

# Marketing & Menedzsment

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## INTERNATIONAL INTERDISCIPLINARY CONFERENCE ON CONSUMPTION EXPERIENCES AND PERSPECTIVES IN CENTRAL EUROPEAN CONTEXT 2017

Consumption at long sight

Kinotopic consumptionscapes: Impacts of  
autonomous mobility on consumption and  
sociotechnical futures

Scenarios for lifestyles in a resource-light society

Fans, Co-creation and the Social Media –  
the Case of 'Tibi atya'

My brand, our festival – Exploring the impact  
of self-image congruency on loyalty in case of  
music festivals

The possibilities of text mining in the  
examination of the local society of the  
Ormánság region

Gastronomy as a new way of exploring  
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# Editorial Welcome

On the occasion of the 650th anniversary of its foundation, Hungary's first university the University of Pécs is pleased to host the International Interdisciplinary Conference on Consumption - Experiences and Perspectives in Central European Context. The conference is organized by the University of Pécs Faculty of Business and Economics Institute of Marketing and Tourism, on 23-24 March 2017 in the city of Pécs, Hungary.

The aim of the International Interdisciplinary Conference on Consumption - Experiences and Perspectives in Central European Context was to initiate an interdisciplinary discourse about consumption theory and practice. Many disciplines concern the research of consumption, but the scientific achievements and models they provide rarely cross the disciplinary borders. This fact does not favour the emergence of synergic effects, cross-disciplinary pathways, and interdisciplinary results. The post-transition context of Central European countries creates a further particular dimension to this issue. We organized the conference with the aim of offering opportunities for exploring, recording and sharing the existing consumption research results on Central Europe and also initiating interdisciplinary collaborations between the representatives of different consumption research fields.

The conference started with plenary sessions with internationally known and recognized professors and researchers. The keynote speakers were Professor Gerhard Schulze, author of the best-seller „Die Erlebnisgesellschaft“ (University of Bamberg, Germany, Chair of Sociology, especially Methods of Empirical Social Research), and Dr. Margit Keller (Institute of Social Studies University of Tartu, Estonia and also Sociology of Consumption Research Network, European Sociological Association). During the plenary sessions, renowned experts shared their most recent research results, such as Rudolf Bretschneider (GfK Austria), Krisztina Fehérvári (University of Michigan, USA), Michael Schipperges (Institute for Socio-Cultural Research, Heidelberg, Germany), Róbert Braun (Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna), Rafał Kasprzak (Warsaw School of Economics, Poland) and Janka Táborecká-Petrovicová (Matej Bel University, Slovakia). During the second day in 10 different parallel thematic sessions focusing on different consumption themes.

The Scientific Committee of the conference evaluated all the presentation and selected the most noteworthy works which are published for a wider interest audience in this special issue of the Hungarian Journal of Marketing and Management. We hope that our dear reader will find many valuable and inspirational thoughts in this special issue.



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# Consumption at long sight

**Gerhard Schulze**

University of Bamberg, Germany

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## THE AIMS OF THE PAPER

Consumption is a changing social phenomenon that has its roots in history and looks set to undergo fundamental transformation in the future. Science has to assess consumption in a multidisciplinary way, not only in terms of the economic sciences, but also in terms of sociology, anthropology, psychology, philosophy, and ecology. These aspects are interrelated both in history and consumer biographies. The article starts with a look back on the history of consumption (including the author's childhood in post-war Germany) and ends with a view on its future. The *purposes* are (I) to identify specific stable features of consumption in the long range, (II) to describe the actual global situation as a mix of three stages of transition, and (III) to describe various facets of absurdity that may announce the coming of a post-consumption era. The last section (IV) anticipates what could happen as a result of collective learning, of changing collective self-observation and of normalization of new forms of creation of values.

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## METHODOLOGY

*Methodologically* the analysis is guided by the approach of Understanding Sociology according to Max Weber in combination with an anthropological interpretation of actors under the condition of continuous expansion of options since late 18<sup>th</sup> century.

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## MOST IMPORTANT RESULTS

The *results* consist firstly in the specification of several universal features of consumption, secondly in the identification of the idea of arrival as opposed to the idea of increase as a contemporary global trend, thirdly in describing exemplarily four patterns of absurdity as stimuli of collective learning in the long range.

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## RECOMMENDATIONS

The *recommendations* concentrate on ways of new thinking and collective self-observation: normalization, distance, maturation, objectification, individualization, de-materialization, collective goods, and self-perception.

*Keywords:* phenomenology of consumption, stages in the history of consumption, consumption in global perspective, absurdities of consumption, future of consumption

## HISTORY OF CONSUMPTION IN FAST MOTION

When I was a child I was lucky from a sociological point of view, because I learned a lot about the world before modernity. We lived in a little village in the countryside – an environment which had fallen back to an almost preindustrial stage in the years after World War II: agriculture to produce what people ate; no tractors but ox-drawn carts; a fire stove in the kitchen; no mass media, not even a radio. Everybody knew everything about everybody in the neighbourhood instead of knowing what happened in the world outside. And there was a grocer who already anticipated the idea of the supermarket on 12 or 15 square meters: selling margarine, noodles, smoked herring, and a universe of sweets containing about 10 different products.

Having lived in these circumstances, I experienced the history of consumption from point zero. The first object that started the endless flow of new products and items into our household was a radio. It was followed by a long series of consumer goods in our home – more and more shoes and clothes, a washing machine, electric kitchen utensils, a car, a television set, and finally an electric dishwasher.

In my family these innovations were regarded as “normal”. In the history of consumption markets, such social comparison always has been a strong force. This field of history may appear short, when compared to the history of markets in general. If we define markets, following Max Weber, as social relationships in which persons compete for opportunities to exchange (Weber 1964), markets came into existence about 3500 years before Christ in Mesopotamia (Mikl-Horke 1999). From the very beginning, markets connected apart places of production and utilization; they evolved as hubs of exchange networks. Markets were global at an early state already, geographically limited only by the respective actual knowledge of the existing world. Cities attracted markets, and vice versa markets often stimulated the growth of cities.

But for the longest time markets were *not* markets of consumption in the sense of mass markets for standardized mass products. Consumption is a relatively new phenomenon. Historians like McKendrick or Mikl-Horke date the origins of consumption to the 18<sup>th</sup> century first in England, then in continental Europe, then in the United States (McKendrick & Plumb 1982, Mikl-Horke 1999). What are the distinctive cultural features of consumption markets that allow identifying them in history and present times? Five characteristics are essential:

(1) *Choosing*. If there is no choice, we say “bird, eat or die” in German. Consumption starts beyond this situation. Having a choice stimulates self-reflection and comparison: What do I want? What is better for me? What is the relation of the goods to my needs? These questions are focussed on objective qualities on the one hand, like nutritional facts of food, durability of materials, functions of technical devices, and last but not least prices. On the other hand, consumer goods are judged subjectively. Having a choice means having permission to exceed the absolute basic needs of sheer survival. Even in its simplest and primordial forms consumption gives way to the idea of a playful, esthetical relation to the world, searching for something that is unnecessary, but inviting, stimulating, seductive. To say it in the words of Oscar Wilde: “Let me be surrounded by *luxury*, I can do without the necessities.” This corresponds to a congenial aphorism of Friedrich Schiller: “We are human beings only if we play.” In consumption we play with tastes, colours, sounds, stories, symbols or social messages, no matter whether the consumer goods are clothes or potatoes. In the course of time, the subjective aspect increasingly gains the upper hand. The focus of choosing moves from objective qualities to subjective experiences.

(2) *Access for everybody*. Consumption makes all people equal in a certain sense: everybody could purchase everything provided he or she has the necessary money. At this point a well-behaved sociologist might immediately protest: “But you are forgetting social inequality! Not everybody has enough money for everything.” I would answer: But *if* one had, one could consume whatever one’s wishes would be. In the era of consumption, living like a king has become a realistic dream for potentially all people. This dream of the great majority transformed into an economic power that in the long run created both consumer goods and money. Producers quickly learned that the wages they paid were not at all lost money but prospective profits. When Henry Ford was criticized for raising the salaries of his workers he answered: “Cars don’t buy cars.”

(3) *Expansion of needs and objects*. The history of consumption means the explosion of wishes, desires and pretended needs. Providers invented more and more new utilities for given private contexts: cars, telephones, electric kitchen utensils, radio, television and so on. In the long run, the needs of everyday life are like an avalanche: New things create new needs. Let us take a banal example: Before the era of consumption many

people possessed only one pair of shoes, if at all. By and by, they could afford a second pair, a third and so on. The more shoes they had, the more things they needed in addition: shoe creams in various colours, brushes for various functions, and finally a shoe cabinet with special shelves. In that manner, the avalanche of consumer needs in everyday life leads to an avalanche of objects in every household. On average, a person in Germany today owns more than 10.000 things (Kruse 1995).

(4) *Diversification*. In the long run, consumption implies ongoing diversification of all kinds of goods. There is not only one alternative, there are dozens, hundreds or thousands. Go into a supermarket and ask a shop assistant to give you “a” soap. In my childhood days, the grocer would have brought me the only sort of soap he had. But in a supermarket of today, asking for “a” soap would be what Garfinkel (1967) called a breaching experiment, putting the shop assistant into a crisis. A breaching experiment is a method to make forgotten normality evident by ignoring it. In a contemporary supermarket it is normal that there are loads of concurring products for any purpose. Some weeks ago, I counted 43 different soaps in the small supermarket in my neighbourhood, solid and fluid ones, many of them specialized only for parts of the body, with more flavours and skin-friendly additives I could ever have imagined. So we see yet another avalanche in the history of consumption: the permanently growing avalanche of diversification.

(5) *The increase game*. The characteristics of consumption that have been mentioned so far are all embedded into a phenomenon I call the *increase game* (Schulze 2006). The increase game is a pattern of collective interaction between several actors in permanent mutual stimulation. Though consumers and providers are important players, they are by no means the only ones. Other participants are applied sciences, high tech development, private banks, stock exchange, advertising, mass media, economic sciences, politics, central banks like the FED or the European Central Bank, and transnational institutions like the OECD. The common denominator of all these players’ intentions can be simply expressed by the term “more”.

Mechanization and digitalization enable factories to produce more things for less money generating more profit; the shares of such factories become more valuable; science and high tech development construct new apparatuses, materials and goods that facilitate more purposes in any respect; politicians promise more to voters;

advertising promises more to clients; consumers want more goods for their money, more objects in their home, more choices in the supermarket, more channels on television, more functions in hardware and software – generally speaking more in the sense of a higher standard of living, defined as disposability of consumer goods.

The increase game consists in transactions aimed at achieving more within the particular frames of reference the different players keep in mind. In Niklas Luhmann’s general theory such a common semantic frame of reference is defined as “guiding difference” (Luhmann 1987). Guided by the difference of “more”, the actors in the increase game are able to understand each other and to interact.

(6) *Scarcity, rush, affluence*: Consumption is driven by a momentum permanently renewing its dynamic. In the long run, it becomes evident that there are typical stages in the history of consumption. Roughly speaking, three stages can be discerned: *scarcity*, *rush*, and *affluence*. Of course, consumer goods are different according to technological development, but anthropologically speaking the story is always the same. It is the story of permanently enlarging individual opportunities and choices in everyday life.

At the beginning, at the stage of *scarcity*, it is very easy to understand the irresistible power of desiring better living conditions, like in post war Germany or in many African or South American States today. It is still easy to understand consumers in the *rush* era, for instance my sisters and me getting on our parents’ nerves until we finally acquired the electric dishwasher. In the *rush* era, people live in a mixed mood of satisfaction and discontent. Satisfaction with new consumer goods quickly fades away, because the new opportunities become trivial. Discontent, on the other hand, drives consumers to detect something that is still lacking. Little by little, the dialectic of satisfaction and discontent leads to *affluence*, and the initial simplicity of consumption transforms into complexity. In the stage of *affluence*, people have by far more choices than time, energy and attention to actually realize them or to simply take them into consideration. This is the point the most developed nations have reached today and that more and more other nations are due to reach soon.

## THE PRESENT GLOBAL SITUATION

After this short historical phenomenology the focus shifts to present time. In the history of markets, globalization is not at all a recent development. Quite the contrary, markets always had a tendency to stretch to the limits of the world that has been known and accessible at a given period. The same holds true for the relatively brief history of consumption. When I went to the grocer in my childhood days, a sign over the entrance read: *Kolonialwaren*, which means *colonial goods*. This word emerged in Germany in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, referring to globalization long before anybody spoke about it. However, present-day globalization has reached a new dimension in respect to speed, flow of goods and information, and also in respect to standardization of goods. For tourists at any place of the world shopping has become a pleasure with less and less surprises because the same consumption goods are offered anywhere.

The increase game has expanded all over the world, but there are different regions in correspondence to the three stages of consumption – scarcity, rush, and affluence. We observe a worldwide asynchronicity between these zones. Of course, the transitions between these zones are vague, and there is much inequality within these zones. Nonetheless, people tend to assimilate their perceptions of normality according to their context. The concept of the three stages refers to different normalities that become obvious in comparison to the exceptions within a given society.

When *scarcity* is normal, even a plastic basket, a pencil or an egg has a high subjective value. This is what I experienced in my early childhood. But unlike today we had no smartphones, iPads and TV to perceive normal affluence in other parts of the globe. Today, even the poorest people around the globe compare their situation with that of the wealthier. For them, a middle class household in Hungary seems like paradise. This provides a strong drive for migration, for instance from Africa to Europe or from South America to the United States. On the other hand, evident global inequality discourages those who stay. The economic distance seems too big, the local elite too corrupt, and life too short to bridge the gap.

In the *rush zones* of the world, people are governed by a very different mentality. They experience continuous increase, while still remembering scarcity very well. They feel their success and enjoy all the things they or their parents formerly

could only dream of. For instance, countries in the Far East like Thailand, Indonesia, Myanmar or Vietnam today resemble post-war Germany at the time of the “Wirtschaftswunder” in the fifties and sixties, but on a higher level of technology, with far more diversification of consumer goods and multiplied purchasing power of people with an average income.

Where formerly there had been bicycles, there are now cars and motorbikes in traffic jam. Where there had been candles and weak electric bulbs, there is now a flood of light and colours illuminating the night. Where there had been shanties of wood and grass, there are now stone houses. Where there had been silence, now powerful sound systems fill the air with a permanent soundtrack of music, but nobody complains. As an observer coming from the world of affluence is confronted with an almost forgotten atmosphere of consumption pride, joy and self-staging. In the zones of rush classical distinction still is a vital force to stimulate consumption: Look, I also own a car! Look, my car is bigger than yours! Look, I can afford a holiday trip!

What will come next is the stage of affluence. More than a half century ago, the US-economist John Kenneth Galbraith published his book *The Affluent Society*, analysing the United States which had already reached this stage long before the European states (Galbraith 1958). Affluence, according to Galbraith, does not mean the end of inequality; neither does it mean the end of consumption. Affluence means a stage of a national economy, in which production exceeds consumption. The absorbing power of the people concerning consumption goods doesn't match the production power of the providers any more. As against the years of scarcity and rush, the average marginal utility of consumer goods has sharply declined, whereas the capacity of production is multiplied. In the present era of globalization the expansion of rationalized and cheap production is still enormously accelerated by new rush states like China.

In the stages of scarcity and rush it is more or less clear what people need and desire. Hence, the producers are able to roughly anticipate the immediate future of the market. Scarcity and rush are stages of relative certainty, in which the increase game can be stabilized and continued. Under those conditions, a national economy is like a train driving at full speed on secure rails.

But in the era of affluence, this metaphor is misleading. Formerly successful strategies of orientation don't fit any more. Well established dogmas, as they are fixed in the routines of market

research, in the paradigms of economic sciences, in the interventions of politicians and central banking authorities like Mario Draghi, come out of date, in spite of their scientific dominance and their pretended certainty. The clear connection between consumer goods and needs, which was normal in scarcity and rush, is dissolving fast in affluence.

Little by little, this will give rise to the idea of arrival. Affluence is a challenge for all players of the increase game, because it requires new perspectives instead of the accustomed perspective of regular change. Modern culture has always been dominated by development, progress, growth, and expansion of choices. On the one hand, this view of the future still seems valid. Some examples: We are on the threshold of the so-called *internet of things*, where an unimagined individualization of goods will become trivial. *Artificial intelligence* is in a stage of a quantum leap coming up to the abilities of the human brain. *Genetic engineering* has reached the level of designing and actually constructing human beings. *Science* still has enough riddles to resolve and is far away from the End of Science as James Horgan pretended twenty years ago (Horgan 1996). Last but not least, the *world population* still is growing exponentially. In 1800, the world population reached the first billion. Over the last ten years, it *grew* by one billion. So we witness long-term developments that seem familiar and regular, governed by the principle of *more*.

On the other hand, as for consumption, the limits of *more* come into sight. These limits appear both in the smallest system involved in consumption and in the biggest one – the subject on the one hand, and the planet on the other. The analysis of both systems suggests that more and more people consider the idea of *arrival* and begin to look sceptically to the accustomed idea of *more*.

## ABSURDITIES ON THE THRESHOLD OF ARRIVAL

Dennis Meadows' book *The limits to growth* was a milestone in the ecological self-reflection of modern culture (Meadows 1972). This critical tradition has become stronger and stronger down to the present days, including several actualizations and improvements of Meadows' first study. Part of this tradition is a simple and striking indicator of the United Nations – the *world overshoot day*. This day is calculated anew every year. It is the day, when mankind has spent the resources it could consume in one year under the condition of sustainability. In 2016, the world overshoot day

was on August 8. Every year, this day's timing is advanced more and more. One need not be a pessimist, to suspect a global breakdown, even if we take into account technical progress and the detection of new resources.

Here the other system with a limited capacity of consumption comes into sight: the subject. Are our needs endless? Indeed, this is the inherent paradigm of all the various players in the global increase game. But there is some reason to challenge this paradigm. Indeed, the idea of "enough" is becoming more and more popular, not only in private consumption but also in worldwide social movements and political discourses. But chiefly this idea gets ignored, and this has its price. It causes absurd patterns of consumption. Let me briefly comment on four such patterns: consumerism, rebound, rationality of experience, and Dadaism.

(1) *Consumerism*. In the last decades, the word "shopping" has established internationally describing consumption as an end in itself. Here, the main purpose of consumption is not to discover objects in relation to clearly felt needs and wishes, but rather it is a sort of occupational therapy against helplessness to use one's time without external stimulation. So consumerism results in homes full of things that are not needed, in mountains of garbage, in shopping malls everywhere, in apps to guide you to the next shopping opportunities as quickly as possible. A recent app simply counts a person's visits to a network of certain shops. The more steps one has taken and the more shops one has visited, the more discount will one get. It doesn't matter whether one actually buys something or not, the discount will be granted until one has finally decided on something.

(2) *Rebound*. This also is a word that has acquired a new meaning. Originally rebound was defined in merely physical terms as change of direction of a force, for instance if you throw a ball against a wall and it bounces back to you. In recent years, the notion of rebound has entered the sphere of ecology, economy and sociology (Buhl 2016). Here, rebound refers to goods and services that are meant to save time, energy, and resources, for instance smartphones, notebooks, or cars. But in contrast, the saved time, energy and resources are immediately used for new purposes. So we are more stressed and live less sustainably than ever.

(3) *Rationalization of experience*. In the history of consumption, the relevance of basic needs continually diminishes in favour of emotions, sensations, fascinating events, aesthetical preferences, or in a word: experiences. In his theory



of postmaterialism, Ronald Inglehart gathered a lot of international empirical evidence for the shift of existential goals from objective to subjective purposes – self-fulfilment, identity, community, values, emotions, feelings (Inglehart 1977). On the consumption market, this shift led to a frame of reference I call *rationalization of experience* (Schulze 1992, 2013). In that pattern, consumption goods are acquired and offered as means to stimulate experiences: more happiness, more incredible excitements, more unparalleled thrills. Within this frame the subject is modelled like an input-output-device. The input of goods and events allegedly results in the output of experiences on an endless path of increase by rational psycho-engineering of feelings. But experiences cannot be bought, only the opportunity to possess them or not, as the philosopher Jon Elster points out in his book *Subversion of Rationality* (Elster 1985). Experiences are subjective constructions for which standardized consumer goods and services can only be helpful, but consumption cannot substitute the active subject. Experiences are familiar to works of art: they are finished in the conscience of the subject, depending on its skills, patience, self-reflection and creativity.

(4) *Dadaism*. Many people perceive or at least intuitively feel those absurdities of consumption. There are many things they don't take seriously, including themselves. Irony and tolerance for craziness have become indispensable habits to live in an atmosphere of competition for attention with an inflation of superlatives. Advertising is omnipresent. Sounds, promises, suggestions, gags and slogans have created a sort of folklore. The public doesn't perceive advertising as information, but as a familiar ambiance in a global home country. Apps have been developed to block pop ups while surfing the internet, and hundreds of millions of users have downloaded these apps. But they cannot escape, advertising is everywhere. Recent studies on the perception of advertising have revealed that most people don't even understand the sense of the presentation, and if they do, most of them don't know what concrete consumer good the picture or video is about (Yougov 2016). This folklore of senseless communication resembles an episode of art history that began in Zürich in 1916 – Dadaism, the poetry and painting of nonsense.

## HOW TO THINK ABOUT THE FUTURE OF CONSUMPTION?

Considering the subjective and planetary limits of consumption raises a question: What will happen? What is the future of consumption? We know the implicit answer of the players of the increase game: They expect the future to continue the past. They expect more in any respect, ignoring the objective and subjective limits. Also in economic sciences past observations are often interpreted as manifestations of universal laws that determine the future of consumption. This also means ignoring the limits. Economic predictions are regarded as the outcome of unchangeable necessities; in this respect they resemble weather forecasts, but in contrast they rarely come true.

Consumption is not a natural phenomenon. It belongs to the realm of culture and has to be treated accordingly. The future of consumption depends on what people think about consumption and how they observe themselves both individually and collectively. Hence, my subsequent approach to the future of consumption has not been derived from pretended universal laws but is based on a hypothetical understanding of consumers of tomorrow (Schulze 2016). Inevitably, this is a trip into the field of thinking under the condition of uncertainty, where scientific intersubjectivity can only take the form of plausibility. The following theses are all based on a common assumption – namely that the idea of arrival will gain more and more importance. How will this idea take shape in the field of consumption? I will present several keywords with short comments.

(1) *Normalization*. The future of consumption will turn to a less dynamic phase. If we compare the history of consumption with a journey, the future of consumption is a time of arrival, of becoming stationary, of business as usual, including both folkloristic and common sense elements. In the long run, the dynamic pattern of scarcity, rush and affluence will come to an end, social inequality in consumption will still exist though on a higher level. This development can already be observed in the zones of affluence. Consumption will chiefly consist in providing the goods whose availability is regarded as normal. For national economies, consumption will remain important but it will be just one force among various other forces. The productive forces will be needed for other purposes too, as I will point out in the following

(2) *Distance*. In the situation of affluence patterns of distance towards consumption evolve,

including irony, anti-consumption and demonstrative disinterest. Consumers play with many styles; their homes and cupboards can be regarded as archives for a sort of self-staging in the theatre of everyday life. On the same day, a person may represent a sportsman, a tramp, a gentleman and a bourgeois husband through different styles of consumption including anti-consumption. Demonstrative consumption is no longer as seriously related to one's self esteem as it was in the rush period, when it was essential for the consumers to demonstrate their social rank and their position on the scale of material prosperity. Symbolic consumption has become idiosyncratic, limited to small groups of connoisseurs, fragmented into normative communities, grouped around ideologies, heroes, abilities, passions. And it often has an ironical touch, it doesn't matter so much. Even anti-consumerism, symbolizing overt refusal to consumption has become a pattern in the archive of consumption styles, as demonstrated by shabby chic, second hand dresses or car sharing, or furniture made out of rough, unpolished wood or cardboard. The various forms of distance towards consumption will remain stable in the future, I assume, because they are a result of collective self-reflection.

(3) *Maturation*. The above described patterns of consumption have become more and more popular. Arthur Schopenhauer would feel strongly confirmed. According to his philosophy, all of us are driven by an unoriented energy – the “will” – that needs to be organized in episodes of action at any rate. Schopenhauer ridicules his contemporaries because of their desperate attempts to waste their time by doing something like playing cards. We can imagine what his sarcastic comments would be if we would take him to the nearest shopping mall.

But collective learning proceeds in dialectical terms. Hence the absurdities of consumption could trigger just the opposite – reason and common sense. Perhaps Schopenhauer was too pessimistic to concede us the ability to learn and stop wasting our time with distractions of any kind. More and more people use consumer goods in order to *escape* consumption, to concentrate on themselves, to communicate, to watch nature in silence, to read a book. According to official statistics about two times as many Germans visited museums than football matches of the German Bundesliga in the last years. Maturation means: being able to return to one's self instead of being distracted by animation, by self-imposed stress in the framework of rebound, or by delegating the responsibility for one's experiences to a pretended supplier of fascination. As stupid and silly consumption can be – I rather

expect a long range collective learning of self-fulfilment.

