

Understanding the Complexity of Value and Its Co-Constitution in a Global Network: Insights from a Global Fashion Brand Value Constitution Context

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Abstract

This study problematizes the conceptualization of brand value formation process which is rooted in the productionist and economic perspectives. Juxtaposition of different economic systems such as the traditional capitalist economy, the sign economy and the new ethical economy and their value logics in contemporary global economic system necessitates shifts in the perspective on value formation. Utilizing a case study of value creation process of a British iconic fashion brand, we demonstrate that brand value is not created in a linear chain of production but occurs in global networks within and outside the company's immediate network of relations and stakeholders. Study calls for further research for brand value creation processes by synthesizing anthropology of markets perspective, the anthropological theory of value approach and the global networks approach.

Keywords: Brand Value, Global Commodity Networks, Anthropology of Markets.

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Değer Kavramının Karmaşıklığını ve Küresel Ağ Bağlamında Oluşumunu Anlamak: Küresel bir Moda Markası Değerinin Oluşumu Örneği

Öz

Bu çalışma üretim ve ekonomi bazlı marka değeri oluşum süreci kavramsallaştırmalarını sorgulamaktadır. Günümüz global ekonomik sistemi geleneksel kapitalist ekonomi, gösterge ekonomisi ve yeni etik ekonomi gibi farklı ekonomik sistemler ve onların değer mantıklarını bir arada bulundurduğundan, değer oluşumu süreçleri yeni bir bakış açısı ile incelenmelidir. Bu çalışmada bir ikonik İngiliz markasının oluşumu vakası üzerinden marka değerinin doğrusal bir üretim mantığı yerine, firmanın alakalı olduğu iç ve dış global ağlarda bulunan aktörlerin ve paydaşların etkileşimi vasıtası ile oluştuğunu örnekliyoruz. Bu çalışma gelecekte yapılacak olan marka değer yaratımı ile ilgili çalışmalarda pazar antropolojisi, değer kavramının antropolojik yaklaşımı ve global ticaret ağları perspektifinin sentezi için bir çağrı yapmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Marka Değeri, Global Ticaret Ağları, Pazar Antropolojisi.

Introduction

It is widely accepted that brands play an increasingly important role in contemporary society as engines of economic growth, as markers of identity and community, and as carriers of cultural meaning and symbolism used to orient ourselves in the world (see e.g. Holt, 2002). That is, brands are much more than merely economic entities which bring economic value to stakeholders or pure examples of advertising or symbols representing companies. In other words, brand value specifically, and the notion of value in general, are convoluted with their numerous types and their inter-relatedness. How these different types of values are created—through a firm’s value chain in a linear fashion, or among a multiplicity of actors—is another question to be answered. Contemporary research

fails to capture this complexity of value formation and is often not very explicit about the kind of value that is being discussed.

It is not possible to come to a comprehensive understanding of the notion of value in the current global economy by using the classical theory of value, which has its basis in the traditional capitalist economy (Arvidsson et al., 2008; Coe et al., 2008). Today's global economic system juxtaposes different value logics, such as the traditional/industrial capitalist economy, the sign economy (Baudrillard, 1998; Sahlins, 1992), and the new ethical economy (Arvidsson, 2009). In the traditional capitalist system, profit or monetary value is mainly generated through material production (Arvidsson, 2009). The sign economy is dominated by cultural production in which the value of goods depends more on their associated meanings than on their utility or economic value. Production in the ethical economy is social; it "is not coordinated by bureaucratic power or monetary obligations, but by affective affinity: chosen commitments to productive networks or other forms of community" (Arvidsson et al., 2008:11). For example, a community of employees formed around a shared corporate culture or brands around which communities with shared values develop are types of values generated from this new economy. What this discussion illustrates is that the often implicit notion of value in an economic perspective (as use value or exchange value) is increasingly becoming contested, and there are numerous calls for the clarification of the concept of value in the marketplace, as well as for frameworks that facilitate analysis of the complexity of the value creation process. Recently Consumer Culture Theory (CCT), Service Dominant Logic (SDL), and branding research has suggested the need for an explication and more conceptually grounded synthesis of these different understandings of value (Arvidsson, 2006; Holbrook, 1999; Peñaloza and Mish, 2011; Schau et al., 2009; Vargo et al., 2008).

The purpose of this paper is therefore twofold: 1) to contribute to the clarification of the concept of value as it pertains to marketplace phenomena, and 2) to demonstrate how value is constituted in network-like structures rather than linearly in value chains. We accomplish the first

aim primarily theoretically, as we draw on anthropological/cultural approaches to value and apply these to the global value chain framework to demonstrate how multiple types of values are culturally constituted as a result of the interactions of a network of actors. The second aim we seek to accomplish mainly empirically, by examining the constitution of values in parts of a particular brand's network.³

We argue that these three co-existing economies, which are different cultural constructions with respective definitions of value, are reproduced simultaneously among a multiplicity of actors. In order to understand different types of value created among a network of actors operating on a global scale, we adopt the "value chain" framework, which has been actively used in strategic management and economic geography literatures, and we modify this from a cultural perspective. Foster (2006) argues that current chain perspectives privilege quantitative/economic value over qualitative value and often deny the possibility of value creation by actors other than firms or marketers. This article continues with a short review of the literature on the value chain and value concepts, and a framework for the classification of types of value using Graeber's (2001) anthropological theory of value. After illustrating these types of value and their inter-relatedness in the case of a global luxury fashion brand, we provide an anthropological framework for the study of value chains.

The Chain Construct

In strategic management research, the value chain framework analyses the economic value added through a firm's chain of functions; for example, from the conception stage of a good or service to its production, delivery, and consumption (Porter, 1985). Porter's (1985) value chain framework aims to identify the competitive advantage of a firm against its rivals by identifying the most cost-efficient chain of activities through

³ Please note that we use the word "network" in a colloquial sense, not alluding to Actor Network Theory or other specific network theories, although our perspective shares some of the same ontological and epistemological assumptions.

the calculation of cost–asset analysis for each function of the firm. The concept of the value system extends the value chain framework by including inter-firm linkages to the firm’s value chain (Porter, 1985). That is, by including other enterprises such as suppliers, retailers, and marketing agencies, numerous value chains are linked. In sum, the value chain perspective privileges exchange value, adopts a linear and productionist value creation process, assumes traditional capitalism as the only type of value logic, and focuses on the firm, industry, or national level of analysis. Porter’s value system framework has been applied at the global level, and the concept of a global supply chain or global value chain has been developed (Bair, 2009).

Economic geography uses a similar approach to the value chain in order to study the organizations and governance structures of global industries, their impact on the development of regions, and the upgrading of firms or industries (Bair, 2009; Coe et al., 2008). Within this approach, different frameworks have been developed, such as the Global Commodity Chain(GCC), the Global Value Chain (GVC), and the Global Production Network (GPN) (Bair, 2009; Coe et al., 2008).The GCC framework aims to understand the dynamics of current global industries by studying inter-firm networks from an organizational perspective (Bair, 2005) with a specific emphasis on the political economy of the development of industries and power structures within the chain (Bair, 2009). Akin to the value chain perspective, the GCC perspective privileges exchange value, adopts a linear and productionist value creation process, assumes traditional capitalism as the only type of value logic, and focuses on the firm and industry level of analysis, but does not have a clear conceptualization of value.

The GVC framework was proposed in the 1990s as a result of changes in the global economic structure, such as shifts in the production activities of leading companies to external networks; powerful retailers or brand manufacturers aimed to increase stakeholder value by shifting risk, and fixed assets such as production plants, to contract manufacturers in developing countries (Sturgeon, 2009). This shift created a closer and gran-

ular functional integration on a global scale, and an interest in the firm and sector level of performance analysis. The GVC framework aims to understand how inter-firm relations are shaped by the internal logics of sectors (Bair, 2005). While the GCC framework approaches the chain governance from a sociological institutional perspective, the GVC approach adopts an economic perspective and actively utilizes transaction cost analysis.

