

Alan Bradshaw¹
Pierre McDonagh²
and David Marshall³

University of Exeter

*Dublin City University Business
School*

*Management School,
University of Edinburgh*

No Space – New Blood and the Production of Brand Culture Colonies

We consider the potential impact of critical texts published outside the marketing academy upon the new generation of marketing lecturers by focussing on Naomi Klein's influential No Logo and her claims regarding the colonisation of musical spaces. Noting that the text has an insider/outsider relationship with marketing scholarship, we subject the ideas presented by Klein for review through empirical investigation. Specifically, we explore her concept of No Space whereby branding processes insidiously saturate and ultimately dominate cultural production and in so doing, contextualise her claims through a study of professional musicians. We conclude the piece by reflecting upon the growing gap between marketing practice and marketing scholarship and also the implications for the so-called New Blood of the academy.

Introduction

Will the New Blood of marketing scholarship embrace the radical? We consider the impact on the marketing academy of *No Logo*⁴ (2000), Naomi

¹ *Correspondence:* Alan Bradshaw, Lecturer in Marketing, School of Business and Economics, University of Exeter, Streatham Court, Rennes Drive, Exeter, EX4 4PU, UK, Tel: 00 44 1392 262477, Fax: 00 44 1392 263242, e-mail: a.bradshaw@exeter.ac.uk

² Pierre McDonagh, Lecturer in Marketing, Dublin City University Business School, Dublin City University, Dublin 9, Ireland

³ David Marshall, Lecturer in Marketing, Management School, University of Edinburgh, William Robertson Building, 50 George Square, Edinburgh, EH8 9JY, UK

⁴ Interestingly US editions of the book are given the more zesty title of *No Logo: Taking Aim at the Brand Bullies*, as distinct from the UK editions which are simply entitled *No Logo*.

Klein's international best seller which provides a stark examination of the ubiquitous intrusion of brands into daily life. Due to hyper-branding, Klein argues that musicians can appear as mere 'rent-a-bands' for the benefit of the major star of the show; the brands. Much like how books such as the *Hidden Persuaders* by Vance Packard (1962) inspired a movement of anti-advertising discourse for earlier generations (Brown 2001; Franks 1997), the impact of *No Logo* is so immense that Klein has been described by *The Economist* (2001) as the pre-eminent figure in what is now a world-wide protest movement. Within marketing, scholars have described her book as contributing to a new type consumer resistance to brands (Askegaard 2006; Hackley 2005), Brown (2005b:p196) refers to Klein as the 'foremost marketing commentator of the twenty-first century' and her work is regularly cited in leading marketing journals and publications. Despite this, a critical engagement with the text remains absent from marketing literature, leaving the book in a transition relationship with the academy. Noting her description of how musical events become colonised by branding, we empirically review Klein's claims regarding *No Space*; which charts an intrusive branding process whereby non-commercial landscapes become insidiously colonised by brands, and question whether *No Logo* provides important ideas for marketing scholarship and we reflect upon the consequence for the so-called 'New Blood' of the marketing academy.

No Logo - A Marketing Text

Naomi Klein is a Canadian journalist whose columns appears in *The Nation*, *The Guardian* and *The Globe and Mail*. She has published two books, *No Logo* and more recently, *Fences and Windows: Dispatches from the Front Lines of the Globalization Debate* as well as co-producing *The Take*, a film about Argentina's occupied factories. Her most influential publication was *No Logo* which has been translated into 27 languages and has over a million copies in print (NoLogo 2005). In 2000, *The Guardian Newspaper* short-listed *No Logo* for its First Book Award, and in 2001, *No Logo* won the Canadian National Business Book Award, and the French Prix Médiations (NoLogo 2005). In her introduction Klein (2000) describes *No Logo* as 'an attempt to analyse and document the forces opposing corporate rule, and to lay out the particular set of cultural and economic conditions that made the emergence of that opposition inevitable' (p xxi). In that sense her research is immediately resonant with what Brown and MacLaran (2005:p311) describe as the 'emancipatory strand of consumer research' which has critiqued the market system itself (Firat and Dholakia 1998; Murray and Ozanne 1991) as well as charting how consumers seek to renegotiate the basis of their marketplace participation (for example see Holt 2002; Kozinets 2002; Thompson and

Haytko 1997).