(4) *Objectification*. An additional and important form of maturation is the renaissance of objective criteria in the evaluation of consumer goods. In the history of consumption symbolic criteria soon became important, intensely strengthened by advertising. Distinction, identity, group membership, stories, aesthetical attributes and suggestions of experiences combined to form a symbolic, postmaterial surface that covered the objective qualities of goods and services. This phenomenon has by no means disappeared, but today the non-symbolic, objective qualities are becoming more and more salient as a consequence of the internet, where consumption goods are critically judged by clients or consumer goods advisers. In the history of consumption, this is an unexpected counterpoint to absurd consumption patterns.

(5) *Individualization*. The extreme differentiation of consumer goods in affluence paradoxically has led to individualization in spite of mass production. Nutrition, health, housing, mobility, sleeping comfort, cosmetics, personal hygiene, entertainment – whatever the needs of the consumers may be, they have to choose between countless alternatives promoted by a babble of euphemistic messages. In that situation, many consumers undergo a permanent process of trial and error in order to find out what is good for them. Choosing among myriads of diversified goods in relation to one's own needs has become difficult. More and more people read the comments of other consumers on the internet, which are often contradictory. Who is credible? Who judges along the same criteria as oneself? So choosing has become rather sophisticated, because it implies the cultivation of a meta-level judgement of judgements like in science. The result is a specific form of individualization, which consists in the unique combination of mass products a consumer composes as an expert for his or her own need management.

At present, this phenomenon is going to be radicalized by the forthcoming individualization of production, based on the internet of things. This means a turnaround of one of the oldest trends of consumption – the trend of standardization of goods. While this trend still exists, we observe a contrary trend towards de-standardization right through complete individualization. Cars for instance will be adjusted to very specific wishes of clients. Adidas will soon offer individualized sports shoes. This trend towards individualization implies more and more goods: clothes, kitchens, journeys, foodstuffs, learning, cooking, cars, and health.

Individualization will proceed on two ways: high tech production on the one hand; and the return of the small handicraft enterprise like the shoemaker, the tailor, the carpenter on the other hand.

(6) *De-materialization*. Throughout its history, consumption has implied materials and energy. In our time the physical consumption of the planet has increased more than ever. On the other hand, the immaterial share of economic activity has also augmented. Theories of post-industrial society by Alain Touraine (1972) and Daniel Bell (1973) analysed this process in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, and Manuel Castells supplemented their description by his theory of the *Information Age*, published in three volumes. Castells describes a global transformation of value creation. Services, knowledge work, and information processing will substitute more and more traditional work (Castells 1998).

If this process will continue, it is possible that the absolute consumption of materials and energy will also decrease and growing shares of consumption things will transform into consumption of personal activities like care, education, therapy, counselling, coaching, research, training, housework and the like. A child, for instance, consumes time, energy and attention of the parents who can never be replaced by robots.

I admit that this is a very unusual, new perspective on consumption: the consumption of parent's productivity by the child. But it is a perspective in which the imbalance of the affluent society according to Galbraith would disappear: over-productivity in relation to the capacity of consumption leading to the limits of the planet and the subject. In the parent-child-relationship productivity and consumption are in equilibrium. In a world of arrival, the parents' investments could be seen economically as value creation, as a mode of production beyond rationalization that should be rewarded.

(7) *Collective Goods*. On the one hand, collective goods are in monetary competition to private consumption. On the other hand, some collective goods are indeed damaged by excessive private consumption. This will enhance the legitimacy of giving money for collective goods, even at the cost of private consumption. The most obvious example is the environment. Other examples of growing importance are silence, aesthetics of the public space including architecture, and last but not least the reduction of global social inequality. These goods are sensible for everybody, but they cannot be acquired by private consumption,

so a shift of value production from private consumption to collective goods will become still more popular and accepted.

(8) *Self-perception*. *To conclude, I will focus on an essential difference between nature and culture and the respective sciences: The objects of cultural sciences are subjects. This seems very simple, but is still ignored by many sciences that claim to be so-called hard sciences. Physics, mathematics, chemistry, biology, meteorology and the like are the successful models for other academic disciplines. But cultural sciences have to come to terms with the subjectivity of their objects of research: consciousness, reflexivity, constructiveness, and self-perception. As for consumption, self-observation has two main aspects: personal and collective self-observation.*

*Actually, there seems to be more change in personal than in collective self-perception. Individual self-perception is getting influenced by discourses both on ecological and anthropological limits of consumption. Collective self-perception, in contrast, still is focused on macroeconomic growth as the most important indicator of success. Consumption may be as absurd and damaging as possible, but nevertheless it is appreciated all over the world because it contributes to macroeconomic growth. Classical economic thinking still governs the globe.*

*It has to be supplemented by cultural sciences like anthropology, sociology, psychology, history, and philosophy. But major changes in economic theory seem on the way. Since the year 2002 four Nobel laureates in economy were protagonists of the substitution of the classical model of homo oeconomicus in favour of a more complex perspective, taking into consideration cultural and emotional phenomena as well as historical singularity: Daniel Kahnemann, Vernon Smith, Robert Shiller, and – in 2017 – Richard Thaler. The future of consumption depends on the contribution of the cultural sciences to new perspectives of personal and collective self-perception. This contribution was too one-sided in the past, too anti-hedonistic and too far away from Oscar Wilde and Friedrich Schiller. "We are human beings only if we play." Consumption will change, but it will remain. Of course, consumption should be observed critically; but it also should be acknowledged as a part of the human potential.*

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# Kinotopic consumptionscapes: Impacts of autonomous mobility on consumption and sociotechnical futures

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## THE AIMS OF THE PAPER

A 'post-car' world is very much determined by new forms of technologically enabled mobilities. The paper claims that autonomous 'mobility-things' are versions of Foucauldian heterotopias: *kinotopias* (moving spaces) that will have a deep impact on our future societies by rearranging consumptionscapes as well as the politics of interconnectedness. Kinotopic mobility creates spatial as well as temporal fluidity.

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## METHODOLOGY

Utilizing action-network-theory the paper analyses, through looking at different future world scenarios, how kinotopic mobility will rearrange our consumptionscapes.

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## MOST IMPORTANT RESULTS

The paper looks at the imagined worlds' potential impacts on sociotechnical futures and draws conclusions for present day innovation, research practices and policies in autonomous mobility.

*Keywords:* ANT, Latour, kinotopia, autonomous mobility, consumptionscapes

## INTRODUCTION

There is remarkably little research on the societal impacts of the transition to autonomous mobility (AM). Before the emergence of the discourse on autonomous vehicles John Urry has already conceptualized the “post-car” world (Urry 2004) as characterized by developments of the „complexity turn” (Urry 2005) – contingent openness, multiple futures, unpredictability of outcomes and diverse and non-linear changes – and by certain “tipping point candidates” such as: new fuel systems; new materials; smart technologies; de-privatization; new mobility focused transport policy/communication and IoT interconnectedness (Urry 2004, 33-35). Post-car, autonomous, interconnected transportation, the possible future of mobility, may be theorized as a sociotechnical ecosystem in which the relatively stable “system of automobility” (Urry 2004) – the car-driver hybrid assemblage embedded in fluid but systemic interconnections – gives way to a more liquid arrangement (Bauman 2007, Sheller 2004) of mobility populated by interconnected, autonomous human–non-human mobile hybrids. Dystopic as this may sound, our shared spaces will most probably be populated by self-driving mobile “things” carrying people, objects and information in a fluid ontology best styled by the actor-network theory (Latour 1996, 2005). There are many questions and few answers. It is not yet clear how transformational the transition to autonomous mobility will be; nor is it easily foreseen who and what will drive this process, or will it ever fully happen as we today imagine it.

Much of what has been done by way of research in autonomous mobility until now is concerned with the short- or mid-term technological, economic impacts and/or the ethical, regulatory challenges that lay ahead (Cohen 2012, Knight 2013, DiClemente 2014, O’Toole 2014, Smith 2015, Braun 2016, Canzler & Knie 2016). Less work has been done on the complex sociotechnical and political processes, or on the social epistemology that may characterize this transition. Most of the techno-science research in AM is influenced by a fascination with “technology fix” (Von Schomberg 2013) – focusing mainly on the technical challenges and the potential societal impacts thereof – or show a considerable level of “path-determination” stemming from traditional expert or lay anticipation: a “technology fix” determined techno-optimism (Cohen 2012) or a science-fiction influenced culture of dystopic imagination (Miller & Bennett 2008, Gordon 2009).

This paper is to focus on some of the Urryan tipping point candidates, on the theoretical underpinnings of multidimensional interconnectedness and their effects on the transition to AM. The aim is to show that this process is not as path-dependent as it seems. Taking the “mobilities turn” (Sheller & Urry 2006) in the social sciences seriously the potential impact of this transition on (moving) consumption (Brembeck et al. 2015) and (mobile) consumption-scapes (Dholkia 2015) will be explored as an example to see how the interplay between different future worlds and the rearrangement of socioscapes, our temporary stabilized social networks, may play out. The main argument of this paper is that the future is not technologically determined nor is it “out there” behind a window to be opened. The future is created by our expectations, desires, strategies and social interactions as much as by the technologies that are invented by creative minds. STS (Science Technology and Society) scholarship recognizes that there is an element of reciprocity in creating our future: technology (as between other forms of knowledge and its embodiments) and certain building blocks of the social (practices, identities, norms, discourses and institutions) are intertwined in a system of co-production (Jasanoff 2004). Beyond co-production, “through the imaginative work of varied social actors, science and technology become enmeshed in performing and producing diverse visions of the collective good” (Jasanoff 2015, 15) technology and society are intertwined in what Jasanoff (2015, 6) calls sociotechnical imaginaries – “collectively held, institutionally stabilized, and publicly performed visions of desirable futures, animated by a shared understanding of forms of social life and social order attainable through, and supportive of, advances in science and technology”.

Multiple sociotechnical imaginaries of mobility coexist in Europe. There is a constant struggle between such imaginaries to elevate to a dominant position. The transformational power of the transition to autonomous mobility from the Urryan “system of automobility” to a post-automobility setup will depend on the contestation and power struggle between the system of automobility elevating from a techno-social system to a sociotechnical imaginary and getting in conflict with other, competing sociotechnical imaginaries of the post-automobility arena. One of our key questions for a car – non-car future is whether the ‘system of automobility’, primarily lead and defined by the ‘car’ and its makers, elevates to a dominant position over other potential post-automobility futures for upcoming policy (Jasanoff & Kim 2015). Alternatives of a car dominated system, and their corresponding imaginaries, may

include a diverse and fluid system of mobilities populated by self-driving mobile “things” carrying people, objects in multiple shapes, forms and designs, run by diverse propellants, limited in their speeds and covered by softer and lighter materials.

The aim of this paper is more modest. It is exploring scenarios of our potential sociotechnical futures, something less than sociotechnical imaginaries but more than just future worlds populated by technology, through the lens of consumption I hope to show how our future “scapes” (or topologies of imagination) are constructed in a complex interplay of social practices, sites of negotiations and animations of and by technology (Appadurai 1990). The future is open as are our technologies. This is also the case with such potentially transformative technologies as autonomous mobility. This paper is to conceptualize the confluence of autonomous mobility technology and consumption socialities as an example for this openness.

## KINOTOPIAS

Autonomous connected vehicles may be seen as spaces of social interaction people may enter and exit at will that “re-bundle” territorialities of social practices divided by automobility (Urry 2006). The driverless, connected vehicle is conceptualized not as a container carrying people from A to B (connecting different territorialities like those of home, work, business or leisure) but as open spaces not fully controlled or owned by those occupying it or passing through it. AVs are like buildings, parks, roadside openings, intensities or pieces of urban infrastructure that have controlled open access by and to anyone.

Space in modern, post-structural academic discourse is the product of relations (including the absence of relations); a complexity of networks, links, exchanges, and connections (Foucault 1986, Massey 1994, 2005, 2009, Schröder 2006, Thrift 2007). Also, space is characterized by the simultaneous co-existence of more than one thing. It is always in the process of being made and re-made by relationships, interactions and identities: it is always ‘under construction’ and open to the future (Massey 2009); a multidimensional structure evolving through the interactions of identities moving in and passing through them. Michel Foucault conceptualized ‘other spaces’ – *utopias* and *heterotopias* – as unique spatial condensations of the political (Foucault 1984). According to Foucault heterotopias (like cemeteries, libraries, museums, boarding schools and brothels) offer a special type of

connectivity: they are connected to *all other spaces* through a complex network of social interactions. Foucault himself had given some thought to moving heterotopias, calling the ship “heterotopia par excellence” (Foucault 1984, 9). Special, moving, heterotopic spaces – *kinotopias* – travel in and through space making spatial (multiple) and temporal (simultaneous) connectedness omnifold.

They are unique social condensations with spatial limits, and are at the same time connected to “everything else” through multiple channels of flows. Kinotopias are n-dimensional instances of space/time created by the unique condensations of complex networks, links, exchanges, and connections as well as by the multiplicity of both being in space and moving through it. They also create new networks every instance as they move in space, making – sometimes unexpected – social connections and relations. Kinotopias create spatial and temporal fluidity: they, as well as identities carried or passing through, move in and through space with no spatial or temporal disruptions.

## AUTONOMOUS VEHICLES AS KINOTOPIAS

Autonomous vehicles (AVs) are self-driving, smart “mobility-things” („the socio-material mechanism for getting the job done”) (Hansson 2015) that operate safety-critical functions, apply cameras, onboard sensors, and other telecommunications and algorithm driven complex, computerized infrastructure to respond to special situations as well as utilize automated navigation strategies. They are connected to acquire and share real-time information with an extended time horizon and improved awareness of distance that is beyond human capacity. They may also include complex technical and navigation information, remote diagnostics, maintenance, and safety warnings to provide flawless operation.

There are many types and forms of AVs being experimented with. Some are transporting people (one, few or many) others carry only objects, while some move both. As Mimi Sheller (Sheller 2004) indicated already more than a decade ago “vehicular cyberization” has been happening at a growing pace since converging infrastructures of transportation and information were created in the last decade of the previous century. Post-car mobility transforms the “car”. Path-dependence as well as the lock-in of the steel-and-petroleum car will ease: new materials, new forms of propellants, new interior and exterior designs emerge recreating people



and object carrying mobility things. Post car mobility things will rearrange desires, inhabitations, socialities as well as urban 'scapes' and vice versa (Sheller & Urry 2000, Sheller 2004, Urry 2004, Sheller & Urry 2006).

Autonomous "mobility things" are part of the (social) present. Connected and autonomous trains, subways and buses are operational in several cities, electric cars run on autonomous drive and ride hailing companies are putting autonomous taxis on the road. Retailers are testing autonomous package carriers; the "transit buddy", an autonomous "mobility-thing" to carry heavy personal items while people are on the move, is also being experimented with (Walpot 2015). The technological transition to autonomous vehicles is a continuum: advanced autonomous vehicles are currently at automation level 3 (conditional automation), while most of the new cars on the road offer automation level 2 services (partial automation) with steering and acceleration, parking and stopping systems being autonomously operated. More importantly, autonomous mobility systems are the present from a policy and strategic planning point of view: the time horizon of strategic infrastructure and urban planning decisions (including public transportation systems; roads, tunnels etc.) are, in most cases, 50-100 years. The future is made in the present by our imagination, discussions and decisions as opposed to being found out there by those who get there first. I elaborate some of the autonomous mobility implications that may be conceptualized in the present and could (in)form the future.

AVs rearrange our socialities: they conflate our 'territorialities of home, work, business and leisure' (Urry 2004) by the fluidity of their offering. Doing something and being somewhere is 'unbundled'; moving spaces offer territorialities of action as well as spaces for transit. Action is not about filling empty commute time. A vehicle may be a moving office where one enters seamlessly from a "fixed" place to exit in another territory of business where the working process is to be continued. Through the multidimensional connectedness of AVs (as well as other forms of 'connectivities' or 'cyberization of networks' – computers, internet, wifi, hotspots, mobile phones, 3D printers) one can be at one place and be somewhere or do something else at the same time (Sheller & Urry 2006). Hyperconnectivity (Wellman 2001) creates new forms of mobility as well as sedentarism (to be content and stay in one place): there is no need to go anywhere at all to be somewhere (Sheller & Urry 2006, 209, Urry 2008). The interconnectedness or liquidity of people, places and things reinforces the human-non-human

hybridity of our 'scapes', consumption included. (Sheller & Urry 2000, Brembeck et al. 2015)

AVs are kinotopias: they are not only "mobility-things" but also spaces that are "constructed out of the interrelations, as the simultaneous coexistence of social interrelations and interactions at all spatial scales, from the most local level to the most global" (Massey 1994, 264). They are open to whoever 'enters' them depending on the individual or collective choice of systems of mobility. AVs offer mobility to a whole new array of people and groups who were excluded from automobility – the young and the old, the physically or visually challenged, the less affluent to name just a few groups (Istituto per la Ricerca Sociale 2015) and also create new barriers (psychological, technological) of access to other groups yet not assessed (Church 2000).

The main feature of AVs is hyperconnectedness. They are spaces connected to every other place possible. AVs are multi-dimensionally connected to other people, to other spaces (roadside infrastructure, buildings and other vehicles) as well as to narratives (datasets of the past already interpreted by human or artificial intelligence). AVs are "post-car": multi-fueled, ultra-light, smart, de-privatized, multimodal and multi-dimensionally interconnected mechanized autonomous moving spaces (Urry 2004). They rearrange topographies of power: AVs do not have a driver, thus space is not organized around a designated and marked position of function or power. There is no one person in control, no specific human agency behind movement, choice of direction, stopping, going, turning and accelerating. There is no specific human agency behind the interconnections and intersections of movement either: etiquettes are reorganized, interruptions reconnected and topographies of disruptions reordered. A new "automotive consciousness" emerges (Pearce 2016) or it disappears altogether. While AVs move through space in real time they also create 'Thirdplaces' that are unbound by reality – one may be able to be there and not there, to be part of the social space and also be outside of it somewhere (virtually or really) else (Soja 1996). They are also special 'space of flows' – material arrangements that allow for simultaneity of social practices without territorial contiguity (Castells 2009). Through their multifold connectedness – to machines, to people, and to everything else – they lose their territoriality: people may enter and exit without disrupting connectedness that is bound to some real place in real time. Social practices may be continued without interruption or territorial link through the multifold connectedness to people, clouds, systems and platforms.

## KINOTOPIC CONSUMPTIONS- CAPES

The „new mobilities” paradigm has called our attention to the importance of the early 21<sup>st</sup> century human condition of everything – people, objects, capital and information; large scale, and street-level, local and global – being on the move (Sheller & Urry 2006). This invites novel methods and theories across disciplines to better understand our mobilized socioscapes as well as networks of social interconnectedness. The „mobility turn” also redefined our understanding of objects, processes of consumption as well as the costumer as the subject of inquiry. The costumer, the main focus of consumption studies, is now seen less as an isolated free decision-maker but as a fleeting entity living, moving and swarming (Brembeck et al. 2015). Costumers and consumption are represented as being constantly on the move: the costumer became elusive (Ekström 2004) moving in complex fields populated by a multitude of actors, processes and practices (Brembeck et al. 2015). Actor-network theory (ANT) has guided us to not only look at human actors when studying societal processes but the networks made of human and non-human entities (Latour 1996, 2005). ANT influenced analysis of consumption now focuses on „*who and what goes with them* – their partners, but also their vehicles and their things” (Brembeck et al. 2015, 5). Thus, when looking at consumption in post-automobility and beyond, we need to look at the workings of hybrid kinotopic entities, moving actors, objects, spaces, networks, practices and processes.

The manmade synchronized rhythm of urban mobility gives way to (partially) algorithmic synchronization of the hybrid system of humans, machines and infrastructure, taking control out of the hands of drivers and their machines to give it (partially) over to algorithms. Shared rules and common sets of communication tools and mechanisms are replaced by cyber-physical systems rearranging socialities, power-geometries (Massey 2005) as well as urban structures. Vehicular cyberization reorders the time-space ‘scapes’ of urban denizens once again (Sheller & Urry 2000, Sheller 2004, Sheller & Urry 2006).

AVs cut through traditional moorings to real and fixed locations; territorialities of social exchange (home, work, consumption and leisure) become virtual and liquid. The social construction of the private and the public is challenged; in the “global fluids” of people, information, objects and risks

moving in heterogeneous, uneven, unpredictable shapes and forms at different speeds and levels of viscosity mobile publics and privates are created in messy complexity (Sheller & Urry 2003). The system of automobility created drivers and passengers “dwelling” inside the iron cage of the car (Urry 2006), private “driving events” were part of the automotive consciousness of the individual (Pearce 2016). The social universe of hyperconnected kinotopic mobility is not constituted across the public-private divide. (Thomson 2011)

Post-automobility creates kinotopic consumptionscapes: consumption – consumers „living, moving and swarming” (Brembeck et al. 2015, 2), objects (goods, services, information, ideas) and „mobility things” (Hansson 2015) – flows through networks of interconnectedness involving human and non-human entities „assembling” (Latour 2005) the mobile moving connected costumer. The elusive ontology (Foster 2011) of the costumer is characterized by the simultaneity of being mobile moving and connected, as much as being stationary and detached while *being* connected. Kinotopias augment the already fluid ‘scapes’ of new mobility: temporal and spatial fluidity is complemented by political liquidity. Control, and thus power geometries, are rearranged and made liquid in the network of human and non-human agents as well as the network of flows (Castells 2009).

The liquidity of consumer identities as well as of institutions, objects and places of consumption (Bardhi 2012, 2012) contribute to the transition from a „consume-to-own” to „consume-to-use” culture. Liquid consumption (Eckhardt 2015) requires a more transient mode than the firm emotional, social and material relationships embedded in ownership. Access based consumption empowers the costumer with more flexibility and adaptability suitable to its liquid social embeddedness as well as the elusive social ontology of consumption itself (Bardhi 2012b). It takes the burden of temporal and spatial responsibility and materiality off the shoulders of the costumer. Without ownership the flow of everything becomes even more swarming. Consumer relationships become temporary, loosely bonded and characterized by non-committal instrumentality (Eckhardt, 2015). Furthermore, costumers are anchored to practices and processes, less to objects; this further enhances their mobility as well as their independence from pre-existing social (status) limitations (Bauman 2000).

“Fluid consumption”, the delicate interplay of sedentarism and ubiquitous mobility, at the confluence of access based consumption and the global fluids of people, objects and information create various new forms of consumptionscapes (Bardhi 2012a, Brembeck et al. 2015; Brembeck et al. 2016). Consumer behaviour as well as consumer subjects become elusive in late modernity: they are effects of the interplay of people, objects and meanings that flow through the “fibrous, thread-like, wiry, stringy, ropy, caterpillary character” (Latour 1996, 3) of modern societies. Consumption is as much mediated through mobility as it is informed, influenced and “assembled” (Latour 2005) by it; mobility in actor-network theory becomes constitutive of consumption discarding the “active” consumer and the “passive” object of consumption through the spatial, temporal, sensory, bodily interplay of hybrid entities walking, driving, passengering, wondering, carrying, pushing, placing and swarming through the maze of bodies, mobility things, infrastructure and objects of consumption (Cochoy 2009, Harman 2009, Jensen 2013, Brembeck et al. 2016).

Kinotopic consumptionscapes are a complex ensemble of traditional, hidden/secret, virtual and automated places and social networks of consumption. Most of the flow moves through large scale, extended, networked and secretive channels hidden from the eyes and concern of the costumers (Birtchnell & Urry 2015); hybrid human and non-human entities move in virtual spaces created by algorithm controlled networks of flows in isochronal (intermittent, individualistic, time shifted, repetitive and cyclic) temporality (Dholkia 2015), while much of the consumption itself is also liquid – identification avoiding, situational, use-value dominated and dematerialized (Eckhardt 2015). The temporal and spatial fluidity creates a vast kinotopic consumptionscape in which, very much in accordance with ANT ontology (Latour 1996), processes, interactions and power-geometries (Massey 2005) become elusive, temporal and liquid.

