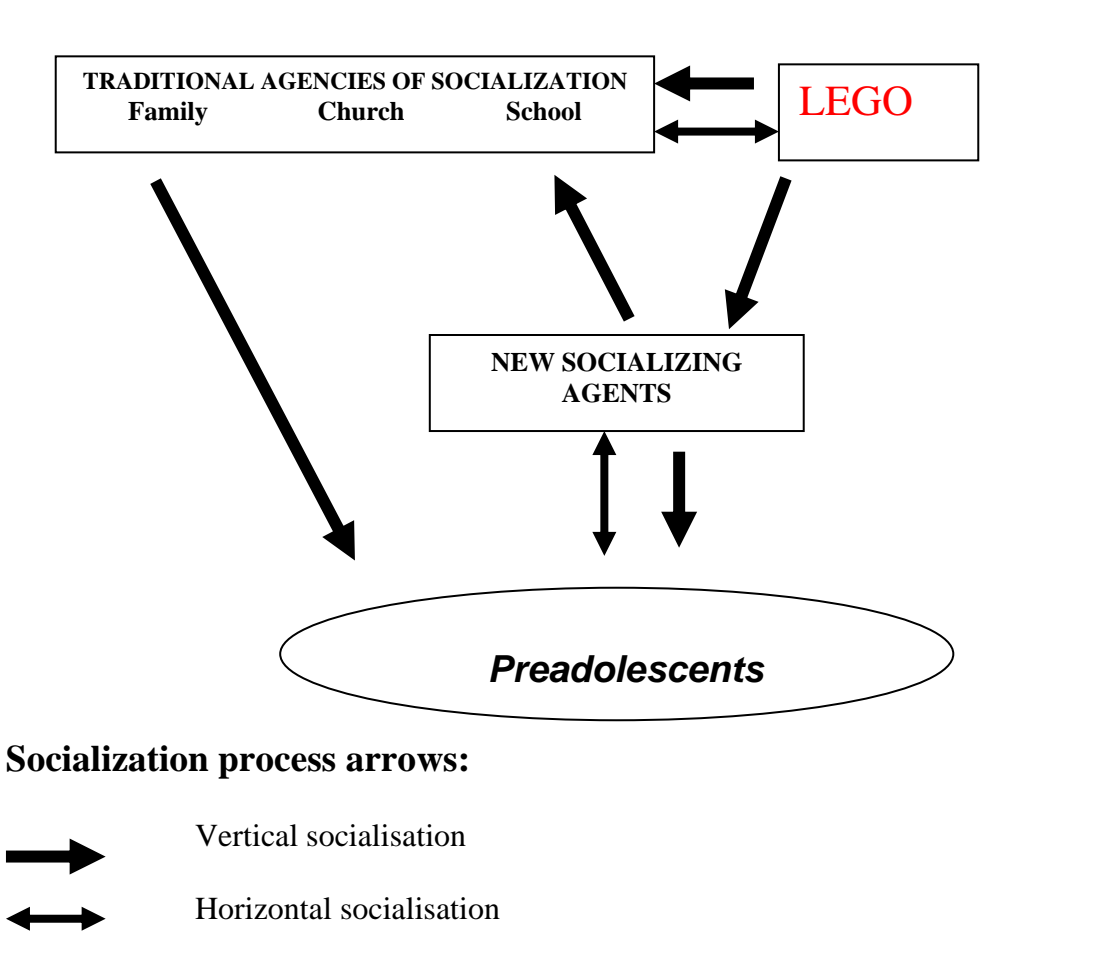
Below are the results of the investigation of Lego and Proposition 6. The information for the investigation was gathered essentially through some Lego connoisseurs and through the Lego website.

The relation between Lego and the traditional agencies can be observed through family and school. Following the statement of the owner and Vice Chairman of the

Board of Lego Group Kjeld Kirk Kristiansen (see Section 7.1.1.3), the intentions of Lego are to address the families and to become one among the popular brands in a household with children. As far as school is concerned, the “Lego educational division” is targeting school teachers in order to approach children. This is what we have defined as *Fremdsozialisation*. However, many adults admit to buy Lego because they grew up with them and they are certain that it is a valuable choice to educate and to socialise their children. Moreover, some schools propose Lego among its playthings without joining the Lego Educational Division concept. Among the many new socializing agents, internet is the strongest media utilized by Lego. In fact the official website of Lego (www.lego.com) provides a special and well conceived feature for children. Recently, Lego has opened a special corner (<http://parents.lego.com/>) for parents and another one (<http://www.lego.com/education/default.asp?page=2>) which is addressing (pre-) school teachers. Unfortunately, for those who can not speak those languages, the website is in English, German and Danish. During Christmas, television is a channel used by Lego to reach children and parents who want to buy or play with Lego products. A direct relation between the firm and the preadolescents can be performed when the preadolescents play with Lego bricks and when the preadolescents surf on the children’s website corner (<https://club.lego.com/eng/registration/register.asp>) that is in English, German and Danish.

Scheme 1

Scheme 1: New agents and traditional agencies in the preadolescents' socializing process

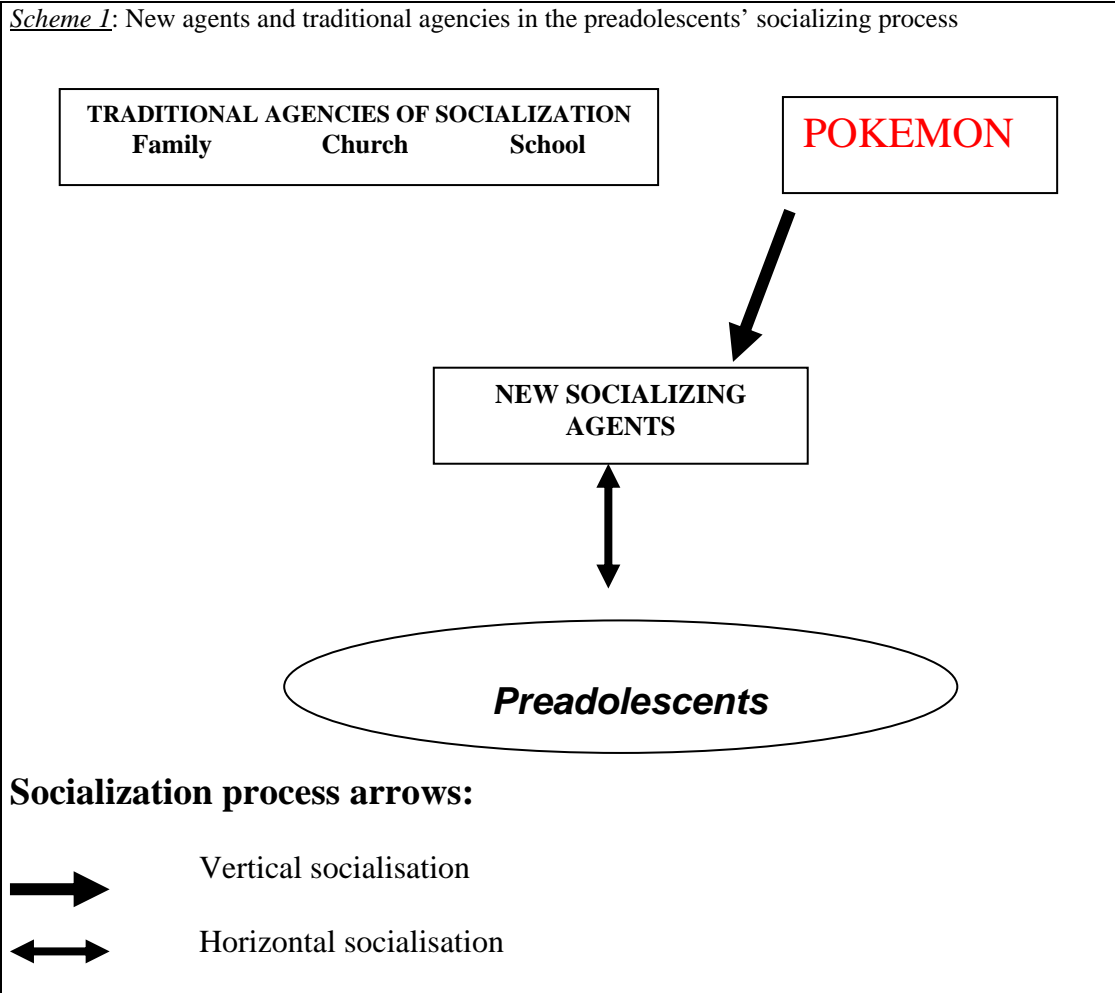


8.6.2 Pokémon

Here, below, are the results of the investigation of Pokémon and Proposition 6. Information for the investigation was gathered through the cartoon series, some websites, press articles and through some informal discussions with teachers, parents and preadolescents. We were not able to analyze any relation between the traditional agencies and Pokémon, although parents and school teachers, as well as, press articles informed us how the Pokémon fever entered schools and families via their pupils and children. Some teachers clearly prevent children from bringing Pokémon cards to school, while others create a special moment where Pokémon playing cards could be exchanged. Some teachers and family considered this activity as a social exchange moment.

Since Pokémon has been a cartoon series transmitted on television, television has been the new socializing agent. With time, internet and different television commercials that were related to Pokémon appeared. The record of entrances registered by the movie showed that the movie theater could be named among the Pokémon channels. As a conclusion, the relation between Pokémon and the preadolescents has been built up via television cartoon series.

Scheme 2



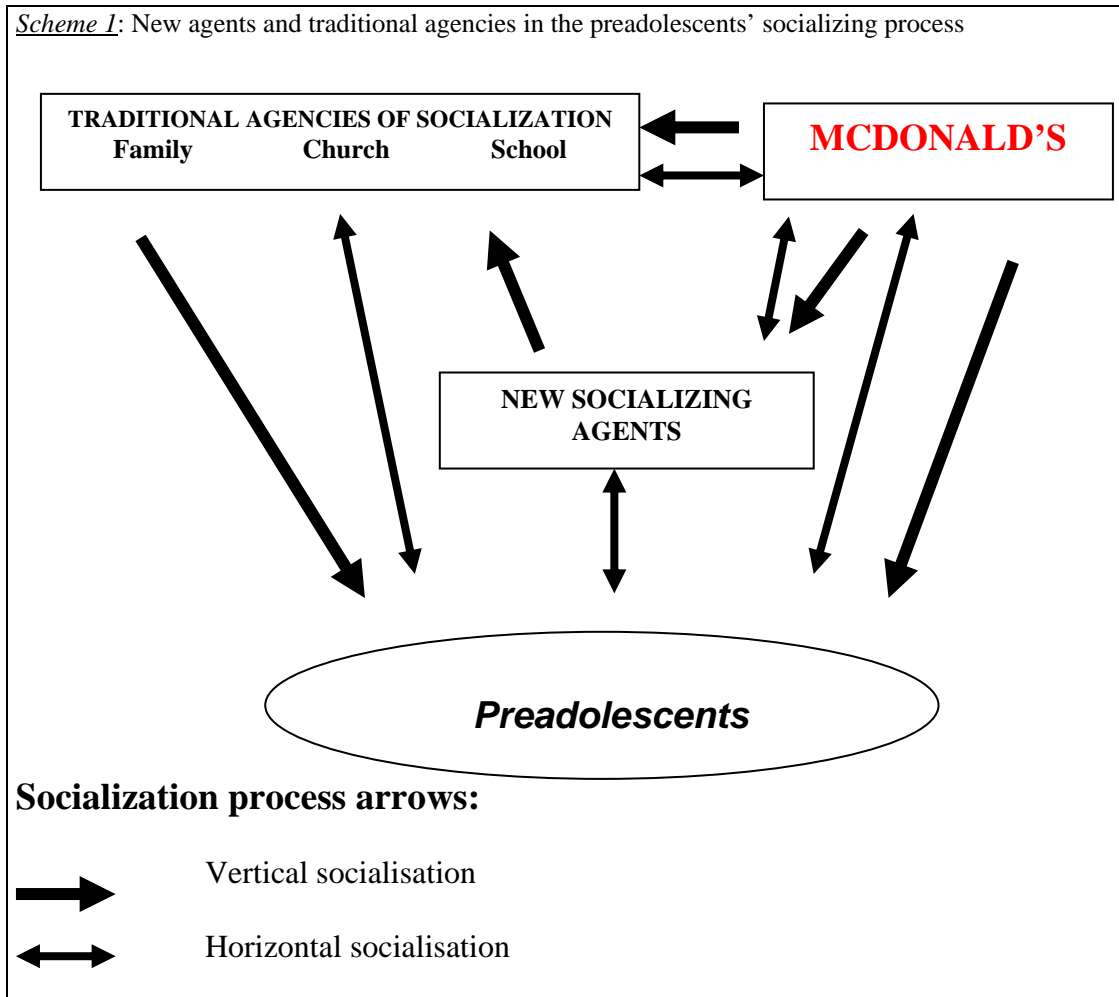
8.6.3 McDonald's

Here, below, are the results of the investigation of McDonald's and Proposition 6. The main information for the investigation was gathered through McDonald's websites (Swiss, Canadian and other international sites) and our visits to McDonald's restaurants. The McDonald's restaurant presents itself among other things as a

restaurant for everybody. However, children's treat is particularly stressed. McDonald's restaurants can also be identified as family restaurants. Consequently, McDonald's can utilize family to socialise children. Television commercials and internet are McDonald's strongest relation with the new socializing agents. The relationship between McDonald's and the preadolescents takes place at McDonald's restaurants, through television, internet, advertising campaigns in the printed press. McDonald's also sponsors many children's activities and events.

Scheme 3

Scheme 1: New agents and traditional agencies in the preadolescents' socializing process

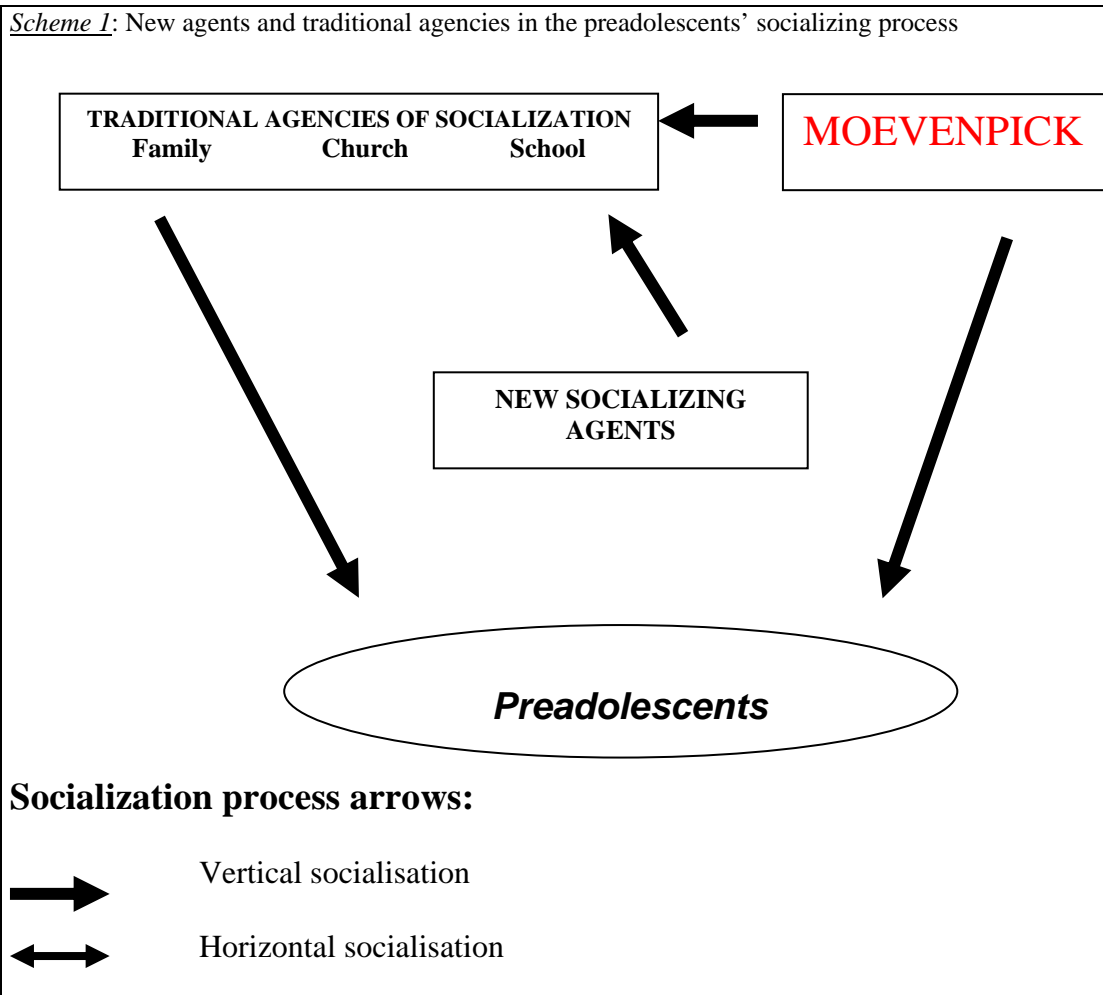


8.6.4 Moevenpick

Here, below, are the results of the investigation of Moevenpick and Proposition 6. Information for the investigation was gathered through Moevenpick website and some Moevenpick clients. Moevenpick tries to influence the family to come to its

restaurants through a marketing strategy we can name child treat. The German website clearly invites the whole family to go to its restaurants. Many parents and grand parents believe that Moevenpick is a good restaurant when they wish to eat good quality food and they are accompanied by young children. Moevenpick restaurants use internet for their information. Therefore, internet is the new socializing agent used by Moevenpick. However, the clients with whom we discussed never surfed on Moevenpick sites. The only chance that Moevenpick has to set in contact with children is through its restaurants and through its ice creams.

Scheme 4



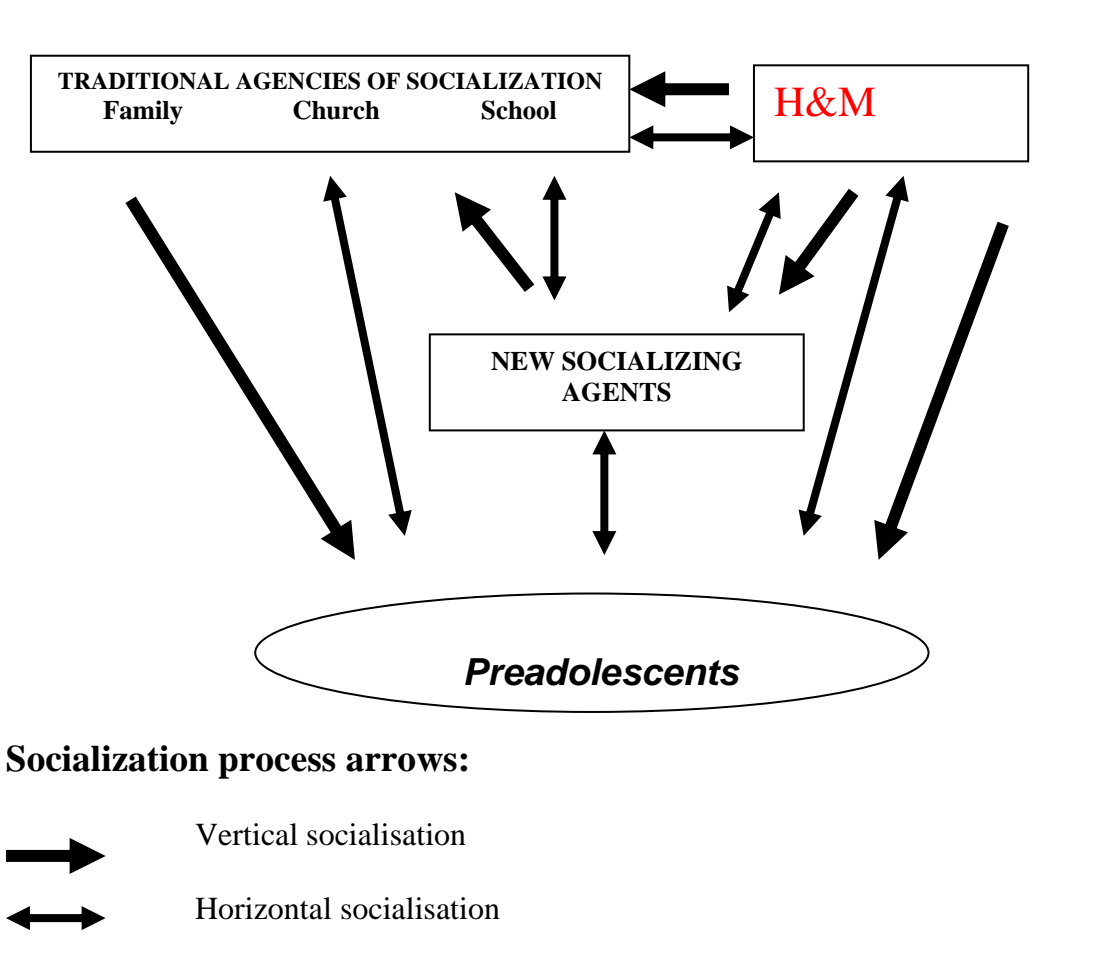
8.6.5 H&M

Here, below, are the results of the investigation of H&M and Proposition 6. Information for the investigation was gathered through H&M website as well as some press articles.

Although preadolescents can be considered as being final users of H&M products, H&M clearly states in its website that it targets specifically the parents. As a result, its socialisation effects take place via the family. H&M uses every suitable channel (television, printed press, internet, etc.) to communicate and except from its shops, the channels used by H&M are what we have defined as new socializing agents. Preadolescents are hooked by the commercials (although H&M states it does not address to children) and in their shops.

Scheme 5

Scheme 1: New agents and traditional agencies in the preadolescents' socializing process

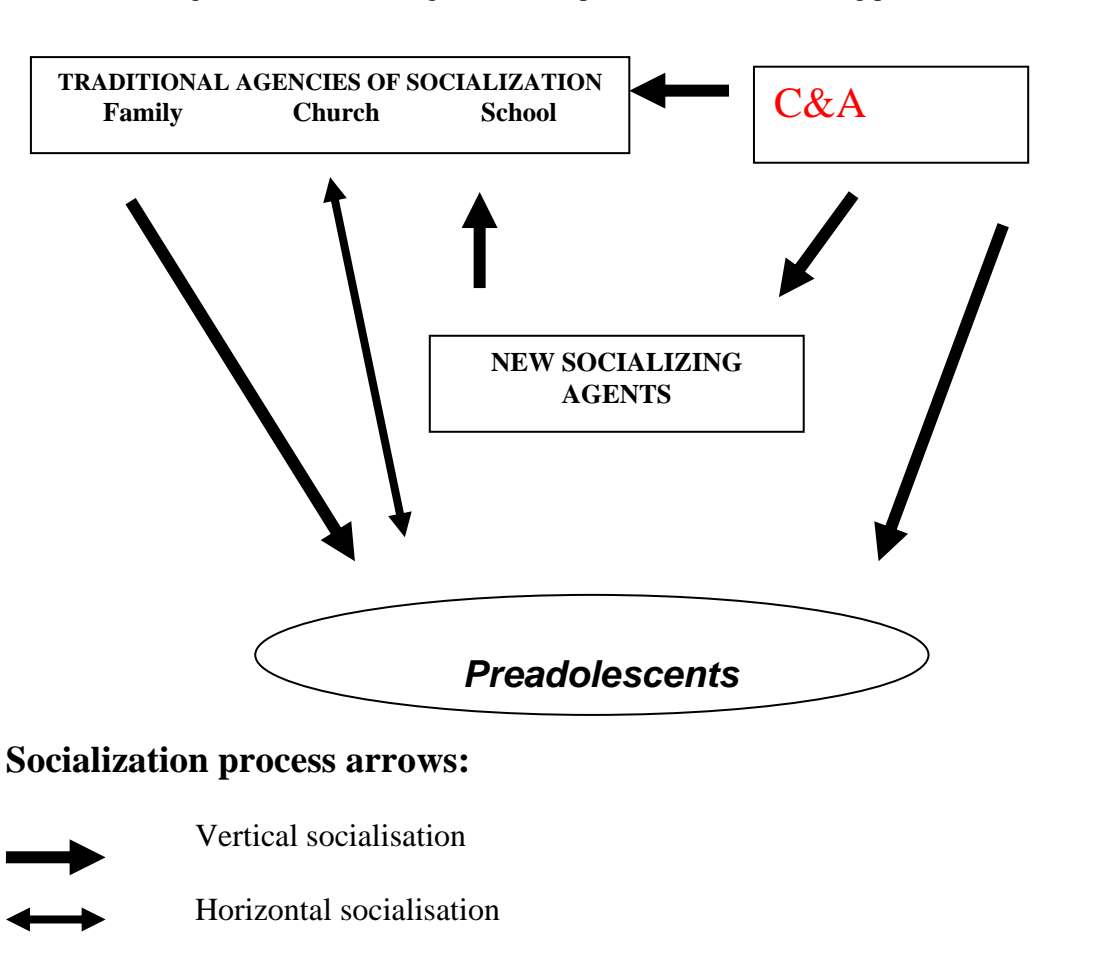


8.6.6 C&A

Below are the results of the investigation of C&A and Proposition 6. Information for the investigation was gathered through the C&A website. C&A offers clothes for the whole family; therefore, it endeavours to appeal to the family to sell its products. As a result, we can agree that C&A utilizes the family to reach its preadolescent audience. C&A messages are transmitted through television, the printed press and internet to communicate its messages. However, their quantity is insignificant and we can not measure how it influences people. The relation between C&A and preadolescents can happen in its shops while parents bring along their children for shopping.

Scheme 6

Scheme 1: New agents and traditional agencies in the preadolescents' socializing process



McDonald's and H&M's arrows' density shows that these two firms have an intense socializing activity that we will be pleased to discuss in the next chapter together with the socializing role of the other firms. However, at present, let us look at the results depicting the six firms as offering mediate or im-mediate socialisation.

8.7 Firms' Mediated or Im-mediate Socialisation

Below, you will find the data of Proposition 7. They are the consequence of our attempt to position the firms on Table 3 from Chapter 5. We, therefore, present Table 3 of Chapter 7 six times in order to better visualize the position of the firm (highlighted in red) .The data is ordered by firms.

Proposition 7: *Firms of mass products and services offer a mediated and/or an im-mediate socialisation.*

8.7.1 Lego

Here, below, are the results of the investigation of Lego and Proposition 7. Information for the investigation was gathered through the Lego website and its advertising efforts.

Firm's reliability. The Lego Company presents itself as an institution with a long history and a lot of credibility. Therefore, its records, financial importance and communication towards the public are all elements that confirm its reliability. ***Type of message transmission.*** In general, Lego advertising campaigns and television commercials do not have a high degree of interactivity. However, the Lego website offers several tools to get a hold of Lego and to share consumers' thoughts, ideas and proposal to the Company.

Communication channel. The Lego Company uses television, the printed media and internet to communicate. Therefore, its communication takes place through the new socializing agencies.

Recipients. Lego addresses itself to its target, among which we can find preadolescents and parents. However, when it addresses to its young audience it uses the informal "you" that can be translated with the German "du". While targeting, Lego addresses itself to separate units.

Communication goal. The goal of the transmission is a mixture of information, training, social exchange, internalization of the Company's values and, eventually, pushing the client to buy the Lego product.

Table 1

	MEDIATED SOCIALIZATION	IM-MEDIATE SOCIALIZATION
Context	Prevalently institutional *	Institutional and/or daily
Mode	Transmission prevalently vertical*	Transmission through interaction
Channel	Formal agency more than informal*	Informal Agency more than formal
Recipient	Units*	Subjects
Finality	Internalization of values*	Information/building/social exchange*

***(text in red)**

8.7.2 Pokémon

Below are the results of the investigation of Pokémon and Proposition 7. Information for the investigation was gathered through the cartoon series as well as during Professor Suess's lecture given at the University of Zürich in 2000/01.

Firm's reliability. Pokémon is not a Company but a brand. Therefore, it has not an institutional presentation and its credibility among the public has never been established.

Type of message transmisson. Pokémon cartoon series does not offer interactivity. However, the many websites about Pokémon make preadolescents believe, that a real interaction can take place.

Communication channel. The main channel for Pokémon's communication has been and still is television.

Recipients. The target of Pokémon cartoon series is the preadolescents. The many licensing product target the same audience. However, their commercials address the audience as if they were interacting with a single individual.

Communication goal. The primary goal of Pokémon cartoon series has been to give some entertainment to its target. However, this primary goal has been used by the licensing products industry to enhance values, spread information and monopolize targets' social exchange.

Table 2

	MEDIATED SOCIALIZATION	IM-MEDIATE SOCIALIZATION
Context	Prevalently institutional	Institutional and/or daily*
Mode	Transmission prevalently vertical*	Transmission through interaction
Channel	Formal agency more than informal	Informal Agency more than formal*
Recipient	Units	Subjects*
Finality	Internalization of values	Information/building/social exchange*

***(text in red)**

8.7.3 McDonald's

Here, below, the results of the investigation of McDonald's and Proposition 7. Information for the investigation was gathered through McDonald's website and its advertising campaigns.

Firm's reliability. McDonald's Company presents itself like a powerful and very institutional Company. Its history, financial strength and media coverage confer a lot of reliability to McDonald's.

Type of message transmission. The communication flow goes from McDonald's through the target. However, McDonald's listens to customers and adapts its behaviour following customer demands. In this way, McDonald's is receptive and grants a sort of interactivity.

Communication channel. McDonald's communicates through its restaurants, through television advertising, through the press and through its website.

Recipients. McDonald's targets its preadolescent clients in a way that the client thinks McDonald's is addressing him/her exclusively. While addressing to their young audience (e.g. in the corner for Kids& Family in www.McDonald's.ch), McDonald's uses the German "du", the French "tu" and the Italian "tu" (www.McDonald's.ch). However, McDonald's uses the German "Sie" the French "vous" and the Italian "voi" when addressing to its adult audience. (That is the polite form of you). A striking sentence in the same corner is: in German "Ich will bei McDonald's Geburtstag feiern" (in French "Oui, je veux fêter mon anniversaire chez McDonald's", Italian "Voglio, festeggiare il mio compleanno da McDonald's). The

use of “I” implies a new step in the communication identification that we will be pleased to discuss in Chapter 9.

Communication goal. The goal of the communication is to sell McDonald’s products.

Table 3

	MEDIATED SOCIALIZATION	IM-MEDIATE SOCIALIZATION
Context	Prevalently institutional	Institutional and/or daily*
Mode	Transmission prevalently vertical	Transmission through interaction*
Channel	Formal agency more than informal	Informal Agency more than formal*
Recipient	Units	Subjects*
Finality	Internalization of values*	Information/building/social exchange*

***(text in red)**

8.7.4 Moevenpick

Here, below, are the results of the investigation of Moevenpick and Proposition 7. Information for the investigation was gathered through the Moevenpick website and its restaurants.

Firm’s reliability. The Moevenpick Company presents itself as an institution with a lot of credibility. In fact, its history and its worldwide activities give an image of reliability.

Type of message transmission. Sometimes, Moevenpick asks its customers who attend the restaurants to judge its services and to suggest ideas through questionnaires. The Moevenpick website allows customers to get in touch with Moevenpick.

Communication channel. Moevenpick’s main communication takes place through its restaurants and its quality products. As mentioned before, this is not addressed to preadolescents.

Recipients. .As a matter of fact, Moevenpick targets, among other clients, the family.

Communication Goal. Moevenpick wishes people who look for high quality food to go to its restaurants.

Table 4

	MEDIATED SOCIALIZATION	IM-MEDIATE SOCIALIZATION
Context	Prevalently institutional*	Institutional and/or daily
Mode	Transmission prevalently vertical*	Transmission through interaction
Channel	Formal agency more than informal*	Informal Agency more than formal
Recipient	Units*	Subjects
Finality	Internalization of values	Information/building/social exchange*

***(text in red)**

8.7.5 H&M

Below are the results of the investigation of H&M and Proposition 7. The information for the investigation was gathered through H&M's website and advertising campaigns.

Firm's reliability. H&M Company presents itself like a powerful and very institutional company. Its history, financial strength and media coverage confer a lot of reliability to H&M.

Type of message transmission. H&M uses different channels to communicate in order to reach its target in the most suitable way. H&M tries to listen to its target's needs and wishes. It follows trends and makes it available as soon as possible to its target. In this sense, H&M allows interactivity.

Communication channel. The H&M Company uses television, the printed media and internet, its website and its own shops to communicate. Therefore, its communication flow happens through the new socializing agencies, too.

Recipients. H&M's target is young people above all. However, two strategies are used: 1) It addresses its audience without using a specific pronoun (especially its billboard campaigns); 2) It addresses its audience using the informal you "Sie" (German) and "vous" (French).

Communication goal. The goal of H&M's communication is, eventually, to sell its products.

Table 5

	MEDIATED SOCIALIZATION	IM-MEDIATE SOCIALIZATION
Context	Prevalently institutional	Institutional and/or daily*
Mode	Transmission prevalently vertical	Transmission through interaction*
Channel	Formal agency more than informal	Informal Agency more than formal*
Recipient	Units	Subjects*
Finality	Internalization of values*	Information/building/social exchange

***(text in red)**

8.7.6 C&A

Below are the results of the investigation of C&A and Proposition 7. Information for the investigation was gathered through C&A website and advertising campaigns.

Firm's reliability. The C&A Company presents itself like an institutional company. Its history and its presence around Europe confer reliability to C&A.

Type of message transmission. C&A did not develop a high interactivity strategy. Its communication is traditional and vertical.

Communication channel. C&A communicates through billboard, television commercials and in its shops.

Recipients C&A would like to offer products for all the family members; therefore, it has a large target group.

Communication goal. Eventually, like other companies, the goal of the communication is to sell its products.

Table 6

	MEDIATED SOCIALIZATION	IM-MEDIATE SOCIALIZATION
Context	Prevalently institutional*	Institutional and/or daily
Mode	Transmission prevalently vertical*	Transmission through interaction
Channel	Formal agency more than informal*	Informal Agency more than formal
Recipient	Units*	Subjects
Finality	Internalization of values*	Information/building/social exchange

***(text in red)**

The results show that Pokémon, McDonald's and H&M offer an im-mediate socialisation, whereas, the Lego, Moevenpick and C&A propose a mediated socialisation. It is, therefore, interesting to read the results of Proposition 8, in order to see how the socialising role of the six firms is perceived by the preadolescents.

8.8 The Preadolescents' Perception of the Socialising Role of Firms

Below, you will find the data of Proposition 8. They were collected during the interview with the three families. Before analysing the data of Proposition 8, let us discuss the peculiarity of the reference system of the three preadolescents' families.

8.8.1 Family 1 preadolescent reference system

The seven year old girl of Family 1 has a low social and communitarian environment involvement. After she finishes school, she normally comes back home and has no contact with the community. There is no great involvement either with her social class background. She clearly states she does not wish to work in the same business area as her father, who runs the family newspaper store, nor be a housewife like her mother. Her mother agrees on the fact that she is pushing her daughter (and her son, too) to have a better education than she had and to look for an outstanding position. As a result, the daughter wishes to work in a laboratory.

When the children of Family 1 are not in school, their life is entirely spent within the family: mother, father, grand-parents, aunt and uncle. We met the girl during the Christmas holidays and she told us that she just could not wait to go back to school as she loves to go to school. At home, she says, she gets bored as there is very little going on. The preadolescent understands the Arabic language spoken by her mother and travels every other year to Morocco to visit her mother's family. She watches television a lot, but her language is appropriate. In fact, she does not mix everyday language with the expressions that she hears in cartoons or TV series. Her free time is ordered, scheduled and decided by the family. The girl does ballet, swimming and skating in formal institutions.

8.8.2 Family 2 preadolescent reference system

The 8 ½ years old boy of Family 2 has a high social and communitarian environment involvement. After school, he stays for tutored homework, he attends catechism lessons within the community, attends local church services and his very integrated in his block. The boy has big professional aspirations and ambitions that do not match neither with his father's previous working experiences nor with his mother's position. The boy is bilingual (French and Italian) and often travels to Italy where live many of his relatives.

The boy of Family 2 likes to go to school since he feels there is not much going on at home. When the boy is carried away, he likes to express with some cartoon series expressions. The boy's free-time is decided, scheduled and ordered by the mother. However, the boy regrets the time in which there was a vacant period and he was allowed to play football in an informal way, with some friends in the neighbourhood park. At present, he is playing football in the local club.

8.8.3 Family 3 preadolescents reference system

The 10 ½ old boy of Family 3 has a high social and communitarian environment. His time after school is full of activities ranging from free play with neighbours' peers, to local church lessons, local music school lessons and to sport activities in local associations. This great involvement does not prevent him from being involved with the family and the extended family – the maternal grand-parents live a 3 minutes' walk from his house. The maturity, the linguistic expressions and intellectual capabilities of the preadolescent make no doubts: He is a brilliant preadolescent who is succeeding in school – as a matter of fact, the first time we approached him to ask him whether he wished to take part in our research, he was reading the Bible. However, the boy of Family 3 confessed that he does not wish to become a doctor like his mother nor a bank problem solver like his father. He has three professional

wishes: becoming an ambulance driver, mechanic -in his own garage-, or an electrician and start his own business.

The house of Family 3 is provided with a lot of outdoor amusement for children, as well as, a swimmingpool that allows the children to exercise. All the children of Family 3 play music and, as explained by the mother, this is a tradition in the father's family. Family 3 has also a second house in the mountains and often leaves for skiing weekends during winter time or walking weekends during the summer. The boy of Family 3 likes school a lot and he would not consider a world without going to school, although he is enjoying the time spent with his family during holidays. Even if not every lesson is interesting, he understands the need and the importance of school and education. The parents determine the amount of television he, his brother and sister can watch. However, the preadolescent states that he does not like to watch a lot of television either. The mother confirms and adds that she and her husband do not watch a great amount of television. The boy denies using television expressions while speaking. However, he noticed that his older brother does. The family has a strong influence and power on their children and orients all the outdoor, indoor and extra-scholastic activities. The boy finds this situation very pleasant and feels that he is not forced to do anything. All outdoor and indoor activities were submitted to his attention as propositions he could take or leave. He, therefore, felt that he has the power of choosing.

Proposition 8: *Preadolescents take firms of mass products and services as agencies or agents of socialisation.*

8.8.4 Lego

The preadolescents we interviewed all recognized the logo of Lego and asserted to possess or to have played with this toy.

Family 1

The preadolescent of Family 1 says that she has recently seen some commercials on television. However, she thinks it is a boys' toy. The mother reminds the daughter that although she defines it as a boys' toy she plays Legos with her brother. The mother never plays with Legos. The preadolescent of Family 1 says she does not mind not receiving Legos as a present. Lego bricks are not one of her favourite toys, after all. Her favourite toys used to be Barbie dolls (she has more than 100 Barbies), but, now, her mother told her she should be more interested in clothes. The preadolescent of Family 1 thinks her mother is right. No specific sentences related to Lego were remembered by the girl. Her main feeling is that Lego is a boys' toy and portrays boys' attitudes.

Family 2

The mother of Family 2 says her child has received plenty of Legos. She adds that she used to play Legos herself when she was little and thinks that Lego bricks are the best toy ever. The boy of Family 2 complains about television commercials: “There are very few television commercials about Lego.” He feels it is a boy’s and girl’s toy. He does not recall any special language that goes with the company Lego. He likes to receive Legos; however, it is a game that he usually plays at home alone. The mother helps now and then with the construction when it is too difficult. The mother complains about Lego’s prices. She says that this is the main obstacle that prevents people to purchase these toys.

Family 3

The preadolescent of Family 3 says he plays with his older brother and is used to building castles, etc. He says that there are not many television commercials or advertising campaigns about Lego. He was first given a box of Lego bricks as a present and afterward, he became very interested in the toy. The father shared with him and his brother his old Lego that helped him to develop his passion. He never plays Legos with peers and he thinks that it is not very important to have Legos in order to make friends. Nowadays, he says, friends are more in into their “hi-pod”. The mother finds that Lego is a very interesting toy.

8.8.5 Pokémon

All the preadolescents recognized the logo of Pokémon.

Family 1

The preadolescent of Family 1 says that she watches Pokémon with her brother. As discussed with her mother, she thinks that it is mostly a boy’s game, but she finds the cartoon series funny. She says she would not want to adopt the Pokémon style as this is more for boys. That is why she does not have Pokémon items or wishes to have them.

Family 2

The preadolescent of Family 2 says he has some cassettes with Pokémon and has some items. He says he really loves it and that a lot of his friends have items related to Pokémon. He likes everything about Pokémon, particularly the way in which Ash and Pikachu defeat their competitors. For the preadolescent, the most amusing part of the series is when Ash is competing.

Family 3

The preadolescent of Family 3 has some cassettes and admits he once had been attracted by the Pokémon fever. He used to watch the cartoon series and had played

with Pokémon cards. He and his brother had collected up to 400 Pokémon cards. However, he considers this as an old thing and has taken some distance from Pokémon. The boy analyses that the attraction for the Pokémon cartoon series was linked to the episodes. In fact, these always finish in a way that pushed the boy to want to know what will happen in the next episode. The boy greatly appreciates the adventure within the cartoon series. The mother admits that the Pokémon cartoon series was an important social event and she and her husband had to let their children watch the episode, although they found them not instructive at all and very cyclical. They bore with it because they were sure it was a temporary and seasonal passion that would diminish with time.

8.8.6 McDonald's

All three preadolescents recognized the logo of McDonald's.

Family 1

The preadolescent of Family 1 says that she likes to go and to eat in that restaurant, although her mother does not like it. The preadolescent says that her mother allows her to eat a full meal at McDonald's only during anniversary parties. The preadolescent thinks that McDonald's is a funny restaurant that gives toys to children. Her favourite drink at McDonald's is Coca-Cola. She likes the television commercials and the advertising campaigns of McDonald's. She thinks it is nice to celebrate the anniversary at McDonald's. However, the mother, under the pressure of her own brother, has chosen another restaurant to celebrate her daughter's and son's birthdays. The preadolescent associates McDonald's with good time and amusement.

Family 2

The preadolescent of Family 2 has been there "plenty of times". "I know that food is greasy and delicious," says the preadolescent. While describing the fun he has at McDonald's, he starts using a jargon to express his attraction to the restaurants. He finds McDonald's television commercials and advertising campaigns "mega cool". He likes the McDonald's clown (Ronald) although he does not recall his name. "It is too good to celebrate an anniversary party at McDonald's because everybody likes it ... although some people do not like it," says the preadolescent. His mother adds that his son has celebrated all his anniversary parties at McDonald's. He adds that he likes his friends when they celebrate their anniversary at McDonald's and continues, "If you like McDonald's, but can't celebrate your anniversary at McDonald's, you are a loser".

Family 3

The preadolescent of Family 3 recognizes the logo of McDonald's and adds in a detached way that he does not go there often. He says that an outing to McDonald's

is always linked to a special event. The mother agrees and says that they usually go at McDonald's after visiting a water amusement park in the region. He never asks his mother to take him there, however the mother says that although they rarely go to McDonald's this always happens under a parental suggestions. The mother associates the fact of going to McDonald's with an atmosphere of vacations and free-time. The boy finds McDonald's television commercials very banal; however, he admits to watch them when they are shown on television. He thinks that people go to McDonald's for their fun, for a special occasion, etc. He admits he puts up with being invited to anniversary parties at McDonald's. The clown at McDonald's is the only elements that he really likes. He once had a very nice experience while meeting Ronald (the McDonald's clown). The preadolescent says that food at McDonald's is not disgusting.

8.8.7 Moevenpick

The three preadolescents did not recognize the logo of Moevenpick.

Family 1

The mother of the preadolescent of Family 1 tries to remind her, "We go to Moevenpick to eat ice cream, do you remember?". "Not well," replies the girl.

Family 2

The mother of the preadolescent of Family 2 reminds him, "We go there to eat ice cream." The boy replies, "Yes, I am kind of remembering now".

Family 3

The mother of the preadolescent of Family 3 reminds him, "We go there to eat ice cream." Even with this suggestion the preadolescent does not remember the restaurant at all.

8.8.8 H&M

Only the preadolescent of Family 1 recognized H&M.

Family 1

The preadolescent of Family 1 says that she has already been to an H&M shop. However, her mother tells us she does not go often to this shop that she used to consider cheap. The first time she went was because a neighbour informed her she could find the ballet dress she was looking for her daughter. After this experience, the mother judges H&M as a place where she can buy some clothes for her children, especially her daughter. The preadolescent thinks that H&M is a shop conceived for young girls like her. She likes the television commercials, she considers H&M very

trendy and that is why she likes it. She remembers very well the television commercial that H&M has presented during Christmas, and she found it very good. Her mother is a little bit concerned. She agrees that they have fashionable clothes, even though, the prices are low. Mother says she likes to buy her daughter's clothes in catalogues. It is as if the mother asks for our approval before admitting that she has bought a few things at H&M. Our impression is that she does not want to be perceived as a mother who buys cheap clothes, in terms of quality.

Family 2

The preadolescent of Family 2 does not recognize the logo of H&M. He thinks it is a chocolate brand. His mother tells him that it is not M&M's. However, he insists.

Family 3

The preadolescent of Family 3 does not recognize the logo of H&M. The mother confirms that she never buys clothes at H&M for him nor takes him to the shop. However, the mother finds that the shop has a lot of nice clothes for her 6 year-old daughter.

8.8.9 C&A

Only the preadolescent of Family 2 recognized the logo of C&A.

Family 1

The preadolescent of Family 1 does not recognize the logo of C&A. The mother reminds her the last time they have visited the shop. The girl remembers but finds that C&A is not a shop conceived for young girls like her. She says that she does not like the shop. However, the mother replies that the quality is very good and the prices are convenient. The girl has never seen any commercial about C&A and does not think C&A has a particular style. As decided with her mother, she prefers to wear clothes without any writings, logos, or drawings: just plain clothes.

Family 2

The preadolescent of Family 2 recognizes the logo of C&A. He says that the last time he went to this shop he was accompanied by his mother. The mother adds that the father (who recently died) was in that shop as well. The mother says that the boy really likes to buy clothes and that is why he remembers C&A. The boy replies that C&A is a store that is conceived for boys of his age. The mother says that they have good quality and it is worth going there. The boy has never seen any commercial about C&A; however, he finds the articles sold by C&A "cool and nice".

Family 3

The preadolescent of Family 3 does not recognize the logo of C&A. The mother with a certain assurance confirms that they never go to that shop.

Lego, Pokémon, McDonald's have been identified by all the three preadolescents with no hesitation. Their statements allow us to understand the role of these firms in their socialisation process and we will be pleased to discuss this matter in the next chapter. However, before deepening in the discussion, let us make a brief summary of the present chapter.

8.9 Conclusion

The data collected for each firm allow us to talk about their influence in the socialisation of preadolescents. While testing **Proposition 1: Firms of mass products and services propose values**, we have been able to notice that most of the firms propose values while selling their products and services. It is as if the values were embedded in the product or service and influenced its appeal. Concerning **Proposition 2: Firms of mass products and services propose norms**, we have observed that firms develop strategies that make the purchase of their products a norm to follow in order to respond to the laws of a given group of friends. For some brands like Pokémon, the purchase of play cards means taking an active part in the group's social exchange. The test of **Proposition 3: Firms of mass products and services propose behavioural models**, allowed us to discover that every firm proposes behavioural models. However, while every firm wishes to impose its behavioural model, the success greatly depends on the financial budget destined to communication. In fact, the submission of a behavioural model is related with the communication strategy of the marketing policy. H&M and McDonald's offer dreamlike behavioural models thanks to a huge communication effort and considerable financial resources.

The money that a company invests in its communication policy towards its target was a clear issue also for **Proposition 4: Firms of mass products and services develop a specific language to communicate with preadolescents**. In fact, the budget that a firm allocates for its messages greatly influences the impact of the communication. For instance, Pokémon's cartoon series had undergone a "relooking" of its language and acoustic effects in order to increase their likeability for a western audience.

The test of the four hypotheses – we have called fundamental – allows us to state that a firm can successfully propose values, norms, behavioural models and a specific language codes with which to address its audience, following its financial possibility. The test of the remaining four propositions allowed us to identify, qualify and

compare the marketing process with the socialising process. In fact, the validation of **Proposition 5: The marketing policy can be compared with the socialising process**, enabled us to test, for each firm, whether or not its marketing policy could be compared with the process of socialisation. Unusually, the marketing policy of all the six firms could reply to the questions of McQuail paradigm. Therefore, a parallel between marketing policy and the process of socialisation could be drawn.

Proposition 6: Firms of mass products and services are new socialising agents or agencies of socialisation, made the analysis of the role played by each firm in the socialising process of preadolescents possible. Thanks to the schemes in section 8.6, we could picture the variety of socialising roles played by a firm. These can be very complex, like for McDonald's and H&M, or very simple, like for Pokémon. However, the intricacy or simplicity of a scheme alone can not explain the importance of the socialising role. In fact, other factors like those tested with our seventh proposition have to be taken into account. As a matter of fact, **Proposition 7: Firms of mass products and services offer a mediated and/or an im-mediate socialisation**, offers a new key to interpret the predominance of a firm as a socialising actor. It seems that firms offering an im-mediate socialisation have a larger impact on preadolescents. McDonald's, Pokémon and H&M are among the firms proposing an im-mediate socialisation.

Finally, thanks to **Proposition 8: Preadolescents take firms of mass products and services as agencies or agents of socialisation**, we were able to question the preadolescents and listen to their feelings towards the selected firms. What we learned is that firms can communicate appealing values, norms and behavioural model most of the time in an im-mediate way when they reach the child's sphere. They, therefore, become a valuable actor in their socialising process. However, the main obstacle for a firm remains the parents who still have a great power on their children and can prevent them to set in contact with a given firm.

This short summary is a prelude to Chapter 9; we, therefore, invite you to read the next pages where we will discuss the findings following a different modality. In fact, to permit a superior debate, each firm will be commented separately following the eight propositions and ultimately following our general hypothesis.

9. Discussions

The results indicate that the marketing policy of all the six firms (Lego, Pokémon, McDonald's, Moevenpick, H&M and C&A) can reply to the questions of McQuail's paradigm and, consequently, can be compared with the process of socialisation. Therefore, we will start the discussion of the findings following our fifth proposition: *The marketing policy can be compared with the socializing process.*

In order to have a global view of the role of a marketing policy into the socialising process, we have decided to discuss each firm separately (9.1 Lego's Decline, 9.2 Pokémon: A Shooting Star, 9.3 McDonald's Global Success, 9.4 Moevenpick's Problematic Relationship with Preadolescents, 9.5 H&M's Appealing Trends, 9.6 C&A's Family Approach).

9.1 Lego's Decline

The phenomenon of Lego's decline – as highlighted in the description of the firm (7.1.1 Lego), will be the centre of our discussion. The intent is to determine whether elements in the marketing policy of Lego can account for its fall. In other words, does Lego's marketing policy lack some socialising traits which are necessary for an efficient socialising process and, eventually, a success on the market?

As a first aspect, let us discuss the first question in McQuail's paradigm's: *Who is communicating with whom?* While communicating with adults (parents) and children contemporaneously, specifically in the written press, Lego takes the option of embedding in one single statement two messages for two different groups of people. This attempt can greatly undermine the power of the communication process since the two messages can not always be consistent and harmonious.

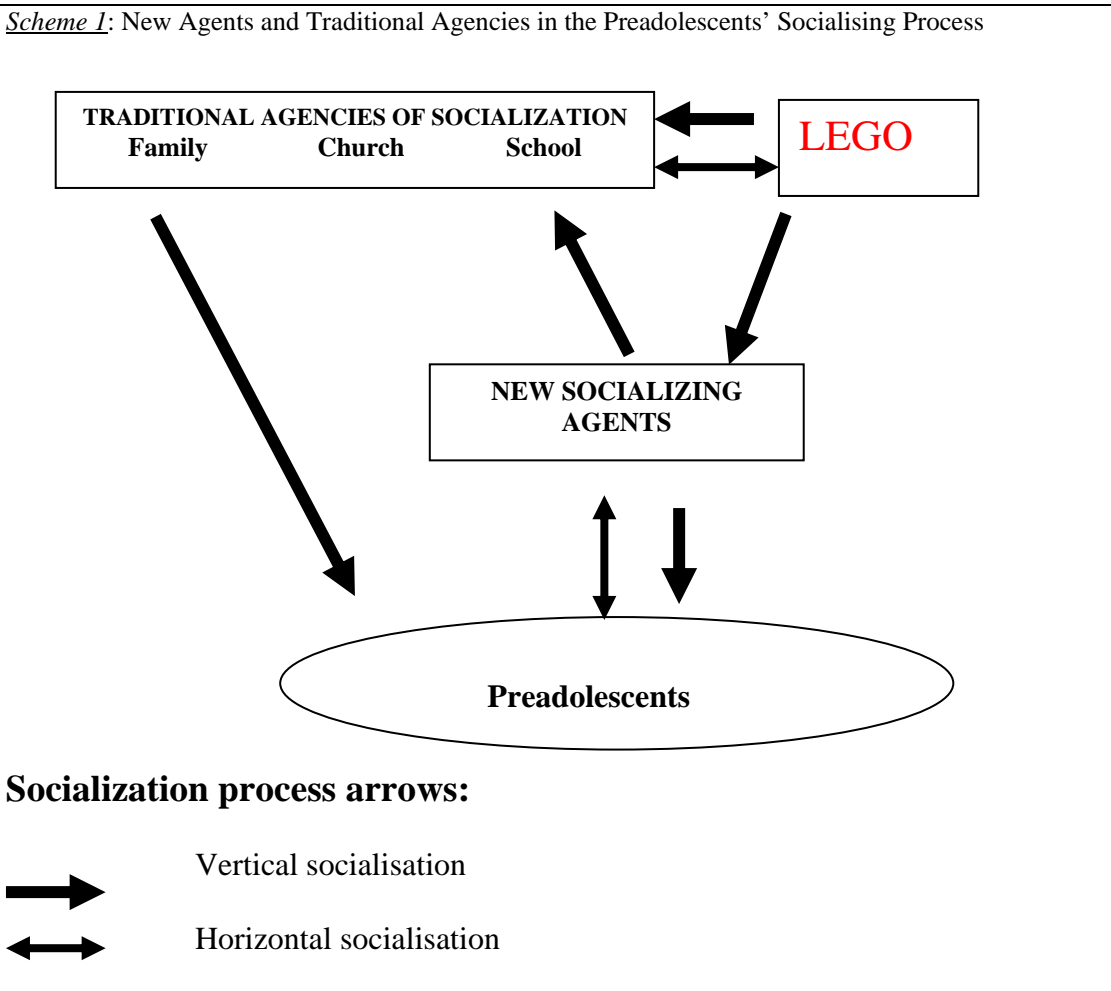
As shown in Chapter 5, the presence of the adults and the family around preadolescents has never been as fragile and unstable as in the last decade. Consequently, the two targets share less and less common experiences and it becomes a challenge to propose a joint meaning. As a matter of fact, Lego catalogues offer fun and amusement for their young clients next to a message of being a highly educational toy. Moreover, Lego informs the adults on the newest toys to buy in its catalogues. However, knowing, on the one hand, the complexity of the familiar setting, and, on the other hand, the complexity of Lego lines of products, chances to buy the wrong toy are big unless you know the kid and his/her belongings very well. Under these circumstances, we can agree that Lego's communication is built on an ancient framework of adult-preadolescent relationships where the parents knew exactly which toys their children had. This situation penalises Lego's selling goal

and is accentuated by the fact that Lego does not exploit the possible communication channels at their best.

Television, which remains an important communication tool for preadolescents, is employed only at Christmas. Additionally, internet - the communication of importance, which is growing enormously among young people –is used poorly. In fact, Lego’s website is only proposed in three languages (English, Danish and German). This is a serious handicap for preadolescents who are usually monolingual and have just learned how to read their mother tongue. Under those circumstances, the development of reliable and coherent consumer behaviour is diminished.

To reaffirm Lego’s inadequacy, we have decided to present once more Scheme 1 situating Lego’s socializing process.

Scheme 1



To reach preadolescents, Lego relies on the good opinions parents have of its bricks. In our sample, merely all parents and adults recognized the educational intent beyond the toy, having played with it during their childhood. However, fewer parents have the time to sit and invite their child into the Lego universe. Therefore, by letting the family the duty of presenting its products, Lego takes a big risk.

Lego's attempt to introduce its bricks via the school system – with what has been identified as “*Fremdsozialisation*” (Süss, 2004) - can be portrayed as hazardous. In fact, Morcellini (1994) and Süss (2004) have portrayed the school system as obsolete and lacking attraction for preadolescents. Furthermore, with its product license strategy, Lego creates confusion in the mind of parents. On one hand, we have the chimerical ideal parents have about Lego, a lasting didactic toy. On the other hand, the temporality of Lego bricks induced by the licensing approach. Finally, Lego offer a mediated socialisation lacking a strategy to directly set in contact with preadolescents. Preadolescents' response towards Lego seems greater when there is a parent's engagement in the recreation, but the communication deficiency of the Company prevents the reinforcement of Lego's preponderance among preadolescents, who are the final users.

As far as values are concerned, the conflict could never have been greater. In fact, since products and values are quasi-indissoluble in the marketing policy, the decision of Lego to sell Ferrari's car underlines the extent of inconsistency in the approach. Since 2003, the Ferrari's Formula 1 dominance associated this car with values such as victory, power, strength, etc. Those values were combined with the “traditional” ideals of an educational toy. However, since 2004, Ferrari's performances have diminished and can, now, be associated with the idea of losing, of being beaten, etc. As a result, by proposing products license items, Lego has no power to modify the situation not even with a good communication strategy. Moreover, the diversity of the product license items Lego is proposing prevents the construction of a unique and stable behavioural model. This issue plays a function also on the set of norms. In fact, with the product license, Lego has tried to match people's buying desire with the ascension and success of other firms. But the exploitation of the accomplishment of others is not unilateral. This means that the association works in good and bad times. The crisis Ferrari is suffering can do nothing but emphasize Lego's fall. Additionally, Lego's prices as highlighted by a parent are the biggest problem related with purchase motivation. Family budgets are, in these days, very tight and competition among toy firms is important. To motivate the purchase of its bricks, Lego has to propose a significant advantage and has to stop copying its competitors.

Lego's attempt to socialise its target is palpable. However, for the above mentioned reasons, Lego can not be considered a socialising agency because the analysis of its socialising process clearly shows that there are no lucid projects behind it. Thus, we

can conclude that Lego is an agent of socialisation, proposing a mediated socialisation recognised by the preadolescents, but not structured enough to be a milestone in their socialising panorama. Eventually, the unclear socialising process pursued by the Company has a central role in Lego's decline.

9.2 Pokémon: A Shooting Star

The quickness with which Pokémon entered the preadolescents' world has puzzled journalists, teachers, parents and firms. In this subchapter, we will discuss the facts and information of the previous chapters in order to explain the socializing components that have determined the Pokémon "shooting star phenomenon", as described in the section 7.1.2.

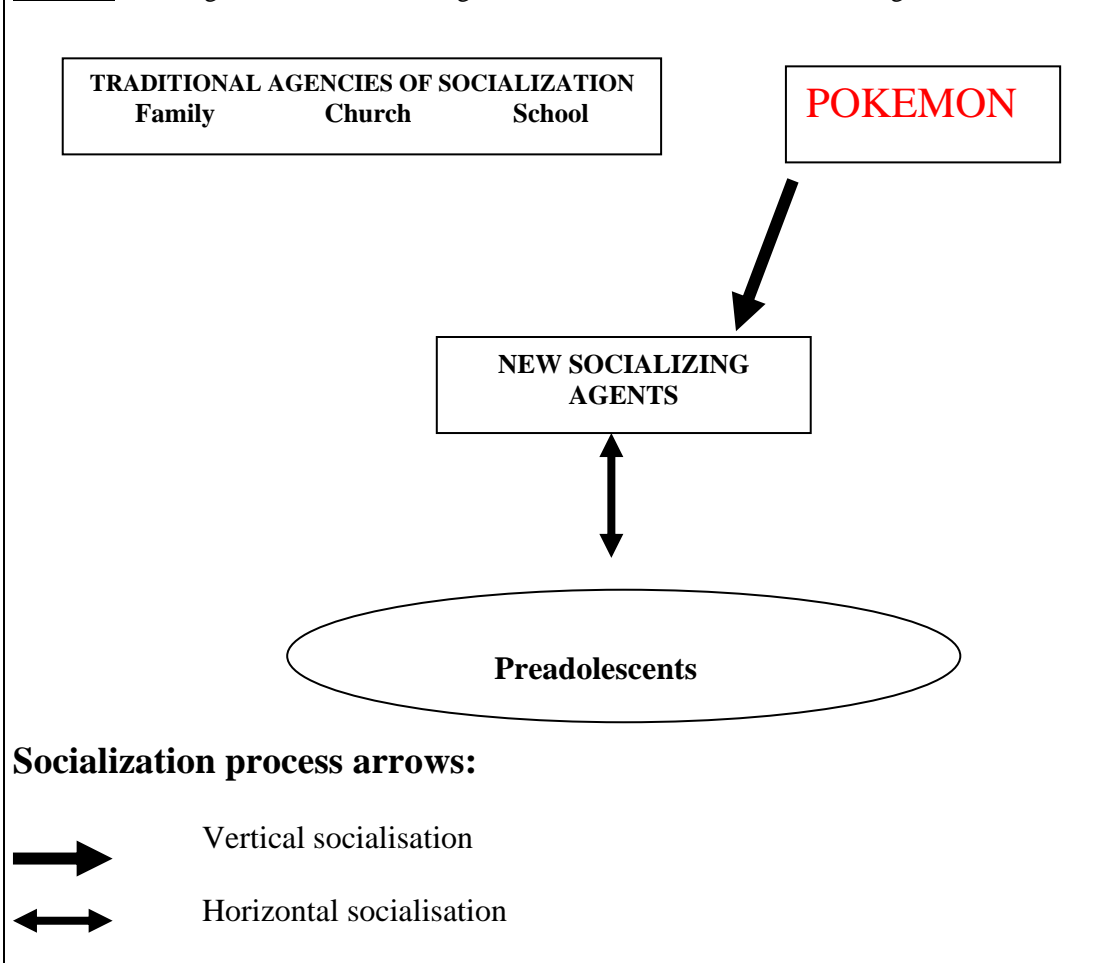
The investigation has shown that it was plausible to draw a parallel between marketing policy and the process of socialisation. In fact, we have learned through the McQuail's paradigm that Pokémon cartoons communicate essentially with the preadolescents. Therefore, Pokémon's message had been adjusted to respond to the target's tempo, wishes and desires to be entertained. In fact, cartoons' episodes were transmitted in a strategic moment of the day: when children would come back from school. As mentioned by Del Vecchio (1997) and Pause-Hasenbrink (2004), many preadolescents who come home to an empty house watch television to fill the missing attention of their parents. Their only hope is to find somebody or something that can entertain them. In this sense, the Pokémon cartoon series was the right thing at the right moment.

Not many people noticed that this animated cartoon broadcasted an affective relation (Musfeld, 1997) precisely at the time when the preadolescent was seeking it. Pokémon cartoons have, therefore, filled an important gap while amusing its target. Firms like Nintendo have smartly used the success of Pokémon and trivialised it for their own selling purposes.

Let us once more appreciate Scheme 2 and discuss the socialising role of Pokémon cartoon series.

Scheme 2

Scheme 1: New Agents and Traditional Agencies in the Preadolescents' Socializing Process



The Pokémon cartoon series has been a socialising agent merely for preadolescents. Parents put up with the cartoons, but were never appealed by it, while school teachers have adopted two different positions to: 1) allow Pokémon during school breaks or 2) forbid Pokémon at school. Therefore, Pokémon's socialising action has taken place without the support of the traditional agencies. As a result, Pokémon has represented a pure example of im-mediate socialisation (Morcellini, 1994). Although we have defined its mode of transmission as being prevalently vertical in Chapter 8, preadolescents were overwhelmed by the self-socialisation of the media (television or DVD player) that broadcasted the episodes and did not pay attention to the "*Fremdsozialisation*" beneath. In other words, the pupils watching Pokémon might have been taught to be in a horizontal mode of socialisation (self-socialisation) while in reality there was no interaction at all. Pokémon has, consequently, seduced preadolescents offering a freedom and an escape sought in that particular

psychological moment that is preadolescence (cf. Section 3.1). Nevertheless, as seen in Section 8.8, school and family still count a lot in the preadolescents' socialising universe.

Becoming a socializing agent without the agreement (or support) of the main traditional agencies exposed Pokémon to a great deal of dangers and, eventually, determined the brevity of its socializing impact. Pokémon can then be depicted as a trend that disappeared after some time and “with no consequences for the child”, as a parent explained. In fact, its language and its behavioural model were too unreal and detached from everyday life to be rationally integrated in the preadolescents' universe. The social values we could name “affective relationship” - entrenched in the episodes - contrasted with the fighting message. As a result, parents accepted the set of norms of Pokémon (watching the episodes to be able to discuss with peers, buying playing cards to allow social exchange with peers, etc.) without sustaining this phenomenon that was classified as trendy.

Pokémon's socializing influence can be described as an unintentional effect that was greatly used by other firms. Pokémon cartoon series had a perfect communication strategy, but its socializing process lied on vanishing bases. Moreover, traditional agencies like family and school have treated Pokémon as a passing incident and never considered it a durable socializing figure. These aspects have determined its “shooting star” effect.

9.3 McDonald's global success

It is difficult to discuss McDonald's marketing policy without celebrating a firm's success in its endeavor to copy the work of an agency of socialisation. While analyzing the McQuail's paradigm, the most striking example of it is the answer of question 3: *How is communication performed?* Socializing agencies would reply that their communication is performed via themselves. As far as McDonald's is concerned, its restaurants remain the central place for its message. Besides, agency-like, McDonald's message is adapted to each different targeted audience, and it disguises McDonald's selling goals with appealing values and behavioural models. From time to time, the core message is perfectly synchronised with the group of clients; as a result, preadolescents' perception can be misleading. They might think that McDonald's is addressing them exclusively as a single individual, like it happens at school or in the family circle.

McDonald's interactivity towards its clients is often dissimulated under McDonald's constant effort to renew itself. For instance, McDonald's restaurants in Switzerland are undergoing a “re-looking” attempt that is partly due to the clients' demand.

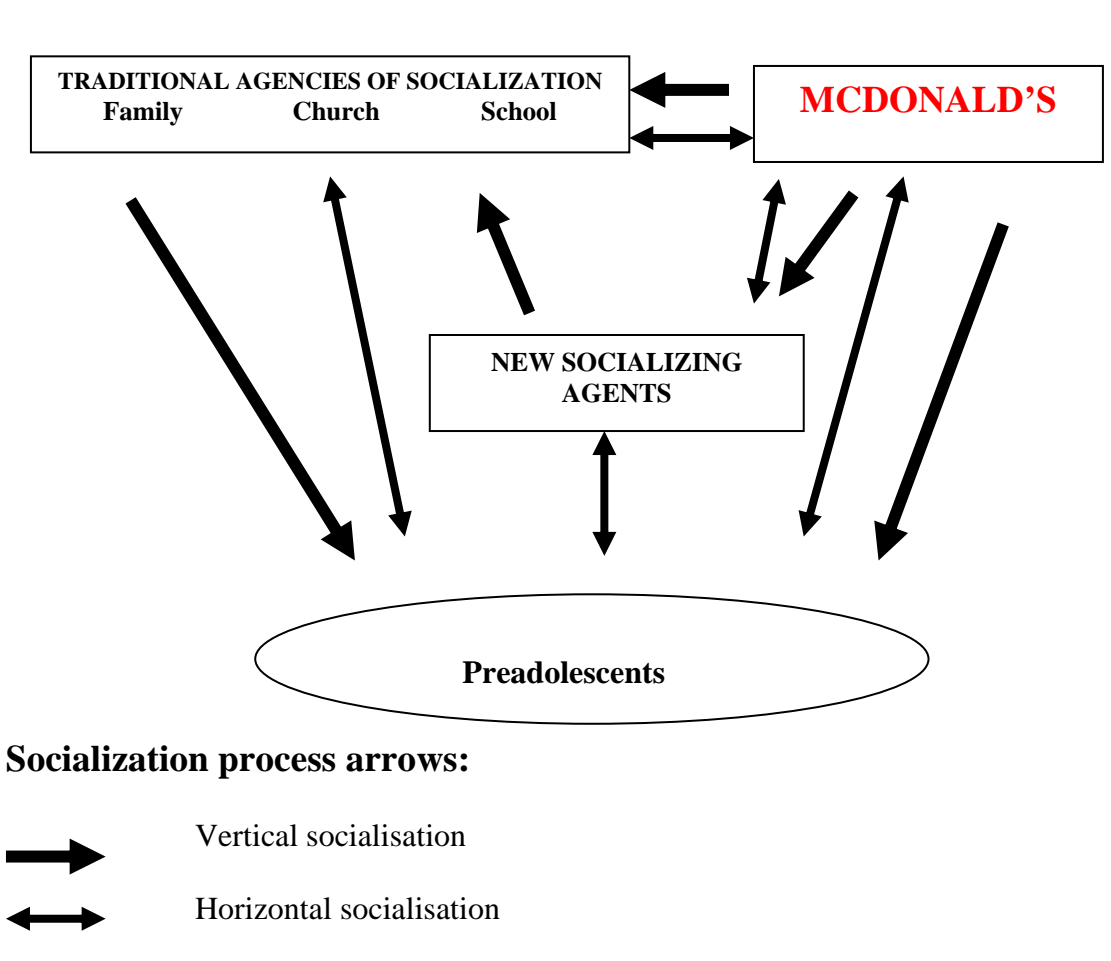
Moreover, the globalisation of McDonald's and the standardization of its franchise concept allow McDonald's to fortify the impact and the coherence of its message without denying and diminishing the peculiarity of the country in which its activities are. As a matter of fact, McDonald's restaurants in Switzerland serve –among Coca-Cola - the Swiss sparkling mineral water Valser, which you would not find in Chicago. And besides its hamburgers, “Swiss months” – where Swiss “sandwiches” are sold - are periodically introduced.

Furthermore, McDonald's belongs to the field of im-mediate socialisation, but, as traditional agencies do, proposes an internalisation of values next to the social exchange feature, proper to the im-mediate socialisation (see Section 8.7.3). This double finality grants McDonald's an underestimated power since it allows the Company to cumulate the attractive features of offering a socialisation that is direct without giving up the pivotal task of the internalisation of values. Consequences are that preadolescents acknowledge the company that has scored a phenomenal point capturing even sceptical kids' hearts (Section 8.8.6) with the creation of the character Ronald, McDonald's clown and its related activities. McDonald's charity foundation – beside its important work – is a sensitive element for preadolescents who still believe in values such as mutual aid. Moreover, it reinforces McDonald's effort to be liked for its caring behaviour. To a certain extent, we could think that McDonald's is now appropriating itself of an altruistic message that used to be proposed by socialising agencies like church or school.

Scheme 3 photographs the preponderant place occupied by McDonald's in its socialising performance very well.

Scheme 3

Scheme 1: New Agents and Traditional Agencies in the Preadolescents' Socialising Process



McDonald' pursues a comprehensive process of socialisation that includes preadolescents, traditional agencies and new socialising agents. Despite offering an im-mediate socialisation, McDonald's does not try to have an exclusive relation with the preadolescent. As a result, preadolescents are hit by McDonald's socialising intents in many different ways. McDonald's knows that in order to bring the preadolescents to its restaurants, it has to motivate parents. Through what is called secondary socialisation (cf. Section 1.3.2), McDonald's attracts the parents of preadolescents' and, eventually, use their willingness to come to the restaurant to perform "*Fremdsozialisation*" towards their children. McDonald's quick and delicious meals – fat is known to make food tasty and appetising – convince, now and then, schools or religious associations that are on trip to stop at its restaurant and eat. Traditional agencies, new socialising agents, as well as a variety of different

children activities that are sponsored by McDonald's, are exploited by the company to reach preadolescents ("*Fremdsozialisation*").

Nevertheless, McDonald's does not give up the possibility to set in contact directly with the preadolescents and to ultimately perform its powerful socializing effect. Birthday parties have become a superb occasion to accentuate the likelihood that preadolescents have for McDonald's. Moreover, Ronald, who normally animates the social gathering, is a part of it. Celebrating his/her anniversary at McDonald's enhances the popularity status within a school class. In other words, the pupil can use the invitation to his/her party at McDonald's as a means to acquire fame and reputation among his/her peer group. For parents to celebrate the birthday in a restaurant their child likes could mean making up for the odd situation they are putting the child through (separation, divorce, being too busy, etc.), having someone else in charge of the discipline, not having to clean up the house once the party is over, etc. These are cumulative advantages that speak in favour of granting McDonald's the important role of celebrating anniversary, which used to be a family or a school task.

Lower prices, dynamicity and amusement guaranteed are some others of the client's fidelity features that work as social norms. They have to be followed in order to respond to a given number of social values shared by the group.

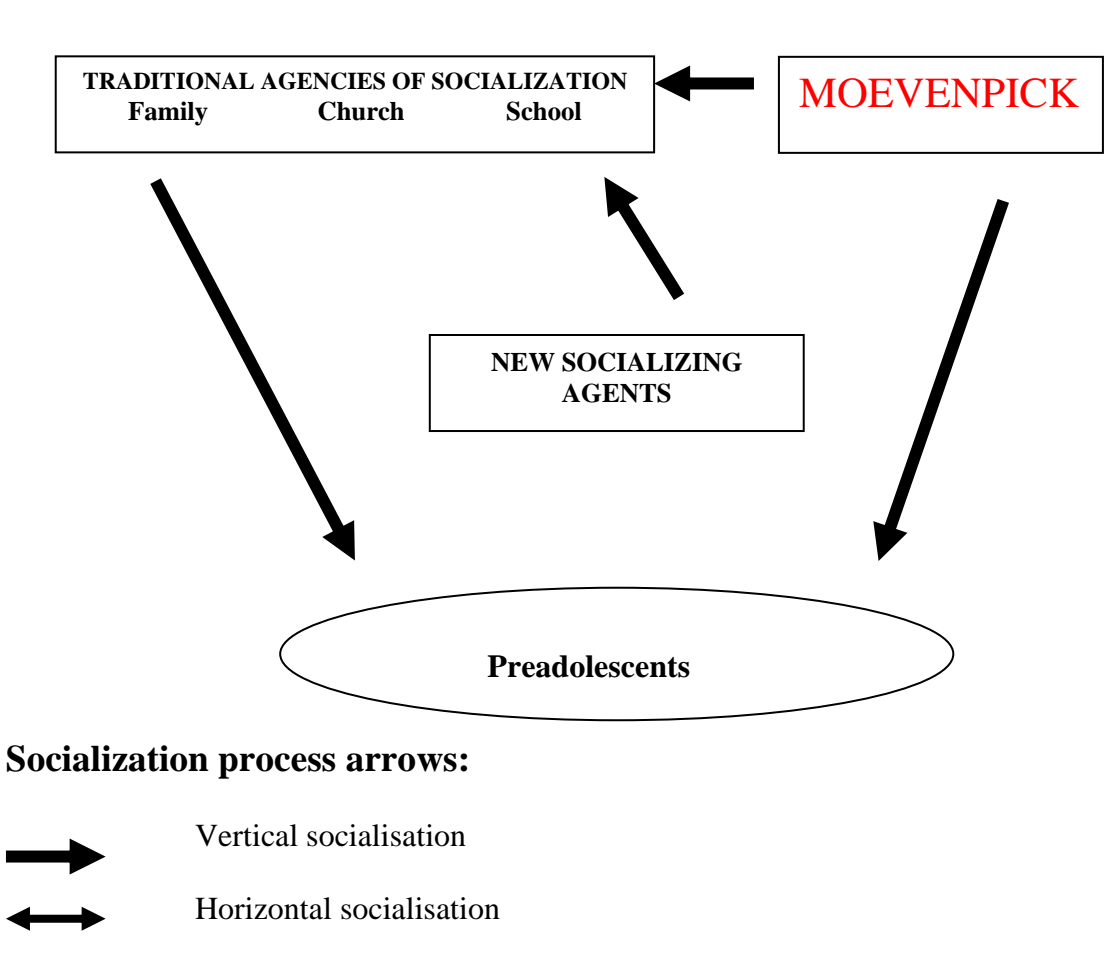
McDonald's fast-foods play an important role in today's frantic society. In fact, they propose a quick solution for the meals of a feverish public. We can, thereafter, agree that McDonald's has gained a central and global role in the eating socializing process of people and in particular preadolescents, which provides it the status of an agency of socialisation.

9.4 Moevenpick's Problematic Relationship with Preadolescents

We would like to start the discussion about Moevenpick's problematic relationship with preadolescents with the presentation of Scheme 4 that summarises and characterises Moevenpick's socialising role.

Scheme 4

Scheme 1: New Agents and Traditional Agencies in the Preadolescents' Socialising Process



The crucial question is whether or not Moevenpick restaurants wish to have preadolescents among their clients. Evidence indicates they would rather not. In fact, if we take a close look at its position in the socialising process of preadolescents, we realise that the only time Moevenpick faces preadolescents is when parents bring them to the restaurant. There, at the restaurant, preadolescents are confronted to a traditional restaurant setting: it is recommended to eat with cutlery; it is asked that they eat with some respect, since waiters are not ready to clean up the floor each and every time a Coca-Cola glass falls. Moreover, Moevenpick's Internet website is by far not funny or appealing for young clients and, therefore, more prone to be consulted by their parents. As a result, preadolescents have difficulties remembering Moevenpick restaurant. Alternatively, we could agree that preadolescents are not the clients sought by Moevenpick that proposes dishes and menus for connoisseurs, wines for adults and targets a business public who wishes to eat selected food that is

rapidly served. Moevenpick brunches organised during the weekend are a very good idea for families with preadolescent children; however, their costs prevent many families to take part.

At Moevenpick's, the standardisation effort is very important. Furthermore, the lack of interactivity with its target confines Moevenpick to the process of socialisation we have named "mediated", which, as for Moevenpick, misses values and behavioural models to integrate. Subsequently, Moevenpick can be described as a place to go to acquire some familiarity with exotic dishes, a location to meet and perform some social exchanges, a site to enrich one's own gastronomic background. However, emptied of social values, Moevenpick cannot compensate its lack of attractiveness for the preadolescents' even with its renowned ice creams. In fact, a general deficiency of magnetism is coupled with an inexistent USP.

We can concur that Moevenpick is purposely not investing into preadolescents as a primary market, influence market nor future market. Certainly, hosting families and their children can become a lucrative business; however, it demands experience in addition to a well-designed infrastructure, which Moevenpick does not seem to be ready to create. This deliberate choice of not considering preadolescents as future clients could be devastating and, in the long term, determine the fall of a well-established chain of restaurants.

What we have defined as "Moevenpick's problematic relationship with preadolescents" happens to be a rational marketing goal. Dishes, beverages and services at Moevenpick are primarily addressed to clients who are ready to spend some money for their meal. Therefore, we can state that Moevenpick is not socialising preadolescents and the possible unintended socialising effects are turned down with awkward preadolescent infrastructure propositions.

9.5 H&M's Appealing Trends

We would like to start the discussion about "H&M's appealing trends" by considering our statements in Section 8.8. In fact, the testimonials of both the mother and the preadolescent girl from Family 1 underline the fact that H&M addresses an audience of girls, which is even confirmed by the speculations of Expert 3 (Section 8.1.7). This indicates that, although H&M presents itself as a shop for men and women, its initial inclination for women's clothes' has been kept through the years (see Section 7.1.5.1). The importance of this aspect lies on the fact that, under these circumstances, the company's main target should be a female public. Consequently, we are now able to understand why, despite H&M's big communication efforts and budget, the letters H&M had no special meaning for boys of Families 2 and 3.

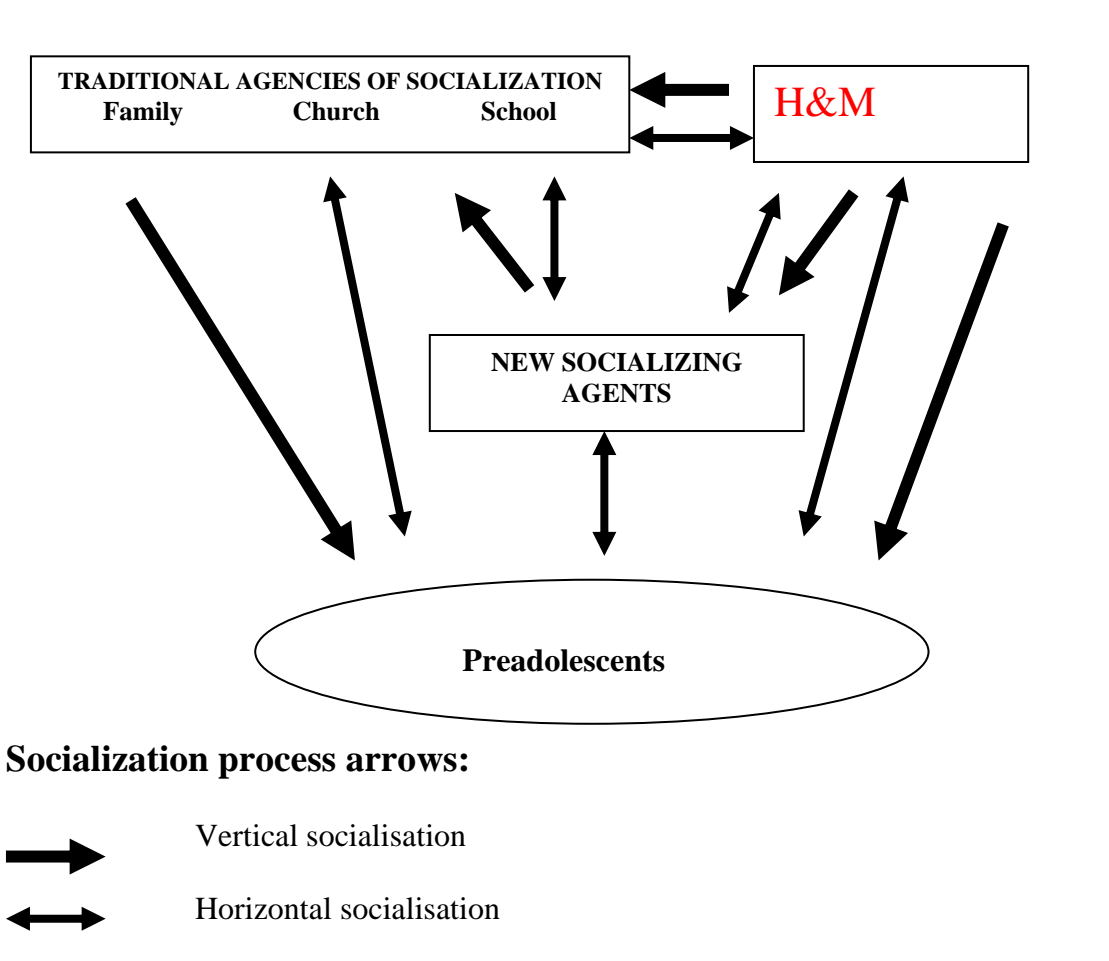
As shown in Chapter 3, boys and girls build their self-esteem differently. Girls give weight to their physical appearance, while boys give credit to their sport performances. Thus, being elegant and trendy can enhance the girls' physical appearance. Moreover, fashion designer factories such as Armani, Versace, D&G, etc., show that the biggest share of their income derives from their women's clothes department. Thus, the clothes sold by H&M embed values such as being good-looking and popular. By wearing H&M's clothes one can be admired by others and, therefore – especially for girls – respond to the norms of their own group of friends. Fashion's propositions at H&M's become true behavioural models.

In addition, H&M plays the role of an agency of socialisation communicating primarily via its shops and with messages that address to preadolescent girls as if they were single individuals. Moreover, by choosing good-looking, fit, young girls as personal selling (see Chapter 2), H&M pushes its communication strategy somehow further. Clients, especially preadolescent girls, can easily recognise themselves in the casual look and appearance of the saleswomen, who simultaneously play the role of peers – featuring self-socialisation – and perform “*Fremdsozialisation*”.

Consequently, H&M offers an im-mediate type of socialisation, the finality of which is the internalisation of values that is a component of the mediate type of socialisation. Therefore, in order to better reach its selling purposes, H&M produces clothes that “contain” social values to be assimilated by its customers. In fact, with the internalisation of values, the intention to purchase the firm's products is less momentary and lasts in the long run. A closer look at Scheme 5 allows us to further discuss into socialising process of preadolescent girls.

Scheme 5

Scheme 1: New Agents and Traditional Agencies in the Preadolescents' Socializing Process



Every possible channel of socialisation is used by H&M to socialise preadolescent girls. By smartly targeting parents, H&M calls for parental support via the "*Fremdsozialisation*", which is also performed via billboard advertising campaigns, television, Internet, etc. Specific ads addressed to parents indicate, during strategic moments of the year, that at H&M you will find clothes for schooldays or for religious festivities, like Christmas. Thus, H&M is flirting with traditional agencies, such as church and school, and creating itself a fundamental position while becoming the place to find appropriate dress to conform to church festivities and school norms. Consequently, without addressing directly to preadolescent girls, H&M succeeds in gaining the trust and respect of parents.

The way H&M uses product license is extraordinary. Instead of exploiting successful characters like Harry Potter that are popular, but age fast, H&M has chosen Snoopy –

a character that appeals to the mothers, who during their preadolescence used to possess agendas, blankets, pillows or any other object that portrayed the comic dog.

H&M can, therefore, be described as an agency of socialisation. Among its socialising goals, we can name the socialisation of preadolescent girls, who look at H&M as being the store that sells trendy clothes – at a reasonable price – that will, eventually, enhance their popularity and likeability among peers. Under this point of view, H&M satisfies the social needs of preadolescent girl.

9.6 C&A's Family Approach

C&A does not use its stores to communicate and spread out its values, which are hard to identify. As an example of C&A communication, let us compare the 2005 Christmas slogan of C&A with the one of H&M:

«**La mode à prix sympa**» C&A December 2005
("Fashion at a nice (funny, correct) price", our translation)

«**Des cadeaux somptueux à des prix fabuleux**» H&M December 2005
("Sumptuous gifts at fabulous prices", our translation)

The intent of both messages was informing that the store was selling its items at a low price. However, the language used by C&A is nothing, but unappealing to a preadolescent girl who dreams of being fashionable. As a matter of fact, C&A's message does not light up its clients' dreams, as would H&M. Everybody knows that fashion can not be cheap and that its prices are everything but fair or correct. Therefore, the C&A message entails a contradiction that only an adult audience, such as parents, could sustain. It is as if C&A would tell parents: "We both know that real fashion has unaffordable prices, but here is the deal. I see your budget and I know your constraints as parents of a preadolescent who wants to be fashionable, etc. Therefore, I will propose clothes at a reasonable price, but also, because we have to, they are fashionable." In the meantime, the H&M message leaves a halo of mystery concerning its prices. As a consequence, the message brings the receivers to a chimerical level where contradictions are possible and accepted.

Moreover, H&M's message has the advantage of talking to two different audiences at once. In fact, adults, such as parents, can easily understand that only in a dream can you have luxurious gifts at a fantastic price, but once again sustain the contradiction.

Eventually, Family 1 preadolescent's statement about C&A's shop: "C&A is not a shop for young girls like me," is a result of C&A's marketing options. Actually, the

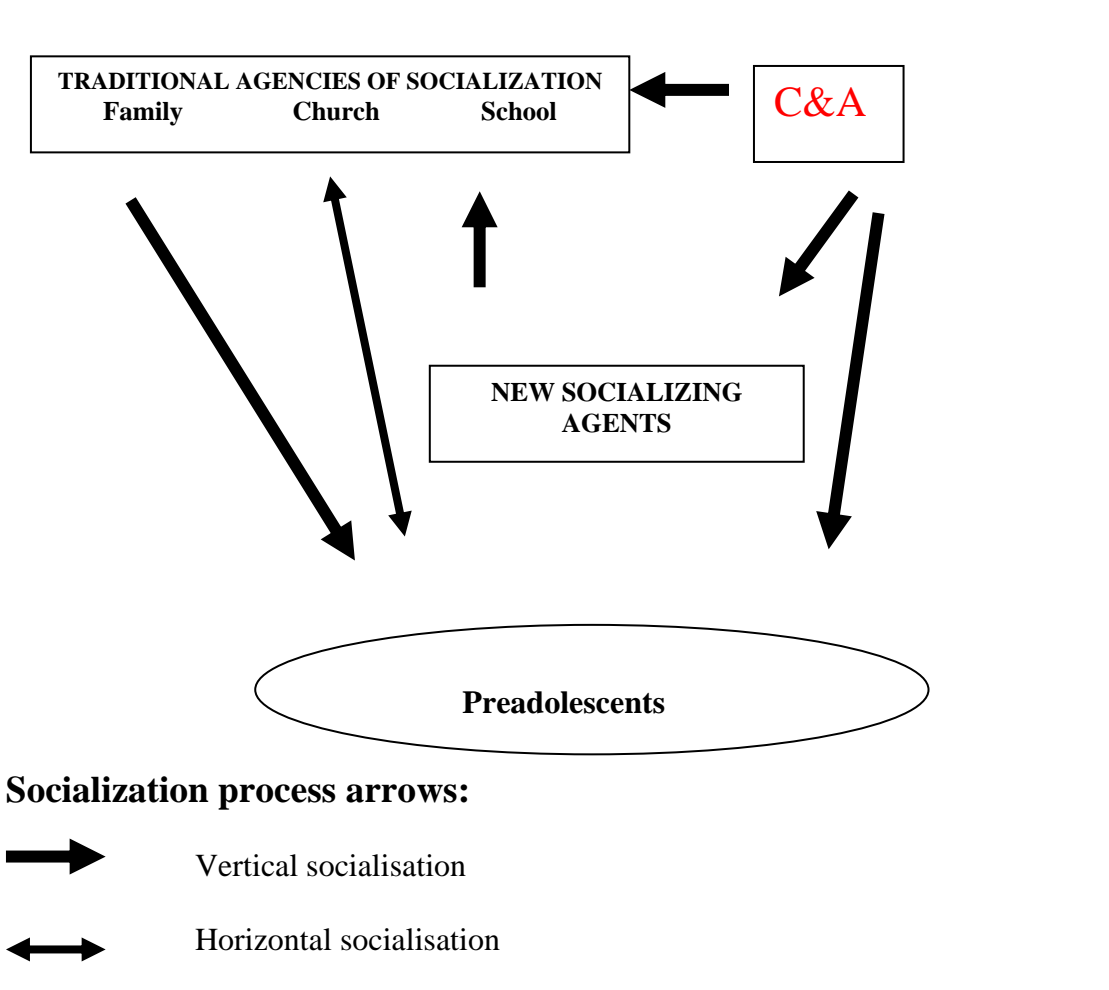
mother in Family 1, despite her daughter's position, insists that C&A has convenient prices and good quality and this is the main reason that pushes her to go to C&A shops. In fact, especially for boys who do not pay attention to fashion like girls do, low budget family's buying pressure is more on prices than on fashion. This state of things explains why Family 2 goes to C&A to buy its son's clothes, while the mother of Family 3 does not.

As far as values are concerned, Experts 1 and 2 indicate that they see no values associated with the company, while the values indicated by Expert 3 (old fashion, out of style, etc.) can be described as values that are not appealing to a preadolescent audience. Consequently, we can agree that C&A products do not contain values that attract preadolescents. However, C&A's low prices and big sales operations have an irresistible effect on low budget families and shape their purchasing behaviour.

A close look at Scheme 6 allows us to better define C&A location in the preadolescents' socialising scene.

Scheme 6

Scheme 1: New Agents and Traditional Agencies in the Preadolescents' Socialising Process



Scheme 6 looks very much like Moevenpick's scheme. Except for the double arrow that connects traditional agencies with preadolescents. In fact, this double-headed arrow indicates that discussion is engaged among parents and children. Preadolescents communicate (verbally or non-verbally) their need to their family to have new clothes (often bigger, sometimes as replacement because ripped, torn or frayed) for school or other occasions. A negotiation among the parties would certainly take place and, following family budget possibilities, C&A can become a valuable alternative shop able to satisfy parents' purchasing goal. More than H&M, C&A targets parents with very little influence on their children. Parents are used, but not abused (as it happens with "*Fremdsozialisation*"), and most of the time, unlike what happens at H&M, at C&A you would see mothers alone buying clothes for their children. It seems that they are trying to avoid bringing their children in a shop

he/she does not appreciate that much. We can, therefore, agree that C&A successfully targets family. However, we can not celebrate its consideration of preadolescent as a future market.

C&A is an agent of socialisation that offers a secondary socialisation like a political party would do. The company knows that sooner or later preadolescents will grow up and will become parents. At that time, they will face their own family budget constraints. And in that particular moment, this “unfriendly” store will turn into the providential shop able to respond to a critical financial situation.

In this chapter our goal has been to discuss the results. We have been able to establish that firms have the capability, but not always the ability, to play a determinant socialising impact on preadolescents. In the next chapter, we will be glad to bring up this evidence in our closing words, to explain the limitations of these findings while suggesting how research can be improved or stimulated.

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10. Conclusions

After having explored concepts like socialisation, marketing and preadolescent; after having proposed some theoretical frames to investigate our main hypothesis: “*Firms of mass products and services socialise preadolescents through their marketing policy*”; after having presented a methodology that enabled us to collect facts and, eventually, discuss them; we have, finally, reached the last chapter of the present research. For this ultimate part, we would like to inspire the readers to challenge our results with further investigations. Therefore, we will start with a brief evaluation of our hypothesis and propositions (10.1 Hypothesis and Propositions Wrap Up), then we will point out some of the weaknesses of our work (10.2 Theoretical and Methodological Achilles' Heels) and, eventually, propose new ideas for future studies (10.3 Research to Come).

10.1 Hypothesis and Propositions Wrap Up

In this section, let us express our considerations about the propositions and the general hypothesis. As for Proposition 1) *Firms of mass products and services propose values*, we can confirm that through what is called the first variable of the marketing policy (product) a firm can spread out values. Indeed, consumers do not buy simple objects or facilities, but the ideal they convey. As for preadolescents, in order to be popular among them, a product should appeal to their deepest values, such as those listed by Del Vecchio (1997) and those seen in the Pokémon phenomenon.

Social values are usually the emanation of social norms; therefore, it was logical to speculate that (Proposition 2) *firms of mass products and services propose norms*. In the marketing policy of a firm, the second variable (price) can be used as a norm to target a specific group of people. However, more than for adults, children and preadolescents' reference norms are dictated by other rules as, for instance, the judgment of their peer groups. Therefore, in order to respond to the norm of being popular, a preadolescent could ask his/her parents to celebrate the anniversary party at McDonald's or to be taken to watch the latest Harry Potter movie, without considering the financial weight of its request. What counts for him/her is not to be sanctioned by its group. Sanctions are in fact the result of not observing norms. As a matter of fact, the preadolescent of Family 1 stated that whoever could not organize its anniversary party at McDonald's was a kind of “loser”. During the “Pokémon shooting star phenomenon”, not possessing Pokémon cards would mean being excluded of the “hot” social exchange scene.

The preadolescents' appropriation of a given product determines a way of being and confirms Hypothesis 3) *Firms of mass products and services propose behavioural models*. Moreover, firms are able to suggest lifestyles and behavioural models through the third variable of their marketing policy (promotion). Television advertising campaigns, and also peers and other socialising agents, can be used in order for the firm to shape a behavioural model and push its clients to identify with the behavioural model it proposes (we can call it the mirror effect). For instance, H&M bases its promotion by insisting on that identification, while McDonald's "I'm loving it" slogan seduces preadolescents by suggesting they actually love McDonald's. Firms like McDonald's corroborate Proposition 4) *Firms of mass products and services develop a specific language to communicate with preadolescents*. Furthermore, when the message is, among other things, transmitted via firm's shops or restaurants, we are dealing with variable four (place).

For all the above mentioned reasons, we can assert that marketing policy enables firms to create instruments through which exercising a particular type of socialisation that could be named *socialisation to purchase or to consumption*. Thus, the test of our four fundamental propositions allows us to highlight that companies play a role in preadolescents' socialisation. Without focusing on the debate whether it is right or wrong that firms socialise preadolescents, we can appreciate that socialisation to purchase is no longer performed exclusively by the family. This is why Kunkel reminds parents that they still "*have an important role to play in (...) terms of socialising their children's consumer behaviour* (Kunkel, 2001, p. 389). This statement, which sounds as if parents had lost their primary role of consumer's socialisers, reveals two realities: 1) Consumer's socialisation was once embedded in the primary socialisation proposed by family and 2) purchase socialisation to preadolescents should not be considered as secondary socialisation since it occurs in the period of primary socialisation. Omitting Erickson's warning about the risk of considering an adolescent like an adult (Erikson, 1950), the risk of producing deviant behaviour is high as confirmed by Lange (1999), see Chapter 3.

As for the propositions we have called annexes, Proposition 5) *The marketing policy can be compared with the socialising process* enabled us to draw parallels between socialisation and marketing policy. However, in many cases we can conclude that marketing is nothing but a component of communication, the goal of which is indirectly socialising. Communication can have a socialising effect, nevertheless, its project is not to socialise individuals. Most depends on the answer to the question: "About which themes (do we communicate)?" If communication touches values, there, we might have the starting point of a socialisation process. Moreover, to successfully transform communication into socialisation, an accurate project and a further analysis of elements constituting the communication components has to take place, like in the cases of McDonald's and H&M. If a firm fails in taking into

account these aspects, we grant it the title of new socialising agent. In both cases, Proposition 6) *Firms of mass products and services play the role of new socialising agents or agencies of socialisation*, is confirmed. As highlighted, traditional agencies of socialisation offer what we have defined as mediate socialisation, whereas im-mediate socialisation is the type of socialisation of the new socialising agents. The results have shown that usually firms have components of both the mediate and of the im-mediate socialisation. Proposition 7) *Firms of mass products and services offer a mediate or / and an im-mediate socialisation* is only marginally confirmed.

However, when a firm presents different features of the im-mediate type of socialisation its message has more chances to appeal to preadolescents who consider them as reliable socialising partners. Thus, Proposition 8) *Preadolescents consider firms of mass products and services as agencies or agents of socialisation* is corroborated.

We are now able to state that according to the company as well as the budget possibilities, “*Firms of mass products and services socialise preadolescents through their marketing policy.*”

10.2 Theoretical and Methodological Achilles' Heels

The generalisation of our findings has to be diminished by some theoretical and methodological limitations entailed in our work. In the following lines, we would try to illustrate three constraints among any others.

First of all, the theoretical setting we used, although focusing on young people and socialisation, has shown some rigidity as far as the categorisation of socialising styles was concerned. Even if the author mentioned that the social reality is more complex than the one its tables, figures and schemes propose (Morcellini, 1994), we had the feeling that flexible theoretical models could have been suggested. As a matter of fact, Morcellini states, “Socialisation references poles. Prerogatives and overlapping table” (Morcellini, 1994), see Chapter 5, contrast with our findings. Even the attempt of schematising the preadolescents’ journey through socialisation (Section 5.3.3) can not elucidate why a firm that does not receive the consensus of the family – as agent of socialisation – has little chances to become a durable socialising component of preadolescent’s universe, as seen for the Pokémon shooting star phenomenon.

Secondly, the size of the sample we used does not allow us to statistically validate our propositions and hypothesis. What we have observed about the marketing practice of our six firms and about the effect that they have on the preadolescents we questioned, can certainly be the start of a monographic work.

Thirdly, we have to underline that even if, as far as preadolescents are concerned, we had worked with a larger sample, the reliability of our findings could not have been generalised. In fact, we have conducted an exploratory work – maybe the first in its genre – with instruments that did not have a scientific validation, therefore, the reliability of our results still remains confined to the sample we have investigated. In other words, the intelligence that allows us to test our hypothesis and, eventually, to come to our conclusion can not be generalised, but put into a broader context. Eventually, our findings could serve as a starting point for research to come.

10.3 Research to Come

Research to come can certainly improve the limitations of our discovery. Therefore, we would like to encourage fundamental works, applied studies that could lead to an empirical testing of the theoretical frame we have used. This will then lead to the scientific validation of an assessment instrument that can serve firms. Finally, an ethical debate on the use of these findings could be opened.

For a more comprehensive understanding of today's socialisation task, fundamental works are rapidly needed. In fact, in this changing scene we are living in, it is important to redefine the centrality of each and every socialising partner. We are not suggesting that old theories are no longer up-to-date. However, they should be proposed in light of societal modifications.

Applied studies testing the theoretical frame we have researched could, of course, take advantage of updated theories on the topic of socialisation. Additionally, the sum of much different monographic research could provide a scientific validation of the models we have used.

Nevertheless, as social sciences disciples, we have to question ourselves on the ethical use of our findings. Do they have to serve the business in their quest to increase the economical power of firms? Or should they be used as instruments to measure and control the socialising role of firms in today's new scenario? The answer lies on one's deepest beliefs.

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Appendixes

Appendix A

Experts' Interview Guide

Expert's position and relation with marketing (short description):

LEGO

Have you ever heard of LEGO?

(If no, please comment on the fact that a firm doesn't succeed to get popular)

What can be said about the values that LEGO conveys?

Do you see any behavioural model being proposed by LEGO?

**What type of sanction – positive or negative – does LEGO have? (Rephrase:
What are the strategies that LEGO uses to build clients' fidelity?)**

How would you define LEGO's communication to its audience? Did it develop a proper or appealing language?

POKÉMON

Have you ever heard of POKÉMON?

(If no, please comment on the fact that a firm doesn't succeed to get popular)

What can be said about the values that POKÉMON brand conveys?

Do you see any behavioural model being proposed by POKÉMON?

What type of sanction – positive or negative – does POKÉMON have?

(Rephrase: *What are the strategies that POKÉMON uses to build clients' fidelity?*)

How would you define POKÉMON's communication to its audience? Did it develop a proper or appealing language?

MCDONALD'S

Have you ever heard of MCDONALD'S?

(If no, please comment on the fact that a firm doesn't succeed to get popular)

What can be said about the values that MCDONALD'S conveys?

Do you see any behavioural model being proposed by MCDONALD'S?

**What type of sanction – positive or negative – does MCDONALD'S have?
(Rephrase: *What are the strategies that MCDONALD'S uses to build clients' fidelity?*)**

How would you define MCDONALD'S communication to its audience? Did it develop a proper or appealing language?

MOEVENPICK

Have you ever heard of MOEVENPICK?
(If no, please comment on the fact that a firm doesn't succeed to get popular)

What can be said about the values that MOEVENPICK conveys?

Do you see any behavioural model being proposed by MOEVENPICK?

What type of sanction – positive or negative – does MOEVENPICK have? (Rephrase: *What are the strategies that MOEVENPICK uses to build clients' fidelity?*)

How would you define MOEVENPICK's communication to its audience? Did it develop a proper or appealing language?

H&M

Have you ever heard of H&M?

(If no, please comment on the fact that a firm doesn't succeed to get popular)

What can be said about the values that H&M conveys?

Do you see any behavioural model being proposed by H&M?

What type of sanction – positive or negative – does H&M have? (Rephrase: *What are the strategies that H&M uses to build clients' fidelity?*)

How would you define *H&M's* communication to its audience? Did it develop a proper or appealing language?

C&A

Have you ever heard of C&A?

(If no, please comment on the fact that a firm doesn't succeed to get popular)

What can be said about the values that C&A conveys?

Do you see any behavioural model being proposed by C&A?

What type of sanction – positive or negative – does C&A have? (Rephrase: *What are the strategies that C&A uses to build clients' fidelity?*)

How would you define C&A's communication to its audience? Did it develop a proper or appealing language?

Appendix B

Interview Guide for Families with Preadolescent Children

(Question to parents) Can you tell me about your child/children's week? How does a normal week look, Saturday and Sunday included?

(Question to preadolescents) Do you agree with the description?

(Note for the interviewer: Bear in mind that the interview about the children's typical week has to contain information on the:

Social and communitarian environment	How would you describe your daily life in your block or village?
Origin of social class	Do you like your parents' job? What will you do for a living when you get older?
Relations within family	How would you describe your family ties?
Family socio-cultural background	What are the cultural and social activities you do with your family?
School experience	How is it in school?
Cultural communication and expression	Are you now and then using some TV expressions while talking?
Budget-time styles of management	Who decides about your free-time?
Free-time possibilities and equipment	What are your free-time activities?
Aggregations/associations	Do you belong to a group of friends or to a club?



What can you say about this logo?

Do you buy the product sold by C&A? How important is for the preadolescents to buy the product or service sold by C&A? Why it is important for you to buy the product or service of C&A? Is it trendy to have C&A's products? Do preadolescents remember any particular sentence, word or jargon proper to the products and C&A?



What can you say about this logo?

Do you buy the product sold by H&M? How important is for the preadolescents to buy the product or service sold by H&M? Why it is important for you to buy the product or service of H&M? Is it trendy to have H&M's products? Do preadolescents remember any particular sentence, word or jargon proper to the products and H&M?



What can you say about this logo?

Do you buy the product sold by Lego? How important is for the preadolescents to buy the product or service sold by Lego? Why it is important for you to buy the product or service of Lego? Is it trendy to have Lego's products? Do preadolescents remember any particular sentence, word or jargon proper to the products and Lego?



What can you say about this logo?

Do you buy the product sold by McDonald's? How important is for the preadolescents to buy the product or service sold by McDonald's? Why it is important for you to buy the product or service of McDonald's? Is it trendy to have McDonald's products? Do preadolescents remember any particular sentence, word or jargon proper to the products and McDonald's?



What can you say about this logo?

Do you buy the product sold by Moevenpick? How important is for the preadolescents to buy the product or service sold by Moevenpick? Why it is important for you to buy the product or service of Moevenpick? Is it trendy to have Moevenpick's products? Do preadolescents remember any particular sentence, word or jargon proper to the products and Moevenpick?



What can you say about this logo?

Do you buy the product sold by Pokémon? How important is for the preadolescents to buy the product or service sold by Pokémon Why it is important for you to buy the product or service of Pokémon? Is it trendy to have Pokémon's products? Do preadolescents remember any particular sentence, word or jargon proper to the products and Pokémon?

ELISABETH ALLI
Swiss, married, 2 children
April 15th, 1970

INTERETS

Film direction, Journalism, Public Relations and Marketing

LANGUAGES

French, English, Italian and Spanish (fluent)
German (very good knowledge oral and written)

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCES

March 2000 – present independent journalist, film director director and producer, writer, Switzerland

February 2001 – August 2005 International Breast Cancer Study Group (IBCSG), Berne

Project manager for communication

Project manager for one of the IBCSG websites, Newsletter, Book & Film Director

September 1998 - February 2000 SRG SSR idée suisse, Lugano

film director internship

March 1997 - August 1998 à l'Office Régional de Placement, Lausanne

head hunter for young people

July 1996 - February 1997 PTT, Lausanne

marketing assistant

December 1995 Lighthouse, Lindau (D)

assistant in an advertising agency

EDUCATION

2006 PhD in Sociology and Advertising sciences, Zurich University (presentation April 2006)

Subject : Marketing for preadolescents

1998 Attestation de conseillère en personnel ORP, OFDE Berne

1995 Maîtrise ès Sciences Sociales, Lausanne University

Theme : marketing research about children

1994 Licence en Sociologie et Anthropologie, Lausanne University, economic focused

1991 Maturité fédérale type économique, Lausanne

1989 High School Diploma, Highlands, NJ (U.S.A.)

1988 Diplôme d'employée de commerce, Lugano

COLLABORATIONS

September 1998 – present: responsible for La Regione Ticino dei ragazzi (a weekly page dedicated to young people in a daily newspaper)

From June 1998 – present: journalist AC&T Sport Consulting

March 1999 – present: journalist Cooperazione (Coopzeitung)

February 2000 – present: journalist and film maker SRG SSR idée Suisse; Lugano and Geneva

October 2001 – present: journalist Le Temps

KNOWLEDGE

Sponsoring, marketing

Swiss media

Film and documentary

Web-design structure

SPECIAL INTERESTS

Books and stories writer for children and young people

Film maker for young people

Concept designer and project manager of marketing events for children

Development of history books, films and documentaries for young people

LEISURE

track and fields

Lausanne, June 2007