Unlike the GCC and GVC perspectives, the recently developed GPN framework analyses networks of actors such as labor, consumers, states, firms, and civil society organizations, their spatial configurations in the creation of economic value and in the reorganization of production activities along GPNs and transnational social networks, the outcomes of economic development, and power relations among actors (Coe et al., 2008, Hess and Yeung, 2006). Yet, like other frameworks, it is highly productionist in its analysis, which is based on traditional capitalist assumptions (Coe et al., 2008).

Furthermore, anthropological research on the global production and circulation of commodities adopts a circular or non-linear type of value creation process, giving emphasis to consumption as well as production, and focusing on symbolic value/meanings (Foster, 2006; Kopytoff, 1986; Miller, 1997). This approach highlights how different actors in different contexts assign different meanings to the commodities. In other words, in each situation value is regulated by different rules or criteria that govern exchange (Foster, 2006).

In order to grasp the spirit of the hybrid nature of the global economy in the midst of traditional capitalism, the sign economy, and the new ethical economy, a conceptual framework analysing the notion(s) of value and the multiplicity of actors and value creation processes has to be developed. Synthesizing recent research in CCT, Service Science, and branding that reveals the immaterial symbolic and social value production processes from the conventional value chain perspective, we develop a framework which conceptually captures alternative types of value and value creation processes. For example, we are interested in how sign

value is added, transformed, and interpreted at particular points in the value creation network/chain (Foster, 2006).

Conceptualizations of Value

CCT work on the co-creation of value has argued that the implicit understanding of value as being economic in SDL discussions is limiting. Rather, value, it is argued, can also be thought of as meaning (Peñaloza and Venkatesh, 2006). That is, producers and consumers co-create meanings in the marketplace. Others have discussed how myth marketing generates identity value for consumers, that is, providing consumers with mythical resources for identity construction. Identity value does not fit either economic value or meanings, although they are related. Identity value fits better with what Holbrook (1999) in his work terms value(s), in the sense that being able to freely articulate one's identity is something valued in consumer culture at large. This leads to a tri-partite definition of value (Graeber, 2001): economic value, social values, and finally, symbolic value.

The first type, value in the economic sense, refers to “the degree to which objects are desired, particularly, as measured by how much others are willing to give up to get them” (Graeber, 2001: 1). Perceived value in consumer research is formulated as “the consumer's overall assessment of the utility of a product based on perceptions of what is received and what is given” (Ziethaml, 1988: 14). That is, value is conceptualized as a trade-off between different types and components of the value of a product. Since consumers are assumed to be satisfied when they attain maximum value, the aim of marketers is to predict the maximum perceived value of a brand for the target market (Holbrook, 1999). The value chain concept, understood traditionally from an economic sense, looks at how economic value is added for each step of the chain.

The second type, values [plural] in the social sense, are defined as “*conceptions of what is ultimately good, proper, or desirable in human life*” (Graeber, 2001: 1). In segmentation research, values [plural] are defined as “core conceptions of the desirable within every individual and soci-

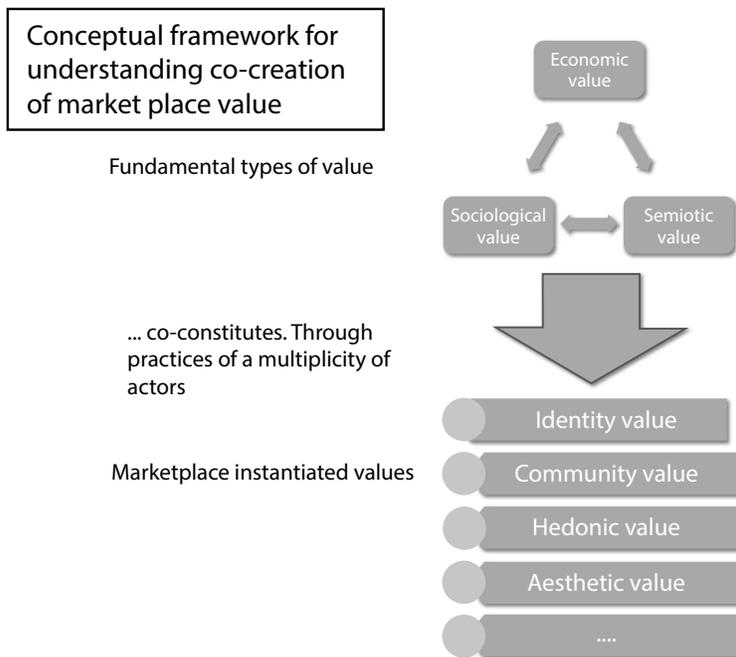
ety” (Rokeach, 1979: 2). Values are beliefs about desirable modes of conduct or end-states at individual or societal levels (Rokeach, 1979). The value system which is a consumer’s ranking of values [plural] is used as a segmentation criterion (Wedel and Kamakura, 2003). From this perspective, values are assumed to be valid universally, and cultural differences are observed at the level of rankings. The ethical economy introduced by Arvidsson et al. (2008) would fall into this category, and, in relation to the value chain concept, would be a matter in which dimensions of the ethics of the activities of chain are made transparent, promoted, or hidden—for example, Fairtrade certification, which seeks to make transparent the ethically benign nature of the production process.

Thirdly, Graeber (2001: 40) explains value in a linguistic or semiotic sense: “giving value to something is a matter of defining it by placing in some broader set of conceptual categories”. Simply, value refers to meaning or symbolic value. Cultural meanings are mediated through consumption and constantly reconstructed among multiple actors, and the study of this has been one of hallmarks of CCT since its early days (e.g. Levy, 1959; McCracken, 1986). For example, Schau et al. (2009) explore how brand community practices “create value”. In the myth market literature, Holt’s (2004) introduction of the notion of identity value, as “the aspect of a brand’s value that derives from the brand’s contribution to self-expression” (Holt, 2004: 11), spurred a stream of research that looks into the role of identity value in relation to market emergence. For example, Thompson and Tian (2008) demonstrated how commercial myths available to society through the media are competing strategically for identity value. From the framework introduced here, this research stream explores how value in the symbolic and social sense can translate into value in the economic sense.

The domains of value sketched out here should not be seen as separate and exclusive. Rather they are inter-related and co-generative (Karababa and Kjeldgaard 2014). For example, a society’s valuing of frugality may mean greater demand for durable products, which in turn is articulated symbolically ally (see also Sahlins’s (1972) account of the cultur-

al foundation of demand). Hence the three types of value are separable analytically but are instantiated simultaneously in specific marketplace manifestations which are constellations of the three types (see Figure 1). These bundles can be said to be culturally active values that make sense for marketplace actors.

Figure 1: Value Framework



Case Study: Value Analysis of an Iconic British Fashion Brand

This case study aims to illustrate how different types of values around an iconic luxury fashion brand are co-constituted by a global network of actors. Specifically, we study the practices of actors in order to see how brand value as a composite of different types of values is co-constituted by a multiplicity of actors. We collected secondary data sources such as books written on the history of the company, publicly available company reports, and articles published in the media, and also studied the activ-

ities of the company by analysing the content of its website, Facebook site, and photo-sharing site. We conducted three interviews which lasted around 75 to 90 minutes with other actors within the network: a mid-level manager working in the company, the owner of an intermediary firm who operates as a sourcing officer for global fashion companies, and the owner of a reputable Turkish fashion brand whose company works as a contract manufacturer for the company. In order to maintain the confidentiality of the company and other actors, we do not present any names or references. We apply the conceptual framework presented above to the case. First, marketplace-instantiated values, which are constituted through various managerial practices during the brand rejuvenation process, are identified. Then, these empirically identified values are deconstructed by using Graeber's (2001) three abstract categories of value, so as to demonstrate the creation of multiple types of value and their inter-relatedness in a global network.

Value Analysis

Hiring a new designer for the company

The senior management of the company took a strategic decision to replace the Italian Chief Creative Officer (CCO) with a young British CCO whose identity matched with the national associations of the brand. This hiring of a new CCO resulted in a series of identity value transfer processes. Identity value is defined as "the aspect of a brand's value that derives from the brand's contribution to the self-expression" (Holt, 2004: 11). The new British CCO has a working-class background, graduated from a prestigious art school in London, and worked within the design teams of prestigious American and Italian luxury fashion brands. The identity of the CCO can be described as that of a British, working class man who has aesthetic and fashion knowledge and sensibility. The image of the CCO as "young, trendy, British" transferred from the individual onto the brand, so as to shift the brand image, thus altering the identity value of the brand—from traditional, upper-class, and stale, to trendy, ordinary and young.

In addition to the actions of the senior management, the media also contributed to the creation and transfer of the identity value of the CCO by publishing his life story and interviews conducted with him. Moreover, the CCO's unique ways of using social media involve interactions with the brand community through, for example, live broadcasts from backstage at a fashion show, or his regular status updates on the brand's Facebook page. While integrating the consumer into the "backstage" of the production process, the boundaries between the consumer and the producer are blurring. Obviously, for the enthusiastic consumer, this is an identity-enhancing process.

While the ultimate motivation for altering the brand image of the company was economic value—i.e. enhancing the exchange value—the shift in brand image came about through a dialectic between social and symbolic value. The societal values of the existing brand image—upper class, traditional British—were no longer valorized in the domain of fashion. That is, these characteristics were no longer valued positively and hence served poorly for the symbolic valorization of the brand. Rather, the values of the new CCO associated with the "working class", the avantgarde, and a design school, presumably signified modernity, meritocracy, and hence the possibility of a fresh look at a traditional brand—all things that are valued positively in contemporary British society.⁴

Establishing a cohesive style for the brand

During the rejuvenation process of the brand, the senior management decided to have a cohesive style for the brand. The new CCO designed four different product lines with a cohesive style, i.e. a unified aesthetic value. Wagner (1999: 128) defines aesthetic value as "a gestalt derived from a perception of design elements and the meaning inferred from the associations engendered." In that sense, aesthetic value incorporates a symbolic part, yet whether a particular symbolic assemblage into a style

⁴ We offer this as one possible interpretation without having enough contextual knowledge or data to justify it. The purpose here is more to show possible linkages between the different types of values.

is valued (i.e. can become fashionable) depends on other social agents and what is valued socially at the time of the introduction of the style.

The aesthetic value for the consumer is about the experience gained from the aesthetic object, such as the entire experience of perceiving, evaluating, or judging the style of the fashion item or the feeling of sensory pleasure, social approval gained by being fashionable, and a perception of looking more attractive (Venkatesh and Meamber, 2008; Wagner, 1999). By approving the style and identifying attractive looks for consumers, cultural producers (the CCO) and intermediaries define social values. Another role of the cultural intermediaries in this example is to transfer the identity value of the CCO to the aesthetic value of his creations and to the brand through narratives. Senior management, the CCO, the media, and fashion reviewers are some of the actors that co-constituted the aesthetic value. Consumers are also active in terms of aesthetic value creation, as demonstrated on the photo-sharing website.

Utilizing a photo-sharing website

A photo-sharing website is another context in which where aesthetic value and community value are co-constituted. This site contains photographs taken by consumers and especially by commissioned photographers. Styles created in everyday life by consumers are presented in these photos. The site allows consumers to comment on and judge others' photos. For example, some favorable comments from the community members on a photo are: "So English, make me want to move to London"; "Love this look, so carefree". Consumers actively create symbolic values such as being English, carefree, "hip", or cool through this site. In addition, community members take an active role in the creation of social values on dressing, by evaluating the styles either through "liking" them or pointing out in the comments how much they like the look. As seen in the above examples, in order for the meaning of a fashion brand or style to be popular and reap economic rewards, symbolic value needs to be transformed into a social value which is defined as a norm or appropriate aesthetic by the community built around global fashion.

Organization of a spectacular event

Aesthetic, hedonic, and community values were co-created at a spectacular event, a red carpet party event organized for the launch of a new retail home in an Asian country. The event was hosted by the face of the brand, the CCO. The show utilized fashion, myths, and narratives (e.g. British heritage and weather), celebrities, and popular music to create a 360-degree hyper-real immersive experience. Also, a 3D video show and live broadcast streamed online. Experiential values, such as aesthetic value or hedonic value, were co-created by actors such as the CCO, consumers, musicians, and celebrities. The event was a bundle of symbolic experiences where narratives, fashion, music, myths, and technology were utilized to co-create meanings and feelings. Furthermore, a community value was created among the consumers and company professionals through sharing this experience and interacting in online and offline contexts. Common shared values around the brand community must have been enacted through the themed environment.

Design and manufacturing process

The CCO, his design team, and the contract manufacturer co-constitute the aesthetic value of the brand. The manufacturer's ability to translate aesthetic value created by the design team is crucial to attaining the anticipated aesthetic style. Our interview with the owner of the intermediary firm reveals this role of the supplier in aesthetic value creation:

“Let's say a customer (brand owner) brings a concept to a supplier. Let's say a skirt. Generally the concept does not contain any technical specifications on it. It is generally unknown if the skirt is a long one or a short one...Someone from the supplier's design group sees this sketch but also the pattern maker [the person who prepares the template] should be able to read the sketch. In other words, the person who is going to transform the concept into a skirt should be able to understand the concept.”

The meanings of the product are communicated through the style of the product, which is co-created through concept development, trial, and

manufacturing stages in a circular fashion. That is, the interaction between the supplier and the lead company and the value addition process is circular, rather than flowing from the lead company to the supplier.

Community formation

Our data demonstrate the constitution of various communities. The first is the company's target segment, defined by the management as "young women, not always wealthy but who would like to spend their significant amount of disposable income on luxury products." The social values and lifestyles of such a group of consumers are reflected symbolically through design and promotional activities. Both the social and symbolic values, which are co-constructed in a dialogic manner among actors, are transformed into economic value.

Another community was established around the shared value of labor rights. While the company closed down its factories in Britain in order to keep the manufacturing labor costs down (they aimed to spend more money on culture-producing labor), a community value was co-created. Demonstrations took place in London, Paris, New York, Chicago, Las Vegas, and Strasbourg on Valentine's Day against the closure of a factory in the UK with the loss of 300 jobs. This attracted the attention of international celebrities, including famous singers, actors, and models. Here labor rights were co-constituted as a community value. Also, sympathy as an emotional value was generated by conducting the event on Valentine's Day. Even a protest in the European Parliament with a giant Valentine's Day card calling on the company to "stop breaking our hearts" was organized. All these actors—workers, celebrities, the EU Parliament, the media, and so on—co-constituted this community value against the brand. This community value was constituted from the interplay of the three kinds of value—economic value (i.e. managing costs by moving jobs) was embedded in social and political values (worker rights), which was articulated symbolically in popular discourse involving the celebrity domain. Ultimately, this contested the positive valorization of the Britishness of the brand, as the moving of jobs seemed to be considered unpatriotic.

That is, the sign value of “Britishness” was suddenly taken out of the pure domain of branding and into the societal domain of politics.

There also exists a community of professionals established around the brand. Most of the professionals are colleagues who have worked together in previous jobs, have similar experiences and professional knowledge, and shared ways and norms of doing business. For example, the Chief Operations Officer worked with the owner of the intermediary firm in his previous job; the new CCO and the new CEO previously worked in another fashion company; the former Italian CCO’s mother was a contract manufacturer for the company. Group photos of these professionals on the company website and in annual reports establish a professional team spirit at the symbolic level. But also they reproduce shared norms of doing business, such as attaining a higher level of productivity through a new IT system or decreasing costs through full package manufacturing.

Advancements in the use of technology

After a new financial chief officer (FCO) was hired, a new IT system was implemented. This system was introduced as an infrastructure redesign tool, to provide clarity and visibility of accounts, and aimed at preventing monetary loss through accounting, logistics, and other infrastructural organization. Social values/norms that are influential within the managerial discourse, such as values of control and calculation, were transferred into the economic value of the brand through these new technological advancements.

Furthermore, the new chief operations officer (COP) adopted full package manufacturing as the new contract manufacturing system, which became popular strategic practice in the global fashion industry. In full package manufacturing, production and raw material costs are financed by the supplier, rather than being provided by the company in advance. Full package manufacturing eases the design process and brings flexibility to the supply chain. This change was expected to create efficient and more productive manufacturing. Social values shaping the current managerial discourse are efficiency and productivity. These values are

transferred into economic value through calculation, quantification of production, time savings and reduction of waste.

Discussion and Conclusion

In the case above, we try to illustrate a few simple points that we believe can enrich analysis of the contemporary global cultural economy. We have tried to illustrate that the value of a brand is not created in a linear chain of production. Rather, value creation occurs in networks within and outside the company's immediate network of relations and stakeholders. We try to demonstrate that the state of the contemporary debate on value lacks nuances as to what particular values are and how they emerge in co-constitution. We bring a framework based on current anthropological discussion to the analysis of value formation in networks.

With this study, we contribute to shifting the perspective on value formation that is rooted in the productionist and economic perspectives, towards a more complex understanding that involves a cultural perspective on value formation in global networks. We highlight the main differences in Table 1.

Table 1: Comparison of Value Chain and Global Value Network Approaches

Value chain perspective	Global value networks
Traditional capitalist system	Hybrid systems
A single type of value: economic	Multiple types of value
Quantitative value	Qualitative value
Production as value production process	Co-creation as value creation process
A linear value accumulation process	Simultaneous value formation processes
Value is additive	Values co-exist, can transform to each other
Firms are the main actors	Multiplicity of actors such as firms, consumers, artists, consultants, intermediaries, workers, states, etc.
Power is defined in terms of wealth and ability to lead the other actors' actions	Power is discursive

On the basis of insights from this study, we propose that an anthropological perspective should be used in future research for understanding value creation on a global scale. In other words, we suggest a synthesis of the anthropology of markets perspective (Abolafia, 1998; Carrier, 1997; Miller, 1997; Venkatesh and Peñaloza, 2006), the anthropological theory of value approach (Graeber, 2001), and the global networks approach (Coe et al., 2008). This perspective focuses on the value creation practices of multiple actors, which are shaped by numerous overlapping cultural fields. Continuous negotiation of numerous cultural discourses is expected to shape the practices of the actors and operate differently in different situations throughout the network. For example, since the co-creation of global value is spatially dispersed, local and global cultures intermingle and shape the practices of value creation. Also, three economic systems—the industrial capitalist, sign, and new ethical economies—negotiate in shaping the practices of the actors. That is, the network of actors and their practices are embedded in multiple cultures. Future research utilizing such an approach will identify alternative processes of value creation, transformation, and destruction. Also, it will be possible to identify discursive power struggles among different cultural fields operating throughout the global network.

Marketing literature presents brands as socio-cultural constructions located in a larger cultural perspective by taking into consideration the interaction between different actors such as arts and business, consumers and producers, images and stories, and design and communications, throughout time, within a broader cultural, political, and historical context (Cayla and Arnould, 2008; Schroeder and Salzer-Mörling, 2006). A focus on the notion of value would provide an articulation of the nature and outcomes of these interactions. Also, by focusing on the different types of value co-constructed through a global network, we can identify how brands operate as global ideoscapes (Askegaard, 2006).

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