While all this is a theoretical construct I will try to live up to the challenge posited by Sheller and Urry calling for new ways to navigate “new material, mobile worlds, bringing into being ways of communication, mobilization and theory that are both and neither, public and private” (Sheller & Urry 2003, 122). In the further analysis I will focus on the elusive ontology as well as the social epistemology of kinotopic consumptionscapes in different scenarios of the future, and the different potential technosocialities such scenarios and their respective power-geometries entail. I will be using the foresight framework presented in the analysis

of the future of freight (Birtchnell & Urry 2015), to examine potential future kinotopic consumptionscapes. The selection of the scenarios is contingent; I am using these because they pertain to mobility. This may be a limitation of the paper. I am aware of what the Danish physicist, Niels Bohr quoting a Danish showman once said: “Prediction is always difficult, especially if it is about the future”. (Just by the way, this apparently also holds true for the past, since – according to other sources – the above-cited quotation is also attributed to K.K. Steincke, published in his *Farvel og Tak* book in 1948, and to Mark Twain, Samuel Goldwyn and Robert Storm Petersen) (Braun 2015). The focus here is less on the made-up worlds or the technologies that populate them, but on the technosocialities via consumptionscapes imagined by the author triggered by expert designed future scenarios.

## FUTURE CONSUMPTIONSCAPES

Birtchnell and Urry present four future scenarios developed in the UK Foresight program in 2012 to map out distinct worlds of global freight encompassing issues on consumption, marketing and distribution. The four scenarios are (1) “Bigger Boats” (more economic growth, increased use of energy, more transport and higher volumes of moving objects) (2) “Onshoring” (returning manufacturing through the widespread adoption of additive manufacturing alongside high-tech industries creating regional connections between manufacturing and distribution) (3) “Internet of Things” (advanced manufacturing technologies rejuvenate long-lapsed industrial hubs to open small-scale manufacturing and boutique consumer-friendly production centers) (4) “Make Do and Mend” (reduced levels of output, powering down of societies, reduction of manufacturing, sustainable production and consumption) (Birtchnell & Urry 2015, 31-35).

In the “Bigger Boats” scenario increased levels of consumption and freight both local and global require enlarged flows of everything. “Behind the scenes” of markets there is already a vivid and complex organization of mobility to connect, manage and service the flow of goods from their place of origin (mainly the Global South) to the customer (mainly in the Global North). The system of cargo-mobility, hidden from the eyes of the customer, is characterized by high levels of standardization, economies of scale and ever increasing efficiency to establish the connection between places of material production and consumption (Birtchnell &

Urry 2015). Not only materials and objects travel with increasing speed and efficiency from South to North, but also negative externalities of labor, taxes, and emissions are containerized and off-shored in the other direction from North to South.

Kinotopias offer more effectiveness, more standardization as well as a more dense utilization of the shared spaces both above the ground, on street level, and underground. Containerization made objects more affordable “to ship, buy and dispose of” (Birtchnell & Urry 2015, 28), autonomous mobility makes objects readily available to use, re-use and dispose of. Objects, and access based services are available “just-in-time” anytime, anywhere.

Instead of owning and using “cars”, people are consuming mobility services. Price of access decreases, availability of the service is omnifold; ubiquitous mobility consumptionscapes require more vehicles on the road. The “car” loses its present shape, design and function: it will become a kinotopic space simultaneously offering mobility service (movement from A to B) and activities unbundled from their traditional territoriality. This is augmented by certain activities being “transduced” to kinotopias: one can (and must) always do something (work, rest, be entertained) while being on the move; empty travel time ceases to exist.

Access based consumption is the dominant form of consumption, therefore consumptionscapes are omnipresent. Autonomous “mobility-things” allow for more personalization of objects as well as services of desire; people consume everything everywhere. Consumptionscapes become multidimensional. Hidden, virtual and automated networked consumptionscapes coexist. Hidden and secret “magic” cargomobility (Birtchnell & Urry 2015) is extended to the last mile: from warehouses objects travel not to the shop-floor but on to the doorstep. Autonomous mobility-things carry preordered objects to be placed on the doorway mat. Some of these objects are purchased by humans, others by assemblages of human and non-human hybrids (in virtual consumptionscapes online), while again others by artificial intelligence driven non-humans (in automated consumptionscapes like the refrigerator “knowing” about consumption patterns, favored brands and price limits).

In access based kinotopic consumptionscapes the relationship of who-sells-what-to-whom become versatile and multifold. New business models emerge. Kinotopias become media selling access-based products and services to customers using them for the period of travel (or beyond). Mobility providers are selling accessible products

and services to their users, but they also sell the “souls” of their users to use available products and services (including screens and sound) in the mobility device in a similar way traditional media is selling the “eyeballs” or “eardrums” of users as target audience to advertisers.

*This world is “hypermobile” (Birtchnell & Urry 2015, 32) while consumptionscapes are superfluid: temporal and spatial flows are uninterrupted and multidimensional; power geometries are elusive and temporal, publics are superliquid, private and public are conflated.*

The “Onshoring” scenario drives back manufacturing to the Global North, local production as well as local consumption is on the rise. Post-industry is organized around regional and local manufacturing as well as local consumption. Consumers in the Global North desire regionally produced, bespoke and innovative commodities, while middle classes in the Global South also have their own creative and innovative economies as well as hubs of cosmopolitan living. 3D printers are being used in additive manufacturing to spread-out manufacturing locally (Birtchnell et al. 2013). Together with the rise of local and additive manufacturing, long distance cargo decreases. While cargomobility between the Global North and the Global South shrinks shorter distance freight increases: kinotopic platoons of lorries populate highways and individual kinotopic freight equipment move on local roads.

Generic objects and services – objects having only use-value (Eckhardt 2015) – are consumed “just-in-time”, expensive, unique and/or local produce is purchased to own and identify with. Access and ownership coexists as do a variety of consumptionscapes. Local shops serve costumers alongside virtual consumptionscapes; kinotopic mobility-things assist locals shop and carry objects strolling, walking and moving in revitalized urban environments. “Transport buddies” (Walpot 2015), autonomous object-carriers, populate networked urban consumptionscapes sharing space with kinotopic bikes and other autonomous mobility-things. Strategies of persuasive mobility (Anagnostopoulou 2016) emerge: people are incentivized to use mobility-things that are beneficial to urban livability and wellbeing.

Kinotopic platoons will change power geometries beyond those of transport. Trucking involves other systems of human exchange besides the transport of goods by lorries. Autonomous freight vehicles are moving in platoons without drivers. Thus the infrastructure for truckers, truck stops, service stations, restaurants and bars, become futile. Paid sex and sex related crimes, oppression of, mainly,

women (MacKinnon 2011) in those heterotopic consumptionscapes will disappear together with all other goods and services that are exchanged in truck stops. Roadside extortion will also be limited: soliciting illegal payments to police, soldiers and weigh station attendants is abundant in a number of countries (Olken & Barren 2009). Without drivers, trucks and their owners will not fall prey to extortion, violence on the roads or in stops, while there may be less demand for trafficking women and children to become sex workers for, at least, this purpose.

*This world is multimobile while consumptionscapes are multifluid: several fluid interconnected networks co-exist; power geometries are elusive and temporal within networks, much less between networks; liquidity characterizes publics within the networks, while hierarchies and power structures are rigid amid networks.*

The third scenario is called the “Internet of Things”: robotics, nanotechnology, full scale autonomous mobility is now mainstream; industrial hubs are rejuvenated, manufacturing is small-scale, 3D printing is ubiquitous and emissions are reduced by government regulation, stakeholder concern and citizen engagement. Kinotopic mobility things co-exist with other forms of kinotopic hybrids: kinotopias are in, on, near and around the body. Nanotechnology allows for units to be placed in the body to be connected with medical devices to monitor health conditions, send and receive information from and to the body; wearables are mainstreamed and the body is n-dimensionally connected to networks through connected ‘stuff’ on the body (watch, eyeglass, rings etc.); garments are connected to change color, texture, energy levels; mobile communication devices (what once used to be smartphones) are sophisticated computers for human-to-human and human-to-machine interaction; kinotopic mobility-things are ubiquitous carrying people and objects with low emission energy sources, reduced speed in a smart city environment where big data assists reaching required levels of emissions, traffic density and speed. The coexistence of autonomous and non-autonomous vehicles was brief and now full scale autonomous mobility is mainstream. Urban environments are getting crowded by the mobile devices: more and more people and object carriers are occupying shared urban spaces; flows of people, objects and

information are ubiquitous. There is a co-existence of mobility and sedentarism (Sheller & Urry 2006): while objects and information flow through n-dimensional networks and mobile devices, people become more stationary. Objects are customized and printed through 3D printers small and large; territorialities of home, work, business and leisure conflate into one space as access to information is unlimited through clouds; objects are either printed or delivered autonomously and overcrowded shared spaces deter people to be on the move. There is a revival of static experiences though; urban centers are kinotopia-free: people walk, sit and enjoy spaces of interaction without networked flows of everything.

Technology evolves in multiple trajectories: nanotech enabled networks connecting the insides of the body with equipment outside connect bodies to transfer memories, emotions, knowledge from one body to the other. “Caring” technologies emerge that create human-non-human interaction metaphorically referred to as “big mother”: inter-generational transfer of knowledge takes place through kinotopic nano-devices<sup>1</sup> travelling through bodies. These ‘devices’ collect information that are then transferred to another body able to utilize the information because of the genetic similarities between kin (Heidingsfelder 2016).

Consumptionscapes are multifaceted. Everything from clothing to eating is interconnected and is part of the networks of flows (Castells 2009). Kinotopic consumptionscapes are also multilayered: people are travelling in fully connected autonomous mobility equipment and use their time moving to shop in virtual environments for objects and services that are also moving across networks (books, music, information) to mobile devices (music players, e-readers) or clouds that offer multiple access. Algorithms and new modes of exchange inspire the emergence of alternative currency systems both open (like blockchain based systems that are traded and exchanged for traditional currencies and closed systems created around bartering (Birchneil & Urry 2015, 34)). The urge for sedentarism creates a revival of being “off” networks. Mass produced, non-printed objects are in vogue to be looked for and purchased in traditional, non-connected consumptionscapes. These shopping environments are modernized versions of traditional family stores without carts and other

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<sup>1</sup> Such a “design-concept” was developed in a participatory foresight process as part of Fraunhofer CeRRI ‘Shaping Futures’ project; it’s not a techno-driven vision, nor is it a technical vision that will soon be realised, but rather a principle or example of how people may want to interact with technology.

mobility-things. People touch, feel and try objects salespeople actually assist shoppers and costumers carry stuff home all by themselves.

*This world is mixed-mobile while most consumptionscapes are superfluid: temporal and spatial flows are uninterrupted and multidimensional but co-exist with sedentary off-the-hook 'scapes'; power geometries are elusive and temporal in the fluids, while heterotopic, intense and static in the alternative spaces off-the-hooks; publics are multilayered: parallel to the global interconnected network of flows local non-connected publics exist; the private and the public is elusive and temporal while spaces that show different levels of being "public" or "pubvate" (conflated public and private) exist.*

The forth world is called "Make do and Mend". This is a powered down world of reduced emissions and energy use, individual travel as well as global flows of people and objects are falling. Low-tech solutions are preferred, recycling is the rule. Mobility as well as networks are scaled down; there is reduced consumer spending, more sustainability, community farming and craft production. While kinotopic mobility provides autonomous movement when needed, limits are placed on flows of travel, both of objects and of people. Beyond regulatory measures, powering and scaling down is also achieved by a change of culture reversing the trends of the twentieth century consumer and mobility culture. People treasure repairing skills, objects are robust and reused, mostly produced locally with new localized meanings and designs.

Global fluids are obstructed, technology is developed in order to control and limit flows instead of enabling them. Mobility is driverless; most autonomous devices in this powered down world are connected only in as much as this assists their accident-free movement. People use autonomous cars (which are very similar in design and shape to the cars of the twentieth century, while lighter and more energy efficient) for short distance travels. The Global South quickly emerged to the same levels of consumption as the Global North and is scaling down also. The dramatic effects of climate change are felt the globe over and therefore denizens of the urban hubs of the Global South are also giving up their newly enjoyed cultures of (over)consumption.

Consumptionscapes are waste-free in order to limit overflows of urban metabolism, unnecessary objects are excluded. Unpacked goods are consumed, people bring their own jars, boxes and other recycled materials to carry food and goods home (Beunpacked 2017). Shopping occurs in farmers markets or unpacked stores. Autonomous mobility

is restricted outside inner-city limits, people walk in the central areas of urban sprawls and would shop locally walking or biking. Technology "fixes" are triggered by a slower pace of living, more wellbeing and reduced personal debt (Birchneil & Urry 2015, 35).

*This world is semi-mobile, consumptionscapes are sustainable. Information and data flows are uninterrupted and multidimensional, while urban 'scapes' are sustainable, powered down and local; power geometries are intense and non-transparent; publics are multilayered: parallel to the global interconnected network of information flows local non-and semi-connected publics exist; the separation of the private and the public is revived.*

## CONCLUSION

Kinotopic mobility is, beyond technology, a sociotechnical construct of mechanized mobility populated by mobility things, hybrid human-and-non-human ensembles created mainly by and through the multiplicity of simultaneous human interrelations and interactions in and through space. This understanding of kinotopic mobility is influenced by ANT in as much as autonomous mobility is conceptualized as the workings of hybrid kinotopic entities: mobile actors, objects, spaces, networks, practices and processes. The kinotopic consumptionscapes described here are sociotechnical constructs imagined by the author.

The social epistemology (Haddock 2010) – what we know, how we know and what are the hierarchies, discourses and processes of knowing – of our sociotechnical urban order as well as the technosocialities of present mobilities (Sheller 2004) will inform, influence and determine or lock-in mobilities of the future. We need to apprehend the elusive ontology (Foster 2011) of our (mobilities) present and future in order to be able to deal with the complexity of our intertwined social & technological processes (Urry 2005). Kinotopic consumptionscapes are to be imagined as multi-hybrid entities: swarming human-non-human hybrids, moving objects, interconnected spaces, fluid practices and liquid processes. In our kinotopic futures shared rules and common sets of communication mechanisms will be replaced by interacting hybrid human-non-human systems rearranging socialities, power-geometries as well as urban structures and modes of societal operation. There is an ongoing discussion about whether post-automobility would bring societies heaven or hell (Minett 2016)? According to the scenarios presented not only do we not know whether AM will be heaven or hell, we don't even know which outcome is which.

Marketers will seek and find new ways to extract rents from the changing scenery of kinotopic consumptionscapes. This is not our concern here. Here we were concerned more with the “how” of the transformation process itself and less with the “what” of that future construct will look like. If we accept that kinotopic consumptionscapes create new forms and means as well as new meaning(s) of consumption this will also redefine our ‘scapes’. What the analysis of the evolution of consumptionscapes shows is that “technology fix” or seemingly path determined trajectories of “locked-in” or emerging technologies (like autonomous vehicles, autonomous mobility things and other kinotopic entities or the ‘scapes’ they co-create) do not lead to similar sociopolitical futures. Our social ‘scapes’ are formed much more by the world we create by our social imagination and the political processes than the technologies that populate them.

Consumption is a good terrain to look at our complex sociotechnical futures. Our future liquid consumptionscapes are populated by swarming hybrid entities creating intense and fluid, if alternative, power geometries, publics as well as public and private confluences. The current dominant approach to our sociotechnical futures is heralded by ‘technology push’ (Von Schomberg 2013). Research and innovation in the autonomous mobility arena, with enormous impacts on our markets as well as on our culture, is almost exclusively driven by technology advancement. Addressing social desirability and stakeholder involvement in the early stages of the innovation lifecycle is limited to the assessment of the regulatory landscape and discussion of some of the complex ethical challenges of autonomous vehicle deployment (Smith 2015). This is complemented by a threat of ‘policy pull’: to accept and promote, by key but uninformed stakeholders, the implementation of new mobility technologies beyond their technical feasibility or societal impact.

The elusive ontologies of our socio-technical realities call for a more subtle epistemological approach to such potentially transformative technologies as autonomous or kinotopic mobility. Instead of the top down, mainstream epistemology of technology push, a more democratic social or civic epistemology could be employed (Jasanoff 2007, Goldman 2009). The conceptualization of such an epistemology is beyond the scope of this paper. In case we are looking for examples how this could work, the “participatory prototyping” or “participatory foresight” method may provide a novel and effective illustration for mobilizing alternative regimes of knowledges through enabling and empowering laypersons to realize and explore their preferences toward prospective, yet unknown, technologies. This prototyping methodology applies a social epistemology in which laypersons’ preferences are extrapolated from the aggregate data of, collected through a series of workshops, tangible objects, descriptions, audios and videos. The process and the results display to what extent human-machine interaction and the futures created by the socio-technological developments are interwoven with their co-evolution. (Heidingsfelder 2016) Such techniques combining laypersons’ imagination with expert knowledge and prototyping processes translating meanings operable in seemingly different regimes of truths open up new avenues of collaborative sense-making, or a social epistemology, in the context of creating future technologies as well as shaping our complex social universes, consumption included.

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# Scenarios for lifestyles in a resource-light society<sup>1</sup>

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## THE AIMS OF THE PAPER

Modern industrialized societies live far beyond sustainable levels with regard to their use of natural resources. Whereas there is almost unanimous agreement that environmental and climate protection is a necessity, the question remains, what a future society living on sustainable principles may look like. First of all, resource use and allocation is not just a technical issue but deeply rooted in culture and social practices. Therefore, a conversion towards a society with a lower consumption of natural resources can only be successful if accepted and promoted by the members of this society.

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## METHODOLOGY

In order to understand what kind of changes people are ready to support, a qualitative social research project was implemented. In a first step, five future scenarios were developed. These scenarios are distinct with respect to the underlying basic values and drivers, leading to diverse narratives which uncover different options for low-resource or “resource-light” societies. Then, the scenarios were discussed both with relevant stakeholders and citizens from all age groups, social milieus, and strata.

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## MOST IMPORTANT RESULTS

Altogether, the participants rarely doubted the concept of a low-resource society itself. However, they showed different levels of openness towards the individual scenarios and their constitutive elements. Moreover, the reflection of the scenarios pointed at significant desires and yearnings for change, not only motivated by ecological but, even stronger, by social considerations. Besides reducing the use of natural resources, a more considerate use of human and social assets is an issue.

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## RECOMMENDATIONS

As a recommendation, it appears necessary to promote a societal discourse about alternatives to the current state of unsustainable high resource consumption. The scenarios, visions and models presented here can contribute to it. In doing so, it is crucial to keep the space of solutions open by discussion alternative options, involving different views, and thus, allowing for learning processes.

*Keywords:* natural resources, qualitative research, scenarios, social change, sustainable lifestyles

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<sup>1</sup> The paper is based upon the results of the project: „Success Factors for System Leaps and Normative Scenarios for a Low-resource Society”. This project was jointly carried out by the Wuppertal Institute for Climate, Environment and Energy GmbH, Z\_punkt GmbH – The Foresight Company, and sociodimensions – Institute for Social-Cultural Research, from September 2013 to March 2017; on behalf of the Federal Environment Agency of Germany (UBA), research code: UFOPLAN FKZ 3713 171 03.

## BACKGROUND AND AIM OF RESEARCH

Resource scarcity, resource depletion, harmful effects on ecosystems and the services they provide, detrimental effects on health, all these observations and more have led to calls for a reduction of resource use and extraction (e.g. UNEP 2015). However, with a view to contemporary resource use, such a reduction demands consequent changes of processes, customs and habits. Resource use and allocation is not just a technical issue but deeply rooted in culture, social practices, institutions and routines. Low resource use can therefore only be realized in a "resource-light society" in which processes, institutions, organizations etc. support, foster and enable low resource use. It is obvious, that such a society will likely be much less dedicated to consumerism, material status symbols etc. but needs to develop new ways to satisfy individual, social and material needs.

Resource-focused research on sustainability has revealed insights into the techno-economic aspects of living and working. Approaches that develop concrete visions for societies that are ready, able and willing to live and strive on a low resource basis are much scarcer or very abstract. The social dimension of a resource-conserving future has received little attention so far and still is not fully understood. However, without such approaches resource-light practices are not likely to be established on a broader scheme. By the way, a society that has made resource-light living a central institution will not only cater for reduced resource use, it will also make it a positive, socially accepted and beneficial experience for its members. Creating solutions for this challenge is thus mandatory for successful long-term policies towards new, low-resource systems. The question however remains what such a future society may look like. To develop specific visions of a resource-light society and to reflect them in the perspective of everyday life was the goal of the project.

## Methodology

### *Overview: Project Design*

A predominantly qualitative approach was chosen. Social structures, political framework conditions, economic practices and lifestyles were carved out and described to create narratives of a resource-light society. On that basis, five different scenarios have been developed for societies that combine sustainable resource use with a satisfying quality of life. A quantitative guideline for all of these scenarios was the "Eight-Ton-Society"<sup>2</sup> – a society in which the consumption of natural resources moves within boundaries that are seen as sustainable (Lettenmeier et al. 2014).

The scenarios were designed as future states of (the German) society, i.e. as already achieved conditions of resource-lightness in about twenty years into the future. The next task was to identify both factors of success and potential obstacles for the visions' realization and acceptance. Therefore, the scenarios were intensively discussed in workshops with stakeholders from various backgrounds and in an extensive empirical study involving about one hundred participants from all different social groups. Based on the findings, recommendations for actions were derived for politics and science. Potential paths to such conditions were investigated as well. The basis for these dynamics is the concept of system leaps. It concerns rapid and radical social change towards resource-light lifestyles. The overall project design is shown in Figure 1:

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<sup>2</sup> The „Eight-Ton-Society“ was defined by the Wuppertal Institute. It presents a science-based threshold for sustainable resource use (Lettenmeier et al. 2014). The quantity of eight tons refers to the indicator Total Material Consumption (TMC) which measures the total primary material requirement associated with domestic consumption activities (<https://stats.oecd.org/glossary/detail.asp?ID=6595>, accessed May 28, 2017). It contains the amount of all materials directly and indirectly used in a given system. Included are abiotic and biotic material use, hidden material flows in mass flow units and erosion caused by earth handling in agriculture and forestry; air and water consumption are not incorporated (UBA 2012).

**Figure 1: Overview Project Design**



Source: Berg et al. 2017

*Creating the Scenarios*

In a first step, the conceptual basis for a definition of the resource-light society was created. The definition was based on an intricate analysis of the sustainability discourse on resource policy.<sup>3</sup> Then, starting from this definition, normative models were developed using the scenario method. First, forces driving social change were scrutinized by considering current social, technical, economic, environmental, and political trends – i.e. applying the so-called STEEP-approach (Steinmüller 1997, Albert et al. 2002). Based on their impact

on resource-light living, relevant areas were identified, resulting in a list of 13 “key factors“. Then for each factor alternative future developments, i.e. “projections” were developed. These projections were designed so that they contained only alternatives deemed to contribute to low-resource living. The 13 key factors together with the projections generated the scenario space which can be presented in a “morphological box” (Figure 2). The objective here was to create a space of possibilities for the resource-light future that comprises a broad range of plausible social constellations (“visions”).

**Figure 2: Morphological box with key factors (dark grey) and projections (grey)**

Individuals / Consumers				Business				Politics				Science	
Consumption patterns	Digital technology usage	Community building	Opinion making	Social security and health care	Innovation paradigm	Value creation patterns	Employment models	Entrepreneurial motivation	Resource politics	Political decision making	Prosperity and growth concepts	Commercial policy and innovation support	Education and knowledge building
Collaborative consumption	Offline society	New order of families	News & knowledge as commons	Citizens' insurance scheme	Cooperative innovation	Regional economy	Cooperative labor division	Policy based motivation	Broad non-fiscal support	Bottom-up & global	Green New Deal	Promotion of SMEs	Universal knowledge
Sustainable hedonism	IT-induced low-resource living	Global community	NGOs dominate opinion making	Lean social security	High-tech-induced low-resource living	Knowledge-based economy	New work models	High idealism	Focus on sanctioning	Bottom-up & local	Quality of life comes first	Top-runner approach	Top-down education
Voluntary simplicity	Digital regimen	New communes	Politics dominate opinion making	Cooperative models	Low-tech society	Circular economy	Basic income	Demand-based motivation	Real prices create new markets	Provident expertocracy	Commons and prosperity for all	Focus on tertiary sector	Bottom-up experience ad learning
Rationed consumption			Media liberalisation	Basic security and care		Demand-based production	Low-resource living by rationalisation		Low-resource planned economy	Renaissance of the parliament			

Source: Berg et al. 2017

<sup>3</sup> Including the assessment of prior scenario-analyses, e.g. Henrichs 2003 and Fink/Ramming 2013.

The creation of these visions was carried out in workshops in cooperation with pioneers as well as experts of low resource living from all over Germany. This scenario exercise was to answer the following question: How can relevant players in society (individuals/consumers, business, politics, science) promote and achieve low-resource living in Germany by 2030?

The next step was the creation of raw scenarios. Different projections had to be combined in a consistent manner. As a result, five different scenarios were identified following the principle that the set of all scenarios should represent a maximum variance and at the same time make use of each projection at least once. The resulting raw scenarios, which then consisted of a plausible combination of projections, now had to be brought to life by enriching them and casting them into consistent narratives. Here, the pioneers of low-resource living were involved again: In a creative two-day workshop setting, they discussed the following questions: Which steps / measures / events pave the way into this future? Who are the main players? What are the main challenges? What are the main differences to the present? What are the main differences to the other scenarios? Compared to today, where are opportunities for lower resource use? Finally, five distinct, consistent, future-oriented concepts that showcase a variety of possibilities and alternatives were the result of this process. However, none of these visions should be seen as a definite guideline or as a definite solution. The visions rather explore and develop a broad range of potentials. The visions are:

- Vision 1: Co-operative Regionalism
- Vision 2: Business-friendly Ecology
- Vision 3: Obligatory Moderation
- Vision 4: Voluntary Simplicity
- Vision 5: Dematerialized Globalism

#### *Reflection of the Scenarios*

Subsequent to the scenario generation, an important part of the project concerned empirically reflecting and evaluating the visions from different perspectives of today's social reality. This served two questions: whether and which ideas of a low resource society already exist in the present German society, and what level of acceptance the five visions would find. Moreover, the reflection helped to identify ways to communicate the models. This reflection proceeded in three sections: In a first step, the visions were discussed in workshops with decision-makers and experts from various fields. These fields were: Business and trade unions,

education and social services, infrastructure, architecture and health. In a second step, available empirical studies regarding sustainability-related lifestyle- and consumption-research were re-analysed. At the point of interest were identifiable proximities and barriers towards low resource living among diverse social groups. The third and last task in this line was to examine the visions against the background of everyday perceptions and attitudes. One hundred persons from all social milieus discussed resource consumption, low resource living and the visions in twelve focus groups and a three-week moderated research online community.

## RESULTS

### *Definition of a Resource-light Society*

As a definition, the resource-light society was outlined as a society that minimizes resource consumption, uses resources diligently, conserves ecosystem services, respects the environment, operates within the planetary boundaries, and is therefore dematerialized. Furthermore, it includes a fundamental aspect of justice within and between generations: equal chances for resource use for every human for his or her individual selffulfilment and social welfare. This definition implies the design of societal visions that combine resource conservation and dematerialization with a high quality of life for the society's members – for the individuals and the community alike.

### *Characteristics of the Visions / Scenarios*

As a result of the scenario building process (outlined in the methodological section), five distinct visions of a resource-light society were identified. The relevant basic narratives are documented in the following:

#### *1. Co-operative Regionalism*

Cooperation, community orientation and fairness – the basic ideals of cooperatives – have developed into pillars of the economy and society. Production and consumption are strongly regionalized, stimulated by higher taxes on transport and mobility; in the case of economic decisions, the focus is on the common good and nature preservation. Products and services are mainly offered by small- or medium-sized enterprises, which are organized as cooperatives. Consumers often rely on “Collaborative Consumption”. Citizens expect maximum inclusion in political decision making and communal design.

## 2. Business-friendly Ecology

The base of this society is a Green Economy concentrating on resource conservation, supported by a high technological dynamic of innovation. The “Energiewende”<sup>4</sup> is complemented by similar radical reform programs in raw material usage, transport and agriculture. On the consumer side, a lifestyle oriented at enjoyment and quality dominates and motivates producers to create long-lasting products of high quality. Circular economy has become reality. The legislature moderately acts as a controlling authority, with a strengthened parliament. Science and technology play a major role; they are continually exploring and implementing new possibilities to produce environmentally friendly, energy and material saving products.

## 3. Obligatory Moderation

The growing desire for orientation in the sustainability “jungle” has led to the introduction of a Citizen Resource Budget (CRB), which obliges citizens to only use as much resources as is acceptable for the environment in the long term. As a result, an intensive competition of innovations on the side of manufacturers and service providers is created. These parties strive to minimize the resource consumption of their offers as citizens seek to save on their resource budget. Moreover, they expand their patterns of consumption by a variety of strategies to “stretch” their budget, e.g. exchanging, sharing and recycling. Participation in political processes is relatively low, instead people entrust decision-making to the political leaders.

## 4. Voluntary Simplicity

Large parts of society voluntarily and consciously reduce consumption. Moreover, resource consumption is more taxed, while human labour is supported. Additional revenues in the state budget will fund an unconditional basic income. Although the basic income is not sufficient for a life in prosperity, it is sufficient to maintain a healthy and secure lifestyle. As a result, people have more flexibility in the choice and design of their profession and more time for productive activities in their leisure time. Citizens, NGOs as well as entrepreneurs are intensively involved in political decision-making

processes as proactive shapers of a future-oriented, low resource society and economy.

## 5. Dematerialised Globalism

Firmly anchored in education and science, the insight that people must assume responsibility for the environment and for resource conservation to secure their own survival and the survival of the planet, leads to the dematerialization of essential parts of society and economy. The industrial base in Germany is reduced while the knowledge base Germany is upgraded. Fewer and fewer goods are produced in Germany. Imports are subject to stringent requirements regarding their environment and resource conservation qualities. Germany actively exchanges knowledge about beneficial procedures with other countries. Post-material consumption shifts demand to intelligent, resource- and environment-saving products. Status is based on meaningfulness and self-realisation. Informed citizens self-confidently shape political processes. There are more resources invested in education and science than ever before.

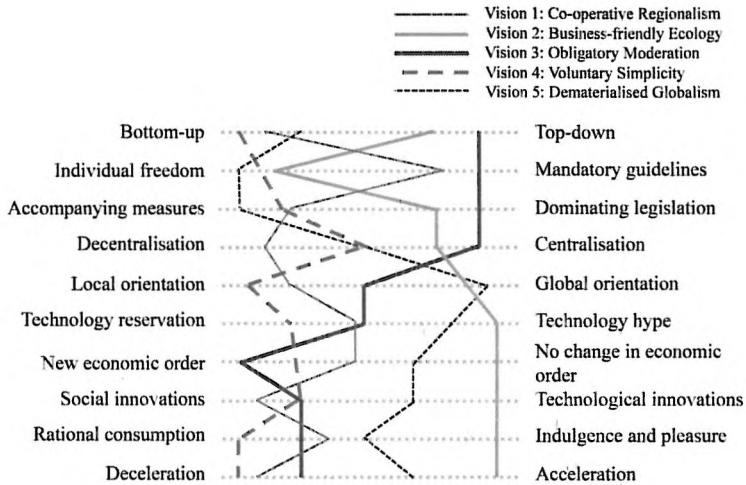
It becomes clear that resource-light living will require different degrees of change. Scenario 2 requires the lowest changes in day-to-day life as well as consumption patterns whereas the other four scenarios will involve more or less strong disruptions, depending on the perspective. They range from changes in individual lifestyles (esp. consumption) all the way to systemic changes like the introduction of annual resource budgets (scenario 3), the introduction of a basic income (scenario 4), or the massive reduction of the industrial base (scenario 5). Besides these “technical” measures, the nature of the social dynamics and the setup of players vary greatly. While scenarios 2 and 3 involve a strong top-down approach resulting in a rather passive civil society, the others are initiated by a broad base of active civic and NGO engagement. Other differentiating categories include the geographical distribution of economic and political processes, the degree of technology use, and the nature and role of innovations.

Thus, the scenarios are distinct on different dimensions. The basic dimensions which characterise the scenarios are shown in Figure 3:

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<sup>4</sup> “Energiewende” means the transition from non-sustainable use of fossil fuels as well as nuclear power to a sustainable energy supply using renewable energies. After the nuclear disaster of Fukushima, the German Bundestag decided (on June 30, 2011) the termination of nuclear energy use and a gradual shift towards an energy system based totally on renewable supplies, in the future.

**Figure 3: Scenario dimensions, overview<sup>5</sup>**



Source: Berg et al. 2017

The different characteristics of the scenarios will determine the focus and range of resource conservation effects. Some scenarios are limited to new production patterns and certain industries while hardly affecting consumption, whereas others involve completely new lifestyles and will therefore result in comprehensive changes in value chains and infrastructures and public provision. Whether and to which extent these greatly different low-resource pathways are attractive for different parts of society is part of future work which will involve the discussion of the scenarios with stakeholders and with representatives of different social milieus. Moreover, it will be the task of future research to analyse the scenarios, examine their individual measures and potential more closely, and to carve out additional chances to achieve a resource-light society.

#### *Results of the Stakeholder Workshops*

In the aforementioned empirical modules of the project, the scenarios – or visions – were reflected in the context of today's social reality from

different perspectives. In a first step, the visions were discussed in workshops with decision-makers and experts from various fields. These fields covered economy and trade unions, education and social affairs as well as infrastructure, architecture and healthcare.<sup>6</sup> The workshops revealed the open-mindedness of the participants for issues of sustainability and resource conservation and a correspondingly high awareness. Accordingly, little doubt was expressed about the meaningfulness of a low resource society in general but rather about certain components of the respective models. It became clear that, depending on individual preferences, different combinations of model components were considered to form new individual models. As it came to ranking the visions, a common perception across all stakeholder groups was found: a clear preference for the visions "Business-friendly Ecology" and "Co-operative Regionalism" contrasted with the rejection of the vision "Obligatory Moderation" by most participants. At the same time, "Voluntary Simplicity" and "Dematerialized Globalism" were given little chances for realization.

<sup>5</sup> Revisiting the resulting five scenarios, a number of common dimensions characterizing these scenarios could be identified. The markedness of each scenario with regard to these dimensions is shown in the figure.

<sup>6</sup> Participants of the stakeholder workshops were in the age between 20 and 68 years, held both leading and executive positions, and had between 1 and 45 years of experience in their field. All participants had an academic background and – with one exception – a generally positive attitude to the topic. Both genders were represented equally.

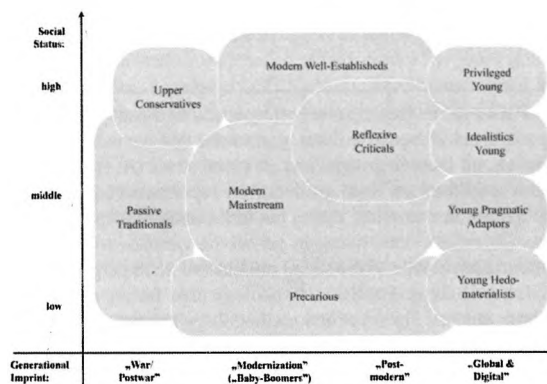
In the next module, a total of 43 available studies on sustainability-related lifestyle and consumption research were re-analyzed to identify existing affinities and barriers towards a resource-light society in different social groups.<sup>7</sup> This analysis showed that there is a high degree of awareness of environmental and climate issues across the population. However, there is hardly any consciousness about the problem of excessive use of natural resources in a wider sense, nor does this issue influence behavior. In contrast to this, the increasingly critical development of the global economic system and the loss of social cohesion play an important role in the general consciousness. However, willingness to change, or better: a diffuse “yearning for change” among the population has been recognized. The analysis also revealed an existing concern on how a good life can be ensured in the long term. These reflections are, however, associated with a wide range of questions, uncertainties as well as worries and fears. Therefore, meeting the environmental challenges is considered as necessary, but not sufficient. Expectations are rather concerned with answering basic questions of social coexistence in the course of a positive societal change. These issues cover the guarantee of a secure existence, the reliability of prevailing conditions for individual life planning, but also possibilities for self-fulfillment and meaningful activities. Aspects such as time-use, time-regimes and work-life balances are of particular importance, even if they are only latently present in everyday consciousness.

Moreover, different models of target groups were comparatively scrutinized from scientific literature<sup>8</sup> and condensed into a synoptic typology. On this basis, ten population segments (social milieus) relevant to the resource-light society could be identified and described. Later, these segments functioned as a sampling basis for the qualitative empirical study to ensure that participants from all relevant social groups in Germany were included. The ten relevant groups (social milieus) were:

- Passive Traditionals
- Upper Conservatives
- Modern Well-Establisheds
- Modern Mainstream
- Precarious
- Reflexive Criticals
- Privileged Young
- Young Pragmatic Adaptors
- Young Hedo-Materialists
- Idealistic Young

As the list shows, particular emphasis was given to the milieus in the youngest generation – as they are the most relevant in a future society. These groups can – according to the social-milieu-concept of sociodimensions (Schipperges 2010, BMUB and UBA 2017) – graphically be positioned in the social landscape by using social status as the vertical and generational imprint as the horizontal dimension, which is shown in Figure 4:

Figure 4: Ten groups (social milieus) relevant for resource-light living



Source: Schipperges et al. 2017

<sup>7</sup> A comprehensive list of all 43 studies can be found in Schipperges et al. 2018, p. 121ff.

<sup>8</sup> The same 43 studies were used for the identification of target groups (Schipperges et al. 2018).



*Results of the Empirical Reflection from the Everyday Life Perspective*

The aim of this research module was to examine the visions in a qualitative empirical way against the background of everyday perceptions and attitudes of the population. To achieve this, the topics of resource consumption, high quality of life and the developed models were discussed with a total of one hundred participants from all social milieus<sup>9</sup> in twelve focus groups and during a three-week moderated online community.<sup>10</sup> First, the concept and understanding of “resources” and “resource-lightness” were discussed in the focus groups. Then, the five scenarios (presented by short descriptions)

as well as a variety of other resource related topics were discussed in the online community. In particular, respondents reflected their own current behavior and evaluated ideas and proposal for change on the everyday life level. Moreover, respondents calculated their “ecological backpack”.<sup>11</sup>

It turned out that the necessity of a resource-conserving way of life is accepted throughout all milieus. At the same time participants are faced with different dilemmas due to this social norm: Current conditions and everyday demands that people need to cope with were often experienced as opposing resource conservation.

The following ranking resulted in terms of preference for the five scenarios:

**Table 1: Ranking of the five scenarios by preference of the respondents**

	<i>Co-operative Regionalism</i>	<i>Business-friendly Ecology</i>	<i>Obligatory Moderation</i>	<i>Voluntary Simplicity</i>	<i>Dematerialized Globalism</i>
Rank 1	34%	37%	1%	18%	9%
Rank 2	26%	35%	9%	16%	14%
Rank 3	15%	13%	11%	25%	36%
Rank 4	17%	10%	18%	28%	26%
Rank 5	8%	5%	4%	12%	15%
<i>Average rank</i>	2,4	2,1	4,3	3,0	3,3
<b>Total Rank No.</b>	<b>2.</b>	<b>1.</b>	<b>5.</b>	<b>3.</b>	<b>4.</b>

Source: own construction

Similar to the results of the stakeholder-workshops, the second scenario (“Business-friendly Ecology”) was most strongly preferred, closely followed by the first (“Co-operative Regionalism”).

“Voluntary Simplicity” and “Dematerialized Globalism” were convincing only for minorities, whereas “Obligatory Moderation” appeared acceptable almost to nobody.

<sup>9</sup> Demographic characteristics of the participants corresponded to those typical for the respective milieu. Thus, including participants from all social milieus guaranteed that the sample structure included all age groups, all educational levels, all income groups, and all social strata (A, B/C/D, E) and a large variety of different value orientations and lifestyles. Both genders were represented equally. Accordingly, the sample was “representative” though not in numerical shares but in its categorial spread for the universe (German speaking people between 18 and 75 years living in private households with access to the internet). For further details to the demographic profile of the social milieus see Schipperges 2010.

<sup>10</sup> To our knowledge, this particular qualitative methodology used for the evaluation of the scenarios has not yet been applied in prior studies. However, the methodology has proven to be fruitful and suitable in qualitative studies in which changes in attitudes and behavior are a topic. Due to the longer lasting research process, changes in respondents’ attitudes and behavior can be observed in a kind of experimental setting by this methodology. Proven to be a powerful methodological approach, the methodology has been repeatedly adopted in later environment-related qualitative empirical studies (e.g. BMUB and UBA 2017).

<sup>11</sup> The „ecological backpack“ was calculated using an online tool developed and provided by the Wuppertal Institute: [www.ressourcen-rechner.de](http://www.ressourcen-rechner.de).

In the following, principal attractors and most relevant barriers for each of the scenarios will be described by qualitative terms:

#### *Vision 1: Co-operative Regionalism*

Principal attractors are the expectation of more social cohesion, more security, the promise of a culture of sharing and a generally more “harmonious” society. Respondents associated with this scenario a kind of relief from the consequences of globalization and a reduction of complexity with regard to current problems. Also, it became clear that nostalgic yearnings for an idyllic, problem-free world caused much of the attractiveness of this vision. Not surprisingly, in particular respondents belonging to the milieus of “Traditionally Passives” but also “Modern Mainstream” voted for this scenario. Relevant barriers turned out to be the impression of provincialism, narrow-mindedness and lack for innovativeness which other respondents. (“*The world has become global, there’s no way back*”)<sup>12</sup> – particularly from the younger milieus – noted to be present.

#### *Vision 2: Business-friendly Ecology*

The most convincing aspect in this scenario was seen in an effective regulation of the economy. (“*There should be higher taxes on environmentally harmful products and services*”). Moreover, the solution of environmental problems by technological innovation and progress seemed a promising perspective for many. (“*That would be the ideal solution*”). By the way, various everyday life dilemmas, such as having to know which behavior is in actual fact beneficial for the environment and which is not, seem solved as the State and the Economy are in charge to deal with these questions. However, respondents saw quite a number of obstacles to the realization of this vision. First of all, a presumed “weakness” of the State vis-à-vis the Economy was addressed. (“*There are powerful lobbies at work*”). According to this view, the State is unable or unwilling to enact the necessary regulation. Moreover, it was criticized that the question of (re-) distribution of wealth is not a concern in this vision. (“*Social problems are not addressed*”). By way of contrast, other respondents (mostly from the milieus of Modern Well-Establisheds and Privileged Young) pointed out that government

interventions via taxes and regulations may be harmful for economic development in general and technological innovation in particular.

#### *Vision 3: Obligatory Moderation*

This vision was almost unanimously rejected. The loss of individual freedom both as consumers and citizens seemed to be an unacceptable price for environmental protection. (“*This would mean Eco-dictatorship*”). Respondents mentioned subversive bypass strategies which this scenario would almost unavoidably provoke. (“*Black markets would skyrocket*”). Moreover, the fear of an abuse of the data collected by the digital system to enact the Citizens Resource Budget was expressed. (“*The chip cards can be hacked*”). In addition, the non-transparent activity of the experts determining the allowed amount of resources was subject to criticism. Though, some arguments in favor of that vision were discussed, too: The undoubted effectiveness of the scenario, the fact that everybody seems to be treated equally, and the notion that capitalist enterprises will change from profit to environment orientation only if forced to. As a general impression, this vision could be imagined to be realized only after a massive natural catastrophe.

#### *Vision 4: Voluntary Simplicity*

Principal attractor of this scenario was a perceived new, comprehensively post-materialist understanding of wealth and quality of life. Respondents expected a deceleration of everyday life, a relief of competition and stress to perform, and more time for oneself, personal interests and being with others, in particular. (“*I would enjoy life more*” / “*It would reduce my fears about the future considerably*”). The unconditional basic income promised basic existential security for all and “freedom from fear” even in the course of considerable social change. However, many doubts remained as to how this could be introduced in reality. (“*A dream that never will come true*”). Moreover, harmful effects of the unconditional basic income were addressed. Most prominent was the fear that economic growth would stop and, therefore, the economy would crash. (“*The German economy would no longer be competitive*”). Others pointed out that, to their view, income without effort would be unethical.

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<sup>12</sup> Here and in the following: Original quotes from respondents are in italics and in brackets. Individual respondents must remain anonymous for reason of personality protection.

Still others disliked the general atmosphere of austerity and sacrifice they felt to be dominating this scenario. In general, this vision provoked both the highest irritation (*"crazy idea"*) and the strongest fascination (*"if this can be realized, many other things could change, too"*) among all the scenarios.

*Vision 5: Dematerialized Globalism*

On the one hand, the understanding of (technical) know-how as the most relevant "resource" for the future and, therefore, the focus on its development seems convincing. Moreover, the idea to make a business out of ecological solutions appears promising. Germany as a forerunner and global champion in eco-technology is seen as an assuring strategy by some respondents. (*"We in Germany are already on that way"*). On the other hand, the notion of German supremacy looks "chauvinistic" in the eyes of some other participants. More

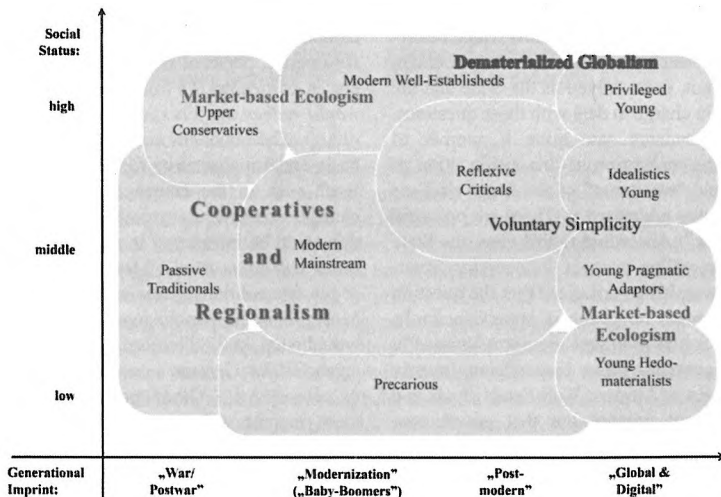
generally, it is argued that the dependency on volatile, unmanageable global markets and trends inherent in the scenario implies a huge risk for the economy and the society. Particular skepticism was expressed vis-à-vis the concept on developing mainly (or exclusively) technical blue-prints – instead of "real" products: Not everybody may be qualified or inclined for these professions. Will the others be left behind? Moreover, many respondents express the fear that the increase of the tertiary sector implied by the "dematerialization" will lead to even more precarious jobs – as, so the argument, has been shown by the experience of actual "tertiarization" in the past. (*"Once more, blue collars and less qualified employees will be the losers"*).

To summarise, the perception of the five scenarios shall be phrased in five theses, conveying the (intuitive) appearance of each vision to the participants in a nutshell:

<b>Co-operative Regionalism:</b>	<i>"Small is beautiful"</i>
<b>Business-friendly Ecology:</b>	<i>"Green New Deal"</i>
<b>Obligatory Moderation:</b>	<i>"Post-Apocalypse"</i>
<b>Voluntary Simplicity:</b>	<i>"Imagine a different world"</i>
<b>Dematerialized Globalism:</b>	<i>"Globalization continues with winners and losers"</i>

The preference for the individual scenarios by the different social milieus (emphases) is graphically represented in Figure 5:

**Figure 5: Emphasis of acceptance of the scenarios in the social milieus**



Source: Schipperges et al. 2018.

By this empirical reflection, it turned out that the necessity of a resource-conserving way of life was generally accepted. At the same time, it became clear that this social norm confronted the parties with various dilemmas, because the current framework conditions and the prevailing demands on everyday life were seen as diametrically opposing practices of resource conservation. The evaluation of the visions by the participants showed that social and environmental aspects were seen as equally important. Aside from the conservation of limited natural resources there was a desire for preserving the "human resources" which were perceived as being overstrained as well.

## **SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

The project has shown that a resource-light society which operates within the limits of sustainable resource use and grants a high quality of life to its members can be conceived and arrived at in different ways. A broad space of possibilities was opened and developed providing room for designing and creating the low resource society. Furthermore, the evaluation of the visions demonstrated that the ecological aspects and the societal / humane perspective of such a society are equally important. The conservation of limited natural resources therefore needs the accompanying protection of human resources. Quite often, society-related aspects of the future visions were far more involving than the environment-related. Not rarely, the necessity to safe natural resources is perceived as

opposed to requirements of living one's life today (e.g. safe time and money) and make the economy run (i.e. grow in order to avoid a fatal crash). Thus, one can speak about a normative dissonance, or a value-gap being present in the population. The most attractive components of the reflected visions were those which implicate a potential to bridge this gap.

When evaluating the visions, it became clear that a wide space of possibilities in terms of configuration and on-going development is required so that various ways towards a low resource society can be proposed to the public, and should still be open for discussion. As different milieus have their own approach, criteria and preferences with regard to a low resource society, the first step is to present various options for low resource consumption in order to launch and promote a societal discourse about possible alternatives to remaining at the current state of high resource intensity. "Resources" should to be addressed both as natural materials and as human efforts resp. assets in that discourse. Social issues such as fairness and justice, urban and rural development, and civic life, but also health, self-realization and self-efficacy, temporal regimes and work-life balances – i.e. post-material goals in a comprehensive understanding – should play a central role in such narratives.

In that process, it is crucial to keep the space of imaginable solutions open – the here presented different scenarios can serve as examples. Only by presenting different options and involving different views, the discussion about a resource-light society can reach for broader audiences and lead to further learning processes.