The impact of Klein's book on brand research is exemplified by the fact that Keller (2003:p63-64), in his influential branding text book gives two pages of attention to *No Logo*, under the heading of 'science of branding'. Indeed the question of Klein's relevance to brand theory is surely settled by the fact that no fewer than four contributors have cited *No Logo* in a new text on *Brand Culture* (Schroeder and Salzer-Morling 2006). Furthermore, the popularity of the text has played an important role in the emergence of a new consumer movement of brand resistance, by raising issues that consumers can rally against (Askegaard 2006; Hackley 2005). In fact Brown (2005b) claims that *No Logo* has a greater impact upon executive culture than any other business literature currently available.

Clearly *No Logo* directly addresses pressing issues within marketing and the fact that it has been cited within such journals as *Journal of Marketing Management* (Kelly et al. 2005), *Journal of Consumer Research* (Kozinets and Handelman 2004), *European Journal of Marketing* (Brown 2002), *Marketing Theory* (Fitchett 2002) and *Journal of Consumer Culture* (Moor 2003) whilst also being recommended to *Journal of Macromarketing* readers by their Book Review Board (Belk et al. 2001) underscores this as does the fact that Arvidsson (2006) positions his monologue on branding as being complimentary to *No Logo*.

However whilst *No Logo* is regularly cited, it has yet to make a genuine theoretical impact and Klein's claims, no matter how influential they have proven to be, remain unexplored at an empirical level within marketing scholarship. The reason why this should be the case, may have to do with the fact that Naomi Klein is not an academic but rather a journalist and therefore does not construct her argument in a typically academic way. However, as Brown (2006; 2005b) reminds us, the foremost writers in the marketing field today tend to be journalists and he provides the examples of Thom Franks (1997), Naomi Klein (2000), David Brooks (2000), Eric Schlosser (2002), amongst others. Clearly the contributions that these scholars can make to marketing scholarship is problematic given their outsider relationship but, quite possibly, they are heralding the future of how marketing thought will be presented to society. In this context it is entirely appropriate, we argue, that in acting as the 'New Blood' of the marketing academy, that we take this opportunity to consider the contribution of *No Logo* to our discipline and explore Klein's case empirically.

No Space

Rather than attempt to explore the entire *No Logo* book, which deals with a wide range of issues, we select a central section of her book which relates to

No Space for deeper scrutiny. According to Klein (2000) *No Space* refers to the surrender of culture to branding as our daily lives become increasingly saturated and colonised by ubiquitous and inescapable brands. Within our daily lives almost all spaces of public and private human engagement are becoming the focus of branding. For example, Klein documents Levis ads in public toilets, corporate logos on boxes of Girl Guide cookies, ads on benches of national parks on public library cards. Meanwhile corporate sponsorship has delivered us such intrusive events as Pepsi sponsored Papal visits and Nike after-school basketball programs. 'That we live a sponsored life is now a truism' she glumly concludes 'and it's a pretty safe bet that as spending on advertising continues to rise, we ... will be treated to even more of these ingenious gimmicks, making it ever more difficult and more seemingly pointless to muster even an ounce of outrage' (Klein 2000:p12).

The impact of *No Space* on culture, according to Klein, is to relegate culture into the background and make the brand the star; as she puts it 'it is not to sponsor culture but to *be* the culture' (Klein 2000:p30). She gives the example of Tommy Hilfiger sponsoring a 1997 Rolling Stones tour where the Stones were contracted to wear clothes from their newly launched 'Rock & Roll Collection'. By 1999 the promotion of the Rolling Stones' concerts were primarily ads for Tommy Hilfiger, with models photographed in full-page frame whilst the musicians were presented at a quarter of this size, if at all. Other branding events keep the name of the musicians - who can be as renowned as David Bowie and the Rolling Stones - secret, and invite a select audience (usually following contests) to attend. As Klein notes, the mounting and staged anticipation overtakes the profile of the musicians until ultimately the brand becomes bigger than the band. By that stage the act of consuming culture has been carefully and completely colonised and re-routed according to brand strategy and the *No Space* process is complete.

Whilst Klein charts how musicians sometimes rebel within this existence - for example after appearing at a Molson Beer Blind Date concert, Courtney Love told a reporter 'God bless Molson... I douche with it!' (p49) - for the most part she shows musicians and celebrities as far from passive in this process of being 'shoved into the background by aggressive multinational corporations' (Klein 2000:p30). Instead Klein contends that stars of today are just as captivated by the prospect of developing and leveraging their own branding potential as the corporations, leading her to conclude that there is now a 'fluid partnership between celebrity people and celebrity brands' (p30). So for example, where before the surviving members of the Beatles kicked up a huge fuss when *Revolution* was licensed without their consent for a Nike ad (Bradshaw et al. 2004; Scott 1994), Rufus Wainwright is marketed as the 'guy from the Gap ads' following his personal appearance in an ad and resulting in a corresponding boost in his album sales. In this way, Klein's

argument becomes more sophisticated than a simple argument of commercial appropriation or co-optation of otherwise pure culture but rather one of voluntary partnership between commercial and cultural domains.

No Space and Brand Culture

Whilst *No Logo* is a book about branding, according to Arvidsson (2006) the text is more concerned with denouncing capitalism than it is with building a theory of branding in its own right. Similarly Fahy (2000) suggests that *No Logo* seems to want to bury marketing, not praise it. However other marketing writers have sought to theorise a brand saturated world. For example Schroeder (2002:p3) notes that we are now constantly exposed to advertising 'all around us.. on the Internet, on television, in newspapers, on billboards, on magazines, buildings, radio, cable, t-shirts, credit cards, shopping cards and cash register receipts'. Schroeder (2002) argues that this results in advertising becoming a dominant global force, an engine of the economy and a major player in the political sphere (p14). In this sense it is now appropriate to refer to a 'branded world' or a 'brand culture' whereby brand management exerts a profound influence on contemporary society. Hence brands need to be re-characterised as cultural, ideological and political objects (Schroeder and Salzer-Morling 2006). For Arvidsson (2006) brands are to be characterised as not just a cultural phenomenon, but also as a capitalist institution which generates its own series of productive practices.

The use of cultural referents within advertising and branding contexts, such as the use of music in branding messages, has been investigated by a series of authors within marketing and sociology scholarship (Firat and Dholakia 1998; Goldman and Papson 1996; Holt 2004; McCracken 1990; Schroeder 2002; Williamson 1988). Notably, McCracken (1986) developed a model whereby advertisers seek to associate in the consumers' minds the product and representations of a culturally constituted world so to create a meaning transfer. He provides the examples of how musicians often perform the role of 'opinion leaders' (p80) within society, as they shape and refine existing cultural meaning, encouraging the reform of cultural categories and principles. Indeed musicians are often seen as anti establishment, with certain genres rebelling against the regime; the musicians are part of the creative sub system yet their agents and record companies serve to influence this meaning (Hogg and Banister 2000). It is this very social role that musicians hold within society which makes them so attractive to branding processes and results in the phenomenon of cultural endorsement whereby meanings pass from the musician to the product, and from the product to the consumer.

Similarly for Goldman and Papson (1996), advertisers use music so that the

exchange value of the music becomes transferred to the brand. This becomes a process whereby culture's signification is re-routed in accordance with the logic of commodification. Whilst McCracken's model may be critiqued for being overly structuralist and over-focussed on a one-way flow of culture, Firat & Venkatesh (1995) alternatively describe the trend within marketing of paradoxical juxtaposition of opposites. Hence we have juxtaposition of music as art alongside mundane consumption, such as in-store Muzak. Culture is re-deployed as raw material for brand culture and the process of cultural appropriation becomes central to branding itself.

The above theoretical contributions allow us to see the process Klein refers to whereby the interest of advertisers in culture is not to sponsor culture but to *be* the culture. In this sense the colonisation of culture, as described by *No Space*, can be understood using a McCracken model. What emerges is the divestment of meaning from cultural objects with that meaning re-routed in accordance with the logic of commodity culture. Adding this extra conceptual lens to Klein's *No Logo*, we can see how the colonisation of culture by capitalism can be viewed as a worrying trend as cultural becomes somehow negated or humiliated in the process (the primary theorising of this process is provided by Adorno and Horkheimer 1998). Whilst this theoretical insight is hardly new, Klein's (2000) contribution is that she reveals the practical machinations of cultural colonisation and updates our understanding of this process for a brand culture age.

A case of *No Space* in action was provided by Moor (2003) and her demonstration of a corporation sponsoring a musical event so to insidiously assert itself as the principal star; the Witness festival in Ireland. The Witness brand name seeks to metonymically signify Guinness without risking branding overkill. Within the festival space, consumers were exposed to a large amount of branded paraphernalia resulting in consumers 'wearing Witness sun hats, lying under Witness umbrellas, relaxing in inflatable Witness chairs, carrying or drinking from Witness cups' whilst the musicians were to be seen wearing Witness key chains around their necks (Moor 2003:p48).

Guinness were hence able to embark upon a considerable branding spree of colonising space and experience without doing so in an 'obvious' way; a perfect example of the insidious *No Space* process. We acknowledge that this raises a myriad of research questions not least in terms of how people (artists) experienced or enjoyed the event. Indeed the use of music has been particularly prevalent within branding culture, and Klein identifies the association of such musicians as the Rolling Stones with Tommy Hilfiger and Rufus Wainwright with The Gap, as examples of *No Space*. As Goldman and Papon (1996) note, in using music, advertisers draw upon outsider referent systems and boost the credibility and stature of their brand. Consequentially,

the credibility of the musicians performing at Witness becomes absorbed indirectly into the Guinness brand identity in a subtle and insidious process.

However, this process is not necessarily such a new departure in the world of marketing, and the absence of a proper historicisation results in Klein proposing old phenomena as new. For example, the process of brands appealing to counter-cultural and anti-marketing discourses have been traced back to the 1960s and the seminal Volkswagen Beetle advertisements (Franks 1997; Holt 2002). Also Schroeder & Borgerson (2002) show that fluid interflow between art and commerce, with the sponsor as star, can be found in Renaissance art, in particular where patrons are painted into divine scenes.

This returns us to what Holbrook (2005) considers as the important macromarketing theme of art versus commerce. As research such as Holt's (2002) implies, the continuation of that tension fuels the branding process as marketers tap into the unstained aura of supposedly non-commercial culture to facilitate meaning transfer and bolster their brand's credibility. Conversely for Klein (2000), art v commerce is no longer a battle but rather a coup d'état as musicians are just as keen self-branders as the corporations themselves. Hence in *No Space*, art v commerce is re-contextualised as a fluid relationship where artists and marketers are fond bedfellows.

However the issue then becomes problematic inasmuch as if cultural production is just another form of branding, then why should advertisers seek to incorporate the exchange value of culture into their branding? Obstinate, the advertisers are attracted to culture because culture is understood to occupy a different domain to branding. Therefore we ask, if culture is colonised by branding with the complicit support of the musicians themselves, then what are the parameters of the art v commerce process? Or to put it more urgently, is art v commerce still relevant? We now turn our attention towards addressing these questions.

Researching Musicians - Research Methodology and Design

In order to explore the phenomenon of *No Space*, whereby culture becomes colonised by branding, we interviewed musicians so to learn about the process from their perspective. In particular we are fascinated to see if musicians believe that their space is colonised by branding processes, how they respond to colonisation and finally, is it true that there is a fluid interflow between musicians and marketing throughout this process? An alternative approach is to interview management teams working with musicians who seek out commercial arrangements for their clients. However, we have purposely selected musicians so to locate the study within the wider art v commerce macromarketing issue. In that sense, musicians can be expected to give voice to the bohemian anti-commerce orientation within

cultural production (Attali 1985; Becker 1991; Frith and Horne 1987), which we take to be necessary for reviewing the question of art v commerce.

As such our study stands alongside previous *Journal of Marketing Management* studies into musicians, as presented by Kubacki & