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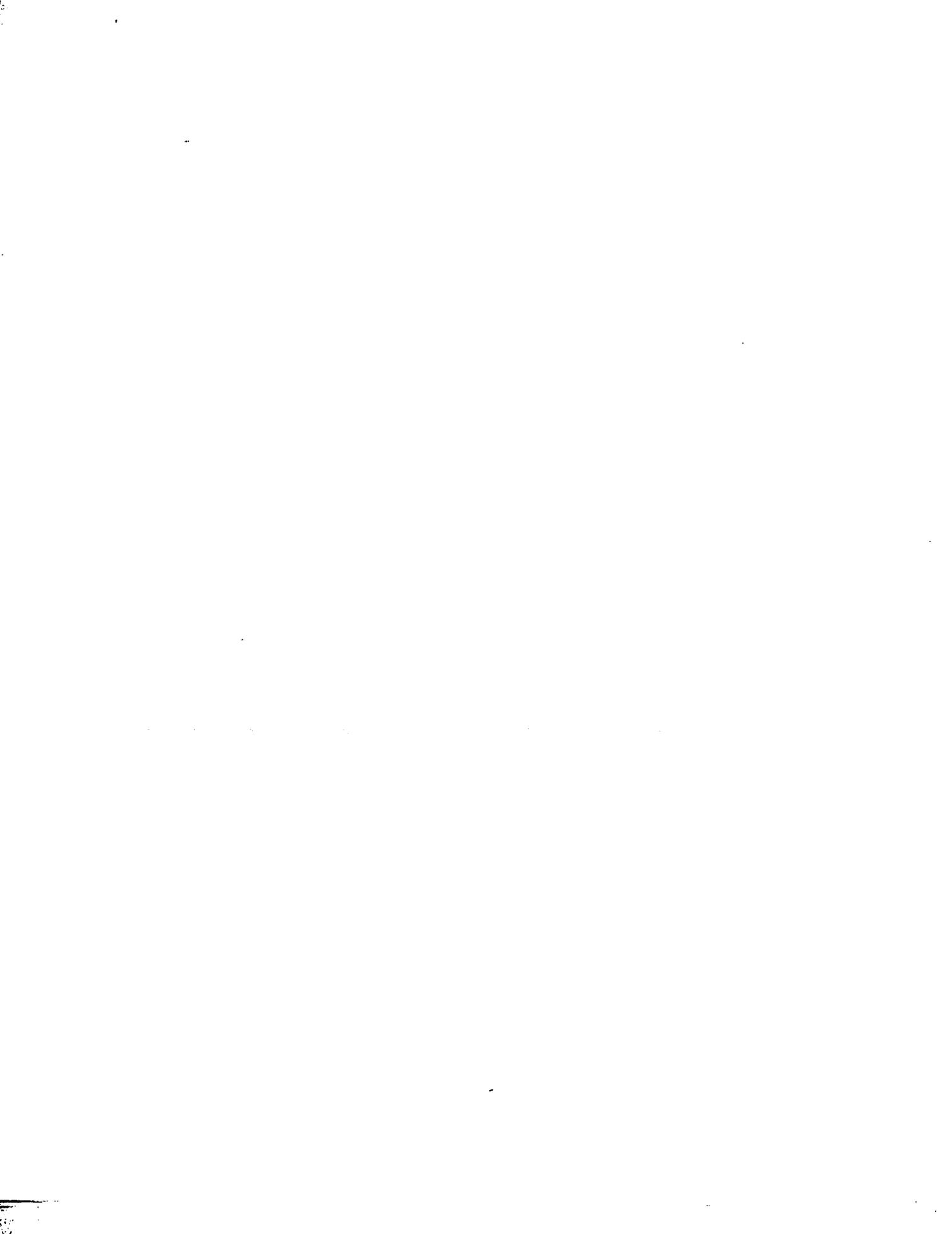
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A socio-cultural approach to situational research in marketing

Steinkamp, Cynthia Lynn, M.S.

The University of Arizona, 1992

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**A SOCIO-CULTURAL APPROACH
TO SITUATIONAL RESEARCH IN MARKETING**

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A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the
DEPARTMENT OF MARKETING
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of
MASTER OF SCIENCE
In the Graduate College
THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

1992

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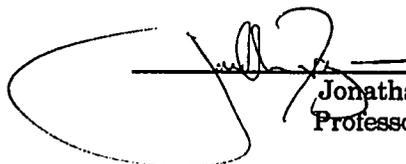
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SIGNED: Cynthia J. Steinkamp

APPROVAL BY THESIS DIRECTOR

This thesis has been approved on the date shown below:



Jonathan K. Frenzen
Professor of Marketing

7/23/72

Date

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, John and Mildred Steinkamp. Without their love and support this thesis would have been impossible to complete. They believed in me when I didn't believe in myself; they encouraged me when I was discouraged; and they stood by me when I felt alone. Thank you Mom and Dad, I love you very much.

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ABSTRACT

The goal of this research is to develop a socio-cultural approach to studying situations in marketing as an alternative to the previously explored methods. In marketing research the situation has been treated as a means of predicting product choice, attitude, preference, and satisfaction. The socio-cultural approach proposed and empirically tested in this research posits that the situation can be characterized by the people who are present, the place they are in, and the products that are nearby. When these situational elements are incongruous with one another, individuals experience a cognitive, emotional, and behavioral response. Empirical findings indicate that the tripartite definition of the situation is feasible for conducting situational research and that products can serve as stimuli to behavior. The personal care product category serves as the research venue and several implications concerning the marketing and advertising of personal care products are drawn from the research results.

INTRODUCTION

Situational research in marketing has mainly focused on product purchasing and consumption situations. The goal has been to understand which situations affect the purchase of certain products, and then develop marketing strategies to meet those situational needs. This orientation typically casts the product as the dependent variable and the situation as the independent variable. Thus, situation variables are used most often to predict product choice, attitude, or satisfaction. For example, research to date includes topics such as usage situations for specific products (Belk 1975a), the role of situation in brand choice behavior and attitude (Miller and Ginter 1979), situation as an influence on satisfaction (Granzin and Schjelderup 1982), and mood as a situation variable (Gardner and Vandersteel 1984).

Unfortunately marketing researchers have conducted comparatively little situation research during the last decade. I believe that situation research based on the classic causal model may have reached an impasse for the following reasons. First, there has been insufficient development of conceptual frameworks based on a theoretical foundation. In their review of situational influence and consumer behavior Kakkar and Lutz (1981, p. 204) state, "...studies examining situational impact on consumer behavior have been sparse and have not embraced a systematic conceptual approach." Second, researchers have consistently treated the situation as an antecedent to product oriented behavior (i.e., choice and satisfaction). This approach denies not only the possibility of the product influencing behavior, but also the cultural context of the product in social interactions. Finally, researchers cannot agree on a definition of the situation (Kakkar

and Lutz 1981). Researchers have advocated two alternative definitions in the literature. The objective definition (c.f., Belk 1974a, 1974b, 1975a, 1975b) states that the situation should be characterized by all those factors that are external to the individual (i.e., place, time, temperature, noise, etc...). The subjective definition (c.f., Belk 1974a; Lutz and Kakkar 1975, 1976) states that the situation should be characterized by a focus on the individual's perceptions of his or her surroundings (i.e., individual interpretations and emotions). Thus, the primary distinction between the two definitions is that the objectivists define the situation in physical terms and the subjectivists define the situation in psychological terms. Researchers base both of these definitions (i.e., approaches) on the causal relationship between the situation and product-oriented behavior. When we consider these three substantive problems and the absence of recent situational research appearing in the marketing literature¹, we must conclude that situation research based on the classic causal model may have reached an impasse.

The goal of this research is to overcome this impasse by developing an alternative conceptualization of the situation that is not purely based on either physical surroundings or an individual's emotional state. The present research strives to define a "socio-cultural" approach as a response to the expansionist approach of the objectivists, the solipsistic approach of the subjectivists, and Kakkar and Lutz's (1981) call for the examination of the

¹Studies using some aspect of the situation appear in the marketing literature up until the late 1980's. For example, Park, Iyer, and Smith (1989) characterize store knowledge and shopping time as situational factors, while Diamond (1988) uses prospect theory to examine information processing in risky purchase situations. Although these studies contribute to their respective areas, the conceptualization of the situation that they offer is not consistent and therefore offers support to Kakkar and Lutz's (1981) call for a more systematic conceptual approach to situational research.

situation's impact on consumer behavior. The proposed socio-cultural approach², in a departure from the traditional view of the product as dependent variable, posits that products often serve as stimuli to behavior and can therefore be examined as independent rather than dependent variables. This approach further posits that individuals rely on cues provided by the product to invoke certain rules that dictate appropriate and inappropriate behavior in that particular situation. Fortunately, a relatively small set of generalized rules applies to a far wider set of specific situations; this allows the individual to draw upon the correct rule in a wide variety of situations (Mehan and Wood 1975). Thus, the product can be viewed as a principal component of the situation that provides individuals in situations with cues for behavior. This assertion is based on a key tenant of ethnomethodology, which maintains that behavior is guided in situations by rules that exist independently of individuals and of situations (c.f. Mehan and Wood 1975).

By adopting this socio-cultural perspective, this research will develop a conceptual framework for situation research in consumer behavior that, while being fundamentally different from the objectivist and subjectivist approaches, acknowledges the contributions of each approach. The socio-cultural approach does not incorporate the encompassing taxonomic approach of the objectivists, nor does it adopt the overly reductionist approach of the subjectivist's. Rather a situation is defined in terms of the minimum set of salient components needed by the individual to identify the situation as a particular type (i.e., church wedding, informal party, meeting with the boss, grocery shopping) and invoke the

²The term socio-cultural was chosen on the basis of "socio" representing the social interaction necessary in a situation and "cultural" representing the cultural system of rules and symbolic orderings.

appropriate rules. This research posits that this set contains three salient components: who is present (people), where the situation is occurring (place), and what product(s) are present (object)³. Individuals identify situations not only by the salient components, but also by their expectations about the congruency of those components. For example, at a beach party one expects to see friends in swimming suits and other casual attire, blankets spread over the sand, coolers of soda and beer, a camp fire, and some sporting equipment such as a volleyball or frisbee. This represents a common expectation of an American beach party. If one, or many, of these components (people, place, or objects) is inconsistent with the individual's expectation (or schema) for a beach party, the individual may have difficulty in identifying the situation and may try to find a reason for the incongruity. Both ethnomethodologists and symbolic interactionists agree that when some component of the situation is incongruent with the individual's expectations, some sort of action will be necessary to correct the situation; Goffman (1971) refers to this as repair work.

Incorporating a largely ethnomethodological approach to situational research in consumer behavior provides three advantages over the previous approaches and definitions. First, using the theoretical and methodological aspects of the ethnomethodologists and symbolic interactionists provides the systematic conceptual approach called for by Kakkar and Lutz (1981). Second, the proposed approach greatly

³This tripartite definition extends Lewin's (1936) formula $B=f(P,E)$, which states that a person will behave according to the environment. Linneweber (1988) further develops Lewin's formula by focusing specifically on the various types of incongruence between people and places. Pervin (1978) posited that a situation should be characterized by who is present, where they are, and what action is taking place.

diminishes the need to develop a taxonomy of situations. This is due to the ethnomethodological orientation that a small set of rules is believed to govern behavior in a large range of situations. Therefore, rather than know all the possible physical components of the situation, one only needs to know the basic rules of behavior for situations of that type. Third, this approach uses the salient physical features of the situation (objective definition) to identify which rules the individual will invoke, as well as the individual's emotions and perceptions of the situation (subjective definition) in his or her social interaction. Finally, in deviating from the current psychological focus of consumer behavior research, this approach acknowledges the ever present impact of culture on each individual's behavior in the importance it places on rule-governed interaction and behavior. While the impact of culture, per se, is difficult to empirically measure and account for, ethnomethodologists have shown that it is possible to empirically evaluate behavior resulting from a situational rule violation⁴. Though past situational research in consumer behavior has examined the impact of the situation on factors such as choice behavior and satisfaction, demonstrating an impact on cognitive assessment, emotional response, and verbal behavior, is an important base for future research on more overt consumer behaviors. Thus, there are many advantages in using an ethnomethodological approach to studying situations in consumer behavior.

While the ethnomethodological approach is conceptually appropriate for situational research in consumer behavior, it must also be operationally feasible. I will conduct a modified ethnomethodological empirical test that focuses on violating some of

⁴Garfinkel's (1967) breaching studies are the most well known of this type of research, in which he examined the impact of rule violations by conversation and verbal analysis.

the rules that govern behavior in situations defined by the presence of person, place, and product. By empirically demonstrating that situational rule violations concerning products result in cognitive, emotional, and behavioral responses, I will show that when the product is studied in its proper cultural context it can act as a stimulus to behavior (i.e., independent variable), rather than merely an object of behavior (i.e., dependent variable). Thus, this research seeks to provide a theoretical and methodological approach to the study of situations in consumer behavior, as well as demonstrate the influence that products have on consumer's behavior.

This paper is organized in the following manner. The background section provides a review of literature in the social sciences and marketing that focuses on situation variables. This review consists of two sub-sections, one that examines objectivist, and a second that examines subjectivist research. This section also serves to establish the contribution of this research to existing knowledge of situations in marketing. A conceptual framework is then developed and several fundamental premises are stated. An empirical research section then follows which presents five research questions and reports the results of two empirical studies designed to assess those questions. The last section, conclusion, summarizes the paper and explores some possible areas for future situational research in consumer behavior.

BACKGROUND

Several studies of situational influence have appeared in the social sciences and marketing literature. Studies outside of marketing (primarily the social sciences) have examined the relationship between situational variables and psychological and general behavior, while marketing studies have examined the relationship between situational variables and different marketing phenomena, such as choice behavior and segmentation. A common element among all of these studies is an ongoing debate over what a situation is and how it should be studied. Perhaps the most intense debate has been over whether or not the situation should be defined subjectively or objectively or through some combination of the two. In his review of the definition and measurement of situations, Pervin (1978) found that the definitions were often insufficient and obscure, and pointed out several additional problems with situational research, such as unclear levels of analysis, indecision over subjective versus objective definitions, and lack of a clear relationship between the situation and behavior. In this section the objective orientation to situational research will be examined, followed by an examination of the subjective orientation.

Objective Orientation

The objective situation has been characterized as those factors that are external to the individual such as, people present, place, time, temperature, etc., which are thought to exert influence on the individual. In defining the situation objectively it is implied that the observer's or researcher's parameterization of the situation is utilized, rather than the actor's or subject's perception of the specified situation. With this approach the

researcher has control over the way in which the situation is defined and presented to the individual (subject), which is advantageous for experimental research. However, this is based on the very strong assumption that the subject will interpret the situation in the same manner as intended by the researcher. Since the subject is rarely, if ever, asked what their interpretation of the situation was, there is no way to verify whether or not the subject interpreted the situation as intended (Argyle, Furnham and Graham 1981). This lack of verification is, however, not considered a problem as the subject's interpretation is not at issue.

The primary advocates of the objectively defined situation within the social sciences are the environmental and ecological psychologists and social learning theorists. Environmental psychologists are primarily concerned with the individual's psychological reaction to the physical environment (Stokols 1978). For example, Mehrabian and Russell (1974) advocate developing taxonomies of all possible situations by accounting for a multitude of environmental descriptors such as, noise, color, temperature, etc... and then measuring their impact when studying psychological situations. Both ecological psychologists and social learning theorists share concerns about the physical environment. Their research gives the subject little or no opportunity to negotiate or define the situation, nor do they take into consideration the goals or cultural rules of the participants (Argyle, et al. 1981).

Much of situational research in the marketing literature has adopted an objective approach to defining and researching the situation. The primary distinction between the marketing literature and social sciences literature is the focus on specific consumption or choice behaviors, rather than psychological behaviors. Although Sandell's (1968) study of

reported choice behavior was one of the first to appear in the marketing literature that incorporated situational factors, Belk (1974a, 1974b, 1975a, 1975b) has been the strongest advocate of the objective approach in consumer behavior. Belk (1974a, p. 156) defines the situation as "those factors ... which have a demonstrable and systematic effect on current behavior," and posits five groups of characteristics consistent with the definition of a situation: the physical surroundings, social surroundings, temporal perspective, task definition, and antecedent states of the individual. Both Belk (1975b) and Srivastava, Shocker and Day (1978) call for the development of a taxonomy⁵ of situations; and consistent with Fredriksen (1972), posit that situations should be classified by way of the behaviors they elicit. Consumer behavior researchers have measured individual behaviors such as, brand choice (Belk 1974a, 1975a, 1975b; Miller and Ginter, 1979; Sandell 1968; Srivastava, et al. 1978), satisfaction (Granzin and Schjelderup 1982), attitude (Miller 1975; Miller and Ginter 1979), preferences (Green and DeSarbo 1979), and self-monitoring behaviors (Becherer and Richard 1978).

The objectively defined situation relies heavily on the ability of the researcher to identify all the salient dimensions of the situation and then assess how that situation influenced behavior. To the extent that it is possible for the researcher to accomplish this task, the objectively defined situation allows the research to focus on any variety of specific situations, as well as cater the situation to the research question. Thus, an

⁵This approach to situational research focuses on developing an encompassing list or taxonomy of the possible situational variables (c.f., Allen 1965; Bellows 1963; Moos 1973; Wolf 1966) Perhaps the most outstanding example of taxonomic situational research is Sell's (1963) compilation of more than 200 situational variables, such as individual characteristics, environmental factors, group structure, role requirements, and the novelty of the situation.

objective definition of the situation allows for experimental manipulation of the different elements or characteristics of that situation, which results in testable situation specific hypotheses.

However, there are several limitations with the objective approach. One limitation is that the taxonomy approach (defining all possible situations) is formidable given the number of possible situational variables that exist. Volkart (1951) points out that since situations tend to be multidimensional, specifying all the elements may be difficult. A second limitation, consistent with Volkart's (1951) concerns, is that there does not exist a commonly accepted definition of what is and what is not a situation variable. The environment is made up of innumerable characteristics, some of which must be more important than others. The approach of studying the situation by accounting for all possible combinations of environmental variables is simply not possible. Perhaps a more profound limitation than the sheer size of the taxonomy problem, is the expectation and belief that the subject of the situation research will interpret the situation in the same manner as the researcher's have defined the situation. Individual and cultural differences, as well as past experience, may play an important role in determining how an individual will interpret and react to a given situation. The subjective approach to situation research has attempted to overcome this limitation by focusing on the individual's interpretation of the situation.

Subjective Orientation

The subjective situation has been characterized by a focus on the individual's perceptions of the situation (Belk 1974a; Lutz and Kakkar 1975, 1976). That is, the

subjectively defined situation is construed in psychological terms, rather than the physical terms of the objective situation. This means that the researcher is concerned with not only the manner in which the individual interprets the situation, but also the emotions that the individual may experience when encountering that situation.

In the social sciences the primary advocates of the subjectively defined situation are some social psychologists (some prefer the objectively defined situation), most ethogenicists, ethnomethodologists, and symbolic interactionists. Social psychologist's Russell and Mehrabian (1976), question the situational descriptor taxonomy approach as being too unwieldy. They advocate the development of a few parsimonious descriptors based on emotional responses to situations, as well as posit that the effect of the situation on an individual's behavior is mediated by that individual's emotional response (pleasure, arousal, and/or dominance) to the situation (Mehrabian and Russell 1974). Ethogenicists, Harre and Secord (1972) advocate the position that all social behavior is a result of rule following; and thus, an individual's response to a situation is a product of self-monitored rule following. Ethnomethodologists and symbolic interactionists posit that individuals create a symbolic social environment from the symbolic meanings of all aspects of their surroundings. Garfinkel (1967), in the ethnomethodologist tradition, disrupts everyday situations in order to discover the rules that are operating. The symbolic interactionist tradition is somewhat different, in that it purports that the situation is actively defined by interaction and communication between individuals (Berger and Luckman 1966; Goffman 1969, 1971; Mead 1934).

Very few studies in the marketing literature stand out as purely subjective, and those that do are most closely aligned with the social psychological approach, rather than

the ethnomethodologists or symbolic interactionists. While Lutz and Kakkar (1975, 1976) stress the need for a taxonomy of situations, which they believe will enable researchers to conduct meaningful situational research, they view the subjective situation as "the translation of objective reality into psychological terms, which are regarded as internal stimuli to the individual, leading to emotional responses which mediate the impact of the situation on the decision processes and behavior" (p. 374). Consistent with this orientation, Stanton and Bonner (1980) interviewed individuals in a supermarket directly after they had made a brand choice, thereby eliminating the need for an objectively defined situation.

While the subjective approach may yield a more realistic account of an individual's behavior in a situation (due to the individual's psychological interpretation of that situation), there are several limitations that must be addressed. One limitation is that research designed around the subjective definition may be difficult to operationalize. While the objectivists are able to conduct hypotheses testing experiments, the subjectivists generally advocate non-interventionist, field research, which is more costly and difficult to conduct. A second limitation concerns the close focus on emotions, that has been adopted. While emotions are clearly an important factor in situation research in their role as mediators of behavior, care must be taken not to overlook the other factors in a situation such as, the salient physical elements that are influencing those emotions, and the cognitive response of the individual to the situation. Perhaps the most profound limitation of subjective situational research in consumer behavior has been the omission of the theories of ethnomethodology and symbolic interactionism. This is somewhat surprising since these theories allow for the situation to be actively perceived by the

participants, allow physical elements to influence the situation by way of their symbolic meaning, take in account the rules that govern everyday activity, and acknowledge the influence of culture on behavior.

While both the objective and subjective approach have provided a means with which to conduct situational research, they are not without limitations, as has been discussed here. Therefore, a new approach to situational research in consumer behavior is warranted. This approach will incorporate some of the theories of ethnomethodology and symbolic interactionism to lay the foundation for a more robust explanation of consumer behavior in situations.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The literature review has shown how situations have been researched in consumer behavior, as well as identified the schism that has developed concerning the way in which the situation is defined and consequently researched. The objectivist position is that the situation should be thought of as all those factors that are external to the individual, while the subjectivist position is that the situation can only be adequately defined by the internal state of the individual. Unfortunately, neither position provides a robust conceptualization of the situation. The objectivist position lacks the inclusion of the individual's perceptions and emotions, and the subjectivist position lacks consideration of those external factors that may be affecting the individual.

An alternative approach to situation research is proposed that is based primarily on insights drawn from ethnomethodology, symbolic interactionism, anthropology, and sociology. The key differentiating premise between the previous conceptualizations of the situation and the proposed socio-cultural approach is the treatment of situations as social interactions that are socially constructed and negotiated by individuals who base their expectations on previous experiences and then behave according to culturally mandated rules. By asserting that individuals can define a situation by its salient elements and their previous experiences, the objectivist need for inclusion of numerous external factors and the subjectivist's narrow individualistic approach can be overcome. Furthermore, by positing that consumer products found in situations can have a significant impact on emotions, cognition, and behavior, a socio-cultural approach should enhance our understanding of the impact of situations on consumer behavior. As was stated in the

introduction, there are several marketing implications that go beyond delineating how situational research can be feasibly conducted in marketing. These implications stem from the notion of products serving as antecedents to behavior. If products have a demonstrable effect on people's behavior, then it may be possible to use situations as method of market segmentation, as well as develop alternative advertising strategies. These marketing implications will be discussed at length in the directions for future research section.

There are three advantages to a socio-cultural approach. First, it addresses Kakkar and Lutz's (1981) call for a systematic conceptual approach to situations by basing the socio-cultural approach on the established theoretical ground of ethnomethodology. Second, since this approach utilizes both the salient features of the situation and the individual's previous experiences, the need for an encompassing taxonomy approach or assessment of emotional states is unnecessary. Finally, the proposed approach can be empirically assessed by violating situational rules and subsequently assessing the cognitive, emotional, and verbal behavior of individuals.

The following section serves to provide a definition of the situation and layout, in brief, the theoretical foundation for a socio-cultural approach to situational research in consumer behavior.

Definition of a Situation

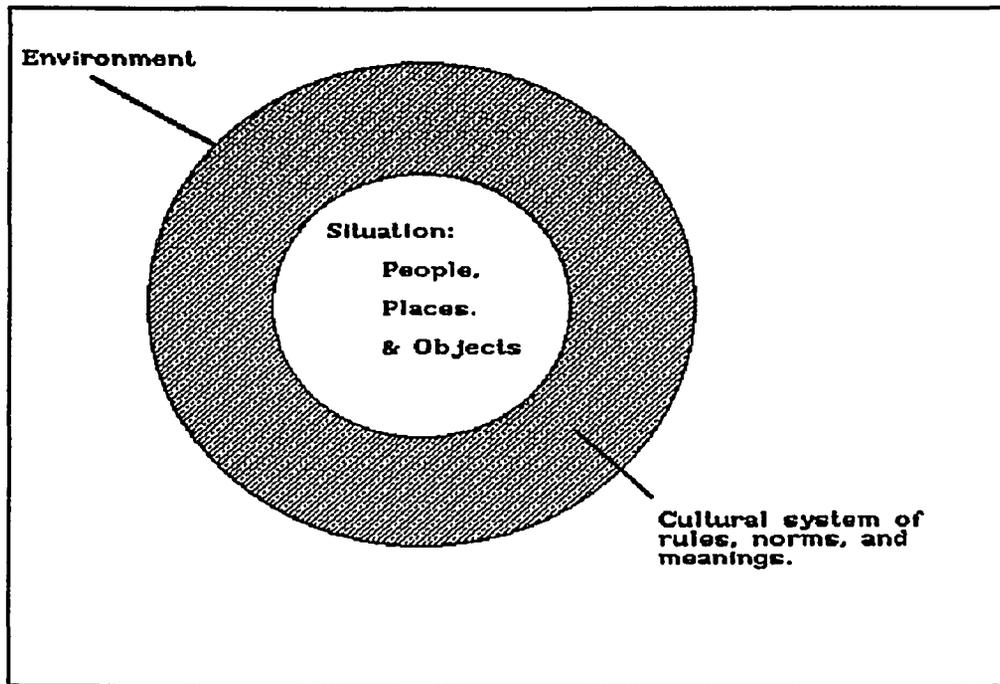
The introduction and literature review have shown that the environment can be broadly characterized as all those components that make up our surroundings such as, people, places, the temperature, time of day, noise levels, lighting, color schemes, objects,

and even smells. While all of these components have an impact on an individual's behavior, studying the impact of the environment on behavior is virtually impossible due to the difficulty in determining the contribution of each component. Likewise, systematically studying each individual component would be time consuming and is likely to overlook potentially important interactions. Therefore, it would be preferable to identify and study a subset of the environmental components that are believed to have the most influence on behavior. I will refer to this subset of components (people, place, and object) as a situation. It is important to note that while the environment is thought of in terms of physical, quantifiable, describable components, this conceptualization of the situation further incorporates social action, cultural rules, and the expectations of individuals. Thus, for purposes of this research a situation is both a schema and a script, a perception and an expectation regarding the relationships between the situation components in an individual's perceptual field and the sequence of social actions in which these components interact. A situation is a "reduced form" of the larger physical and social environment which, in the flow of daily life, conforms to a set of expectations that are acquired from one's knowledge of cultural norms and rules. As illustrated in Figure 1 the center circle is the situation and the outer circle is the environment. The cultural system of rules, norms, and meanings mediates the space between the environment and the situation, and acts as a screen through which physical reality is filtered.

While identifying the key environmental components that compose a situation is a difficult task, existing research has narrowed the list of possibilities. Linneweber (1988) proposed that social behavior could be studied by violating norms concerning person by place interactions. That is, when people and place were incongruent with one another

FIGURE 1

The situation and the environment.



(the normative order is violated), individual's experience a sense of disorder and social conflict may ensue. While Linneweber's (1988) work represents an important contribution to the situations literature, I contend that he has underspecified the situation. In order to more fully understand the situation from a marketing perspective, the objects that are present should be included along with people and places. Objects are important to include in the situation because they are pervasive, they are a prominent part of everyday

life, and they are independent of places and people⁶.

Our understanding of consumer behavior can be enhanced by studying the product as it naturally exists in people's everyday situations. Thus, for a situation to exist more than one person is necessary since people engage in social interaction in order to satisfy needs, desires, and goals. Place is included as a salient situational component because of the impact it has on behavior (church behavior versus football game behavior). Finally, consumer behavior research has shown that objects are an important part of every day life in that they can have sacred meaning (Belk, Wallendorf and Sherry 1989) and be favorite possessions (Wallendorf and Arnould 1988). This research posits that an individual should be capable of identifying a situation and in turn invoking the appropriate rules, based on three salient situational components: people, places, and objects (products), as well as the previously developed expectations regarding the congruence between those salient components.

When the components of a situation are congruent with cultural expectations, they are largely unseen, unrecognized, and unacknowledged. However, the flow of daily life does not always conform to prevailing cultural expectations; the relationships among products, people, and places can go askew. For instance, products can be put in unexpected or inappropriate places, people can find themselves in awkward or inappropriate locations, etc.... Depending on the degree of departure from the expected

⁶While we typically think of products in their situational contexts, there are no laws of nature that specify where or with whom a product must be. For example, a television set is commonly found in the living room of a home. However, television sets can be in bedrooms, kitchens, basements, offices, bars/restaurants, limousines, classrooms, etc... with any type of people around them.

relations among people, places, and products, within the flow of events, an individual will experience both a cognitive and emotional reaction (Mandler 1982). Under these conditions, what was previously unseen, unrecognized, and unacknowledged suddenly becomes conspicuous, and may require some sort of repair to bring the situation back into alignment.

To the degree that products can induce perceptions of situational incongruity the product can serve as an antecedent to behavior in situations. When the product is out of its usual, expected setting (e.g., the ordered arrangement of person, place, and product have been violated) individuals in the situation will recognize the rule violation and act to correct the situation so that it once again conforms with their expectations (scripts) and socially constructed reality.

The foundation for the socio-cultural approach will be presented in five steps. The first step involves a discussion of socially constructed reality as an underpinning of social interaction. Second, I examine the use of the signs and symbols of a shared language systems as a means of constructing and negotiating a shared reality. This is followed by a discussion of the importance of symbolically ordered sets of elements, which are based on culturally derived meanings, to the situation. Fourth, the role that cultural rules and individual scripts play in enabling individuals to identify the situation based on expectations and salient features is examined. And, fifth, the consequences of situational incongruities in terms of cognitive, emotional, and behavioral responses are discussed.

Socially Constructed Reality Perspective

The social construction of reality is fundamental to the interpretation of situations,

since situations involve social interaction between two or more individuals who must negotiate a shared reality in order to conduct that interaction. Berger and Luckman (1966) posit that reality is constructed by the participants in face-to-face social interaction. In these face-to-face interactions meanings and knowledge (usually in the form of language) go through a process of "objective sedimentation" in the consciousness of the member's of that society. Objective sedimentation is the process by which individuals in a society (or culture) come to view objects, events, and ideas as reality, based on their expectation⁷ that these things will happen in the future just as they have happened in the past. That is, they have become a part of that society's (or culture's) reality. Berger and Luckman (1966) surmise that reality is experienced through meaning and is shared with others in social interactions. Thus, during each situation, reality must be negotiated by the individuals present, and that this negotiation will be based on the objective sedimentation that already exists⁸.

Objects as Situational Cues. Members of a society or culture are able to negotiate situations (or reality) through the use of the signs and symbols of a shared language system. Symbolic interactionist theory posits that individuals seek to simplify and bring order to a complex world by assigning symbolic meanings to the things around them

⁷Ethnomethodologists posit that the situation is defined on the basis of expectations developed from past situations (Garfinkel's "et cetera" assumptions, which he garnered from the work of Alfred Schutz, meaning that "as events have occurred in the past, they will occur again in the future" (Rogers 1983, p. 81)) and symbolic knowledge.

⁸Fortunately, when faced with a novel situation for which there is little existing objective sedimentation, reality negotiation is facilitated by the individual's ability to take on the role of the other. Mead (1934) characterized taking on the role of the other as the ability of one individual to empathize with another, or to view the interaction from the perspective of the other person. Such situations are outside the scope of this study.

(Stryker and Statham 1985). Some of the things that people find themselves surrounded by are objects. Symbolic meanings enable individuals to communicate more meaning about an object than is inherently present in it. Thus, facilitating the individual's negotiation of the situation.

McCracken (1986) states, "Consumer goods have a significance that goes beyond their utilitarian character and commercial value. This significance rests largely in their ability to carry and communicate cultural meaning (p.71)". In essence, when talking about cultural meaning we are referring to a symbolic relationship where the object (product) serves as a symbol for some higher order meaning (Mick 1986) (e.g. a Mercedes is a product that serves as a symbol of status and wealth). Thus, not only is language important to reality construction, but symbolic meaning inherent in objects also serve to facilitate this process. More generally by considering the cultural meanings associated with each salient element of a situation, individuals are better able to arrive at a common interpretation of the situation and behave accordingly.

Individuals do not alone bring order to a complex world. In her seminal work Purity and Danger, Mary Douglas (1966) explores symbolic meaning and the culturally prescribed ordered relations among these meanings. Douglas (1966) states that these ordered relations (sometimes referred to as ordered systems) involve "a systematic ordering and classification of matter, in so far as ordering involves rejecting inappropriate elements"⁹ (p. 48).

Douglas primarily focuses on the symbolically ordered systems regarding the

⁹ Douglas' proposition is often summarized, perhaps too simplistically, as "dirt is simply matter that is out of its prescribed place" (Douglas 1966, p. 48).

placement of matter, specifically dirt. However, the world is not limited to dirt. People, places, objects, and even abstract ideas are also symbolically ordered and potentially subject to disorder. These culturally ordered sets further enable individuals to quickly assess a situation in terms of whether or not its salient components are consistent with one another. That is, when in one place an object's meaning is congruent with the people and place (e.g. a parking meter on a street curb) it will go largely unacknowledged, but when in another (incongruent) place the same object may cause confusion, ridicule, or fear (e.g. a parking meter inside a church).

Reactions to Disorder. Douglas (1966) asserts that when matter is not in its culturally prescribed or expected place it may be viewed as a threat to the social order. Since people, places, and objects can also be ordered according to their symbolic meaning, it is plausible to assert that they too can be out of their culturally expected "place". That is, a sense of confusion, disorder, and even emotions such as anger, disgust, or embarrassment may occur in the individuals present as they attempt to make sense of a situation that does not meet their expectations. For example, people may express confusion on encountering a four-poster bed in a park, since the bed is out of its culturally prescribed place. Unfortunately, Douglas (1966) does not clearly specify why individuals may have such a strong emotional reaction to disorder (DeVos 1974). One possible explanation for this reaction is that when a situation fails to meet an individual's expectations it also fails to meet with their existing mental script of that situation.

Scripts are particularly important to individuals in situations because they are used

to anticipate as well as interpret behavior. That is, scripts are the mental mechanisms¹⁰, based on the social construction of reality, that produce expectations. A script is characterized as the "stereotypical knowledge structure that people have acquired about common routines, such as going to a restaurant or visiting a doctor" (Mandler 1982, p.75). Schema theory and scripts enable us to move from the cultural level of explicit rules concerning ordered systems and behavior to the individual's incorporation of those rules implicitly into his/her everyday life. That is, when an individual becomes aware of a cultural rule (often during maturation) he or she must incorporate that rule into their own behavior patterns. These culturally prescribed rules¹¹ are often so ingrained as part of our unconscious thoughts and actions, that it is difficult to identify the rule. That is, many rules operate implicitly rather than explicitly. These rules of everyday behavior (situations) can be thought of as being similar to the rules of language use. That is, as Chomsky (1965) pointed out, a speaker of a language need not know (articulate) the formal rules of that language in order to speak it. Thus, a member of a society or culture need not know or articulate the formal rules of behavior in order to interact socially with other members of the society. Likewise individuals need not know or articulate the formal rules of the various ordered systems. Rather, they only need to have an understanding of which components fit together and which components do not fit together according to

¹⁰Schema theory, which is concerned with the mental structuring of experience (Mandler 1982) posits the existence of scripts.

¹¹Rules are defined as "behaviour which members of a group believe should, or should not, or may be, performed in some situation, or range of situations" (Argyle, et al. 1981, p.126) and result from objective sedimentation. Behavior, for purposes of this research, encompasses a wide range of actions which occur prior to, during, and after the situation. Thus, behavior should not be viewed as a consequence of a situation, but rather as the process of the situation.

existing expectations.

Cognitive Responses. When the components or events in a situation do not conform to an individual's existing script (i.e. one or more ordered systems have been violated with respect to existing expectations) an incongruity exists. When an incongruity occurs individuals become cognitively aware of an inconsistency. That is, scripts have a propriety, or appropriateness about them that individuals may not be cognitively aware of until the situational components do not fit with their script. At this point a cognitive assessment of the appropriateness of the situation may be made. Thus, the more severe the incongruity or rule violation the more intense the judgement of impropriety. Mandler (1982) asserts that when an individual is faced with an incongruous situation that individual must undertake depending on the degree of incongruity either assimilative or accommodative processes. An assimilative process refers to the integration of "external elements into evolving or completed structures," while an accommodative process refers to the "modification of an assimilatory scheme or structure by the elements it assimilates" (Piaget 1970, p. 706-708). Both represent successful attempts at understanding a situation and resolving whatever incongruities exist. Either process, however, results in discomfort to the individual.

Emotional Responses. When a more severe incongruity or rule violation has occurred, Mandler (1982) posits that the individual will experience increased autonomic nervous system (ANS) arousal, which underlies emotional reactions. Thus, if an individual's expectations are violated by an inconsistent situation, their affective response is expected to increase due to ANS arousal. Generally, this affective arousal will be negative and will result in the individual experiencing emotions of disgust, embarrassment,

humiliation, etc.... This helps to explain Douglas' (1966) assertion that individuals often have a strong emotional reaction to a cognitive recognition of disorder.

Behavioral Response. The incongruence of the situation not only results in a cognitive and emotional response, but also a behavioral response. This assertion represents an inversion of the classical causal model for situations in marketing. That is, that objects (products) can serve as stimuli to behavior (independent variable), rather than their traditional role (in consumer behavior research) of dependent variable.

One aspect of behavior that can be feasibly evaluated is language (Garfinkel, 1967). This facilitates a stricter adherence to an ethnomethodological perspective. Language analysis is beneficial in that it represents a system of significant symbols that we use to express, as well as conceal our thoughts and intentions. This is often accomplished by use of different styles of language, such as metaphor, euphemism, or censoring. The use of euphemism or censoring may occur when the incongruity is so severe that verbally acknowledging the problem might cause greater distress. When a less severe situational incongruity has occurred individuals may try to verbally repair the situation (Goffman 1971). For example, they may apologize for having something out of place or being in the wrong place. When individuals are responsible for the situation (e.g. the place is their home) they may attempt to "save face" by making excuses for the incongruity. For example, explaining that the children like to setup a tent in the living room to play camping trip. Even though language is not typically thought of as a type of behavior, we can see that it is a plausible means of assessing individual's responses to situations.

Summary

In order to understand how this approach to situational research is different from the objectivist and subjectivist approaches I have established a theoretical foundation for the socio-cultural approach based on the premise that situations are social interactions directed by cultural rules. This research posits that the situation is made up of three components: people, places, and objects. When these three components are congruent with one another (they meet with existing culturally derived expectations) a shared reality is easily negotiated by the individuals present. However, when the situational components are incongruent, a violation of the fit of the components has occurred. This incongruity will result in the individuals present experiencing a cognitive, emotional, and behavioral response to the situation. With this in mind, the next section focuses on the results of two studies designed to empirically assess this conceptualization of the situation.

EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

Given the conceptual framework based on the social construction of reality, this section will focus on an empirical assessment designed to evaluate symbolic meaning transfer, symbolically ordered sets, as well as cognitive, emotional, and verbal behavior reactions to situational rule violations. The goal of this empirical inquiry is to demonstrate that the socio-cultural approach to situational research is feasible and that products influence an individual's behavior in situations.

Overview of Two Empirical Studies

Two empirical studies will be presented. The first study will explore the notion that products have symbolic meaning and that these products are ordered by their symbolic meaning. As was discussed previously, the socio-cultural conceptualization of the situation is based on the premise that products have cultural meanings which exceed their utilitarian function and economic value. These meanings enable individuals to in turn, classify and order the components of situations such as products, people, and places. Ordered sets of elements guide our interpretations of and expectations about what we will find in a situation. Thus, understanding symbolic meaning transfer and ordered sets of situational components establishes the foundation for the second study which focuses on the situation. This second empirical study will address the adequacy of the tripartite (people, place, and product) conceptualization of the situation, and whether or not products serve as antecedents to behavior in situations.

Research Venue: Personal Care Products

Theoretically any product class would be appropriate to study. Personal care products are an ideal product class because they represent a highly ordered set of objects, there are powerful cultural norms governing the way we think about and behave toward our own bodies and those of other people, and personal care products are subject to these same norms. This research will demonstrate that individual's experience strong cognitive, strong emotional, and measurable behavioral responses to situational norm violations.

Personal care products offer further advantages. First, personal care products are frequently and commonly used by Americans and have become an integral part of our hygiene practices. Second, personal care products represent a broad mature product class. That is, there are not only numerous types of personal care products, but these products undergo little differentiation within the product type (or brand). This implies that the consumer is familiar with a wide variety of fairly stable products. Third, as was stated previously, the symbolic meaning of products is based on the relationship between sign and signifier. In the case of personal care products, the sign for personal care products is the human body. Perhaps the most pervasive ordered set that people universally understand is that of the body. Thus, if an individual is familiar with the symbolic meaning associated with a particular body part and/or substance, that individual will ascribe a similar meaning to the corresponding personal care product. For example, in this culture people's faces are considered to be very public, our faces are rarely concealed and in fact serve as a means of communicating how we feel (by way of facial expression). Thus, the face is the sign for products such as, facial soap, tissues, cosmetics, and shaving cream; products which are considered public. Since the body is a symbolic referent, universally

possessed by human beings each member of the culture is expected to be familiar with the symbolic meanings associated with most personal care products. Fourth, similar to the cultural rules that govern behavior in situations, there are cultural rules governing the body. These rules dictate what parts of the body or bodily functions can be seen, touched, exposed, heard, and essentially noticed. Over the last century members of western culture have come to believe that their bodies must be practically undetectable in social interaction (Foucault 1984) and as a result many products have been developed that are specifically designed to control the body and keep its presence out of social interaction. Since personal care products derive their symbolic meaning from the body and the system of rules that govern the body, I believe that these products will be governed by a similar rule system. Fifth, even though Douglas' (1966) theories of ordered sets should be applicable to any ordered set, she focuses much of her discussion on ritual pollution and the body, and how the body is particularly problematic with respect to matter being out of place. Douglas (1966) posits that the body is an ordered set (system) with rules concerning how the different parts and substances can be classified. She relies on a cognitive assessment of whether or not the classification system (or ordered set) has been violated. She asserts that when the set is violated, individual's will experience a sense of disorder or of something being out-of-place. Since personal care products are believed to be signifiers of the body that are ordered by the body, they too can be out-of-place when the rules are violated.

Study One: Ordered Sets and Symbolic Meaning

This research posits that the most basic foundation for understanding the situation

is the symbolically ordered sets. As stated previously, ordered sets provided individuals with a means of classifying, and organizing the elements around them. This enables them to deal more effectively with the complex world that they encounter each day, in that ordered sets simplify the world. This simplification stems from the utilization of symbolic meanings to guide the ordering and bring meaning to the set. Individuals use ordered sets to understand and interpret situations. There are ordered sets of people, places, and products. For example, people can be ordered according to gender or age, places can be ordered based on function or activity, and objects can be ordered according to function or some physical property. Each of these ordered sets are combined in a situation to constitute either a congruous or incongruous situation. That is, the ordered sets of the situational components must fit together. The goal of this first study is to empirically demonstrate that personal care products comprise an ordered set and that they derive their ordering from the symbolic meanings associated with the elements being ordered (in this case the body, substance, etc...). This establishes the foundation for the second study concerning situational rule violations.

Methodology. Often when talking about the body individual's make a distinction among "public" versus "private" parts of the body. For example, the term "private parts" is often used when referring to areas of the body that are usually covered by clothing. This distinction will be used to establish order among body parts and bodily substances. In the tradition of Levi-Strauss, Douglas (1966) believes that the set is often, but not always, made up of paired opposites such as pure/impure, good/evil, and public/private, that serve to identify the set's symbolic boundaries. These boundaries do not exist physically, rather they are linguistic markers for cultural concepts (Leach 1976). This common

public/private distinction will also be used to assess whether or not personal care products derive their order from patterns found among body parts and substances.

In order to assess how individual's are ordering body parts, substances, and products, as well as determine the degree to which the body serves as a sign for personal care products, a common scale was developed that is used to measure the relative publicness or privateness of body parts, substances, and personal care products¹². In this research the public/private distinction is treated as a continuum. Rather than force respondents to commit to an actual numeric rating of the publicness or privateness of a body part, substance, or product, each item was assessed by marking an X on a 140 millimeter line with reference points near each end¹³. These reference points, which were labeled "extremely public" and "extremely private", were used to reduce the possibility of scale edge effects, by placing them 25 millimeters in from the ends of the line. This enabled the respondent to rate either a body part, substance, or product as even more public or private than was indicated by the pretest results. The survey instrument (refer to Appendix A: Survey Questionnaire for Study One) required the respondent to rate 16 body parts, 48 bodily substances, and 47 personal care products. The survey was counter-balanced and the lists were reverse ordered to limit any order effects.

The sample for study one consisted of 79 business undergraduates. Given the

¹²A comprehensive list of body parts, substances, and personal care products was developed by referring to medical reference books and by visiting local drugstores.

¹³A pretest was conducted where all body parts, substances, and personal care products were rated on a 9-point scale, with 1 being public and 9 being private. Results indicated that the 9-point scale may have been too restrictive in its range and that edge effects were problematic. However, this data was useful in determining appropriate reference points for body parts, substances, and products.

somewhat sensitive nature of this research each student was required to sign a human subjects consent form (see Appendix A), in which they were told that their responses were confidential and that they may withdraw from the study at any time. While the fact that the sample consisted of undergraduates is not viewed as a problem, there are some issues to keep in mind. The sample is homogenous with respect to age, income, and education. Since this is exploratory research based on a convenience sample, this homogeneity is not considered a serious limitation. However, future research will require a broader sample. Also, given the nature of the sample, certain aspects of the results should be viewed with the sample in mind. For example, young adults attending college may have slightly more liberal (or more conservative) privacy ratings for body parts, substances, and personal care products. This is not problematic as it does not affect the theory, it may only systematically increase or decrease the mean ratings.

Symbolic Ordering of Situational Components. Douglas' notion of dirt "as matter out of place" is important for what it reveals about the ordered set of the body. She posits that the physical boundary points of the body where matter can be displaced (orifices) are particularly troublesome to people because that is where matter (bodily matter) is out of place. Thus, as an ordered set, the various parts of the body can be ordered according to how prone they are to having matter out of place. However, this particular way of ordering the body system may be applicable only to western cultures that share hygiene and contamination beliefs. Douglas (1966) asserts that parts of the body that don't have the potential for being out of place (no orifices) such as the hands, feet and legs, should be grouped at one end of the ordered set (the public end), and body parts that do have a strong potential for being out of place (orifices) such as, the mouth,

ears, genitals, and anus should be grouped at the other end of the ordered set (the private end).

From Douglas' (1966) work we understand that sets of objects have a culturally prescribed ordering. That is, there are rules based on the symbolic meaning of the objects that dictate the ordering of the set. Thus, members of the same culture should be utilizing the same basic rules, which will result in highly similar orderings of the elements in the set. Since parts of the body and bodily substances are shared by all members of a culture (with the exception of the gender specific sex organs), the similarity of ordering among members will be very high.

Based on the notion that personal care products derive their symbolic meaning from the corresponding body parts and substances, the ordering of products is likely to be derived from the same rules that order body parts and substances. Thus, the similarity of ordering for products is expected to be equally high.

Even though individual differences may result in subtle shifts in the ordering, across members of the same culture those orderings are expected to be exceptionally consistent. Therefore, high similarity of ordering for body parts, substances, and products will demonstrate that ordered sets based on symbolic meanings do exist.

This research question is easily answered by the empirical data. First, in order to understand the average ordering of the body parts, substances, and products by the sample, the mean privacy rating and standard deviation for each item was calculated and the items were ordered from most public to most private. The grand mean for body parts is fairly public at $x = 50.80$, $\sigma = 49.17$, with the mean for substance ($x = 79.38$, $\sigma = 40.22$) being considerably more private. This is not surprising, as Douglas (1966) posits

that substance is prone to being out of place; thus, causing an incongruity. Product is the most public ($x = 46.10$, $\sigma = 38.67$). This is not surprising since products are purchased at stores and seen in advertisements, which may slightly desensitize people.

Table 1 shows that the most publicly rated body part is the eyes ($x = 14.57$, $\sigma = 15.01$), while the most private body parts are the anus ($x = 117.82$, $\sigma = 24.76$) and genitalia ($x_m = 117.28$, $\sigma_m = 23.47$; $x_f = 118.44$, $\sigma_f = 23.16$). These findings are not surprising since parts of the body such as eyes, face, hands, and arms are rarely covered in public, while the genitalia are consistently concealed by clothing in public. The average ordering for substances (also found in Table 1), follows a pattern similar to that of the body. Interestingly, substances that are out-of-place according to our cultural norms (e.g., woman's facial hair ($x = 85.80$, $\sigma = 34.26$) compared to men's facial hair ($x = 25.23$, $\sigma = 26.75$), or hair on a woman's legs ($x = 80.52$, $\sigma = 37.12$) compared to hair on a man's legs ($x = 21.54$, $\sigma = 23.38$)) and substances that may be associated with an infection (e.g., pus from acne $x = 98.97$, $\sigma = 28.58$, or vomit $x = 98.06$, $\sigma = 32.98$) receive an strikingly high privacy rating. This finding will be explored in greater detail with the next analysis. Finally, products also appear to be following an ordering similar to that of the body and substance. Products such as fingernail clippers ($x = 23.29$, $\sigma = 20.56$) have a fairly public privacy rating, while products such as feminine douche ($x = 90.51$, $\sigma = 39.10$) have a very high privacy rating.

Although the ordering based on the mean privacy ratings is consistent with the theory presented and is intuitively appealing, it does not address the issue of a culturally shared ordered sets. That is, do members of the same culture rate order the set of elements in a similar manner? A correlation analysis was conducted to discover whether

TABLE 1

Mean Privacy Rating of Body Part, Substance, and Product

Body Part	Mean	Std.	Substance	Mean	Std.	Product	Mean	Std.
eyes	14.57	15.10	tears	39.23	32.18	eye drops	17.17	18.53
face	16.42	22.52	oil from face	61.54	30.71	soap for face	16.84	13.08
						astringent	48.10	36.84
			acne on face	66.41	34.20	acne cream	46.08	27.67
						acne medication	50.89	32.08
			pus from acne	98.97	28.58	acne medication	50.89	32.08
			man's facial hair	25.23	26.75	man's razor	19.90	24.17
			woman's face hair	85.80	34.26	shaving cream	17.24	15.09
						hair remover	48.01	31.61
			dirty face	62.48	30.96	facial hair blch	64.41	33.63
hands & fingers	16.04	18.36	warts on hands	73.93	34.84	wart remover	58.67	32.90
			cuticle growth	36.35	30.30	cuticle cream	31.75	28.03
			dry skin on hands	29.95	22.96	lotion	19.23	16.12
			fungernails	22.23	20.93	nail clippers	23.29	20.56
			age spots	44.34	31.87	age spot remover	50.59	31.11
arms	15.92	18.18						
nose	18.41	22.94	nasal hair	69.43	33.05	nose hair clipper	55.76	31.74
			mucous from nose	92.26	32.23	tissues	17.66	18.53
						cold remedy	19.34	19.58
mouth 15.17	21.67	25.58	tartar on teeth	67.50	33.54	tartar ctrl toothpaste		18.79
						dental floss	21.02	24.00
			saliva	57.39	33.59			
			bad breath	86.18	33.83	mouthwash	23.65	23.98
			mucous frm mouth	85.34	35.02	cough syrup	19.34	19.58
			canker sore	71.41	33.42	canker remedy	47.09	32.95
			vomit	98.06	32.98	nausea remedy	37.75	28.24
scalp & hair	19.04	22.07	dandruff	79.48	32.03	dandruff shampoo	38.96	28.42
			oily hair	65.25	32.65	oily hair shampoo	30.73	23.64
man's legs	20.03	17.52	hair on man legs	21.54	23.38	body soap	18.08	15.38
			dry skin man legs	39.88	27.16	lotion	19.23	16.12
woman's legs	22.65	20.53	hair on woman legs	80.52	37.12	woman's razor	31.08	31.90
						hair remover	48.01	31.61
						shaving cream	17.24	15.09
						man's razor	19.90	24.17

Body Part	Mean	Std.	Substance	Mean	Std.	Product	Mean	Std.			
feet & toes	27.78	27.13	sweat from feet	71.87	35.59	talcum powder	31.20	30.08			
			foot odor	82.71	34.21	odor eaters	45.39	27.90			
			corns/callouses	66.54	33.78	corn remover	53.18	31.32			
			toenails	35.09	29.47	nail clippers	23.29	20.56			
			athlete's foot	70.02	32.53	athlete ft remedy	47.67	32.56			
male chest	29.40	23.29	sweaty man chest	41.46	30.52	talcum powder	31.20	30.08			
underarms	43.80	31.03	underarm sweat	68.30	32.92	antiperspirant	26.14	27.70			
			underarm odor	85.71	36.34	talcum powder	31.20	30.08			
			wm underarm hair	94.54	35.28	deodorant	25.73	27.75			
						woman's razor	31.08	31.90			
			man underarm hair	33.81	25.81	hair remover	48.01	31.61			
						shaving cream	17.24	15.09			
						man's razor	19.90	24.17			
woman's chest	88.54	40.76	mother's milk	72.98	37.06	breast pump	82.23	43.13			
			sweat on woman's chest	58.74	34.79	nursing pads	66.73	35.32			
						talcum powder	31.20	30.08			
anus	117.82	24.76	feces	117.76	19.17	toilet paper	28.82	29.75			
						laxatives	69.30	37.31			
			antidiarrheal	64.00	32.38						
			hemorrhoids	110.29	24.21	hemorrhoid cream	93.91	33.70			
male genitalia	117.28	23.47	semen	112.39	28.25	condoms	65.45	41.33			
						contra. foam	80.97	40.61			
			urine	107.50	26.02	adult diapers	100.43	33.48			
			jock itch	91.71	33.45	jock itch remedy	80.07	36.29			
			male pubic hair	103.04	31.43						
female genitalia	118.44	23.16	female pubic hair	105.81	30.91	woman's razor	31.08	31.90			
						hair remov. cream	48.01	31.61			
						shaving cream	17.24	15.09			
						man's razor	19.90	24.17			
						vaginal discharge	115.43	21.32			
						vaginal dryness	104.91	33.10	vaginal lubricating	95.43	35.66
						menstrual blood	112.69	28.88	tampons	66.04	42.24
						vaginal odor	116.56	22.99	sanitary napkins	68.10	42.12
						feminine douche	90.51	39.10			
						talcum powder	31.20	30.08			
			urine	107.50	26.02	adult diapers	100.43	33.48			

or not the members of the sample are order body parts, substances, and products in the same manner. This analysis treats each respondent as an observation and calculates the

correlation of each respondent's ratings with those of the entire sample. Table 2 shows the mean item to total correlation for body part, substance, and product ratings. Each mean correlation is above .70, indicating that the respondents order body part, substance, and personal care products in the same way. The mean correlation for body parts is the highest at $x = .899$, $\sigma = .185$. This may be because cultural cues about the privacy of the body (i.e., clothing styles) are more readily available than are cues for substances and products.

TABLE 2

Mean Item to Total Correlation

Body Part	$x = 0.899$	$\sigma = 0.157$
Substance	$x = 0.728$	$\sigma = 0.185$
Product	$x = 0.732$	$\sigma = 0.183$

This empirical analysis demonstrates that there is a high degree of conformity among members of the sample with regard to the ordering of the sets of body parts, substances, and products. It also serves as a validation procedure for the public/private scale as a method of measuring the symbolic meaning associated with each element of the ordered set. Thus, if individuals are presented with a product from the public end of the ordered set, we can be reasonable assured that there is a wide degree of consensus that it is, indeed, a public product. The next research question will further explore the role of symbolic meaning in ordered sets.

Symbolic Meaning and Personal Care Products. As was stated previously, symbolic meanings serve to communicate more meaning about an object than is inherently present, as well as guide the ordering of the symbolic set. In doing so, symbolic meanings simplify and bring order to a complex world (Stryker and Statham 1985). Based on Douglas's (1966) stringent focus on substances, we might believe that the symbolic meaning of personal care products is determined by the substances associated with each product. This, however, completely overlooks any role that the body might play in determining product ratings. It is possible that both substances and the body serve as referents for the symbolic meaning of the product.

Publicness and privateness alone may not fully account for the symbolic meaning of personal care products. Since many personal care products are designed to treat a physical condition, it is necessary to incorporate whether or not there is any association with infection. While Douglas (1966) dismissed the problem of pathology in her theory, it is important to include infectiousness because so many personal care products deal with pathology directly or with regions of the body that are prone to pathological conditions. The symbolic meaning of the body part, substance and subsequently the product may be influenced by whether or not there is any pathology (or infection) present. For example, the possibility of infection may make personal care products more "dangerous" (and therefore private). On the other hand, they may make certain problems more socially acceptable and the personal care products associated with these problems less dangerous and more public.

Covariates. Individual level characteristics such as personality and ethnic diversity may modify the cultural rules that an individual incorporates into his/her personalized

script. Thus, influencing to some degree the way in which the individual assigns and interprets the symbolic meaning of products, as well as the way he or she may respond cognitively and emotionally to situational incongruities. Two demographic covariates are used: gender and religion, while squeamishness is more of an individual difference variable.

Gender may influence the way individuals interact socially, the manner in which they negotiate reality and the meanings they assign to situational components. Perhaps one of the most influential individual characteristics, aside from gender is religious background. The religious background of the individual is likely to influence the symbolic meaning that they assign to the various parts of the body which in turn will impact the symbolic meaning of the product. One individual level characteristic that is pertinent to the manner in which people assign symbolic meaning to personal care products is the degree to which an individual is squeamish. Squeamishness refers to how "easily offended or disgusted" (Webster's Dictionary 1984) a person becomes when they encounter various bodily substances.

Squeamishness was measured on a 7-point scale from not at all squeamish to extremely squeamish (see Appendix A). Each individual's level of squeamishness is believed to have an influence on the privacy rating of the product. That is, individual's who are highly squeamish may tend to assign a more private symbolic meaning to body parts and substances, which in turn would result in the product being viewed as more private.

In order to empirically assess whether or not symbolic meaning transfer (or association) is occurring (i.e., assess how well body part, substance, and infectiousness

drive the privacy rating for product), an exploratory stepwise regression was conducted. This analysis required that each body part, substance, and product be matched up (i.e., mouth, tartar on teeth, and tartar control toothpaste (see Appendix B: Corresponding Body Parts, Substances, and Products, for all matches)) and then treated generically (i.e., toothpaste, mouthwash, and soap are not individual variables, rather they are all called product).

The goal of this portion of the study is to show that the privacy rating of the product, in general, can be reasonably predicted by the privacy ratings of the associated body part, substance, infectiousness rating, and covariates (gender, religion, and squeamishness). That is, the product serves as a sign for the body part and substance. Matching the body parts, to substances, to products results in 65 observations per individual. Thus, making the model somewhat optimistic in its predictive ability due to the high degrees of freedom (see Table 3a). Overall the model is significant to the .0001 level, and has an $r^2 = .3074$, which is considered promising given the exploratory nature of this research. Table 3b provides the correlation matrix of the regression variables. While the correlation between product and body ($r^2 = .4967$) and substance and body ($r^2 = .4308$) is higher than we would ideally like to see, it is not high enough to represent any critical multicollinearity problems.

Since it is possible that the product acquires symbolic meaning from the body part and associated substance, the main effects of body part and substance should be significant and positive. That is, as the privacy rating of body part and substance increase so does the privacy rating of product (see Table 3a), the coefficients indicate this is the case. The main effect of infectiousness (or pathology) is also positive and significant (.0002),

TABLE 3a

Stepwise Regression Analysis of Symbolic Meaning Transfer

<u>Source</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>Sum of Squares</u>	<u>Mean Squares</u>	<u>F Value</u>	<u>Prob>F</u>
Model	14	1740147.716	124296.265	132.429	0.0001
Error	4177	3920491.225	938.590		
C Total	4191	5660638.942			
	Root MSE	30.636	R-square	0.3074	
	Dep Mean	43.958	Adj R-sq	0.3051	

Parameter Estimates

<u>Variable</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>Parameter</u>	<u>Std. Err.</u>	<u>T for HO:</u>	<u>Prob>F</u>
Intercept	1	10.836	2.265	4.783	0.0001
Body	1	0.249	0.023	10.762	0.0001
Substance	1	0.086	0.016	5.120	0.0001
Infection	1	1.757	0.468	3.751	0.0002
Squeamishness	1	6.114	0.626	9.753	0.0001
Protestant	1	3.993	2.709	1.474	0.1406
Body*Protestant	1	0.093	0.022	4.134	0.0001
Body*Jewish	1	-0.065	0.027	-2.354	0.0186
Substance*Sex	1	0.049	0.020	2.394	0.0167
Squeamish*Sex	1	-1.692	0.584	-2.895	0.0038
Squeam.*Protestant	1	-5.812	0.913	-6.362	0.0001
Squeam.*Catholic	1	-4.476	0.429	-10.412	0.0001
Squeam.*Jewish	1	-4.204	0.666	-6.312	0.0001
Body*Sub.*Infect.	1	-0.0002	0.00005	-4.540	0.0001
Body*Sub.*Squeam.	1	0.0003	0.00005	5.719	0.0001

TABLE 3b

Correlation Analysis

<u>Variable</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Std. Dev.</u>
Product	5050	46.109	38.677
Body	5117	50.802	49.178
Substance	5128	79.384	40.226
Infection	4748	1.751	1.457
Squeamish	5135	2.962	1.306

Pearson Correlation Coefficients

<u>Coeff./n</u>	<u>Product</u>	<u>Body</u>	<u>Sub.</u>	<u>Infect.</u>	<u>Squeam.</u>
Product	1.0000 5050	0.4967 5032	0.3110 5045	0.0851 4665	0.1366 5050
Body	0.4967 5032	1.0000 5117	0.4308 5110	0.0944 4733	0.0616 5117
Substance	0.3110 5045	0.4308 5110	1.0000 5128	0.1528 4742	0.0457 5128
Infection	0.0851 4665	0.0944 4733	0.1528 4742	1.0000 4748	0.0841 4748
Squeamish	0.1366 5050	0.0616 5117	0.0457 5128	0.0841 4748	1.0000 5135

indicating that an association with illness increases the privacy rating of the product. Interestingly the three-way interaction of body*substance*infection is negative and significant (.0001); thus, lowering the privacy rating of the product. This coefficient suggests the existence of an "apology" effect, which excuses people who have an illness are often excused from maintaining control over their bodies. That is, when illness creates a need for a personal care product, it also creates an excuse, making the product more publicly acceptable.

While many of these complex covariate interactions go beyond the scope of the

theory presented here, the results will be briefly discussed. Of the covariates, squeamishness is the only significant main effect (.0001). It is positive meaning that high squeamishness in an individual serves to increase the privacy rating of the product. This finding is fairly intuitive in that individual's who are squeamish rate products as more private. There is no main effect for gender, although it interacts significantly with substance and squeamishness. Religion also does not have a significant main effect, but Protestant and Jewish religious affiliation does interact with body part. The positive Protestant*body part interaction indicates that the way protestants feel about the "private" portions of their bodies increases the privacy rating of the product. The negative Jewish*body part interaction indicates that people of the Jewish faith may be more comfortable with these same bodily regions, which serves to decrease the privacy rating of the product. There is a negative interaction between squeamishness and all three religions (Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant), which indicates that if an individual has no religious affiliation then squeamishness will have a greater impact on the privacy rating of the product. This suggests that squeamishness and religion may trade off; squeamishness may represent a form of "secular" modesty rather than religious modesty. However, further research is needed to explain these effects.

The findings from this regression analysis indicate that products acquire the symbolic meaning of the corresponding body parts and substances, and that infectiousness, squeamishness, gender, and religion are important covariates in understanding the transfer of symbolic meaning from body and substance to product. This suggests that Douglas' (1966) assertions, which may be applied to many contexts, may not completely account for consumer's reaction to personal care products.

Discussion of Study One. The purpose of study one was to demonstrate that personal care products comprise an ordered set and that they derive their symbolic meaning from the corresponding body part and substance. The empirical results clearly suggest that there is a consistent common pattern to the ordering of body parts, substances, and products. This ordering (on a public to private continuum) is remarkably consistent, when one considers the subtle shifts that are likely to occur with individual or sub-cultural differences. This empirical test provides support for Douglas' (1966) theory of ordered sets. Likewise, support is also found for the notion of symbolic meaning transfer. The regression analysis, while preliminary, indicates shows strong evidence for personal care products serving as signs (or symbols) for the corresponding body part and substance.

Study Two: Responses to Situational Rule Violations

Study One establishes a foundation for the second study which specifically addresses situational research. That is, it is necessary to understand that symbolic meaning is not inherently present in the product, rather meaning comes from the culturally constituted world (McCracken 1986). This symbolic meaning serves as the basis for ordering products, people, and even places.

Symbolic ordering dictates what product should be with what person in what place. When the symbolic orderings of person, product, and place do not fit, disorder occurs and individual's expectations about situational congruency are not met. Douglas (1966) implies that the ordering process is purely cognitive in nature. Individual's make judgments about what is in place and what is out-of-place.

In order to understand how the situation has an impact on consumer's behavior it is necessary to first establish that when situational rules and expectations are violated an emotional and cognitive response occurs. Rule violation makes it possible to empirically assess the impact of the rule (or its importance). The greater the rule violation (i.e., situational incongruity), the greater the cognitive and emotional reaction. Rule violation is possible by breaching the order of the situation. Disorder can be created by manipulating people, places, and products into combinations that are not congruent with one another.

Methodology. Creating disorder in a situation is not a simple task. Garfinkel's (1967) seminal breaching studies are a well-known example of the use of intentional norm violations in order to study the strength and pervasiveness of the norm in question. Although Garfinkel's (1967) studies were conducted in the field¹⁴, they sacrificed control over what factors were being manipulated in the situation as well as how the responses are measured. While situational researchers are indebted to Garfinkel for his ground-breaking work, experimentation may be a viable method of researching situational norm violations.

Experimentation offers several advantages. Since the public/private scale has been validated, it is possible to manipulate product with a rather high degree of accuracy. Thus, it is possible to create systematic variation in incongruity with the use of scenarios that describe what is taking place in the situation. Even though some of the realism may be sacrificed with the use of scenarios, measurement of responses is facilitated by having the

¹⁴In these studies, researchers would encounter people in real life situations and behave in a manner incongruous with the situation. Conversation analysis was used to measure the strength of the norm.

subject answer questions right after they read the scenario.

Study two focuses on measuring and assessing the cognitive, emotional, and behavioral responses to situational norm violations. An experimental design is utilized in which person, place, and product are systematically varied. For simplicity's sake each situational component will have two levels (see Table 4); place can be either a private place or a public place, people can have either strong ties (a close friend) or weak ties (an acquaintance), and products are either private personal care products or public personal care products. The products were selected¹⁵ from the ordered sets developed in the first study (see Table 1).

Due to the sensitive nature of the experiment, subjects¹⁶ were required to sign an informed consent form indicating that they understood that their responses were completely anonymous and that they could withdraw from the study at any time (see Appendix C: Questionnaire for Study Two). Subjects were asked to read a paragraph scenario in which a situation was described (see Figures 3 & 4, and Appendix C). Then they were asked to fill in cartoon-like thought and speech bubbles for the people in the situation. This projective technique was used to assess the behavior elicited by the norm violation. It was also thought to be less reactive than asking the subjects to report what they themselves would think and say.

The next task was designed to measure the cognitive and emotional reaction that

¹⁵Study one concluded that infection (or pathology) is an important covariate. Since the primary focus of this research is not personal care product, but rather situations, only non-pathological products will be considered in this study.

¹⁶The sample consisted of 400 business undergraduates.

TABLE 4

Experimental Design for Study Two: Norm Violations

Product	Place	People (Tie)	People (Gender)
High Privacy (Toilet Paper)	Private (Bathroom)	Strong Tie (Close Friend)	Same Gender
			Different Gender
		Weak Tie (Casual Acquaintance)	Same Gender
			Different Gender
	Public (Office)	Strong Tie (Close Friend)	Same Gender
			Different Gender
		Weak Tie (Casual Acquaintance)	Same Gender
			Different Gender
Low Privacy (Soap)	Private (Bathroom)	Strong Tie (Close Friend)	Same Gender
			Different Gender
		Weak Tie (Casual Acquaintance)	Same Gender
			Different Gender
	Public (Office)	Strong Tie (Close Friend)	Same Gender
			Different Gender
		Weak Tie (Casual Acquaintance)	Same Gender
			Different Gender

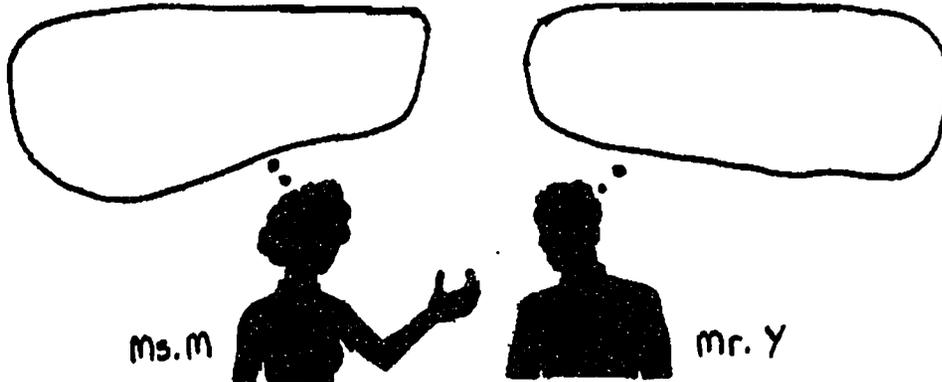
the subject had to the situation. Factor analysis and coefficient alpha scores indicated that the ten likert-type statements were able to "tap" separate emotional and cognitive responses (see Table 5). These ten likert-type statements were used to assess to what degree subject's strongly disagreed or agreed that the situation made the person in the situation feel uneasy, disgusted, anxious, offended, and humiliated and to what degree they thought the situation was natural, improper, unlikely, inappropriate, and probable (see Appendix C). This was followed by several questions concerning the body part, substance

FIGURE 2

Scenario and Projective Technique
Female Subject / Different Gender

One afternoon while Ms. M is at the office working, there is a knock at the door. At the door is Mr. Y, a casual acquaintance of Ms. M, who also works at the same company. Mr. Y has dropped by to pick up some important papers. They chat for a little while about work. The important papers that her acquaintance needs are in Ms. M's briefcase. When Ms. M opens the briefcase, they both see a bar of soap lying in plain view on top of the papers. It is obvious to Ms. M that Mr. Y saw the bar of soap.

The cartoon-like drawing below shows Ms. M and her acquaintance. Please write in the "thought bubble" what realistic thoughts both Ms. M and Mr. Y may have had when they saw the bar of soap in the briefcase.



Now take a few minutes to write in the speech bubbles what they might say to each other. Please be realistic and detailed.

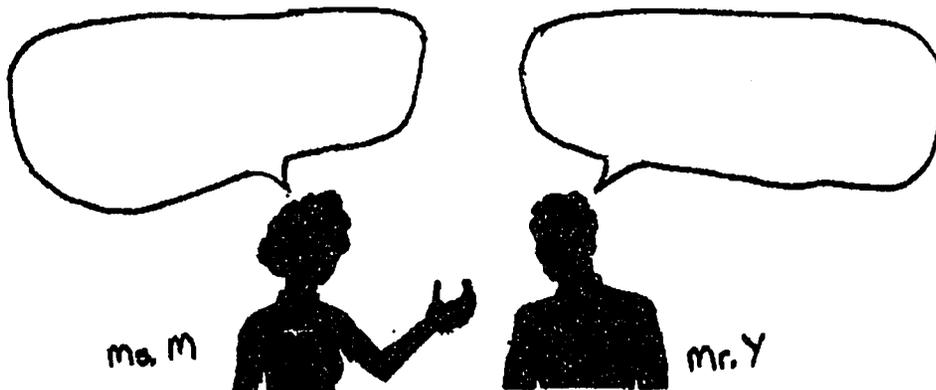
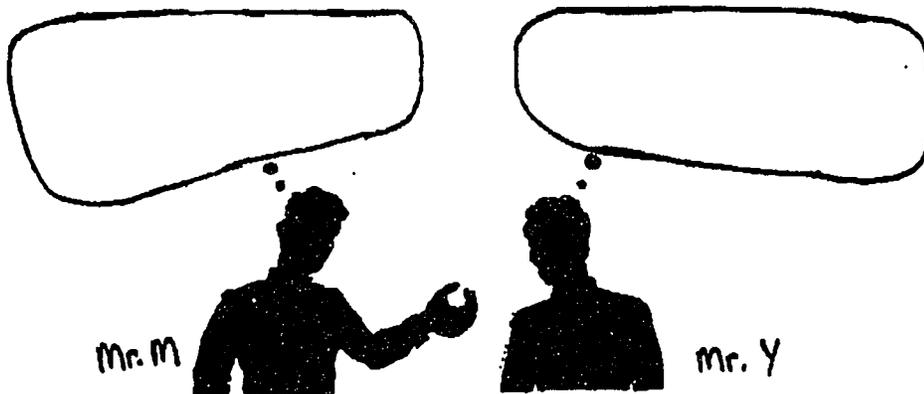


FIGURE 3

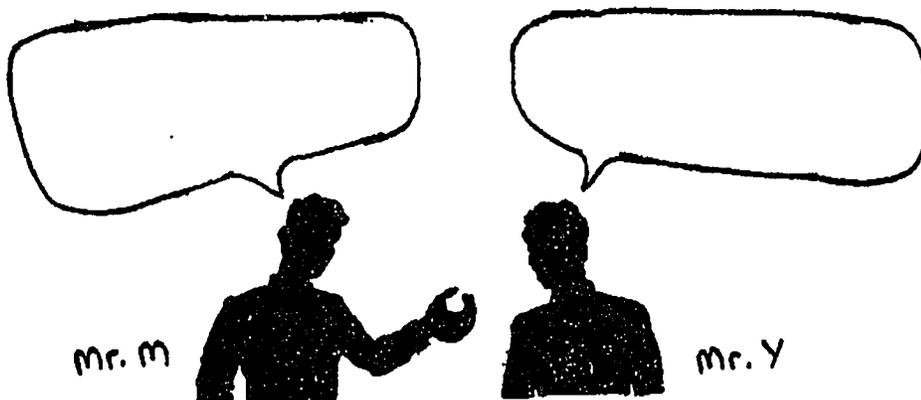
**Scenario and Projective Technique
Male Subject / Same Gender**

Mr. M is at home one evening after work, when the doorbell rings. At the door is Mr. Y, a casual acquaintance of Mr. M. who also works at the same company. Mr. Y has dropped by to pick up some important papers. They chat for a little while about work. Before leaving, Mr. Y asks to use the bathroom. Mr. M walks his acquaintance to the bathroom and turns on the light. They both see a roll of toilet paper lying in plain view on the bathroom counter. It is obvious to Mr. M that Mr. Y saw the roll of toilet paper.

The cartoon-like drawing below shows Mr. M and his acquaintance. Please write in the "thought bubble" what realistic thoughts both Mr. M and Mr. Y may have had when they saw the roll of toilet paper on the bathroom counter.



Now take a few minutes to write in the speech bubbles what they might say to each other. Please be realistic and detailed.



and personal care product. Manipulation checks were conducted and standard demographic information recorded¹⁷. The scenarios and questions were counter-balanced and reverse ordered, to eliminate any order effects.

Cognitive Response to Situational Incongruity. The third research question focuses on the cognitive assessment of congruency made by individuals in situations. According to Mandler (1982), individuals make a cognitive assessment of the situation. This assessment is of how well the situational components fit together with respect to the individual's expectations. When the individual encounters a situation that is incongruous with their existing scripts of that situation, they may make a judgement of the impropriety of the situation. This is consistent with Douglas' (1966) position that individuals judge the normative order of the situation and conclude that the components are either in place or are out-of-place. It is important to note that the recognition of the violation is not dependent on the individual being able to formally articulate the specific rule that was violated. Rather, the individual need only register a cognitive assessment of inappropriateness, impropriety, etc....

Even though an incongruity caused by any one of the situational components would result in a cognitive recognition of the violation, this research is primarily concerned with incongruities related to the product. I expect that when the location is public and the privacy of the product is high (an incongruous situation), the judgement of impropriety will increase. However, when the location is private the degree of violation,

¹⁷Originally the experiment was designed as a within-subjects repeated measures design in which three scenarios were presented. The verbal data was only collected for the first scenario. Analysis indicated that a significant desensitization effect was present; thus, invalidating the data from the second two scenarios.

TABLE 5

Factor Analysis and Cronbach's Alpha for Cognitive/Emotion Terms

Rotated Factor Pattern

Variable	Factor 1	Factor 2
Uneasy	0.28475	0.68076
Disgusted	0.13265	0.67389
Anxious	0.17410	0.68556
Offended	0.01064	0.65013
Humiliated	0.22135	0.76175
Natural	0.79234	0.25002
Improper	0.55946	0.43273
Unlikely	0.85731	0.09863
Inappropriate	0.60892	0.44288
Probable	0.81510	0.01579

Variance Explained by each Factor

Factor 1	Factor 2
2.889	2.846

Cronbach's Coefficient Alpha

Cognition = 0.8329 Emotion = 0.7729

as indicated by the cognitive assessment, increases with the nature of the product.

In order to empirically test whether or not individual's make a cognitive assessment of situational norm violations, an analysis of variance was conducted on the overall cognitive response by each subject¹⁸, means are found in Table 6. Figure 4 is a

¹⁸The overall cognitive response was calculated by taking the mean of all five cognitive terms.

graphical representation of the cognitive recognition of a norm violation when place and product are varied. As shown in Figure 4, when the place is public the nature of the product (either low or high privacy) does not change individual's cognitive recognition of a norm violation. However, when the place is public, there is an overall stronger cognitive reaction (greater degree of inappropriateness, ...). When the place is private, the degree of cognitive response is clearly affected by the nature of the product. When the product is high privacy the cognitive response is higher, then when the product is low privacy. Clearly product is having a profound effect on the situation. This is consistent with the conclusions of study one; a personal care product is not merely an object, rather it is a symbol of the body part and substance that affects cognitive responses to situations.

This finding demonstrates that individual's do make cognitive assessments of the congruity of the situation. In this case it appears that those assessments of congruity rely heavily on the place and the product, and not so heavily on the people present¹⁹. As this is exploratory research, it is not conclusive that the people component of the situation is not utilized in cognitively assessing the congruity of the situation.

Emotional Response to Situational Incongruity. While the cognitive assessment of rule violation is useful in determining whether or not a situational incongruity recognized, it does not tell the whole story. Douglas (1966) posits a fairly cognitive view of ordered sets violation, without offering much explanation for why an individual might experience an emotional reaction. Mandler (1982) states that when an individual encounters an incongruous situation he or she will experience some degree of negative emotional

¹⁹The main effect of people was not significant, nor were any interactions involving people.

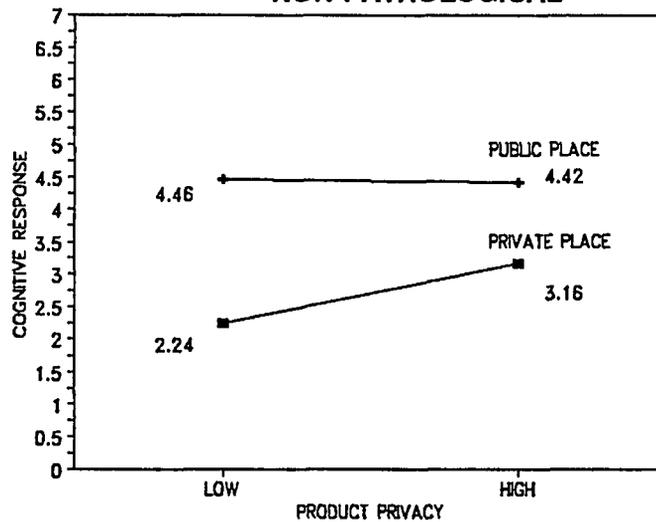
TABLE 6

Means Table for Cognitive Response to Situational Incongruity

General Linear Models Procedure
Least Squares Means

Place	Product	Pathology	LS Means
Private (Bathroom)	High Privacy (Toilet Paper)	Non-Pathological	3.161
		Pathological	4.438
	Low Privacy (Soap)	Non-Pathological	2.241
		Pathological	2.782
Public (Office)	High Privacy (Toilet Paper)	Non-Pathological	4.424
		Pathological	4.407
	Low Privacy (Soap)	Non-Pathological	4.468
		Pathological	4.946

FIGURE 4
ANOVA Graph of Cognitive Response to Situational Incongruity
NON-PATHOLOGICAL



arousal. The negative emotional arousal stems from an increase in the activity of the autonomic nervous system (ANS) (Mandler 1982), which results from the identification of a situational incongruity. As stated previously, a situational incongruity occurs when the ordering of the situational components is violated (i.e., rule violation). The greater the situational incongruity, the greater the ANS arousal.

Once again, incongruities concerning the product are of primary interest in this research. I expect that when the location is public and the privacy of the product is high, which is a situational incongruity, the negative emotional response will increase. Likewise, when the location is private and the privacy of the product increases, the negative emotional response should also increase, but it will probably be less than in the public case.

The empirical test for emotional response is identical to the analysis of variance used for research question three. Means from the analysis of variance are found in Table 7. Figure 5 is a graphical representation of the mean emotional response to variations in the place and product. There appears to be a systematic increase in the emotional response with the nature of the product. That is, the mean emotional response increases as the privacy of the product increases, regardless of place. However, when the place is public the overall mean emotional response is higher, than when the place is private. These findings are consistent with the notion that situational norm violations in public are more emotionally charged than those that occur in private.

While person did not appear to be a factor in individual's cognitively reacting to situational incongruity caused by norm violation, it does appear to influence emotional response. In the experiment person was specifically manipulated by tie strength, either a

TABLE 7

Means Tables for Emotional Response to Situational Incongruity

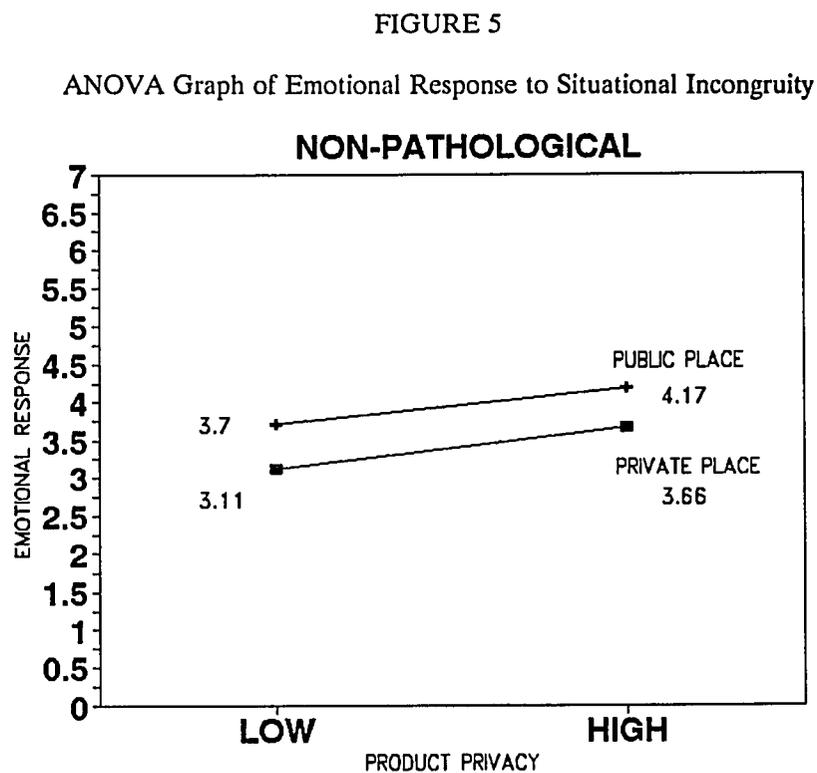
General Linear Models Procedure
Least Squares Means

Place	Product	Pathology	LS Means
Private (Bathroom)	High Privacy (Toilet Paper)	Non-Pathological	3.666
		Pathological	5.037
	Low Privacy (Soap)	Non-Pathological	3.119
		Pathological	3.616
Public (Office)	High Privacy (Toilet Paper)	Non-Pathological	4.176
		Pathological	4.541
	Low Privacy (Soap)	Non-Pathological	3.702
		Pathological	4.320

Place	Product	People (Gender)	LS Means
Private (Bathroom)	High Privacy (Toilet Paper)	Different Gender	4.337
		Same Gender	4.366
	Low Privacy (Soap)	Different Gender	3.667
		Same Gender	3.068
Public (Office)	High Privacy (Toilet Paper)	Different Gender	4.296
		Same Gender	4.421
	Low Privacy (Soap)	Different Gender	3.724
		Same Gender	4.298

weak or strong tie. This effect was not significant in the analysis. However, the gender of the people in the situation was systematically manipulated so that the gender was either

the same (man-man, woman-woman) or different (man-woman, woman-man)²⁰. This



gender manipulation significantly influences the emotional response to situational incongruity.

Figure 6 shows two graphical representations of mean emotional response when place, product, and sex of the other in the scenario are manipulated. When the gender of the two people is the same and the place is public, the mean emotional response does not

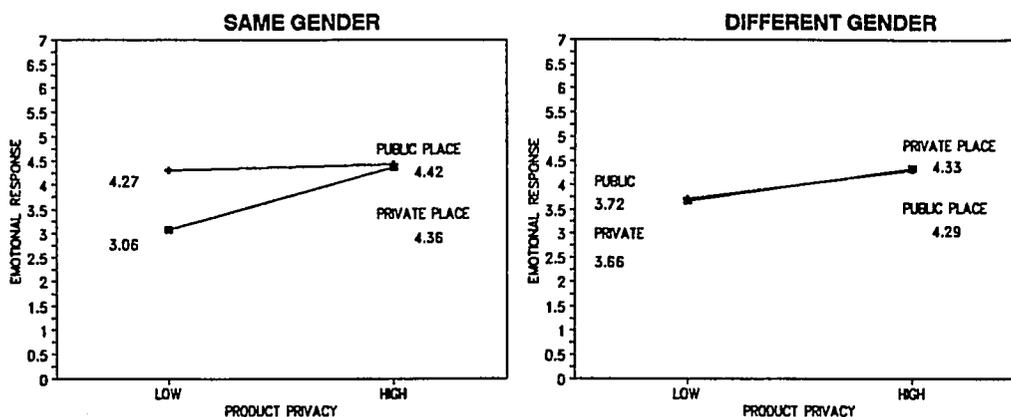
²⁰The gender of the primary person (M) in the situation was always matched to the gender of the subject.

vary greatly with the nature of the product. That is, there is an overall heightened emotional response. However, when the place is private and the product is low privacy, the emotional response is not as high. One conclusion is that with a same gender person, in private, with a low privacy product the incongruity is not as great thus making the emotional response not as high.

When gender is different, the place effect drops out. What appears to be driving the emotional response is the nature of the product, with a higher emotional response resulting when the product is highly private. This indicates that when the gender of the situational participants is different, situational incongruities are caused by the product alone.

FIGURE 6

ANOVA Graph of Emotional Response to Situational Incongruity:
Gender Differences



Behavioral Response to Situational Incongruity. When an incongruent situation (or rule violation) has occurred and been recognized at both a cognitive and an emotional level, an individual has at his or her disposal several different strategies to achieve congruency or at least lessen the impact of the situational breach. These strategies represent the influence that situations have on individual's behavior.

In marketing research behavior is usually characterized as product choice or purchase behavior. For purposes of this research, the behavior that will be examined is language behavior. There are several advantages to language analysis. It is consistent with the ethnomethodological tradition, relatively easy to measure, and is used by individual's to disclose as well as conceal their intentions.

This research will focus on a verbal strategy²¹ of censoring, which is characterized by either thinking explicit references to the situation and then making less explicit statements, or by the use of euphemisms to refer to some aspect of the situation. When a situational incongruity exists, the tendency for individual's to employ a censoring strategy should increase.

In order to empirically assess whether or not situational incongruities and the product have an impact on behavior, a content analysis was conducted on the open-ended responses obtained by the following projective technique. After reading the first situational scenario, subjects were asked to write in the thought bubble what they thought the two participants in the situation would be thinking. Then they were asked to write in

²¹The theoretical foundation leads us to believe that other verbal strategies focusing on repair work and saving face (Goffman 1969, 1971) are likely to occur. However, due to the sparsity of the data, these strategies could not be empirically assessed.

the speech bubbles what they thought the two participants might say to one another (see Figures 2 and 3).

These written responses were then content analyzed according to the category codes found in Appendix D: Content Analysis Codes²². The suggestions made by Kassrajain (1977) were followed in conducting the content analysis. A very small sub-sample of the responses were used to develop the content categories, which were then "tested" for their inclusiveness with another small sub-sample. When the coding categories were felt to be rich enough, the written responses were coded by two independent judges. Inter-coder reliability was 82.3%. In order to assess censoring, responses concerning the product were coded on a scale ranging from no reference to explicit full product name reference. Examples of the coding scheme are found in Table 8.

TABLE 8
Coding Categories for Censoring

0 - No reference to the product whatsoever
1 - Refers to the product euphemistically
2 - Refers to the product implicitly
3 - Refers to the product explicitly by partial product name
4 - Refers to the product explicitly by full product name

²²I am grateful to Jon Laudenbach and Al Petrosky for their heroic effort and willingness to code 800 thought and speech bubbles.

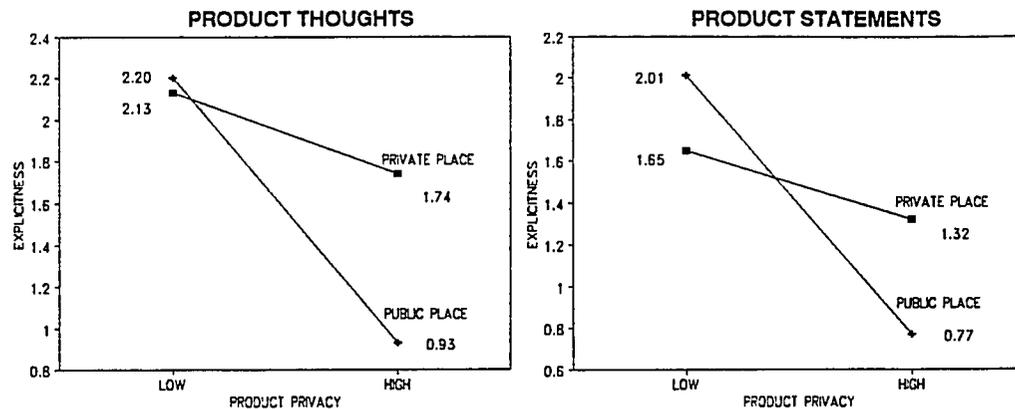
To assess whether or not situational incongruities have an effect on individual's censoring behavior an analysis of variance was conducted. The two dependent variables were thoughts regarding the product and statements regarding the product (see Table 9 for the means). Figure 7 shows the two graphic representations of the means.

TABLE 9
Mean Explicitness of Product Thoughts and Statements
General Linear Models Procedure
Least Squares Means

Place	Product	Thoughts	Statements
Private (Bathroom)	High Privacy (Toilet Paper)	1.747	1.328
	Low Privacy (Soap)	2.133	1.655
Public (Office)	High Privacy (Toilet Paper)	0.939	0.775
	Low Privacy (Soap)	2.206	2.011

The same pattern is evident in both thoughts and speech. When the product has a low privacy rating, there tends to be more explicit thoughts ($x_{\text{Public}} = 2.20$ and $x_{\text{Private}} = 2.13$) as well as statements ($x_{\text{Public}} = 2.01$ and $x_{\text{Private}} = 1.65$). However, when the privacy of the product is high, there is a sharp decrease in the mean explicitness of product thoughts ($x_{\text{Public}} = 0.90$ and $x_{\text{Private}} = 1.74$) and statements ($x_{\text{Public}} = 0.77$ and $x_{\text{Private}} = 1.32$). This decrease is most prominent when the place is public ($x_{\text{Thoughts}} = 2.20$ drops to $x_{\text{Thoughts}} = 0.90$, and $x_{\text{Statements}} = 2.01$ drops to $x_{\text{Statements}} = 0.77$). Clearly, individuals are censoring not only how they reportedly "think" about the product,

FIGURE 7
ANOVA Graphs of Censoring Behavior



but also the verbal statements they reportedly "utter" about the product in incongruous situations. Thus, censoring is greater when utterances are made "publicly" through verbalization, and greatest when the norm violation is the most severe.

Another method of detecting censoring behavior is to test whether or not thoughts tend to have a higher explicitness rating than statements in incongruous situations. In order to conduct this test the difference between the statement rating and the thought rating was calculated, and t-tests were performed. This analysis indicates under what situational conditions individuals will report more explicit thoughts than statements, and conversely, under what conditions they are using a censoring strategy. The results in

Table 10 show that when in a private place, with a low privacy product, and an acquaintance, statements made about the product are significantly less explicit than thought about the product. In this situation the incongruous component is the person, as it is a weak tie. Note that in the same situation with a strong tie there is no significant censoring occurring. Similarly, when the place is private, the product is highly private, and an acquaintance is present, we see significant evidence of censoring. These findings indicate that in incongruous situations individuals may censor their thoughts about the product. Thus demonstrating again that the product has an impact on behavior.

TABLE 10

T-test of Censoring of Product Statements

Place	People (Tie)	Product	Mean	t	P-Value
Private (Bathroom)	Strong (Close Friend)	High Privacy (Toilet Paper)	x = 0.222	0.868	0.3890
		Low Privacy (Soap)	x = 0.404	1.265	0.2128
	Weak (Casual Acquaint)	High Privacy (Toilet Paper)	x = 0.431	1.708	0.0947
		Low Privacy (Soap)	x = 1.000	2.927	0.0057
Public (Office)	Strong (Close Friend)	High Privacy (Toilet Paper)	x = 0.377	1.506	0.1392
		Low Privacy (Soap)	x = -0.106	-0.385	0.7015
	Weak (Casual Acquaint)	High Privacy (Toilet Paper)	x = 0.217	0.935	0.3546
		Low Privacy (Soap)	x = 0.339	1.367	0.1772

Discussion of Study Two. The empirical findings from study two demonstrate that

when a situation incongruity occurs individuals make a cognitive recognition of the incongruity, experience a negative emotional response to the incongruity, and alter their behavior by censoring what they think and say.

While it is extremely encouraging to discover that the tripartite definition is a viable means of conducting situational research, perhaps more encouraging are the clear indications of product serving as an antecedent to situational behavior. Results from the analysis of variance for cognitive response show that the nature of the product has a significant effect on the cognitive response of the individual. Results from the emotion analysis indicate that the nature of the product significantly increases the mean level of emotional response. Furthermore, emotional response is significantly increased when the gender of the situational participants is different, and when gender is the same and the place is private. Results from the analysis of variance and t-tests show that individuals censor both their thoughts and statements when the privacy of the product is high and the location is public. Additionally, evidence of censoring of thoughts was found when an acquaintance was the other person in the situation and the place was public with both a low and high privacy product.

These findings are fundamental in establishing that the product can serve as an antecedent to behavior, because if product incongruities did not result in cognitive and emotional responses there would be no basis for having a behavioral response. In terms of behavioral response, as indicated by language analysis, the results are promising. Clearly the nature of the product dictates censoring of thoughts as well as speech.

Summary

Framing situational research in the ethnomethodological tradition provides a more powerful framework than the previous approaches of objectively and subjectively defining the situation. Rather than merely defining the physical parameters or features of the situation, or accounting for emotional mediators between the situation and behavior, this approach allows the situation to be defined in a manner that accounts for a social act involving at least two individuals who are able to construct a shared reality out of a common sign system, and are able to identify the situation based on its salient components and subsequently invoke the appropriate rules for behavior. While this approach may not be the definitive answer for conducting situational research, it does provide many new insights into the situation that have been previously overlooked, such as the existence of rules and the influence of culture.

CONCLUSION

The goal of this research has been to develop an alternative conceptualization of the situation that overcomes the limitations of the objectivist and subjectivist approaches. The objectivist approach to situational research has been to attempt to specify all the possible physical elements of the situation, while the subjectivists have focused on how the individual interprets and emotionally reacts to the situation. In marketing research the situation has been treated as a means of predicting product choice, attitude, preference, and satisfaction. The socio-cultural approach proposed and empirically tested in this research posits that the situation can be characterized by the people who are present, the place they are in, and the products that are nearby. When these situational elements are incongruous with one another, individual's experience a cognitive and emotional response to the incongruity. More importantly, situational incongruities involving the product affect subject's verbal behavior.

Marketing research has typically treated the consumer as if he or she exists in isolation from other consumers²³. That is, consumer activities prior to consumption are often viewed as events independent of social interaction. The socio-cultural approach to situational research in marketing enables us to study the product in its appropriate cultural context of social situations. By acknowledging that products have profound cultural meaning, we are much closer to understanding how products can influence behavior.

²³Some exceptions are found in social network research (Frenzen and Davis 1990), word-of-mouth research (Brown and Reingen 1987), and reference group research (Bearden, Netemeyer and Teel 1989).

Two empirical tests were conducted to assess the socio-cultural approach to situational research. The first study demonstrated that ordered systems can be identified and empirically constructed, and that products have symbolic meanings derived from the culturally constituted world. The second study focused on testing the tripartite definition of the situation and establishing that products serve as antecedents to behavior. The results of study two clearly indicate that individual's have expectations about what a situation should be like, and when these expectations are violated they have a cognitive and emotional reaction.

Implications from Empirical Studies. There are several implications that can be drawn from this research. This may be one of the only empirical tests of Mary Douglas's (1966) theory of ordered sets of elements. With the results suggesting that body parts, substances and products represent highly ordered symbolic sets. This research also represents an empirical test of the product serving as a symbolic sign for the body and bodily substances. This assessment of the symbolic transfer of meaning also demonstrates that substance alone does not serve as the signifier for personal care products (a position consistent with Douglas (1966)). Body part, infection (or pathology), squeamishness, and religious affiliation each make a significant contribution to understanding the symbolic meaning of personal care products. These results imply that products bring additional meaning into the situation, that exceeds their utilitarian and economic value. Hopefully, the results from study one will serve to encourage further empirical research into the symbolic meaning of consumer products.

The results of study two indicate that when an incongruity is present, a negative cognitive assessment is made by the individual, and that a negative emotional reaction is

experienced. The individual's response to these incongruities was not limited to cognitive and emotional reactions; their behavior was also affected. Individuals attempted to compensate for the incongruity by censoring both thoughts and statements. The fact that product induced incongruities occur and that there is a measurable cognitive, emotional, and behavioral response to them, implies that products are not merely the object of purchase or consumption, but are powerful situational elements.

Directions for Future Research. The findings from this research suggest several different directions for future research. Segmentation by situation has been proposed in the past by Dickson (1982). However, his approach required that an extensive taxonomy of possible situations be developed. Given the streamlined tripartite definition, segmentation by situation may be feasible within the personal care product category.

Understanding how individuals develop schema or scripts for situations has several implications for new product introductions as well as new uses for established products. When advertising a new product, the manufacturer may want to carefully consider what situation the product is shown in. If the consumer incorporates that particular product-place-people situation congruity into his or her set of plausible and expected situations, it may limit other situational possibilities. For example, people are often reluctant to use deodorant soap on their face and other sensitive parts of their bodies. Advertising for a new brand of deodorant soap, Lever 2000, demonstrates the soap being used on many parts of the body including the face and torso. It claims to be gentle enough for tender babies skin. The Lever 2000 advertisements appear to be attempting to make an incongruous situation (using deodorant soap on your face) congruous, by altering people's objective sedimentation (expectations). Similarly, new uses for established products could

be encouraged by showing the product being used in the new situation. For example, print advertisements for certain high-priced hair conditioners show the conditioner being used to "condition" the arms and legs. This would encourage multiple uses of the product and result in increased consumption.

Another area to be explored stems from the fact that incongruous situations lead to an increase in autonomic nervous system activity (Mandler 1982). It may be possible to create an incongruous situation so that the level of ANS arousal in the individual increases their attention, yet they are not so aroused as to experience negative emotions. It is conceivable that advertisements that present products in slightly incongruous situations may be able to capitalize on the individual's ANS arousal if such an increase leads to greater attention to the advertisement and favorable attitude to the advertisement. Given the results of this research, finding and controlling the optimum level of arousal should be relatively simple. Each of the situational components can be systematically manipulated in a scenario that describes the situation as it would be advertised (storyboards could even be used) and measures of cognitive and emotional response, attitude toward the advertisement, and other measures of preference and purchase intention. More elaborate experiments could test for attention to the advertisement and memory of product claims or benefits. This "incongruous" advertising strategy is especially pertinent in the case of new product introduction since the success of the product depends heavily on creating consumer awareness.

Hopefully the research presented here will overcome some of the limitations of past situational research in marketing and will encourage further research into situations and related areas of marketing. Since this research was exploratory and only used the

personal care product category, all findings should be viewed conservatively. Application of the tripartite conceptualization of the situation to other product categories, would provide a stronger test of its theoretical significance.

However, the promising results of this research provide us with a greater understanding of the personal care products advertising genre. That is, it appears that we have found a possible explanation for why the proto-typical feminine hygiene television commercial depicts a situation where two women who are obviously close (friends or mothers and daughters) are sitting in the kitchen discussing the merits of brand X. We see these depictions so often because they represent situations that are consistent with our culturally based normative expectations of what should happen. Results of this research imply that the advertisements for personal care products, especially highly private products, are unwittingly designed to control the level of situational incongruity (i.e., norm violation). Subsequently controlling negative cognitive and emotional responses, and keeping ANS arousal low. Thus, we now have a theory driven understanding for what personal care product advertisers have learned from numerous creative meetings, strategy sessions, and copy-testing results.

APPENDIX A:
Survey Questionnaire for Study One

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

I AM BEING ASKED TO READ THE FOLLOWING MATERIAL TO ENSURE THAT I AM INFORMED OF THE NATURE OF THIS RESEARCH STUDY AND OF HOW I WILL PARTICIPATE IN IT. IF I CONSENT TO DO SO, SIGNING THIS FORM WILL INDICATE THAT I HAVE BEEN SO INFORMED AND THAT I GIVE MY CONSENT. FEDERAL REGULATIONS REQUIRE WRITTEN INFORMED CONSENT PRIOR TO PARTICIPATION IN THIS RESEARCH STUDY SO THAT I CAN KNOW THE NATURE AND THE RISKS OF MY PARTICIPATION AND CAN DECIDE TO PARTICIPATE OR NOT PARTICIPATE IN A FREE AND INFORMED MANNER.

This packet contains questionnaires concerning how people think about parts of their bodies, personal care products, and the uses of personal care products. The language used to describe parts of the body is anatomically explicit. Although the terminology is medically correct, some of the references to the body may cause slight embarrassment.

You will be asked to describe whether some products or parts of the body are more "private" than other products or body parts. You will not be asked to describe your own personal habits. In all cases, the information you provide will be completely anonymous. Your identity cannot be linked to any of the results of this study. The study data will be available only to the researchers whose names appear below and their research assistants.

The study should not involve any discomfort to you and you will not be exposed to physical or legal risk of any kind. If you have any questions at the end of the study, please contact the researchers identified at the bottom of this page. They will be glad to answer your questions.

BEFORE GIVING MY CONSENT BY SIGNING THIS FORM, THE METHODS, INCONVENIENCES, RISKS, AND BENEFITS HAVE BEEN EXPLAINED TO ME AND MY QUESTIONS HAVE BEEN ANSWERED. I UNDERSTAND THAT I MAY ASK QUESTIONS AT ANY TIME AND THAT I AM FREE TO WITHDRAW FROM THE PROJECT AT ANY TIME WITHOUT CAUSING BAD FEELINGS. MY PARTICIPATION IN THIS PROJECT MAY BE ENDED BY THE INVESTIGATOR OR BY THE SPONSOR FOR REASONS THAT WOULD BE EXPLAINED. NEW INFORMATION DEVELOPED DURING THE COURSE OF THIS STUDY WHICH MAY AFFECT MY WILLINGNESS TO CONTINUE IN THIS RESEARCH PROJECT WILL BE GIVEN TO ME AS IT BECOMES AVAILABLE. I UNDERSTAND THAT THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE FILED IN AN AREA DESIGNATED BY THE HUMAN SUBJECTS COMMITTEE WITH ACCESS RESTRICTED TO THE PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATORS NAMED BELOW OR AUTHORIZED REPRESENTATIVE OF THE MARKETING DEPARTMENT. I UNDERSTAND THAT I DO NOT GIVE UP ANY OF MY LEGAL RIGHTS BY SIGNING THIS FORM. A COPY OF THIS SIGNED CONSENT FORM WILL BE GIVEN TO ME.

Subject Signature _____ Date _____

Cynthia Steinkamp Cynthia Steinkamp Date 7/2/91
Assistant Investigator

Jonathan Frenzen Jonathan Frenzen Date 7/18/91
Principal Investigator

A

Many substances are associated with our bodies. Substances include such things as odors, growths, or fluids. Our society considers some of these substances public and others private. A private substance is one which is likely to make you uncomfortable or embarrassed if its presence became evident to others around you. A public substance is one for which you would be comfortable or NOT embarrassed if its presence became evident to others around you. However, there are some substances that might fall somewhere in between public and private.

Please put an X anywhere on the line to indicate how public or private each substance is. Finger nails and feces are shown to provide possible reference points. Put down whatever "feels right" to you!

	PUBLIC		PRIVATE	
		finger nails		feces
sweat from male's chest	-----	-----	-----	-----
tears	-----	-----	-----	-----
menstrual blood	-----	-----	-----	-----
bad breath	-----	-----	-----	-----
feces	-----	-----	-----	-----
dandruff flakes	-----	-----	-----	-----
female's underarm hair	-----	-----	-----	-----
mother's milk	-----	-----	-----	-----
warts on the hands	-----	-----	-----	-----
semen	-----	-----	-----	-----
tartar/plaque on teeth	-----	-----	-----	-----
hair on male's legs	-----	-----	-----	-----
foot odor	-----	-----	-----	-----
sweat from feet	-----	-----	-----	-----
oil from the face	-----	-----	-----	-----
underarm sweat	-----	-----	-----	-----
mucous from the nose	-----	-----	-----	-----
male pubic hair	-----	-----	-----	-----
oily hair	-----	-----	-----	-----
vaginal odor	-----	-----	-----	-----
mucous from the mouth	-----	-----	-----	-----

corns/callouses on feet	----- ----- -----
vaginal discharge	----- ----- -----
sweat on female's chest	----- ----- -----
cuticle growth	----- ----- -----
male's facial hair	----- ----- -----
dry skin on hands	----- ----- -----
urine	----- ----- -----
female pubic hair	----- ----- -----
vaginal dryness	----- ----- -----
saliva	----- ----- -----
vomit	----- ----- -----
male's underarm hair	----- ----- -----
age spots on hands	----- ----- -----
jock itch	----- ----- -----
toenails	----- ----- -----
athlete's foot	----- ----- -----
canker sore	----- ----- -----
acne pimples	----- ----- -----
female's facial hair	----- ----- -----
underarm odor	----- ----- -----
nasal hair	----- ----- -----
fingernails	----- ----- -----
pus from acne	----- ----- -----
hemorrhoids	----- ----- -----
hair on female's legs	----- ----- -----
dirty face	----- ----- -----
dry skin on male's legs	----- ----- -----

B

There are many types of conditions associated with our bodies that we may never personally have (or experience), yet we know more-or-less what they are. We are interested in knowing how the following conditions are viewed in terms of their association with disease, the degree to which they may or may not be infectious, and the degree of social stigma attached to them. A condition has a social stigma attached to it if it makes us feel uncomfortable, embarrassed, or disgusted ("grossed out") when we are exposed to it.

Please take a few minutes to evaluate each of the following conditions. **FIRST**, circle either YES or NO depending on whether or not the condition is associated with a disease. **SECOND**, circle the number which indicates the degree to which the condition is infectious. **THIRD**, circle the number which indicates the degree to which a social stigma is associated with the condition.

Condition	Is this condition associated with a disease?		To what degree is the condition <u>INFECTIOUS</u> ?							Regardless of the medical status of this condition, to what degree is there a <u>social stigma</u> associated with it?						
			Not at all			Extremely				No Social Stigma			Extreme Social Stigma			
	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
vomiting/nausea	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
man's sweaty chest	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
menstruation	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
foot odor	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
vaginal discharge	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
constipation	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
canker sore	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
athlete's foot	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
bad breath	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
diarrhea	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
tartar/plaque on teeth	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
corns/callouses on feet	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
hemorrhoids	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
dirty female genitalia	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
runny nose	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
dirty anus	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
vaginal dryness	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
dry/itchy eyes	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
nose hair growth	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
underarm sweat	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
age spots on hands	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
dirty/made-up face	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
crying	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
dry cuticles	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
incontinence	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
toenail growth	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
fingernail growth	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
female genital hair growth	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Condition	Is this condition associated with a disease?		To what degree is the condition <u>INFECTIOUS</u> ?							Regardless of the medical status of this condition, to what degree is there a social stigma associated with it?						
	NO	YES	Not at all			Extremely				No Social Stigma			Extreme Social Stigma			
woman's underarm hair growth	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
oily hair	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
dry skin on man's legs	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
dry skin on hands	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
sexually trans. disease	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
pregnancy	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
pus from acne	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
acne pimples	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
underarm odor	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
warts on hands	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
salvia	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
mucous from mouth	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
mucous from nose	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
woman's facial hair growth	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
jock itch	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
sweaty feet	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
sweat on woman's chest	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
oily skin on face	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
lactation (nursing)	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
women's leg hair growth	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
men's facial hair growth	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
dandruff flakes	NO	YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

We use many products to care for our bodies. Please take a few minutes to consider how public or private you think each of the following products is. A private product is one that when seen in a public setting would cause discomfort or embarrassment. A public product is one that when seen in a public setting would NOT cause discomfort or embarrassment. There are, of course, products that might fall in between.

Please put an X anywhere on the line to indicate how public or private each product is. Nail clippers and hemorrhoid cream are shown to provide possible reference points. Put down whatever "feels right" to you!

	PUBLIC	nail clippers	hemorrhoid cream	PRIVATE
dandruff shampoo	----- ----- -----			
man's razor	----- ----- -----			
breast pump	----- ----- -----			
astringent	----- ----- -----			
talcum powder	----- ----- -----			
jock itch remedy	----- ----- -----			
facial hair bleach	----- ----- -----			
cold remedy	----- ----- -----			
wart remover	----- ----- -----			
deodorant	----- ----- -----			
acne medication	----- ----- -----			
condoms	----- ----- -----			
skin softening lotion	----- ----- -----			
shampoo for oily hair	----- ----- -----			
hair remover cream/wax	----- ----- -----			
nail clippers	----- ----- -----			
nursing pads	----- ----- -----			
shaving cream	----- ----- -----			
adult diapers	----- ----- -----			
cuticle cream	----- ----- -----			
acne cover-up cream	----- ----- -----			

	nail clippers	hemorrhoid cream
tissues
ag ⁿ spot remover
antiperspirant
soap for face
nose hair clipper
contraceptive foam/jelly
woman's razor
eye drops
vaginal lubricating jelly
toilet paper
hemorrhoidal cream
corn/callous remover
tartar control toothpaste
antidiarrheal remedy
dental floss
tampons
mouthwash
athlete's foot remedy
canker sore remedy
laxatives
feminine douche
cough syrup
odor absorbing shoe pads
sanitary napkins
nausea remedy
body soap

B

In our society we consider some parts of the body to be private and other parts to be public. Please take a few minutes to consider how public or private you think the following parts of the body are. By private we mean a body part that when revealed in a public setting would cause you discomfort or embarrassment. By public we mean a body part that when revealed in a public setting would not cause you discomfort or embarrassment. However, there are some body parts that might fall somewhere in between public and private.

Please put an X anywhere on the line to indicate how public or private each body part is. Hands & fingers and anus are shown to provide possible reference points. Put down whatever "feels right" to you!

PUBLIC	hands & fingers	anus	PRIVATE
feet and toes	----- ----- -----		
male legs	----- ----- -----		
arms	----- ----- -----		
female genitalia (vagina, pubic region)	----- ----- -----		
mouth	----- ----- -----		
anus	----- ----- -----		
eyes	----- ----- -----		
female legs	----- ----- -----		
male chest	----- ----- -----		
nose	----- ----- -----		
underarms	----- ----- -----		
face	----- ----- -----		
male genitalia (penis, pubic region)	----- ----- -----		
hands and fingers	----- ----- -----		
female chest/breasts	----- ----- -----		
scalp and hair	----- ----- -----		

APPENDIX B:
Corresponding Body Parts, Substances, and Products

<u>Body Part</u>	<u>Substance</u>	<u>Product</u>
eyes	tears	eye drops tissues
face	oil from face	soap for face astringent
	acne on face	acne cream acne medication
	pus from acne	acne medication
	man's facial hair	man's razor shaving cream
	woman's face hair	facial hair bleach
hands & fingers	warts on hands	wart remover
	cuticle growth	cuticle cream
	dry skin on hands	lotion
	fungernails	nail clippers
	age spots	age spot remover
nose	nasal hair	nose hair clipper
	mucous from nose	tissues cold remedy toilet paper
mouth	tartar on teeth	tartar ctrl toothpaste dental floss
	bad breath	mouthwash
	mucous frm mouth	cough syrup
	canker sore	canker remedy
	vomit	nausea remedy
scalp & hair	dandruff	dandruff shampoo
	oily hair	oily hair shampoo
man's legs	hair on man legs	body soap
	dry skin man legs	lotion
woman's legs	hair on woman legs	woman's razor hair remover shaving cream man's razor

<u>Body Part</u>	<u>Substance</u>	<u>Product</u>
feet & toes	sweat from feet foot odor corns/callouses toenails athlete's foot	talcum powder odor eaters corn remover nail clippers athlete foot remedy
male chest	sweaty man chest	body soap
underarms	underarm sweat underarm odor wm underarm hair	antiperspirant talcum powder deodorant woman's razor hair remover shaving cream man's razor
woman's chest	mother's milk sweat on woman's chest	breast pump nursing pads talcum powder
anus	feces hemorrhoids	toilet paper laxatives antidiarrheal hemorrhoid cream
male genitalia	semen urine jock itch	condoms adult diapers toilet paper jock itch remedy
female genitalia	female pubic hair vaginal dryness menstrual blood vaginal odor urine	woman's razor hair remov. cream shaving cream man's razor vaginal lubricating tampons sanitary napkins feminine douche adult diapers toilet paper

APPENDIX C:
Questionnaire for Study Two

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

I AM BEING ASKED TO READ THE FOLLOWING MATERIAL TO ENSURE THAT I AM INFORMED OF THE NATURE OF THIS RESEARCH STUDY AND OF HOW I WILL PARTICIPATE IN IT. IF I CONSENT TO DO SO, SIGNING THIS FORM WILL INDICATE THAT I HAVE BEEN SO INFORMED AND THAT I GIVE MY CONSENT. FEDERAL REGULATIONS REQUIRE WRITTEN INFORMED CONSENT PRIOR TO PARTICIPATION IN THIS RESEARCH STUDY SO THAT I CAN KNOW THE NATURE AND THE RISKS OF MY PARTICIPATION AND CAN DECIDE TO PARTICIPATE OR NOT PARTICIPATE IN A FREE AND INFORMED MANNER.

This packet contains questionnaires concerning how people think about parts of the body, personal care products, and the uses of personal care products. Some of the language in the questionnaires is fairly explicit. This may cause some people to experience slight embarrassment. However, the information that you provide will be anonymous. Your identity cannot be linked to any of the results of this study. The study data will be available only to the researchers whose names appear below and their research assistants.

The study will involve no discomfort to you and you will not be exposed to physical or legal risk of any kind. If you have any questions at the end of the study, please contact the researchers identified at the bottom of this page. They will be glad to answer your questions.

BEFORE GIVING MY CONSENT BY SIGNING THIS FORM, THE METHODS, INCONVENIENCES, RISKS, AND BENEFITS HAVE BEEN EXPLAINED TO ME AND MY QUESTIONS HAVE BEEN ANSWERED. I UNDERSTAND THAT I MAY ASK QUESTIONS AT ANY TIME AND THAT I AM FREE TO WITHDRAW FROM THE PROJECT AT ANY TIME WITHOUT CAUSING BAD FEELINGS. MY PARTICIPATION IN THIS PROJECT MAY BE ENDED BY THE INVESTIGATOR OR BY THE SPONSOR FOR REASONS THAT WOULD BE EXPLAINED. NEW INFORMATION DEVELOPED DURING THE COURSE OF THIS STUDY WHICH MAY AFFECT MY WILLINGNESS TO CONTINUE IN THIS RESEARCH PROJECT WILL BE GIVEN TO ME AS IT BECOMES AVAILABLE. I UNDERSTAND THAT THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE FILED IN AN AREA DESIGNATED BY THE HUMAN SUBJECTS COMMITTEE WITH ACCESS RESTRICTED TO THE PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATORS NAMED BELOW OR AUTHORIZED REPRESENTATIVE OF THE MARKETING DEPARTMENT. I UNDERSTAND THAT I DO NOT GIVE UP ANY OF MY LEGAL RIGHTS BY SIGNING THIS FORM. A COPY OF THIS SIGNED CONSENT FORM WILL BE GIVEN TO ME.

Subject Signature

Cynthia Steinkamp

Cynthia Steinkamp
Assistant Investigator

Date

4/24/90

Date

Jonathan Erenzen

Jonathan Erenzen
Principal Investigator

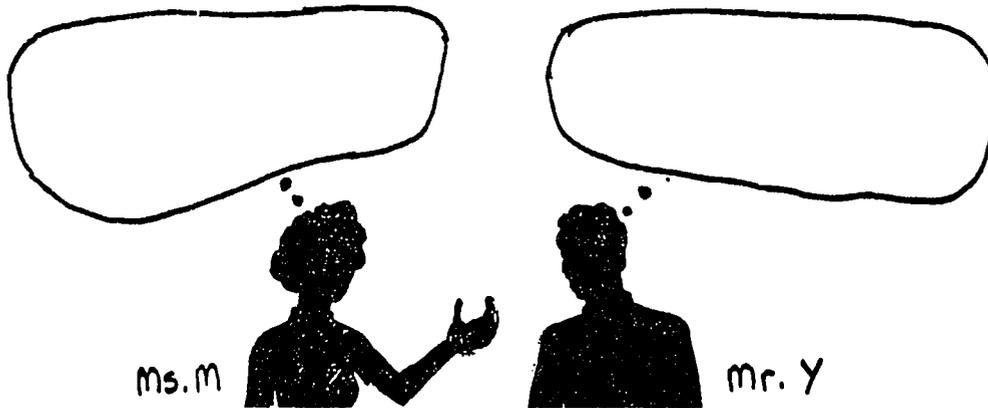
4/24/90

Date

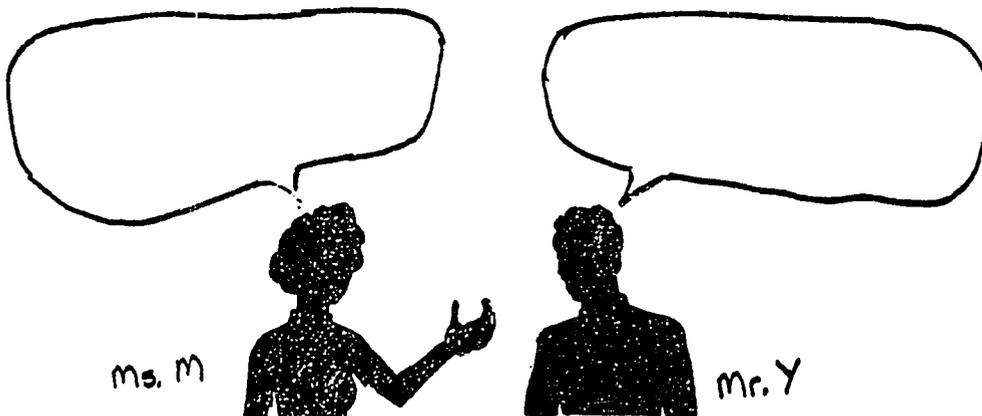
F-PRI-HT-ST-DS-P

Ms. M is at home one evening after work, when the doorbell rings. At the door is Mr. Y, a close friend of Ms. M, who also works at the same company. Mr. Y has dropped by to pick up some important papers. They chat for a little while about work. Before leaving, Mr. Y asks to use the bathroom. Ms. M walks her friend to the bathroom and turns on the light. They both see a tube of hemorrhoid cream lying in plain view on the bathroom counter. It is obvious to Ms. M that Mr. Y saw the tube of hemorrhoid cream.

The cartoon-like drawing below shows Ms. M and her friend. Please write in the "thought bubble" what realistic thoughts both Ms. M and Mr. Y may have had when they saw the tube of hemorrhoid cream on the bathroom counter.



Now take a few minutes to write in the speech bubbles what they might say to each other. Please be realistic and detailed.



Pri-HC /A

The following questions concern Ms. M's emotions. To answer these questions IMAGINE HOW PERSON M FEELS. You may want to re-read the story in order to refresh your memory regarding what took place. Remember there are no right or wrong answers. Please indicate by circling a number how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

	Strongly Disagree			Neither			Strongly Agree
1. Person M feels uneasy.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
2. Person M does <u>not</u> feel disgusted.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
3. Person M feels anxious.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
4. Person M feels offended.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
5. Person M does <u>not</u> feel humiliated.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3

Please read carefully the following statements and indicate by circling a number to what degree you agree or disagree with each one.

	Strongly Disagree			Neither			Strongly Agree
1. I think that it is <u>natural</u> for a tube of hemorrhoid cream to be on a bathroom counter.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
2. I think that it is <u>improper</u> to have a tube of hemorrhoid cream on a bathroom counter.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
3. I think that it is <u>unlikely</u> for a tube of hemorrhoid cream to be on a bathroom counter.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
4. I think that it is <u>inappropriate</u> for a tube of hemorrhoid cream to be on a bathroom counter.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
5. I think that it is <u>probable</u> for a tube of hemorrhoid cream to be on a bathroom counter.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3

Please answer the following question:

Where should the tube of hemorrhoid cream be? _____

Please explain why?

PLEASE NOTE:

Page(s) not included with original material
and unavailable from author or university.
Filmed as received.

U·M·I

		Strongly Disagree			Neither			Strongly Agree
6.	If I were to see someone's <u>hemorrhoids</u> , I would feel <u>anxious</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
7.	If I were to see someone's <u>hemorrhoids</u> , I would <u>not feel humiliated</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
8.	If I were to see someone's <u>hemorrhoids</u> , I would feel <u>offended</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
9.	If I were to see someone's <u>hemorrhoids</u> , I would feel <u>uneasy</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
10.	If I were to see someone's <u>hemorrhoids</u> , I would <u>not feel disgusted</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3

F-PRI-HT-ST-DS-NP

Ms. M is at home one evening after work. When the doorbell rings. At the door is Mr. Y, a close friend of Ms. M, who also works at the same company. Mr. Y has dropped by to pick up some important papers. They chat for a little while about work. Before leaving, Mr. Y asks to use the bathroom. Ms. M walks her friend to the bathroom and turns on the light. They both see a roll of toilet paper lying in plain view on the bathroom counter. It is obvious to Ms. M that Mr. Y saw the roll of toilet paper.

Pri-TP /A

The following questions concern Ms. M's emotions. To answer these questions IMAGINE HOW PERSON M FEELS. You may want to re-read the story in order to refresh your memory regarding what took place. Remember there are no right or wrong answers. Please indicate by circling a number how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>				<i>Neither</i>			<i>Strongly Agree</i>
	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	
1. Person M feels uneasy.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	
2. Person M does <u>not</u> feel disgusted.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	
3. Person M feels anxious.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	
4. Person M feels offended.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	
5. Person M does <u>not</u> feel humiliated.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	

Please read carefully the following statements and indicate by circling a number to what degree you agree or disagree with each one.

	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>				<i>Neither</i>			<i>Strongly Agree</i>
	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	
1. I think that it is <u>natural</u> for a roll of toilet paper to be on a bathroom counter.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	
2. I think that it is <u>improper</u> to have a roll of toilet paper on a bathroom counter.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	
3. I think that it is <u>unlikely</u> for a roll of toilet paper to be on a bathroom counter.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	
4. I think that it is <u>inappropriate</u> for a roll of toilet paper to be on a bathroom counter.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	
5. I think that it is <u>probable</u> for a roll of toilet paper to be on a bathroom counter.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	

Please answer the following question:

Where should the roll of toilet paper be? _____

Please explain why?

FTP /A

Please read the following statements carefully. Assume that you are explaining American customs concerning parts of the body to a person from a foreign country. Indicate, by circling a number, to what degree you agree or disagree with each statement as a description of American custom.

	Strongly Disagree			Neither			Strongly Agree
1. I think that it would be <u>inappropriate</u> for someone to reveal their <u>anus</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
2. I think that it would be <u>unlikely</u> for someone to reveal their <u>anus</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
3. I think that it would be <u>improper</u> for someone to reveal their <u>anus</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
4. I think that it would be <u>probable</u> for someone to reveal their <u>anus</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
5. I think that it would be <u>natural</u> for someone to reveal their <u>anus</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
6. If I were to see someone's <u>anus</u> , I would feel <u>anxious</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
7. If I were to see someone's <u>anus</u> , I would <u>not</u> feel <u>humiliated</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
8. If I were to see someone's <u>anus</u> , I would feel <u>offended</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
9. If I were to see someone's <u>anus</u> , I would feel <u>uneasy</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
10. If I were to see someone's <u>anus</u> , I would <u>not</u> feel <u>disgusted</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3

Please read the following statements carefully. Assume that you are explaining American customs concerning bodily substances to a person from a foreign country. Indicate, by circling a number, to what degree you agree or disagree with each statement as a description of American custom.

	Strongly Disagree			Neither			Strongly Agree
1. I think that it would be <u>inappropriate</u> for someone to reveal their <u>feces</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
2. I think that it would be <u>unlikely</u> for someone to reveal their <u>feces</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
3. I think that it would be <u>probable</u> for someone to reveal their <u>feces</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
4. I think that it would be <u>improper</u> for someone to reveal their <u>feces</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
5. I think that it would be <u>natural</u> for someone to reveal their <u>feces</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3

	Strongly Disagree			Neither			Strongly Agree
6. If I were to see someone's <u>feces</u> , I would feel <u>anxious</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
7. If I were to see someone's <u>feces</u> , I would <u>not</u> feel <u>humiliated</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
8. If I were to see someone's <u>feces</u> , I would feel <u>offended</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
9. If I were to see someone's <u>feces</u> , I would feel <u>uneasy</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
10. If I were to see someone's <u>feces</u> , I would <u>not</u> feel <u>disgusted</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3

F-PRI-HT-ST-DS-GS

Ms. M is at home one evening after work, when the doorbell rings. At the door is Mr. Y, a close friend of Ms. M, who also works at the same company. Mr. Y has dropped by to pick up some important papers. They chat for a little while about work. Before leaving, Mr. Y asks to use the bathroom. Ms. M walks her friend to the bathroom and turns on the light. They both see a tube of vaginal itch remedy lying in plain view on the bathroom counter. It is obvious to Ms. M that Mr. Y saw the tube of vaginal itch remedy.

Pri-JI /A

The following questions concern Ms. M's emotions. To answer these questions IMAGINE HOW PERSON M FEELS. You may want to re-read the story in order to refresh your memory regarding what took place. Remember there are no right or wrong answers. Please indicate by circling a number how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>				<i>Neither</i>			<i>Strongly Agree</i>
1. Person M feels uneasy.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	
2. Person M does <u>not</u> feel disgusted.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	
3. Person M feels anxious.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	
4. Person M feels offended.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	
5. Person M does <u>not</u> feel humiliated.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	

Please read carefully the following statements and indicate by circling a number to what degree you agree or disagree with each one.

	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>				<i>Neither</i>			<i>Strongly Agree</i>
1. I think that it is <u>natural</u> for a tube of vaginal itch remedy to be on a bathroom counter.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	
2. I think that it is <u>improper</u> to have a tube of vaginal itch remedy on a bathroom counter.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	
3. I think that it is <u>unlikely</u> for a tube of vaginal itch remedy to be on a bathroom counter.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	
4. I think that it is <u>inappropriate</u> for a tube of vaginal itch remedy to be on a bathroom counter.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	
5. I think that it is <u>probable</u> for a tube of vaginal itch remedy to be on a bathroom counter.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	

Please answer the following question:

Where should the tube of vaginal itch remedy be? _____

Please explain why?

FVI /A

Please read the following statements carefully. Assume that you are explaining American customs concerning parts of the body to a person from a foreign country. Indicate, by circling a number, to what degree you agree or disagree with each statement as a description of American custom.

	Strongly Disagree			Neither			Strongly Agree
1. I think that it would be <u>inappropriate</u> for a woman to reveal her <u>genitals</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
2. I think that it would be <u>unlikely</u> for a woman to reveal her <u>genitals</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
3. I think that it would be <u>improper</u> for a woman to reveal her <u>genitals</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
4. I think that it would be <u>probable</u> for a woman to reveal her <u>genitals</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
5. I think that it would be <u>natural</u> for a woman to reveal her <u>genitals</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
6. If I were to see a woman's <u>genitals</u> , I would feel <u>anxious</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
7. If I were to see a woman's <u>genitals</u> , I would <u>not</u> feel <u>humiliated</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
8. If I were to see a woman's <u>genitals</u> , I would feel <u>offended</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
9. If I were to see a woman's <u>genitals</u> , I would feel <u>uneasy</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
10. If I were to see a woman's <u>genitals</u> , I would <u>not</u> feel <u>disgusted</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3

Please read the following statements carefully. Assume that you are explaining American customs concerning bodily substances to a person from a foreign country. Indicate, by circling a number, to what degree you agree or disagree with each statement as a description of American custom.

	Strongly Disagree			Neither			Strongly Agree
1. I think that it would be <u>inappropriate</u> for a woman to reveal her <u>genital rash</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
2. I think that it would be <u>unlikely</u> for a woman to reveal her <u>genital rash</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
3. I think that it would be <u>probable</u> for a woman to reveal her <u>genital rash</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
4. I think that it would be <u>improper</u> for a woman to reveal her <u>genital rash</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
5. I think that it would be <u>natural</u> for a woman to reveal her <u>genital rash</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3

		Strongly Disagree		Neither		Strongly Agree		
6.	If I were to see a woman's <u>genital rash</u> , I would feel <u>anxious</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
7.	If I were to see a woman's <u>genital rash</u> , I would <u>not</u> feel <u>humiliated</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
8.	If I were to see a woman's <u>genital rash</u> , I would feel <u>offended</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
9.	If I were to see a woman's <u>genital rash</u> , I would feel <u>uneasy</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
10.	If I were to see a woman's <u>genital rash</u> , I would <u>not</u> feel <u>disgusted</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3

There are some places that we consider to be public and others that we consider to be private. Please indicate by circling a number how public or private you think the following places are.

	PUBLIC									PRIVATE								
1. a living room	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
2. an office	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
3. a store	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
4. a bathroom	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Please circle the number that indicates the degree to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree		
1. Vaginal itch remedy is only used by <u>men</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
2. Toilet paper is only used by <u>women</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
3. Jock itch remedy is only used by <u>women</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
4. Hemorrhoid cream is only used by <u>men</u> .	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3

There are some person care products for which we have many uses. For the following products think of all the possible uses that each has; then circle the appropriate number.

hemorrhoid cream	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+
vaginal itch remedy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+
toilet paper	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+
jock itch remedy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+

There are some personal care products that our culture considers to be public and others that we consider private. Please indicate by circling a number how public or private you think each of the following products is.

	PUBLIC									PRIVATE								
1. toilet paper	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
2. jock itch remedy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
3. hemorrhoid cream	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
4. vaginal itch remedy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

There are occasions when people have pathological conditions for which they use personal care products. A pathological condition is one that is characterized by the presence of germs or bacteria. Please indicate by circling a number the degree to which a product could be used to treat a pathological condition.

	Not at all Pathological							Extremely Pathological						
1. vaginal itch remedy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. toilet paper	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. hemorrhoid cream	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. jock itch remedy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

On a scale of 0 to 10, please rate your closeness to a close friend.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Not close at all					Moderately close					Extremely close

There are some people in our daily lives with whom we are willing to share personal confidences. Please indicate how likely you would be to share personal confidences with a close friend.

- _____ Certain to share a personal confidence with this person
- _____ Very likely to share a personal confidence with this person
- _____ Likely to share a personal confidence with this person
- _____ Neither likely nor unlikely to share a personal confidence with this person
- _____ Unlikely to share a personal confidence with this person
- _____ Very unlikely to share a personal confidence with this person
- _____ Certain not to share a personal confidence with this person

BACKGROUND

Please note that your answers to these questions, as well as those you have already answered, are completely anonymous.

1. My major(s) is(are): _____
 2. My age is: _____
How many years have you lived in the United States? _____
 3. What is your cumulative GPA? _____
 4. What is your sex? Male _____ Female _____
 5. What are (were) the professions of your parents?
Mother: _____
Father: _____
 6. Please indicate how many brothers and sisters you have. If you do not have any brothers or sisters, please place a zero in the appropriate spot.
Brothers: _____
Sisters: _____
 7. Outside of the U.S., what country would you view as the most significant source of your cultural heritage (e.g., Ireland, France, Mexico, etc.)? Please do not answer "American".

 8. If you have or have had a religious affiliation, with what religion (or Christian denomination) are you affiliated?

 9. Some people are more squeamish than others. Squeamish people are more likely to feel repulsed by such things as the sight of blood, changing a baby's dirty diaper, or the sound of someone blowing their nose. Relative to other people, I consider myself to be . . .
(Circle one number)
- | | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | | | | | | |
| Not at | | | | | | Extremely |
| all | | | | | | squeamish |
| squeamish | | | | | | |

APPENDIX D:
Content Analysis Codes

Statements that indicate M thinks something is wrong or has undertaken Face-Saving Actions:

- . missing data (thought or speech bubble is empty)
- 0 No such statement
- 1 Exclamation (Oh Shit!)
- 2 Embarrass/Humiliate (I'm so embarrassed, I wonder what they think?)
- 3 Social disorientation (Oh, What should I do?)
- 4 Regret (Wish it didn't happen)
- 5 Justify/Rationalize I (internal attribution: blame self as in one's own physical condition or character -- "I'm a slob," "I've been busy so this place is a mess.")
- 6 Justify/Rationalize II (external attribution: blame others, environment -- "The kids are messy," "This place is a mess.")
- 7 Apology (Excuse me, sorry)
- 8 Physically change location of product (let me put that away)
- 9 Person M ignores presence of product (changes subject, etc.)

Statements regarding the product itself:

- 0 No reference to the product whatsoever
- 1 Refers to the product euphemistically ("Oh, this is my medicine.")
- 2 Refers to the product implicitly ("Let me move that.")
- 3 Refers to the product explicitly by partial name (shampoo instead of dandruff shampoo)
- 4 Refers to the product explicitly by full name (hemorrhoid cream instead of cream)

Statements regarding M's physical condition:

- 0 No reference to physical condition whatsoever.
- 1 Refers to condition euphemistically ("I have a problem.")
- 2 Refers to condition implicitly ("I have it.")
- 3 Refers to condition explicitly ("I have dandruff.")

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