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# Fans, Co-creation and the Social Media – the Case of ‘Tibi atya’<sup>1</sup>

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## THE AIMS OF THE PAPER

By presenting a brief empirical analysis the main aim of this paper is to reveal new online-offline dynamics of fan communities in the social media. Apparently, there are yet unexploited opportunities in the integration of scientific approaches of media studies and consumer behaviour research, especially regarding the participation of brand fans in the value creation process. Adopting a complex multidisciplinary approach a current case of the collaborative online media produsage was examined as a manifestation of media fandom on one hand, and a precedent of the co-creation on the other hand.

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## METHODOLOGY

Inasmuch as the previous phenomenon can be elaborated by explaining symptomatic examples, the qualitative inquiry and the case study method were used. In the course of the investigation multiple sources of evidence were applied such as related blogs and social media sites, the web-shop, the official homepage and the book of the initiators, and some articles discussing the investigated phenomenon in the mainstream online media and public blogs.

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## MOST IMPORTANT RESULTS

The study unfolds in great detail the course of the ‘Tibi atya’ case where a fictitious character was created and by humorous content promoted on social media sites. Creators fostered the shaping of an extensive fan community in a short time and founded a start-up and by selling other branded products and services they started to extend their agency to offline spaces as well. The ‘Tibi atya’ case brings to light that online communities based merely on enjoyment of media content can be extended to offline places as well, while their media consumption could be expanded and transformed into product or service consumption as well.

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## RECOMMENDATIONS

To utilize potentials of co-creation leaders need more detailed insight in the current functioning of online fan communities. Providing intense qualitative analyses the media and cultural studies might support and inspire these efforts.

*Keywords:* media consumption, fandom, brand community, collaborative value creation

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<sup>1</sup> The name ‘Tibi atya’ refers to the widespread Hungarian forename Tibor in their short form where Tibi is a popular nickname with some allusion of being a plain man. The title ‘atya’ matches the usual salutation of a priest in English.

## INTRODUCTION

Various manifestations of fandom have long been in the centre of *media studies*, and also a growing body of studies on *consumer behaviour* investigates brands connected fan communities. Concerning the latest media consumption habits, these inquiries can be fruitfully interconnected inasmuch as the newest forms of media consumption often go hand-in-hand with the concrete forms of consumption. The consumers' participation in production of goods, services on one hand, and the users' participation in creation of media content on the other hand play central roles in the current investigations in both scientific fields. Likewise, collaboration between the fans and companies, and their co-creation of values or development strategies are eminently discussed. Analysing an actual issue, in this study I focus on this complex blended phenomenon.

By integrating theoretical backgrounds of the above mentioned approaches an interdisciplinary framework can be applied which offers mutual advantages for the investigation of media consumption and fandom in the social media. The main objective of this paper is to synthesize the particular approaches, and by taking a complex multidisciplinary approach to develop a detailed *case study* as well. The phenomenon to be investigated is called 'Tibi atya' who is an actual and remarkably popular, however fictional character in the Hungarian social media. Scrutinizing 'his' social media presence and activities, and reconstructing the innovative ways of combining business strategies and communication methods, efforts will be made to explain complex practices promoting the transformation of media fandom and media consumption into brand admiration and brand consumption.

The audience research in which scholars have been facing various phenomena of fandom as an active and productive form of consumption has been a traditional and crucial part of the empirical media research. The main interpreting framework of the audience research has been shifting repeatedly since the 1920s from the concept of the *direct and complete media effects* (Morley 1992, 4; Lazarsfeld and Merton [1948] 1999) to the theories of *indirect and limited media effects* and towards highlighting the roles of opinion leaders (Katz & Lazarsfeld 1955). In the light of the theories of the *selective perception* and the *cultivation* the audience has appeared more and more autonomous and independent, and media scholars have increasingly preferred the concept of the *media usage* instead of the *media effect theories*. According to

the *uses and gratifications model* the starting point of media researches should not be the expression of the media but the media consumption, and this suggests the notability of the audience. Media usage or media consumption are thereafter investigated in the media research as particular forms of consumption which is strongly connected to the active efforts of the audience such as interpretation and sense making or producing creative fan content. In the examination of these fan contributions traditional audience research and fan studies are merging, because secondary media texts produced by fans are based on a primary, professional media content consumed by the audience. Fan meta-texts (rewritten or remixed primary media texts, Jenkins 1992) play thus fundamental roles in the vivid experiences of fan communities. The consumption of cultic media texts or other media contents is central in building these communities, and establishes other, more productive activities, such as producing fan fiction or other fan contributions (fan discourses, fanzines, parodies, remixes etc.).

Even though, fan experiences and fans' contributions have been rated for long to the territory of popular culture opposed to the so-called "high culture", the estimation of fan cultures and fan communities has changed significantly in the last decades, partly in connection with the rise of the popular mass media and later the Internet. Investigations in cultural studies have been playing a decisive role in this change through reevaluating fans' contributions.

## THE FANS FROM A CULTURAL STUDIES PERSPECTIVE

Focusing on the political dynamics and power relations of contemporary culture, Cultural Studies as a field of cultural analysis have been evolving since the mid-1950s. In the course of its history the focuses and central issues kept transforming continually. From the investigations of class structures, ideology, gender and ethnicity, it has been turning increasingly towards popular culture and media culture (Hall et al. 1980, Fiske 1987, During 2001). Also the roots of fan studies can be traced back to the Cultural Studies investigations on media audience.

At the age before the World Wide Web varied fan contributions emerged connected to special literary genres, such as romantic novels consumed by American housewives (Radway 1991), or in connection with TV series and popular Hollywood

movies (such as Star Trek in the 1970s or the Star Wars Saga), comics, celebrities, or rock bands.

The American literary and cultural studies scholar Janice Radway in her *Reading the Romance* (Radway 1991) elaborated the ethnography of middle class American housewives' romantic novel reading habits. According to her book, these women were regular and passionate readers of the low-priced and easily accessible romance novels narrated with characteristic story patterns. These women were embedded in a patriarchal society. Radway found the significance of these specific media usage habits in their cathartic possibilities of canalizing the real needs repressed by unexciting everyday life experiences: tender love in an imaginative world full of romance. The reception of these specific media texts, said Radway, fulfilled a similar function in the lives of these women with similar social status and roles. Radway referred to them as an 'interpretive community' (Fish 1980) emphasizing that the reception of these novels is not a private and lone exercise, but through collective social discourses. Radway's book could be regarded as an early description of a consumption community conducted by practices of media consumption.

Furthermore, in his early work *Textual poachers* the media scholar Henry Jenkins (1992) examined fan cultures as complex praxes of collective sense making and interpreting related to popular media texts (television series, movies, books). The reception of a media content was considered by him a community performance, and the scholar paid special attention to the meta-texts produced by fans called 'textual poachers'. The core of this phenomenon is the lack of fans' opportunities to produce commercially valuable cultural products and to influence the professional production processes of the admired media content. However, by using elements of old texts in a free manner they could produce new texts, so called meta-texts. According to Jenkins members of fan communities produced media texts to share and exchange among each other, while creating special opportunities for this purpose (meetings, clubs). The creative exercises of sense making were some exciting examples that started among fans of the television series Star Trek which was very popular in its day (Jenkins 1992). Since then, a growing body of popular cultural elements has become objects of such appropriation, from Star Wars to the Harry Potter books or reality television series.

Jenkins found that these activities were alternate forms of resistance against the unequal power relations between media producers and fans.

Fan activities such as reshaping or rewriting primary, professional media texts can therefore be interpreted as acts of negotiation over the meaning of these texts and the terms of fans' relations to media producers.

In the subtitle of the already mentioned *Textual Poachers* appears the notion of *participatory culture* which points to the recent position of the audience inside the media system (Jenkins 2006, Burgess & Green 2009, Hinton & Hjorth 2013). Jenkins's concept expands the former notion of media production to include the contributions of the fans to the creative praxis of the media as well. He formulated the participatory culture as a very complex set of relations between producers and consumers where the consumers tend to participate not only in media consumption but also in media production by actively claiming greater access to the processes of cultural production and circulation. This idea is well illustrated in his other work *Convergence culture* (Jenkins 2006), in the case study of the Harry Potter fan community established by passionate teenage readers of J. K. Rowling's novels. The scholar unfolded and explored the story of the Web-based fanzine Daily Prophet including the collaborative practices among teens where the older, more experienced writers were able to help the new contributors by correcting their writing and giving them instructions or feedback via informal peer-to-peer teaching.

The efforts of the fans are important component of the so called *transmedia storytelling* which 'represents a process where integral elements of a fiction get dispersed systematically across multiple delivery channels for the purpose of creating a unified and coordinated entertainment experience' (Jenkins 2007). The circulations of stories, characters and motifs as parts of complex fictional worlds between different media platforms are important elements of the economics of media.

Although because of their tendency to several forms of resistance and opposition, fans were formerly often judged and handled as fanatic, pathological, destructive or harmful individuals. In the transformation of their assessment investigations in cultural studies and fan studies have been playing decisive roles. The practices of fandom and the fans themselves have become mainstream and common.

Jenkins's concept on the 'participatory culture' has been provoking many controversies as well among media scholars and media economists because of its one-sided and naïve understanding of which role the free labour of fans and other amateur content creators in the media economy



could play. Fuchs (2014), van Dijck (2009, 2013) and others criticize the theory of the participatory culture and emphasise the unpaid work of the audience creating value through curation, commentary or simply sharing as well as other complex forms of agency in the digital media. The idea of the commercial exploitation of media audience is not new but criticisms increase in light of the recent forms of participation in the digital and social media. Recognising conflicting interests of the corporate owners and the users in his recent co-authored book Jenkins (Jenkins et al. 2013) tried 'to put commercial and academic agendas into meaningful dialogue' (Moor 2017, 176) by presenting several ways of value creation of users and fans in the 'spreadable media', and by suggesting a new 'moral economy' based on agreed terms of doing business (Moor 2017). According to the argumentation of the above mentioned authors media-cultural and economic commentaries are interconnected indicating the common interest of these disciplines concerning the users' participation in the value creation processes.

## THE FANS IN THE LIGHT OF MARKETING RESEARCH

In the last decades, fan contributions and activities have attracted the attention of marketing researchers and experts as well. According to the studies of Prahalad and Ramaswamy (2004), Schau et al. (2009) and others more emphasis has been placed on the customers' participation in value creation and innovation processes. The customer is not treated as a passive recipient of the active value creation efforts of a company anymore, but as an endogenous entity who can co-create these values and innovation strategies. The central concepts of this approach are co-creation, participation and collaboration similarly to the theories of the "new media" in the field of media studies.

A growing body of literature has investigated a host of coproductive activities by referring to the relevant consumer collectives. According to Schau et al. (2009, 30) these consumer collectives are organized around market-mediated cultural products including (1) various experiences, (2) lifestyles, (3) opposing ideologies, (4) brands or (5) web communities. The authors point out that all these collectives exhibit community-like qualities (as understood in sociology). Using a meta-analytical approach Schau and colleagues made efforts to identify and categorize co-creational practices from a consumer-centric perspective, and found

that impression management, social networking activities, community engagement and brand usage are crucial in the collaborative value-creation. According to their findings, consumption opportunities are generated through these conversations, therefore interpersonal and mediated communication is essential in the collaborative value creation processes.

While investigating brand communities, Muniz and O'Guinn (2001, 413) defined them as largely imagined communities within a consumption context which are formed around one good or service. Through their ethnographic study of such brand communities (for example in connection with Saab, Mac and Michelin) their promotion was found to be bound especially to the rise of mass media. Authors emphasise their liberation from geography in opposed to traditional types of communities, nevertheless being linked to several forms of computer mediated communication. These communities are created and maintained particularly by online discourses including several kinds of storytelling. "Stories based on common experiences with the brand – they said – serve to invest the brand with meaning, and meaningfully link community member to community member" (Muniz & O'Guinn 2001, 423). Because of sharing interpreting strategies by the community members, these represent interpretive communities in the sense explained by Fish (1980). At creating the stories, texts and symbols are often borrowed from the collective cultural knowledge, stated Muniz and O'Guinn. In summary they revealed that brand communities represent a form of consumer agency as well as an important information resource for consumers. In their opinion, brand communities represent a response to the postindustrial age by underlying the social nature of brands being socially constructed social objects (Muniz & O'Guinn 2001).

To foster relationships and communication between the consumers and the companies fan pages can be created on social networking sites. Dr Vries and others (de Vries et al. 2012) point out that liking, posting and commenting are recent ways how brand fans interact with companies. The results of several studies state that consumers becoming fans on these pages tend to be more loyal and committed to the company and are more open not merely to receiving information about the brand, but 'to visit the store more, generate more positive "word-of-mouth", and are more emotionally attached to the brand than non-brand fans (de Vries et al. 2012). According to their study the importance of the fan pages is that they

reflect of brand-customer relationship, and provide a source of information and social benefits to the members. Authors investigated empirically which factors influence the popularity of brand posts at a social networking site (de Vries et al. 2012) where popularity was regarded as being indicated by the number of likes and the number of comments on a brand post. The authors ascertain that the investigated factors – among others the vividness of the posts, the interactivity and the nature of the content – have a complex and differentiated effect on the posts' popularity. Posting pictures or animations and interactive elements as well as the informative or entertaining characteristics of the content proved to increase the popularity to varying extents. Their research further unfolded that brand fans are influenced by each other (de Vries et al. 2012). With some limitations<sup>2</sup> the above mentioned observations and considerations provide a fruitful framework to explain and interpret the success story of the brand 'Tibi atya' and their fan community which is one of the largest Hungarian social media communities.

## THE RESEARCH METHOD

To unfold the inherent connections of the 'Tibi atya' phenomenon as well as to follow their temporal evolving a case study as a qualitative research method was applied. According to Yin's summary it is especially appropriate when 'how' or 'why' questions are being posed and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context (Yin 1994). It enables researcher in-depth longitudinal explanations and to understand complex issues including the exploration of its social context. As the 'Tibi atya phenomenon

can be judged as being unique in the Hungarian social media a single-case design was chosen. In the course of my investigation multiple sources of evidence were applied such as the official blog of 'Tibi atya'<sup>3</sup>, its social media sites on Facebook<sup>4</sup> and Instagram<sup>5</sup>, furthermore the web-shop<sup>6</sup> operated by 'him', the official homepage<sup>7</sup> of the firm funded by owners of the 'Tibi atya' brand as well as the books published in the name of 'Tibi atya' as the author<sup>8</sup> and some articles discussing the 'Tibi atya' phenomenon in the mainstream online media and public blogs<sup>9</sup>. Data were collected in the period between January to June 2017.

## THE CASE OF 'TIBI ATYA'

### *The story*

The case is fairly complex: though his face is well known among Hungarian Internet users, 'Tibi atya' is not a real person but a fictitious character in the social media (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Portrait of 'Tibi atya'



Source: Internet

<sup>2</sup> De Vries and colleagues analysed editorial posts on fan pages of eleven brands from six product categories. These posts aim to intensify fans' admiration and loyalty to the brand while the online discourses and interactions are not parts of the brands themselves rather they discuss the features of the brands

<sup>3</sup> <http://tibiatty.blogstar.hu/> [last download 2018.01.10.]

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/tibiatty> [last download 2018.01.10.]

<sup>5</sup> [https://www.instagram.com/tibiatty\\_szeszmaster/](https://www.instagram.com/tibiatty_szeszmaster/) [last download 2018.01.10.]

<sup>6</sup> <http://shop.humbakmuvek.hu/> [last download 2018.01.10.]

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.humbakmuvek.hu/> [last download 2018.01.10.]

<sup>8</sup> <http://shop.humbakmuvek.hu/termekek/37-minden-napra-egy-feles-tibi-atty-fuves-konyve.html>, <http://tibiatty.blogstar.hu/2016/11/08/megjelent-masodik-konyvem-a-humbakfoldi-legenda/31573/> [last download 2018.01.10.]

<sup>9</sup> [http://hvg.hu/elet/20170416\\_Ahogy\\_Tibi\\_atty\\_megvedi\\_Bayer\\_Zsoltot\\_nem\\_vedi\\_ugy\\_senki](http://hvg.hu/elet/20170416_Ahogy_Tibi_atty_megvedi_Bayer_Zsoltot_nem_vedi_ugy_senki), <https://444.hu/2015/10/19/tibi-atty-extremstutyohumor-startupja-95-szazalek-veres-prolisag-es-5-szazalek-intelligencia>, <http://szelsokozep.com/cikk/966-tibi-atty-feloldozasa>, <http://bouvett.cafeblog.hu/2016/10/17/tibi-atty-leleplezve/>, <http://www.blikk.hu/aktualis/menekul-a-fejlesztett-tibi-atty-mariakalnokrol/941z3nh>, [http://www.kisalfold.hu/szorakozas/tibi\\_atty\\_kiverte\\_a\\_biztositekot\\_mariakalnokon\\_koltozik\\_-\\_videos\\_riport/2334870/](http://www.kisalfold.hu/szorakozas/tibi_atty_kiverte_a_biztositekot_mariakalnokon_koltozik_-_videos_riport/2334870/) [last download 2018.01.10.]

The social media phenomenon is based on an origin story whose main character is a depraved priest with a special sense of humor and drinking habits. Fictional is not merely the character but also the location: the name of Humbákfalva refers to stereotypes of a rural location whose inhabitants tend to drink too much alcohol, think simply and speak rudely. They are thus able to formulate and reveal the truth. 'Tibi atya' exists on several social media platforms where he makes humorous, satirical statements often concerning actual affairs or topics. The visual representation (portrait) of the priest and the memes<sup>10</sup> generated by the operators of the social media sites have become its trademark. The social media accounts and statements of 'Tibi atya' are followed, liked and commented by a large group of Hungarian youngsters.

The 'Tibi atya' phenomenon has evolved from a blog written by a couple of friends just for fun as a free time activity. They have been publishing ironic and satirical posts, obscene jokes on the Exszakasz blog between 2008 and 2012, while at the end of 2012 one of their offensive posts shocked the audience. As a consequence of the scandal some of the bloggers decided to mark out of the blog and start a new one in the name of the fictional priest. Shortly they had some trouble with the firstly chosen place Máriakálnok which is a real village in Győr-Moson-Sopron county in Hungary. Having seen the popularity of 'Tibi atya'-s jokes the mayor of the

village objected to using the name of Máriakálnok thus the bloggers had to change it. By this time the new fictitious name Humbákfalva was chosen embedding in the fictional story of the priest's enforced migration. At first the photo of an unknown but real person was downloaded from a website and used as a profile picture, later the authors exchanged it for a graphic to avoid violation of privacy and rights relating to personality. Because of their humorous statement the social media character became popular in a short time by collecting many followers and fans. According to recent statistics<sup>11</sup> the Facebook account of 'Tibi atya' received the most (34.5 million) liking and sharing amongst the Hungarian Facebook pages in 2016.

By detecting the increasing popularity of the fictional social media personality the authors of the blog and the social media accounts published two books (Tibi atya 2015 and Tibi atya 2017) with similar style. Meanwhile in 2014 they founded the company Humbák Művek Kft. whose field of activity includes advertising, web hosting service, beverage and clothing retailing, food and beverage service, mail-order service, publishing and book marketing which indicate pursuing a conscious business strategy. Since then the company has sold branded clothing products through its web-shop (Figure 2).

Figure 2: The web-shop of 'Tibi atya'.



Source: Internet

<sup>10</sup> According to recent theories in media studies memes are complex sets of information spreading from person to person by forwarding, duplication or mimicry. On the analogy of the genes being elements of the organism they can be considered as the components of the culture (Shifman 2014). An Internet meme is an activity, a concept or piece of media. A prevalent type of memes merges a humorous picture and a short text.

<sup>11</sup> [http://mte.hu/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/MTE-LyZR\\_Elemz%C3%A9s.pdf](http://mte.hu/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/MTE-LyZR_Elemz%C3%A9s.pdf)  
[last download 2018.01.10.]

**Figure 3: Branded wine in supermarkets**



Source: Instagram

The vignette of the branded wine, promoted in an Instagram-post. (Figure 3) and in summer festivals, and last but not least the owners established a pub chain where they provide high quality wine and spirits on a lower price especially for young adults.

### Social media presence

'Tibi atya' and its business interests are present in the social media through several accounts and sites. On its official blog<sup>12</sup> longer posts can be read in serious issues but in satirical style once or twice a week. They usually reach some thousand or ten thousand followers. Among the discussed topics

certain problems of the Hungarian system of health care come up as well as actual issues of the internal politics or particular questions of the environment protection. On the social media site Facebook, it has more than 1.3 million followers who tend to like and comment the somewhat shorter and more satirical posts of 'Tibi atya' (Figure 4) mostly concerning ordinary issues connected to visiting pubs and drinking alcohol or the everyday life of the Hungarian students. A separate Facebook account with more than 150 thousand followers is operated for the company Humbák művek. On this site some practical information is published regarding the pubs in the regular humorous and ironic style.

**Figure 4: Facebook cover of 'Tibi atya'**



Source: Facebook

<sup>12</sup> <http://tibiattya.blogstar.hu/> [last download 2018.01.10.]

<sup>13</sup> <http://shop.humbakmuvek.hu/> [last download 2018.01.10.]

Also in the photo sharing service Instagram there is an account of ‘Tibi atya’ publishing popular but often scandalous and obscene memes. Adapted to the features of the mobile application

the memes contain more visual information and only a short text. Although their provocative style they often refer to social problems (Figure 5) or to life situations of the youngsters (Figure 6).

Figure 5: A post on Instagram



Source: Instagram

Figure 6: A post on Instagram



Source: Instagram

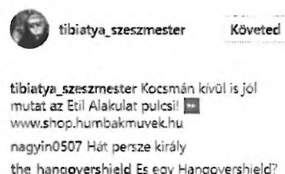
The Instagram posts provide fruitful opportunities to promote the branded products available in the web-shop or in the branded pubs and in supermarkets (Figure 7). Besides the self-published books in the web-shop<sup>13</sup> there are actually branded

t-shirts, long-sleeve t-shirts and sunglasses on offer. The official website of the Humbákművek Kft. provides information concerning the pubs, such as the opening hours, menu and prices.

Figure 7: Promoting branded t-shirt



Source: Instagram



## Community

On each platform and social media site the owners make great efforts to interact with the audience (customers, consumers, users, fans). The humorous and satirical manner, the provocative and obscene style and the funny memes all can be judged as efforts to motivate the audience to follow, like, comment, buy or order some of goods offered by 'Tibi atya'. There are excellent chances provided by the social media where users tend to express their opinion, make remarks or evaluate 'Tibi atya's jokes. Therefore vivid discourses evolve with many comments connected to the posted content between the fans and the company as well as amongst the fans. In this way the followers contribute to the formation of the online fan community which is supported through these social networking activities. In this special case the fan community is supported and formed not merely through online interactions, but by several kinds of storytelling and various forms of consumption. The fictional universe of 'Tibi atya' includes fictional places, personalities, stories, and the audience is participating actively in the sustaining of this fictional world. Reading the official posts, enjoying the jokes or memes are special form of consumption, namely media consumption. Other kinds of consumption are generated and promoted through these conversations as well, such as online shopping in the web-shop, purchasing branded wine in the supermarket or consuming branded drinks in the branded pub or at a festival. By these forms of consump-

tion fans can express their loyalty and commitment to the brand and to the community around them. Shared rituals and traditions, such as the traditional greeting form (Dicsértessék! Praise!) serve the same purpose.

The users and followers of 'Tibi atya's social media accounts constitute a consumer collective organised around market-mediated cultural products: a brand and a web community. The most enthusiastic fans not merely read and discuss the posted contents or consume some goods offered by the company but by liking, sharing, commenting and consuming, they also cooperate with the firm in the branding process, and collaborate in value creation as well. Therefore interpersonal and mediated communication is essential in the branding and collaborative value creation processes. Through their communal online activities fans use the brand which could not exist without these contributions. While consuming these specific media contents fans contribute to the lively traffic on the page and thus they become media producers as well – so endogenous to the firm.

## SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In the evolution of the 'Tibi atya' phenomenon branding efforts has had a central function. The starting point of this process was the creation of the fictitious personality as a brand in the social media. Utilizing its popularity the admiration was converted into consumption by establishing the

web-shop, selling the branded wine in supermarkets and building up the franchised pub chain. By using the brand image consequently the initiators have formed a large audience. The customers of the web-shop, the guests of the pubs and the followers of the Facebook-page or the Instagram-account are mostly the same people, and they probably tend to wear branded t-shirts and sunglasses as well. The self-published books, the web-shop and the pubs are often promoted on the Facebook-page or Instagram-account of 'Tibi atya', thus the branding went specifically effective.

As we have seen above, a particular way of storytelling became the main method of the branding. On the official Facebook-page of 'Tibi atya' humorous memes are posted on a daily basis by the operators. In these visual memes there are merged well-known pictures on one hand and actual statements on the other hand in ironic or humorous ways thus they are proper tools for social criticism. This is a way how fan discussions related to posted memes promote the elaboration of socially relevant questions which often concern issues of consumerism (special eating habits, alcoholism, anti-vaccination movements, entertainment habits of Hungarian youngsters). The communal and amusing discussion of relevant issues merges the fans of 'Tibi atya' into a discursive and interpreting community the members of which are integrated also by the collective consumption and enjoying media contents, branded products and services. Concepts of *fandom*, *fan communities*, *brand communities* and *media consumption* seem to provide equally useful frameworks at investigating social media phenomena similar to 'Tibi atya'. A mutual challenge for the relevant disciplines is to respectively utilize and harmonize these inquiries for a better understanding.

Considering the above observations managers can be guided by our examination with regards to branding in the social media. The investigated case represents convincingly how fan activities and contributions can promote the company's branding efforts, how fans become costumers and consumers by building online community at the same time, what role humor and entertainment can play in the online discourses as well as in the branding process. The analysis shows obviously that existing media consumption habits can be fruitfully integrated in the branding process, moreover in the era of the social media they can establish it.

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# My brand, our festival – Exploring the impact of self-image congruency on loyalty in case of music festivals

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## THE AIMS OF THE PAPER

We examine music festivals in our study, which can be considered one of the most important community building events nowadays. In our research, we examined how music festival loyalty is explained by self-concept congruency (1) and by psychological sense of a brand community (2). Based on our assumptions, music festival loyalty is stronger if there is a congruency between someone's self-concept and between the image of the festival (or the visitors of the festival). Moreover, a sense of connectedness with other festival visitors can also strengthen loyalty.

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## METHODOLOGY

A questionnaire survey was conducted in 2015 in the area of a popular music festival, the Youth Days of Szeged (SZIN). In the course of the survey, 707 responses were collected, and a PLS path analysis was applied to study the relationships between the concepts included in the research question.

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## MOST IMPORTANT RESULTS

Results show that self-image congruency affects the psychological sense of brand community, as well as attitudinal and behavioural loyalty; while the psychological sense of brand community has a significant impact only on attitudinal loyalty. On the basis of the model, the following impact chain (dominant path) is identified: self-image congruency – the psychological sense of brand community – attitudinal loyalty – behavioural loyalty. This can be interpreted as: an individual willingly identifies with a group similar to them, shows greater commitment to an event visited by this group, and thus more likely to return. Another interesting finding is that self-image congruency had a significant positive effect on each element of the model, so this is a key factor concerning festival-loyalty.

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## RECOMMENDATIONS

The results also draws the festival organizers' attention to that, besides arranging a high-quality programme, it should also be a priority to build a brand personality congruent with the self-image of the target group.

*Keywords:* self-concept congruency, brand community, loyalty, music festivals

## INTRODUCTION

The postmodern society is characterized by a series of emptied-out stylizations that can then be consumed (Jameson 1991), where the brand choice usually carries a symbolic meaning (Belk 1996, Ligas & Cotte 1999, Töröcsik 2009). Well-known brands are consciously endowed with an attractive brand personality and brand image. Nowadays, however, this process has extended to services, and even to cultural events (Lee et al. 2008, Grappi & Montanari 2011). An event or a festival builds an own brand not merely for differentiation purposes but with a view to develop a loyal fan base.

For people as “social animals” (Aronson 2008), social interactions and the sense of belonging to a community can be considered as basic needs. Social existence has undergone some changes over recent years; the sense of community has been transferred to the online space. In this transformation, the importance of certain group building institutions is decreasing, thus, for example, traditional religious and rural communities are being eroded. At the same time, however, communal forms of life emerge in a new context (Wattanasuwan 1999, 2005, Atkin 2004, McEwen 2005).

In our study, we examine a specific form of the sense of community developed through symbolic consumption: the loyal fan base of music festivals. Music festivals are considered an increasingly important event in our country as well, the number of visitors in most of the festivals increases year by year, and the best-known festivals (Sziget, Volt, Sound, SZIN, Part, EFOTT) have become brands. They represent a community building power not only on a few given days of the year, as they are present among their fans due to their Facebook and Instagram sites almost every day. To demonstrate the size of their community, it is worth mentioning that if we considered the visitors of their Facebook sites as the “population” of a particular event, the Sziget would be the 2<sup>nd</sup> (about 470,000 persons), while the VOLT would be the 4<sup>th</sup> (about 170,000 persons) largest cities of Hungary. In this sense, brand loyalty and brand community can also be interpreted in the context of music festivals as in this understanding the fan base is a special community that is loyal to the music festival.

Our research aims to find an answer to the question how music festival loyalty can be explained by factors related to symbolic consumption, specifically: by self-image congruency (1) and by the psychological sense of a brand community (2).

## LITERATURE BASES, MODEL BUILDING

Brand communities (Muniz & O’Guinn 2001), brand subcultures (Schouten & McAlexander 1995), brand cults (Atkin 2004) and consumer tribes (Cova 1997), as the specific forms of consumer society, provide the psychological sense of a community through the symbolic act of consumption. The essence of these communities can be captured through the concept of symbolic consumption, according to which consumption is not only a functional, but also a symbolic interaction (Töröcsik 2011). The symbolic character of consumption here is manifested in an awareness of community among consumers developed by their brand choice (Muniz & O’Guinn 2001). As Mugleton and Weinzierl (2003) points out nowadays the subcultures are presented in such a fragmented way that it is hard to conceptualize the subculture itself. It should be underlined that not every brand provides the sense of belonging to a community, and it is thus practical to limit our research to the products that actually perform this role. Therefore, according to our approach, it is practical to focus on the brands the consumer are loyal too.

Brand loyalty traditionally was considered as a behavioral process that is rooted at satisfaction and results in repeated repurchase (Neal 1999, Oliver 1999). However this approach had several limitations (Reichheld 1996, 2000) and a more complex understanding arisen that conceptualized loyalty more than just a repeated purchase, as it *“implies that a consumer has some real preference for the brand”* (Mowen, Minor 2001, 212). The complex concept of loyalty covers both the behavioral (repeated purchase) and attitudinal (real preference and commitment) aspects of loyalty (Bandyopadhyay & Martell 2007). In our study we apply this complex concept and examine not just behavioral but also attitudinal aspects behind loyalty. The consumers who are loyal to a brand often feel the brand personality of the given brand (Sirgy 1982; Kressmann et al. 2006), and the other consumers of the brand (Sirgy et al. 2008) similar to their self-concept, moreover, the consumption of this brand gives them some sense of belonging to a group (Belk 1996, McEwen 2005, Rapaille 2006).

We consider self-image congruency model related to symbolic consumption as the theoretical framework of our study. Based on Sirgy et al. (2008, 1091) we interpret self-concept congruity as *„the match between consumers’ self-concept (actual self, ideal self, etc.) and the user image of*

a given product, store, sponsorship event, etc. *Self-congruity is commonly used to mean self-image congruence*". Examining the effects of self-concept congruity in the case of visiting music clubs, Goulding et al. (2002) found that if the image of a particular music club is congruent with an individual's self-concept, it has a positive influence on the sense of community with other visitors. This finding includes the other central concept of our study: the psychological sense of a brand community (PSBC), which refers to the phenomenon when the members of a community have a sense of community even without social interactions (Carlson et al. 2008). Correlations between self-concept congruency (1) and loyalty (2) have been proven by several studies (Kressmann et al. 2006, Sirgy et al. 2008, Prónay 2011), and we have also found examples for the existence of correlations between PSBC (3) and self-concept congruency (Kazár 2016). However, examining complex connections among these three concepts can be regarded novel. The central aim of our study was to identify relations among these concepts according to the following hypotheses:

Based on the above, we assumed that "self-image congruency – PSBC", and "self-image congruency – loyalty" relation pairs can also be verified in the case of music festivals. The more congruent an individual feels a particular festival with their self-concept, the more likely they will have a sense of connectedness with other festival visitors, and, in addition, the stronger attitudinal loyalty will characterize them, and the more likely they will re-attend the festival:

H1a: Self-image congruency has a positive effect on the psychological sense of a brand community.

H1b: Self-image congruency has a positive effect on attitudinal loyalty.

H1c: Self-image congruency has a positive effect on behavioral loyalty.

Behavioral loyalty (Bagozzi & Dholakia 2010, Scarpi 2010, Drengner et al. 2012), and attitudinal loyalty (Schouten & McAlexander 1995, Muniz & O'Guinn 2001, Carlson et al. 2008), both can be mentioned as an outcome of the psychological sense of a brand community. The more a festival visitor feels as a part of the community of the festival of a given brand, the more likely they will re-attend the event and develop loyalty towards the event:

H2a: The psychological sense of a brand community has a positive effect on attitudinal loyalty.

H2b: The psychological sense of a brand community has a positive effect on behavioral loyalty.

The connections between the attitudinal and behavioral elements of loyalty also need to be outlined in the case of the model. In the study, behavioral loyalty is understood as a re-attending intension, while attitudinal loyalty is seen as a commitment to the festival based on positive emotions. Attitudinal loyalty can influence behavioral loyalty in a positive way, as emotional commitment can be a motivation for re-purchasing intentions (Bloemer & Kasper 1995, Pritchard et al. 1999). The literature also includes examples where behavioral elements can be understood as outcomes of attitudinal elements in the case of music festivals (Lee et al. 2008, Grappi & Montanari 2011) and the attitude towards a music community can influence the behavior (Tófalvy et al. 2011). Based on this, the following hypothesis can be formulated:

H3: Attitudinal loyalty has a positive effect on behavioral loyalty.

## MEASUREMENT, METHODOLOGY

In the course of operationalizing the concepts included in the study, we relied on the literature review and we aimed to apply scales already validated in international research.

In the case of music festivals, *self-image congruency* is grasped by the extent of similarity of a particular festival visitor to the other festival visitors, as well as by the similarity of a festival visitor's taste in music to the music program of the festival, and by the similarity of a festival visitor's music style to the style of the festival. In the course of measurement, in the absence of articles on music festivals, we applied a one-dimensional approach. We measured self-image congruency with "similar to me" types of statements on the basis of studies on music consumption (Goulding et al. 2002, Larsen et al. 2009).

*Brand community* is formed by festival visitors who do not necessarily have social interactions, but there is a certain sense of connectedness related to other festival visitors. Based on all this, we used the psychological sense of a brand community (PSBC) variable in the model, and we applied the scale of Drengner et al. (2012) for its measurement.

We defined *attitudinal loyalty* as a positive attitude towards the festival and the preference of the festival to other festivals. We started out from Bloemer and Kasper's (1995) approach; however, the scale was used for tangible products by the

authors, thus we needed to modify the scale to be applicable to music festivals.

We defined *behavioral loyalty* as a re-attending intention related to the festival, which can be understood as an outcome of attitudinal loyalty (Bloemer & Kasper 1995, Pritchard et al. 1999). Understanding behavioral loyalty as a re-attending intention appeared in the model of Drengner et al. (2012), thus we applied the scale from their study for measurement.

The *questionnaire survey* was conducted in a popular music festival of Szeged, the Szegedi Ifjúsági Napok (SZIN) in August 2015. The questionnaires were completed between 25<sup>th</sup> August 2015 and 29<sup>th</sup> August 2015. As for a more specific time of completion, the interviewers surveyed the festival visitors between 2 pm and 7 pm each day. On the spot of the festival, eight interviewers conducted paper-based personal interviews in eight areas of equal size, thereby the effect of occasional incorrect completions by the festival visitors could be eliminated. Based on the map published by the festival organizers, several notable points (e.g. food and beverage outlets, exhibition or concert venues) could be separated within each territorial unit. As the first step of selecting the respondents, we randomly chose 3 points respectively within each territorial unit, and setting out from this point, every second festival visitor coming towards was approached. Every festival visitor had a chance to be involved in the sample in this way, resulting in a total of 707 respondents during the four days of the survey.

Testing the hypotheses requires the examination of the relations between latent variables, for which *PLS path analysis* can be applied (Hair et al. 2014), as the variables (indicators) cannot be considered normally distributed (also in the case of Kolmogorov-Smirnov and Shapiro-Wilk tests,  $p < 0.01$  for each variable). We applied SmartPLS 3 (Ringle et al. 2015) software for PLS path analysis.

## RESULTS

Regarding the composition of *respondents* according to gender, the proportion of men was 50.6 per cent, and the proportion of women was 49.4 per cent. As for permanent residence, the highest proportion (31.8 per cent) belonged to Csongrád County, followed by Pest County (19.9 per cent), Bács-Kiskun County (14.8 per cent) and Békés County (11.4 per cent). 15.0 per cent of the respondents gave other Hungarian counties and 7.2 per cent provided a foreign country/county as permanent residence. The majority of the visitors thus consisted of mostly Hungarian inhabitants in 2015. In terms of occupation, 45.1 per cent of the respondents do not work, 38.2 per cent have a permanent, full-time job, while 11.0 per cent have a student job. Examining the highest completed level of education, 25.8 per cent of the respondents have started tertiary education, an additional 24.5 per cent have completed tertiary education, and 24.9 per cent have a general certificate of secondary education. In terms of the respondents' age, 31.6 per cent are between 19 and 22, 25.7 per cent are between 12 and 18, 24.5 per cent are above 25 and the proportion of respondents between 23 and 25 is 18.2 per cent. The festival visitors thus mostly consist of young people under 25.

With regard to the results of the *outer (measurement) model*, we examined the reliability of the constructions with Cronbach's Alpha ( $>0.7$ ) indicator and CR indicator (composite reliability  $>0.7$ ), concerning which we find that criteria (Szűcs 2007, Hair et al. 2014) are fulfilled in the case of all four constructions (Table 1). For checking convergent validity, we considered standardized factor loadings ( $>0.5$ ), AVE (average variance extracted,  $>0.5$ ) indicators. Comparing minimal criterion values (Hair et al. 2014) to the indicators in Table 1, the existence of the four constructions can be verified.

**Table 1: Latent variables and their indicators in the quantitative research**

Latent variable (Cronbach's alpha, AVE, CR)	Item	Factor loading	Mean	Standard deviation
Self-concept congruency ( $\alpha=0.819$ AVE=0.728, CR=0.813)	The music program of the SZIN is similar to my taste in music.	0.809	3.699	1.052
	The visitors of the SZIN are similar to me.	0.842	3.579	1.041
	The style and atmosphere of the SZIN is congruent with my style.	0.906	3.858	0.991
PSBC ( $\alpha=0.853$ , AVE=0.694, CR=0.901)	Attending the SZIN provides a certain sense of community for me.	0.823	3.91	0.995
	The SZIN means a kind of connection point with other visitors.	0.806	3.799	1.007
	I feel a strong bond among the visitors of the SZIN.	0.864	3.156	1.135
	There is a strong sense of camaraderie between me and other SZIN visitors.	0.837	3.115	1.191
Attitudinal loyalty ( $\alpha=0.854$ , AVE=0.775, CR=0.912)	I feel a kind of attachment to the SZIN.	0.883	3.451	1.188
	The SZIN is of particular importance for me among festivals.	0.897	3.58	1.244
	I would be disappointed if I couldn't attend the SZIN.	0.859	3.769	1.268
Behavioral loyalty ( $\alpha=0.864$ , AVE=0.787, CR=0.917)	I'm planning to attend the next SZIN too.	0.907	18.4pr	1.042
	It's very likely that I will re-attend the festival.	0.902	4.205	1.043
	Despite one or two less pleasant experiences, I would re-attend the festival.	0.851	4.107	0.978

Source: own construction

For checking discriminant validity, HTMT ratio of correlations can be applied (Henseler et al. 2015, Kovács – Bodnár 2016), which is lower for each variable pair compared to the criterion value of 0.9. Based on the results of the outer model, the existence of latent variables can be proven; furthermore, the indicators related to the given latent variables represent the same phenomenon. After describing the result of the outer model, the next step is the evaluation of the inner model.

In terms of the results of the *inner (structural) model*, it should be noted that due to the missing values emerging related to "I don't know" responses selectable in the case of scale variables, 596 respondents could be taken into account (the missing values were not substituted by the average of their variables). In the course of running PLS path analysis, the number of iterations was five. Testing the significance of the path coefficients

was conducted with bootstrap algorithm (Hair et al. 2014), where the number of applied sub-samples was 5000, and individual sign change option was set to manage sign change. As a result of the bootstrap algorithm applied for testing the significance of each path it can be established that, with the exception of one path, there is a significant effect at a significance level of 5 percent for each path. The psychological sense of a brand community does not have a significant effect on behavioral loyalty ( $p=0.145$ ), thus it is practical to leave this path out of the model. After leaving out this path, we can establish that there is a significant effect in the case of each path (Table 2).

**Table 2: Testing the significance of path coefficients after leaving out PSBC → behavioral loyalty path**

Path	Path coefficient (original sample)	Path coefficient's mean (from bootstrap samples)	Standard error	t-value	p-value
PSBC -> Att. loyalty	0.543	0.544	0.035	15.475	8.44*10-53
A. loyalty -> Beh. loyalty	0.590	0.590	0.034	17.310	3.06*10-65
Self-congruity. -> PSBC	0.447	0.448	0.036	12.460	4.08*10-35
Self-congruity -> Att. loyalty	0.186	0.185	0.036	5.142	2.82*10-7
Self-congruity.-> Beh. loyalty	0.162	0.162	0.035	4.666	3.15*10-6

Source: own construction

In the final model developed by taking account of the significant effects, in terms of direct effects it can be established on the basis of the standardized path coefficients in Figure 1 – on each arrow – that there is a positive effect between the latent variables in the case of every pairing. The following statement can be formulated regarding standardized path coefficients ( $\beta$ ):

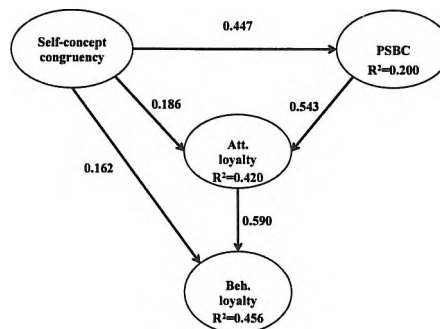
- Self-image congruency has a stronger effect on the psychological sense of a brand community

- (PSBC) ( $\beta=0.447$ ) compared to its effects on attitudinal loyalty ( $\beta=0.186$ ) or behavioral loyalty ( $\beta=0.162$ ).

- PSBC ( $\beta=0.534$ ) has a stronger effect on attitudinal loyalty compared to self-image congruency ( $\beta=0.186$ ).

- Attitudinal loyalty ( $\beta=0.590$ ) has a stronger effect on behavioral loyalty compared to self-image congruency ( $\beta=0.162$ ).

**Figure 1: The effect of self-concept congruency and the psychological sense of brand community on loyalty**



Source: own construction

Furthermore, based on the values in the ellipses in Figure 1, the total variances explained in the model can be regarded as medium. However, in the model it is worth mentioning the effect sizes between the variables based on the  $f^2$  indicator, which examines the change in the coefficient of determination of an endogenous variable by omitting a given exogenous variable (Hair et al. 2014).

**Table 3: Effect sizes between variables**

Path	$f^2$
PSBC -> Att. loyalty	0.407
Att. loyalty -> Beh. loyalty	0.522
Self-congruity -> PSBC	0.250
Self-congruity -> Att. loyalty	0.048
Self-congruity-> Beh. loyalty	0.039

Source: own construction

Based on Table 3, the effect of PSBC on attitudinal loyalty ( $f^2=0.407$ ), and the effect of attitudinal loyalty on behavioral loyalty ( $f^2=0.522$ ) can be considered significant. Furthermore, in the case of the effect of self-image congruency on PSBC ( $f^2=0.250$ ), the effect is medium. Thus based on the  $f^2$  indicators, a self-image congruency – PSBC – attitudinal loyalty – behavioral loyalty path can be highlighted.

On the basis of the significant effects, with the exception of Hypothesis 2b, every hypothesis can be accepted; a direct effect of the psychological sense of a brand community on behavioral loyalty cannot be verified, but there is an indirect effect through attitudinal loyalty.

## CONCLUSIONS

Our research aimed to highlight how self-image congruency and the psychological sense of a brand community influence attitudinal loyalty towards music festivals and re-attending intentions. Our approach counts as novel not only because we have approached the topics of the sense of

community and loyalty through the specific example of music festivals, but also because we have put the 3 concepts analyzed in this topic – namely self-image congruency (1), loyalty (2) , psychological sense of a brand community (3) – in a new and complex context. The literature has already provided some examples of examining “self-image congruency – loyalty”, or “self-image congruency – psychological sense of a brand community” correlation pairs, but connecting these three concepts in one model is a novel result.

According to our research findings, these concepts are interconnected, what is more, they constitute a relatively evident, successive relation. This pronounced “main path” is interesting since it overwrites the idea that everything is connected to everything in the case of these factors, as there is a logical order in this effect mechanism. According to this, self-image congruency has a positive effect on the psychological sense of a brand community, which has a positive effect on attitudinal loyalty, which has a positive effect on behavioral loyalty. We can interpret this as a process that encompasses the following three steps: an individual develops a certain sense of community with the audience of the festival congruent with the individual’s self-concept (1), which contributes to forming emotional bonds towards the festival (2), which makes them gladly re-attend the festival (3).

The practical importance of the results lies in that not only good programs and well-known performers can be the key to success in the case of a music festival, but it is much rather the ability to develop a clear brand image and effectively mobilize the congruent community. As a consequence, instead of the general “one-size-fits-all” type of events, it may be much more efficient to build a loyal audience base through events that are better positioned and have a more pronounced image, about which a consumer can decide more easily to what extent it is congruent with their own self-concept. The resulting loyal audience is essential to popularize new festivals, as well as for the long-term success of already existing festivals.



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# The possibilities of text mining in the examination of the local society of the Ormánság region<sup>1</sup>

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## THE AIMS OF THE PAPER

This paper aims to represent the background of the consumer behaviour in families from underprivileged strata living in small settlements of the Ormánság region.

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## METHODOLOGY

Our diagnoses are based on interviews with mayors. We use text mining methods for deeper analysis of the interviews and present results with different visualization techniques. With the help of comparative word clouds, we performed the support of the examination of settlement clusters created through using the quantitative data.

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## MOST IMPORTANT RESULTS

According to our experimental work, the method is suitable for making the results of interview research more targeted, sophisticated and to demonstrate the results. Our experiences gathered in the course of the research indicated the importance of the size of the corpus, and the necessity of using specific knowledge when supporting sociological research with text mining.

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## RECOMMENDATIONS

Ormánság micro region (South Transdanubia, Hungary) is characterized by a frittered settlement structure, low economic figures, and disadvantageous social processes. Adult members of families living in the culture of poverty are not able to deliver the patterns and motivation for social and economic advancement for their children, neither the values or norms for the conventional organizing of everyday life. Illogical consumer habits (“Carpe diem” mentality, commercial credit, purchasing status symbols etc.) are deepening the social gap and segregation and confining the accidental chances for self-care. Complex supporting system is necessary with the elements of labour market incentives, consulting, mentoring and development of competencies.

*Keywords:* culture of poverty, data visualization, text mining, underclass

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## INTRODUCTION

The subjects of the analysed interviews were the mayors of Ormánság, who were asked about the problems and opportunities of their settlements. The material of the 25 interviews prepared in 2010-12 provides insights into the state of the local communities, their cultural life and the consumption behaviour of the population, in addition to a general description of the villages. Our main questions were: How can the heterogeneity of the settlements, settlement clusters be detected in a uniformly disadvantaged region? Can text mining be used for the characterization of categories identified on the basis of statistical data? Can the consuming characteristics typical for each settlement category be presented with the help of text mining? Can text mining support the qualitative interview method through the results of the processing the textures concerning the villages?

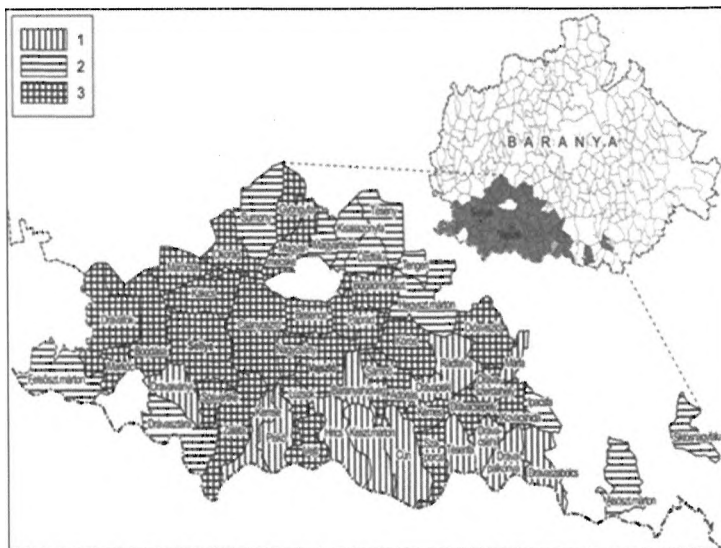
The groups of villages were created on the basis of hard indicators characteristic for the settlements, thus sorting them into categories of development (Ragadics 2015). The comparison of thematically corresponding text sections belonging to the separate blocks was carried out with the method of text mining. We used a self-created Python programme for processing the corpus created from

the interviews. We demonstrate our results with different types of word cloud presentation methods, including the comparative word cloud used at the examination of the settlement groups. We support the results from the conventional processing of the interviews with the help of visualization.

## VILLAGES IN THE ORMÁNSÁG REGION

The historic micro region of Ormánság is located in the south of Baranya county, on the floodplains of the Drava. The bordering of the area can mainly be defined on the basis of its ethnographic characteristics: traditionally, 45 Calvinist Hungarian villages were listed in the region (compare with Kiss 1937). Ormánság – demonstrating the ailment of the Hungarian society – has been in the focus of scientific interest on several occasions. First, it was in the focus in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century due to the birth control leading to significant economic advantages, and in the second half of that century, due to the large increase of the proportion of the Roma population. Today, economic and social problems have become interlinked, and, crossing the borders of the region, have created a continuous crisis area.

Figure 1: The map of Ormánság



Source: own construction

Legend: 1 –The settlements of the historic Ormánság (Kiss Géza 1937); 2 – Settlements involved in the research; 3 – The settlements of the historic Ormánság and the settlements involved in the research

The traditionally closed border region lies far from the hubs of development. The local social care system is underdeveloped and deteriorating, transportation is complicated due to the dispersed structure of the area. The number of local workplaces has dropped dramatically following the change of the regime, and the opportunities of communing have become limited as well. The structure of village societies has eroded: the educated and young residents have moved away, the proportion of disadvantaged population has increased, and ethnical segregation is high (Ladányi & Virág 2009). However, the fate of small settlements is different depending on their features, opportunities and social conditions. The extent of the local underclass<sup>2</sup> is a key factor concerning the future of the villages.

### ***Ormánság – Local societies of deprived consumers***

In addition to the above indicators, another significant factor of differentiation – in connection with the trends of migration due to negative causes – are the composition, quality, demographic characteristics and life opportunities of the population. By opportunities, in a consumer society we primarily mean the ability to access services and consumer goods: *"In a consumer society, a 'normal life' is the life of consumers"* (Bauman 2004, 38). Even for groups with low, irregular income the desire for possessing certain devices (e.g. smartphones) or luxury goods (e.g. well-known alcohol and tobacco products) is given as a norm. Veblen describes this phenomena as the presentation of „decency”: *"No class of society, not even the most abjectly poor, foregoes all customary conspicuous consumption. The last items of this category of consumption are not given up except under stress of direct necessity"* (Veblen 1899/2001, 85)

The consumer habits of those living in permanent poverty – based on the interviews – correspond to the „culture of poverty” phenomenon described by Oscar Lewis (1966). Individuals and families who occasionally receive money but otherwise experience permanent poverty react with a strong consumer compensation, complying with the challenges of consumer values. Instead of a methodical budget management, in their case the rapid outflow of income can be observed. This behaviour makes recovery from poverty impossible and

consolidates the disadvantaged condition: *"People in a culture of poverty produce little wealth and receive little in return. Chronic unemployment and underemployment, low wages, lack of property, lack of savings, absence of food reserves in the home and chronic shortage of cash imprison the family and the individual in a vicious circle"* (Lewis 1966, 21).

Permanent unemployment leads to the significant increase of spare time in the world of lagging small settlements. Permanent inactivity deteriorates skills, undermines the motivation levels of the affected groups, decreases the skill of self-care and increases vulnerability. In addition, it results in severe frustration. Spare time is the time for consumption, and those living in poverty are unable to use this endless free time in accordance with the requirements of consumer values (Bauman 2004).

Even the low, hard-earned income flows out from the villages of Ormánság. This is facilitated by the mobile-vendors who appeared after the degradation of local retail trade, by the local governments organising shopping trips to nearby hypermarkets and taxing their own entrepreneurs. The culture of poverty facilitates this process. Complex training, the conscious development of the self-care skills would be necessary to break the vicious circles.

Several dozens of interviews were performed in the course of the research of the local society of Ormánság (Ragadics 2015). Currently the digital version of 25 interviews is available, where the interviews are organised along seven questions. The interviews were typically made with the leaders of the settlements. By using the tools of text mining we looked for a possibility of supporting the analysis of the texts and the clear presentation of the results.

### **TEXT MINING**

Due to the availability of a large quantity of textual contents digitally, text mining is becoming increasingly widespread. Through the development of the technology, of algorithms, the mechanical analysis of the information contained by the text has become available for the experts of social sciences. The primary aim of text mining is to search for patterns using unstructured data: documents, articles, text flows, news, notes, products of social networks (short texts), multimedia contents. (Creese 2004)

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<sup>2</sup> A status under the level of society, outside the structure of society, permanent, lifelong exclusion inherited from generation to generation (Wilson 1987).

Fan et al. (2005) provide a possible definition of text mining saying that it is the investigation of new, previously unknown information with computers, through automatically obtaining information from various written sources. As opposed to numerical data, in case of text-based inputs dependency on language is a real problem, as the texts have been written in a natural language (e.g. in Hungarian, English). In order to tackle this problem, semantic and taxonomic examinations of the input can constitute an essential element of text mining. We did not perform such examinations in our current study.

### The fields of text mining

The primary aim of text mining is the analysis of the information, and the secondary aim is to carry out the search. Text mining provides an opportunity to look behind the information: to drill, analyse, compress and, through these, to support decision-making. These aims are facilitated by several software and hardware, whose development has enabled the examination of data of increasingly wider sources. These software and algorithms

mainly focus on learning from the text and from various data from other sources.

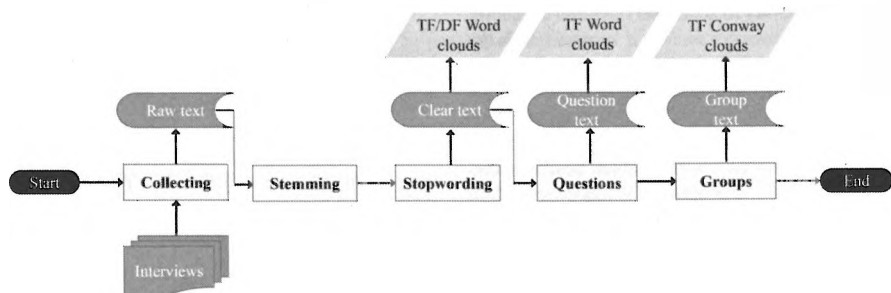
Textual data can be defined as the mass of letters and words, however, for deep examination the knowledge of semantics can be necessary. In special areas (medical databases, examination of the web) or when analysing natural languages, semantic examinations have an important role, especially in the case of obtaining data, through which the secondary meaning of the text can also be obtained (Aggarwal & Zhai 2012).

In the typical future directions of usage and research, due to the huge increase in the quantity of textual data, the development of new methods is expected. With the use of interdisciplinary data, text mining can be the bridge between researcher groups working in different areas of science.

## THE APPLIED TEXT MINING PROCESS

Figure 2 shows the process of text mining applied in the research.

Figure 2: Process flow of our method



Source: own construction

The prerequisite of text mining is an existing text base, which can be analysed after various steps of preprocessing and purification. In the first step, it is necessary to gather the text base that will be the subject of the analysis, which, in the case of the present research, was the digitalised text material of the sociological interviews previously prepared in the Ormánság region. The raw corpus resulting from this step was the basis of further processing. The next step we performed on the raw corpus was to purify it from incomplete, incorrect data. This stage requires significant human labour, especially due to the fact that this activity can

only be performed with the help of an expert proficient in the topic. The sociologist expert participating in the research created a new version of the corpus especially relevant to the given domain by removing the parts irrelevant to the content, while the main text does not suffer any loss of information concerning its content. This stage also included a significant step which is essential in the case of the Hungarian language: the examination of the character encoding of the digitalized documents. In the case of the Hungarian language checking the encoding forms used for the correct presentation of the accented letters (e.g. ISO-8859-2) and the

avoidance of anomalies resulting from encoding conversions during the processing of the text are of special importance. As a result, a textual corpus suitable for mechanical processing was created.

In the first step of the stage supported by computers, with the help of tokenization, as opposed to breaking it down into sentences which happens in natural languages, we created smaller elemental units which can relatively clearly be determined in texts. In the case of the present research, these units were individual words. The group of tokens, that is, character series of identical content are called types, which are the components of the dictionary created from the corpus. Language-specific solutions have been developed for the performance of the task (Tikk 2007). In the present research, we carried out the automatic tokenization with the help of the Hungarian dictionaries and algorithms of the Hunspell programme package. As a result of breaking down the text down into words, the units that do not carry any content information became visible, and were removed from the text through the step of removing stop words. As a result, the size of the corpus to be analysed can be reduced significantly. The further reduction of the size without loss of information can be solved through stemming. Its aim is to trace back the modified versions (inflection, suffixes) of the words identified (tokenized) in the corpus to their stems, while its aim is to reduce the vector space, as the identical words are contracted in a common canonical form pl. *büszkeség / büszkék / büszkén* → *büszke*.

The scale of reduction is different depending on the language, the grammatical structure of the given language: in the case of the Hungarian language it can be up to 90%, as opposed to the 50% value of the English language (Tikk 2007). The result of stemming, as opposed to linguistic lemmatization, is not always a meaningful stem form. Various methods of stemming are known (e.g. NLTK Snowball, Hunmorph). In the present research the stemming algorithm for Hungarian language of the Hunspell programme package was used.

The main challenge of analysing texts lies in the fact that documents created in human (natural) languages can only be processed with a computer, that is, by converting the text into an artificial language. Documents can be represented through three, fundamentally different approaches: set theory, algebraic, probability. In the case of the set theory approach, the similarity of documents is approached through set operations, in the algebraic approach it happens through matrix operations, while in the case of the probability approach, it is performed through probability estimations (Tikk

2007). In the case of the present research the similarity (distance/proximity) of the documents could be determined with the help of the vector space model created through the algebraic approach. The basis of the model is the vocabulary of the examined documents, while the level of their similarity lies in the extent of the overlapping of this vocabulary.

That is, if  $D$ , where vector  $D$  is identical to the document collection of our corpus, in which the  $d$  elements refer to the individual documents. In the vector space, we represent the individual documents with the vector created from the words contained in the documents,  $A$ , where vector  $d$  consists of  $M$  number of words of document  $i$  (the frequency of those words). We can summarize the corpus compiled from the documents with the help of the Term Document Matrix (TDM).

$$D = \begin{bmatrix} d_{11} & d_{12} & \dots & d_{1N} \\ d_{21} & & & A_{2N} \\ \vdots & & & \vdots \\ A_{M1} & A_{M2} & \dots & A_{MN} \end{bmatrix}$$

In the  $D$  TDM matrix the number of the lines corresponds to the number of unique words ( $M$ ), while the number of columns is identical to the number of documents constituting the corpus ( $N$ ). The element of the TDM matrix contains the relevance of word  $i$  in document  $j$ . In the TDM matrix the position of the words within the document is lost, thus this technique is also called “bag of words” model (Tikk 2007).

### Visualizing text mining results

The wide-spread solution for the presentation of text mining results are word clouds, which enable the concise, compact visualization of the information included in the texts and the data connected to them. When the text is processed, the word clouds created from the natural text present the words most typical for the text or appearing most frequently therein.

The word cloud was first applied in the work of Stanley Milgram in the mid-1970s, used for a presentation based on quantitative values connected to words (Milgram & Jodelet 1976). The computerised support and presentation of word clouds became wide-spread from the second half of the 1990s, and this technique has become part of today’s data visualization (Viégas & Wattenberg 2008). During the past years, various solutions have been developed, the most significant are the



following: Wordle (Feinberg et al. 2009), Prefix (Burch et al. 2013), SparkClouds (Carpendale et al. 2010). The shortcoming of the word clouds that can be considered conventional is that they are only suitable for the presentation of one single corpus, but are unable to present further background information. The comparative word cloud was created for the simultaneous examination of several corpuses, and also provides a more comprehensive image of the differences and similarities of two corpuses.

We applied two techniques in our research: conventional word clouds and comparative word clouds. The combination of these two techniques and their application in the characterisation of clusters was developed by Kruzslicz and colleagues. In their method, the scale of separateness of two document clusters is determined by the quality of individual words and the „butterfly shape” of words concentrated on the two edges, which is visualized with a comparative word cloud. The cohesion of the clusters is expressed by the proportion and position of large- and small-sized words. Thus, we can receive a visual confirmation of the extent the objects included in the two clusters are grouped around each concept. The method determining the quality of clustering is based exactly on this observation (Kruzslicz et al. 2016). Process of the cluster evaluation through labelling, applied in our research is the following:

1. Clustering the objects which are the settlement groups created in a previous research on the basis of quantitative data.
2. Assigning related documents, that is, the interviews performed in the settlements, to the objects.
3. The weighted list of the potential labels of the document sets assigned to the clusters, which are based on the TDM matrixes created from the corpuses.

4. Preparing comparative word cloud from the words of the labels by cluster pairs.
5. Forming an opinion concerning the delimitation and definiteness of each cluster with the help of comparative word clouds.

## RESULTS

In our research, we carried out three different examinations on our corpus containing the text of the interviews. In the first step we generated Term Frequency (TF)/Document Frequency (DF) word clouds for the entire corpus, that is, for all of the interviews, then with the help of TF word clouds generated from the seven corpuses created through summarising the interview by questions, we attempted to drill deeper in order to explore hidden information in the responses, and finally, through the text mining analysis of the interviews assigned to the clusters (settlement groups) created by a sociologist expert in a previous research, we aspired to provide a more accurate description of the clusters.

### Base statistics

The 25 interviews involved in the corpus were organised along seven questions, to which responses of various sizes (length) were given. The text mining analysis of the responses given to the questions is determined by the size of the available text material. Table 1 shows the heterogeneous distribution of the size of the responses, ranging from 14 characters (question 3) to 4813 characters (question 1). Thus, it was not possible to analyse the questions for each interview, however, by contracting the responses of the interview questions, the aggregated text content of the seven questions made the examination possible.

**Table 1: Statistics of interview question's answers in numbers of characters**

Question ID	Question texts	Avg. Length	Min. length	Max. length
1	Introduction of village	1043	113	4813
2	Relations to settlements	749	98	3482
3	Local community	1278	14	3732
4	Local traditions	868	174	3332
5	Local opinion leaders	427	65	1573
6	Plans for the future	1160	147	3619
7	Consumption	490	162	2864

Source: own calculation

The examined settlements were divided into three groups on the basis of a number of indicators<sup>3</sup>. The first group indicates a high level of population decline (1990-2011), low qualification, high unemployment and crime rates, and the stronger presence of the Roma population. The second represents the mid-range in Ormánság. The third group shows lower than average population decline, higher employment and qualifications and lower crime rate and a lower proportion of the Roma population. For the appropriate interpretation of the above, a number of factors must be taken into consideration:

1. The absence of population decline does not necessarily mean a stable, developing society, in the slums of the poor a population increase was observed in the recent period.
2. A low level of education can indicate a high number of children.
3. The high unemployment rate can indicate a high rate of inactive people.
4. Criminal statistics only include the reported crimes, legal awareness and the proportion of using police assistance can be lower in the case of the vulnerable population.
5. Belonging to the Roma population is based on self-declaration, willingness to response is uncertain, and the proportion of refusing to admit a Roma identity is high.

6. The two largest settlements of the Ormánság – in order to enable the easier comparison of the villages – were not included in the sample.

On the basis of the above factors, the micro centres of the Ormánság become visible, such as Drávafok and Kémes, which have above-average population and several local institutions (e.g. schools), in addition to some small settlements of more favourable social structure. The villages in the worst situation, thus obtaining low scores, included e.g. Kórós, Marócsa, Okorág, Ózdfalu and Sumony. The group of villages representing the middle level includes a wider range of settlements with mixed indicators.

Table 2 shows the statistics of the interview contents assigned to the triple cluster group created through the expert's grouping on the basis of this settlement typology. The heterogeneous composition of the text base of the three groups can be observed, which forecasts the limitations of the text mining support of cluster evaluation concerning each pair of groups. The significantly low average length of the interviews of group 1 makes examination with comparative word clouds more difficult, while in the case of the other two groups the average length of the interviews makes the examination easier.

**Table 2: Statistics of interviews by village groups**

Group ID	Villages	Avg. length	Min. length	Max. length
1	Drávafok, Drávasztára, Kémes, Drávacsépe	3444	1426	6119
2	Besence, Hegyszentmárton, Ipacsfa, Sósvertike, Adorjás, Diósviszló, Drávaszerdahely, Nagycsány, Páprád, Sámod, Sumony, Szaporca, Tengeri, Tésény	5884	2350	13821
3	Kákics, Marócsa, Ózdfalu, Cún, Kórós, Lúzsok, Okorág, Ózdfalu, Vejti	7036	1259	18023

Source: own calculation

<sup>3</sup> For further details, see Ragadics 2015.

A common text base was created by contracting the responses given to the questions. In this text corpus, with the help of the Term Frequency (TF) value, those frequent words can be identified whose occurrence is high in the corpus, which, however may mean that the words occurred frequently within one interview, while did not occur in the other interviews. With the help of this method, it is impossible to identify the problems affecting the majority of the settlements, that is, to identify the words that occurred in several interviews. The calculation of Document Frequency (DF) provides a solution to this problem, where the frequent words are those whose occurrence is high

in the documents comprising the corpus, that is, they occur in several interviews. Thus, it can be said that these words refer to a significant, recurring problem or topic. When examining Figure 3, it can be stated that the word „önkormányzat” (local government) occurs several times (TF) and in several places (DF) thus it can be identified as a significant issue, however, the lower occurrence (TF) and higher DF value of the word „gyerek” (child) refers to an even more significant problem source. Due to the small size of the corpus, no significant differences can be identified in the results of the two ways of examination.

Figure 3: Word clouds of our whole corpus



Source: own design

### Examining responses to the questions

With the contraction of responses given to the questions, seven text bases were created for the seven questions. We received the results presented on Figure 4 through a Term Frequency-based word

cloud representation concerning the seven text materials. In the responses given to the questions the size of the words occurring with higher frequency is larger, while with the decrease of frequency, the size of the words also decreases.

Figure 4: Term Frequencies word cloud of question's answers



Source: own design

Through studying the word clouds, the following conclusions can be drawn, presented in Table 3.

**Table 3: Textual analysis of the responses given to the questions**

Question ID	Question texts	Frequent words
1	Introduction of village	idős – segély – cigány – vég
2	Relations to settlements	ház – ivás – akar/tud – elmegey
3	Local community	dolog – rég – mer – egymás – irigység
4	Local traditions	hagyomány – bál – falunap – tud – nyugdíjas
5	Local opinion leaders	képviselő – hallgat – csinál – hisz
6	Plans for the future	pályázat – kormányzat – önerő – munka
7	Consumption	vállalkozó – hitel – kap – ünnepe / TESCO / kocsmá

Source: own compilation

The results of the text mining examination of the interview extracts grouped around the seven topics provide an insight of the situation of the examined small settlements. When we asked mayors to describe their settlements, statements concerning aging, marginality appeared in high numbers. They deemed it important to mention the high number of people living on benefits and the high proportion of the Roma population. This negative attitude appears in the relationship of the residents and the village. From the point of view of mayors, only those residents remain in the settlements who are unable to leave. It is difficult to sell residential homes, and it makes moving to more developed areas impossible. The most serious problem according to settlement leaders is the fragmentation, disintegration of local society and the lack of a local community. In the centre of this block of questions is the expressions „irigység” (envy). Local traditions and culture is appropriately reflected by the words „bál” (ball), „falunap” (village festival), „nyugdíjas” (pensioner) appearing in the word cloud. The elderly are the most active class in terms of preserving traditions, as there are pensioners’ clubs in several settlements. In settlements possessing rich cultural values, today only a very small group of residents is connected to the heritage of the Ormánság (in several settlements these customs have completely disappeared). Local culture manifests itself in the

village festival and the periodically organised balls. The population is characterised by a significant passivity, the majority of the locals are primarily attracted to the programmes by food, drink and music. Key expressions indicating activity only appear in the case of the local government representatives considered to be opinion leaders. The future of the settlements is determined by the scale of external help. This is the reason why this group of questions contain the words “kormányzat” (government) and „pályázat” (tender) and the concept of „önerő” (own contribution) which means a serious burden. The expressions appearing in the questions concerning consumption also demonstrate the characteristics connected to disadvantaged consumers very effectively: loan, as the basis of consumption, aid packages distributed at holidays, and, in addition to food donation, the name of the pub and that of a hypermarket appeared in the word cloud.

### *Examining village groups*

We applied the method on the corpuses created from the groups of interviews divided by the expert. The textual transcript of the interviews performed in the settlements divided into three clusters was assigned as documents to the groups, thus we received three groups of documents. Thereafter the list of word frequency (TF) of the potential labels

which was represented through a word cloud. Then the comparative word cloud of the document groups was prepared. The comparative word cloud created from the 100 common words shows the common words occurring the pairs of document groups, placing those words on the peripheries which occur in higher frequency in one or the other document group. The shift of the vertical axis determined by the set of words in the right or left direction

indicates the distribution of the quantity of the entire set of words belonging to the document group.

Figure 5 shows the comparative word clouds of the cluster pairs. Groups 1 and 2, as well as 1 and 3 are less distinguishable from each other on the basis of their text content. The lack of the butterfly shape cannot support the group division or assist the characterisation of these groups with extra information.

Figure 5: Comparative word cloud of village groups



Source: own design

As opposed to the two groups mentioned above, in the case of the cluster pair 2-3, the formation of butterflies is more pronounced, thus the two clusters are more distinguishable. The Conway word cloud (middle part) of group 3 is about work and activity, which is not only indicated by the word „dolog” (task) clearly belonging to group 3 among common words, but also the words „terv” (plan), „elmegey” (go away) and „csinál” (do) located on the edge of the butterfly’s wing, thus more typical for group 3. However, these words can also be found in group 2 as well, but in lower frequency. The words of outstanding frequency located on the right edge of the figure, contained only in the word cloud of group 3: „környezet” (environment), „nép” (population), „program”, also strengthen the connection with acts, activity. As opposed to this, the Conway word cloud, located in the middle of the figure, contains the words more often present in group 2, bearing a passive connotation: „próbál” (try), „pályázat” (tender), „kap” (receive), which are strengthened by the words only appearing in group 2, located on the left edge of the diagram: „enged” (let), „dolgozni” (work), „mindegy” (just the same).

To sum up, on the basis of the text of the interviews, these two groups can be characterised in separate ways: group 3 shows a rather active attitude, while group 2 shows a rather passive one, however, the central element of both groups is the activity carried out by the „család” (family), „polgármester” (mayor) and the „közösség” (community).

### Future work

Several problems were identified during the examination. The majority of these are related to the difficulties of processing concerning the Hungarian language (e.g. using a Hungarian sentiment dictionary), while others require the further sophistication of the examination method (the examination of n-grams for the identification of negative meanings). Through the analysis of the word clouds, even in the case of this small-sized corpus it can be seen that with the use of topic-specific dictionaries (in order to improve stop wording) the size of our vector space can be further decreased without a loss of information.

## SUMMARY

On the whole, it can be said that word mining applied as a complement to qualitative interview examination can provide the analyst with a form of quantitative confirmation. Naturally it does not promote the deep interpretation of the text, it does not replace in-depth interview techniques, but it can make the analytic work more sophisticated and – by indicating the appropriate key expressions – focuses it on the essential content. Besides, it presents the examined scope of issues in an understandable way. Contrasting the different settlement groups yielded less success. The important concepts characterizing the given cluster also appear in this comparison, however the description of the character of the different village groups is not expressive, and it does not converge with the other results of the research. A more accurate work can possibly be carried out with a larger text and the detection of individual collocations. The key expressions only appearing in the case of one or the other settlement type can provide important, useful information complementing the technique of in-depth interviews. The further exploration of the possibilities of applying text mining in social science requires further work and interdisciplinary cooperation.

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# Gastronomy as a new way of exploring tourism destinations, particularly in the case of Budapest

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## THE AIMS OF THE PAPER

Budapest is already among the rising stars of the European capitals. Its reasons can be commonly known: the changing motivations of cultural tourism, among which gastronomy, as well as design can be mentioned, and the Hungarian capital can hold both important values. Budapest was nominated as a Creative City of Design by UNESCO and has become the favorite place for different gastronomy bloggers in the recent years. Gastronomy has an important role in tourism. The culture of food and beverage has come in the spotlight through gastronomic tourism due to nations and the gastronomic features of destinations. Millions of tourists return to a destination to taste the traditional flavors or to feel the place and discover the destination. After discussing the cultural, creative and gastronomy (or / and culinary tourism) of Budapest, the main issue is the cultural tourism of Budapest, followed by the results of a new niche research regarding the motivations of international cultural tourists arriving in Hungary, and Budapest. Our main task is to realize how tourists perceive Budapest and to learn what are the main activities, which arise their interest.

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## METHODOLOGY

In our quantitative research 307 international travelers were asked about their attitudes regarding lifestyle, activities during their travels, and their main motivation to visit Budapest, with a specific focus of gastronomy, as an important new trend of cultural and creative tourism, and a deep understanding of culture during visiting a destination.

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## MOST IMPORTANT RESULTS

According to the results, the gastronomy of Budapest is among the most important attractions as well as the activities taken by the tourists, though the local flavors are not as popular as expected.

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## RECOMMENDATIONS

There is a great revolution of gastronomy in Budapest, even with renewing the Hungarian specialties, but more communication and further product development are needed to make these changes accepted by the market.

*Keywords:* cultural tourism, creative tourism, gastronomy tourism, Budapest

## INTRODUCTION

Gastronomic tourism belongs to unique experience and it has an increasingly important role in case of Budapest. This fact is supported by the international echo. According to the Lonely Planet (2015) "... A visit to Hungary is always a gastronomic discovery and has become more of an adventure than ever." In this article six aspects are concluded which are specific for the Hungarian cuisine and advantageous if travelers know the ubiquitous seasoning ingredients (paprika), soup as a starter, a meaty word, vegetables for all seasons, sweet stuff (special pancakes), snacks on the hoof (like sausage). Further important fact is that the Global Trend Report (2015) emphasizes District VII, one of the gastronomy hubs of Budapest, as one of Europe's top hipster destinations. Among later awards we should highlight that UNWTO (2017) introduces Hungary as an outstanding example of gastronomy tourism. Hungary, especially Budapest, has become a significant "gastronomy destination" in Europe, in the mirror of four one Michelin-star restaurants of Budapest and the outstanding first position on the Bocuse d'Or European chefcompetition in 2016. The foodie bloggers and vloggers also have a major impact on a destination's life. They positively influence to visit a tourism destination according to Chen et al. (2014). Among them Donal Skehan (YouTube 2015) could be mentioned who is a YouTube vlogger from Great Britain with more than 520.000 followers on his channel. He tastes local/traditional foods and introduces Budapest as an important gastronomy hotspot in his channel. In our article the main objective is to see all these award winning performances of Budapest from demand-side, so as to analyze the main motivations of international tourists regarding gastronomy with a particular focus of different generations, regarding the fact that since 2009 (Nyúl & Ördög 2009) there has not been a research about the travel and gastronomic habits of international tourists in Budapest.

## DEFINING GASTRONOMY TOURISM

Gastronomy has an important role in tourism, according to Quan and Wang (2004): the food costs may exceed more than one third of the total tourist expenditure, this is the reason why gastronomic tourism could vivify. Nevertheless, there is a sense of intracellular cooperation between producers, catering professionals and winemakers,

breweries which also contribute to the development of gastronomic tourism in a destination which means that gastronomy could be a marketing tool to promote the destination culture and its tourism as well (Gyimóthy 1999, Fehér et al. 2010). The other aspect is that gastronomy has a cultural side which is as interesting as the economic side, because food is a determinative part of each culture. Gastronomic culture is a key factor in gastronomy and beside this fact the cultural behavior has a major impact on the willingness to taste the local specialties. Su (2015) focuses on this cultural behavior in her study and gives an example of the importance of gastronomic culture. Based on it, Western tourists have more willingness to try new exotic food unlike Asian tourists. Eating is a physical need, but gastronomy demand has become a developing tourism sector, which is going to be a leisure time activity. It is going to be a motivation for tourists to visit an area only for a new cultural and gastronomic experience, which belongs to the destination (Sormaz et al. 2015). On the other hand gastronomy tourism could be defined as a memorable experience during travel, according to Kiss et al. (2017).

Most of the synonyms of gastronomic tourism are known as culinary tourism, cuisine tourism, food tourism, gourmet tourism and nowadays one of the best-known expressions is street food. In a scientific way, we have to separate these concepts and need to explain the differences between them. The gastronomic explanations mentioned above are crucial to understand the development of a destination.

Kivela and Crofts (2006) define the meaning of gastronomy, which consists of several in-related branches such as art and science, which have a direct relation with chemistry, literature, biology, geology, history, music, philosophy, psychology, sociology, medicine, nutrition, and agriculture.

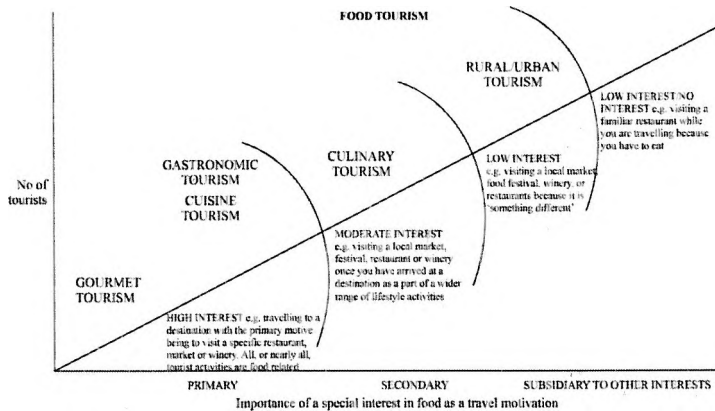
Hall and Sharples (2003) help to understand the variety of food tourism, which is also a guideline for researchers in gastronomy. They concentrated on food and beverage as a motivation factor (primary, secondary, subsidiary or no interest at all), in the side of the travelers when he created that theory. The best-known definition for food tourism comes from Hall and Sharples (2003) who highlighted that food tourism could be defined by visiting and tasting primary and secondary by food producers, food festivals, restaurants and specific locations, which have attributes of regional specialists where food is the primary motivating factor to travel. The UNESCO (2012) is complementing this notion of food tourism that it is an experiential journey, which includes the experimentation,



learning from different cultures and the understanding of the qualities or attributes related to tourism

products, as well as culinary specialties produced in that region through its consumption in its research.

Figure 1: Variety of food tourism based on the interest of food and beverage



Source: Hall & Sharples 2003, 11

To define culinary tourism from the side of a destination and culture the most relevant determination comes from the Canadian Government (2010) in its four-year culinary tourism strategy and action plan from 2011 to 2015. It refers to gastronomy as a unique selling point (USP) of the destination (Ontario Culinary Tourism Alliance 2014): „Culinary tourism includes any tourism experience in which one learns about, appreciates, and/or consumes food and drink that reflects the local, regional, or national cuisine, heritage, culture, tradition or culinary techniques.” (The Canadian Government 2010, 8)

There is another appropriate definition which comes from Long (1998, 45), it is also related to the destination. According to him, culinary tourism is “the materiality of food of a destination that helps to ground the experience for tourists, helping them to relate it to their everyday lives.” Based on both determinations above, culinary tourists have a higher interest in tasting and experiencing the local authentic food and beverage of a destination.

The well-known researchers in the science of gastronomy tourism, Hall and Sharples (2008) define the notion of gourmet tourism. These tourists show high interest for food and wine and this is the primary motivation to visit a specific food event or farmers’ market and their activities are food related. Based on this definition, gourmet tourists show the most willingness to travel to a destination only to taste the local cuisine.

The expression of street food has come into the spotlight, which is also important on the side of destination. This expression represents below a new experience and relationship with the local area (Privitera & Nesci 2015). Street foods are described as “...ready-to-eat foods and beverages prepared and sold by vendors or hawkers especially in streets and other similar public places.” The study remark street food is a part of the urban food consumption, supports local food producers (FAO 2008,19).

Based on the above definitions we could summarize that gastronomy tourism is a prominent segment in tourism in the viewpoints of culture and destination. All definitions mentioned the importance of local food and food-related experience, also it is a learning procedure to understand and discover other cultures and destinations. Nevertheless, the authentic experience is also a significant viewpoint for today’s travelers. In conclusion, we could mention that gastronomy is a niche segment in tourism, which is capable of offering authentic experience to travelers.

## GENERATION AND GASTRONOMY TOURISM

### Generation-theory and tourism

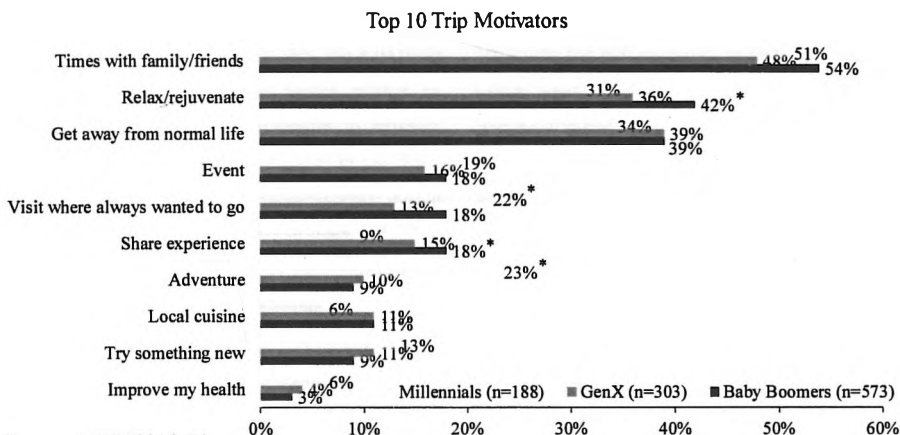
Under the term generations we understand that group of individuals who were born in the same social-historical environment and faced the same so called life-events, or cohort-experiences, and possess similar attitudes, beliefs and behaviors (Mannheim 1952). Generation-theory is interesting from the perspective of consumer behavior so as to identify the consumption patterns from segmentation point of view.

This kind of approach is popular in the field of tourism marketing and research, not only from academic but also from practical point of view. From academic point of view the survey of the travel behaviors is in the focus point, with analyzing the questions of further consumers' behavior approaches. One of these approaches is the life cycle theory and its adoption to consumer behavior (Lepisto 1985), which refers to that fact, that as

one gets older and reaches different stage of life, the consumption patterns change as well. "Researchers have also argued that this theory can be applied to explain travel behavior. One of the first applications of this theory to leisure and tourism was by Rapoport and Rapoport (1975), who used the family life cycle theory to discuss the changing context of leisure activities over a person's family life" (Chen & Shoemaker 2014, 60). Further aspect to be analyzed is the so called continuity theory assuming that the basic psychological characteristic (attitudes, main patterns of behavior and consumptions) are unchangeable during the life cycles. Longitudinal researches made considering tourism behavior shows that the main motivations and destination choice change only in some measures during ten years (Shoemaker 2000).

According to Chen and Shoemaker (2014) the generation-theory is widely used in tourism particularly to understand the attitudes and motivation of different generations (Generation Z, X, Y as well as Baby Boomers, Silent Generation or Lucky Few). Regarding the travel habits of the different generations the followings can be seen in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Top 10 travel motivations at different generations



The elder generation travels more in a good health than some decades ago. After reaching the age of 60 years the seniors lay the emphasis on their health and from this perspective a relatively homogenous group can be named (Huang and Petrick 2010). The so called Silent Generation (born before 1929) prefers mainly being with their families, with less activity and more care about health issues. The Lucky Few (1929-1945) search for cultural activities and the community plays an

important role during travelling. The Baby Boomers (1943-1960) are really active, so they prefer active holidays as well, and search for intellectual challenges, new experiences, they are particularly interested in spirituality, but all their decisions are taken in a price-sensitive way.

The members of Generation X (1961-1981) are on the peak of their career and they travel particularly with their families or for business purposes. The first motivation for them to travel is to be with

their families: there is a strong emphasis on multi-generation travel, and life cycle effect, which means that the age of the kids have a great emphasis on their travel decisions. Furthermore, they search for new experiences and cultural travels as well as discounted packages (Huang & Petrick 2010.)

In the case of Generation Y (born between 1982-2002 according to Pendergast 2010) the advanced usage of technology and the real experience connected to globalization (as travelling, studying abroad) can be named as mutual life experience. From this point of view, this Generation has great practice and high expectations regarding the travel gadgets. Further on they continuously search for new things: "This need to live for the moment and search for hedonism does, however, prove challenging in that it indicates that Gen Y more than most generational cohorts are constantly seeking the next "big thing" (Leask et al. 2013, 20). The good price/value is crucial for them, so they are conscious costumers who make thorough research, particularly online before making decisions (Benckendorff et al. 2010). They search for authentic experiences with "cool" services, which are unique, and have interesting character (Sziva & Zoltay 2016).

Regarding Generation Z (born after 2010 according to Benckendorff et al. 2010, but according to Pál et al. 2013, 1995 should be identified as "starting date") their motivation for exploring should be highlighted. Travelling alone means becoming adults for them and that is one of their reasons for travelling. They are even more conscious, open and economical than their Generation Y mates. Technology is also even more important for them, as well as they are named to be explorers and search for slow travel (Ting 2016).

### *Gastronomy tourism from generation point of view*

Regarding the perception of gastronomy tourism from Generation point of view, we should highlight the fact that there is a lack of researches in the area however one can suppose that there are differences in the regard of attitudes.

According to the latest research of Melissa Graf, Modul University Vienna (2015), there are some differences particularly between the Generation X and Y regarding experiencing gastronomy during travelling. Both generations find food as an important element of culture to taste, but Generation Y focus on trying food as a way of exploring the destination, and they are braver to taste new things, and to share their experiences with their friends. It is

surprising that the members of Generation X participate more in activities related to food tourism, like wine or beer tasting.

Putting the main segment of our research, the Generation Y to the lime light, we should highlight the fact that gastronomy holds important value for them, particularly due to the hedonist values, but also the social part is important: being together with friends, or sharing photos about their experience for peers is highly appreciated by them, that is the reason why they are called the "Foodie" Generation (Pryor et al. 2015).

Regarding the senior segment, particularly the Baby Boomers, there are only a few researches. According to Tourism Ireland (2012), the Baby Boomers prefer local flavors and traditional food on their trips more than any other generations.

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In 2016 a co-operation started between Corvinus University and Municipality of District IX. for different researches: (1) a quantitative research with the aim of positioning and branding of Ráday Street for international tourists (307 respondents) with elements of general perception of Budapest, and focus on young people, (2) further researches analyzing the free time and cultural consumptions of local people (more than 600 respondents).

In this article, we focus on the quantitative research of international tourists, firstly with the main focus of reaching young people, who are the main target segment of Ráday Street, secondly to ask tourists from the most important sending countries (such as Austria, United Kingdom, Germany, France, United States) about Budapest. The research was taken by first of all a face-to-face survey of a questionnaire of three different languages (English, German, French) in four popular places of Budapest (Central Market Hall, Király Street, Gozsdu and Ráday Street) and an online questionnaire was spread among the international students of Corvinus University. The research was exploratory using a judgement sampling method (not representative) focusing on gaining the pre-defined number of responses of each area. The street survey was taken between 24<sup>th</sup> October and 10<sup>th</sup> November, 2016 by the students of Corvinus University who were trained for this purpose, while the online survey from 30<sup>th</sup> October till 10<sup>th</sup> November. During the analysis, we used single and multiple variation analysis with the help of SPSS software. The following research questions were analyzed:

1. How do tourists perceive Budapest? - We analyzed this issue with opened questions so as to see the basic impressions of Budapest.
2. How important is gastronomy in visiting Budapest? - Hereby we focused on the main activities usually researched by earlier surveys (like ETC, 2014) with adding some extra dimensions gained from our earlier qualitative research (like ruinpubs, spas).
3. Are there any (significant) differences between Generations in the regard of activities and general attitude toward travel? – We analyzed the issue through factor and cluster-analysis based on the dimensions of activities discussed above as well as using a validated scale of the research taken by Tourism Ireland (2014) in the regard of general attitudes toward travelling.

Regarding the sample the followings should be highlighted: During the research we received 307 answers from which 207 were valid. The main focus was to reach the young people (Generation Y) but the elder generations (Generation X and Baby Boomers) got to the sample as control group, as well. However, we could not take a quota - based sampling regarding the main source market of Budapest, but emphasis was laid to reach the most important nations: 12.1% of the answerers were from Germany, 11.5% from France, 11.1% from the United Kingdom, 10.8% from the USA. 56.3% of the answerers were females and 43.7% males. 52% of the respondents were between the age of

15-25 years, 25.5%- between 26-34 years, 9.6% between 35-45 years, 6%-between 46-54 years, 4.6% between 55-65 years and 2.3% between 66-74 years. 63.4%-of the tourists arrived in Budapest for the first time, mainly with friends and stayed 4-5 nights.

The analysis was conducted with uni-, bivariate and multivariate statistical methods, using the IBM SPSS 22.0 software. The attitude towards travelling was measured by a multi-item scale including 12 items that was evaluated by the respondents on a 4-point scale. Based on the items describing the attitude, we conducted factor analysis to explore the main dimensions of the attitudes. We used the principal components method with Varimax rotation and accepted the 5-factor solution where the factors explained 68% of the total variance (meeting the criteria of 60% (Malhotra & Simon 2009). The factors were investigated whether there are significant differences among the generations regarding the travelling attitude dimensions, using variance analysis.

## RESEARCH RESULTS

### *Perception of Budapest*

Regarding the first question “How people perceive Budapest?” according to the most typical answers Budapest seems to be mostly a beautiful, amazing city from the answers of opened questions. It is important to highlight that only 1% of the answers had negative meaning and 9% was related to gastronomy. Figure 3 below summarizes the answers on a world-cloud.

**Figure 3: Answers for the question “How do you perceive Budapest?”**



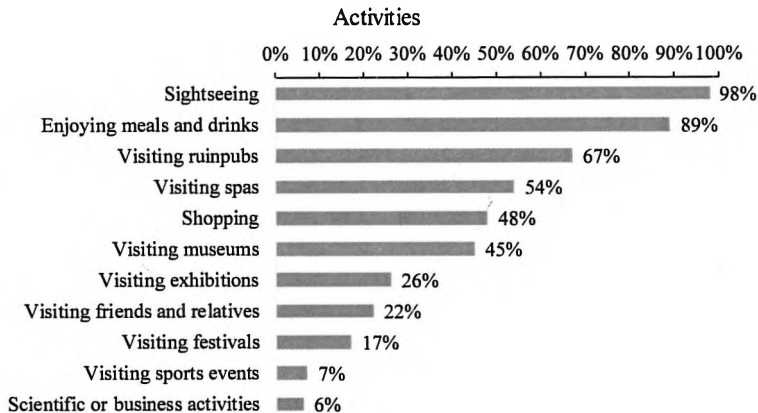
Source: own construction

## Activities in Budapest

According to Figure 4, the rest (97.7%) of the answers of the multiple-answer questions are related to sightseeing, which is followed by gastronomy (86.4%) and visiting ruinpubs (65.9%)

and spas (53.6%). Shopping as well as visiting museums are also quite popular. It can be seen that gastronomy is among the most popular activities, which overtake those typical activities related to sightseeing like shopping or visiting museums.

**Figure 4: Activities taken in Budapest  
(multiple-answer question, % of answers)**



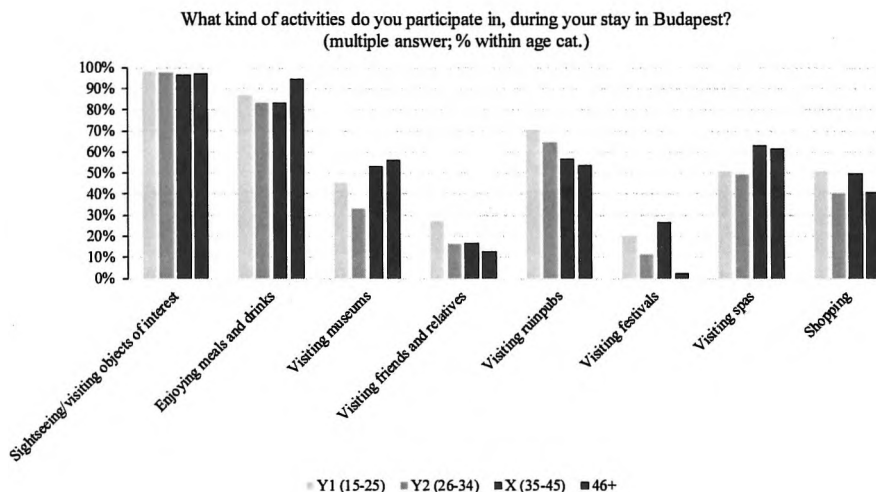
Source: own construction

## ACTIVITIES AND ATTITUDES WITH A PARTICULAR FOCUS TO GENERATIONS

According to the preferences of the generations we can see some similarities and differences as well. Sightseeing is the first preference in the same extent for all generations. In gastronomy the preference of restaurants and cafes, where you can enjoy meals and drinks is for all an attractive activity for all generations, but it is the most preferred for the visitors

above 46 years. The younger generations prefer the ruinpubs to the older visitors, but they are still interested in this activity. The cultural activities like visiting museums are quite popular, though visitors above 35 years are more interested than younger generations. Visiting spas is also an activity that is more preferable for the generations above 35 years than for the ones under, but the younger generations prefer this activity, as well.

**Figure 5: Activities taken in Budapest according to the age categories (multiple-answer question, % of answers)**



Source: own construction

### ***Segmentation based on the attitude towards travelling***

The attitudes towards travelling have been measured by using partly the results of qualitative research on the attitudes, partly applying a validated scale used in a research in Ireland for the segmentation of tourists visiting the country.

As the result of the factor analysis, the main dimensions of the attitudes are: fun and party preference, exploring and enjoying places, family orientation, slowing down (during vacation), preferring local specialties and drinks. If we investigate the main dimensions according to the generations, we can see some differences. The segments according to generations were analyzed by variance analysis and some differences (significant at the

level of 0.05) have been found. The fun and party preference is more typical for the younger generation (Y1) and exploring and enjoying places is overrepresented among the youngsters (Y1 and Y2), as well. Family orientation is connected with travelling with family, that is overrepresented among the respondents above 35 years, but travelling with family is not typical in our sample. The 'slowing down during the vacation' attitude we could expect rather for the older generation, but in our sample, it is characteristic for some younger respondents as well. The preference of local specialties can be found also in the younger generation groups (Y1 and Y2), which shows how important it is to focus on gastronomy even in case of touristic offers for younger visitors.

**Table 1: Dimensions of attitudes towards travelling**

Attitudes towards travelling generally	Factor loadings (Rotated Component Matrix)	Factors	Generation
Meet and have fun with other tourists	0,85	Fun and Party preference	Y1 ++
I like to party	0,74		
I like to feel like I am part of the place	0,60		
I like to explore places	0,83	Exploring and enjoying places	Y1 ++ Y2 +
I want to feel the atmosphere	0,78		
I want to have fun and laughter	0,70		
I want to spend time with my children	0,78	Family orientation	X +, 46- ++
I want to have dedicated time with my partner	0,82		
I like to chill/slow down to a different speed of life	0,75	Slowing down	X ++ Y2 +
I like to stay out of the crowd	0,80		
I like to enjoy local specialties (food and drink)	0,84	Local specialties and new things	Y1 +, Y2 +
I want to experience things that are new to me	0,54		

Source: own construction

## SUMMARY

Our results show that tourists regard Budapest as an attractive destination and they have overwhelmingly only positive perceptions about the city. They like sightseeing very much, but they perceive the attractions of city not only in general, but they are aware of its specialties as well. They like gastronomy as well: they try the local gastronomy, the food and drinks, which are local and which are new for them with pleasure. The preference of gastronomy is typical in each generation, among the youngsters as well. There is a slight difference among generations concerning the motivation why they are interested and what they want to try out. While the respondents above 35 years old (the X generation and the older generation) rather prefer the local food and drink, the Y generation is rather interested in things (also in gastronomy) that are new for

them. The younger generation is not so much motivated by the local specialties but the new, attractive offers, which are offered in restaurants, also in pubs, even in ruinpubs.

The tourists attend more activities, they are interested in cultural activities, like visiting museums. They are aware of the spas found in Budapest and they like to visit them, even the younger generation.

Based on our results, we can conclude that even if there are some differences among generations, the young generation is also interested in "traditional" activities and gastronomy, but in the gastronomy offer the emphasis should not be strongly put on traditional local food and drinks when we want to attract them. In the offer for young generation the emphasis in gastronomy should on the new and attractive experience.

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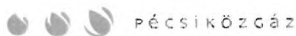
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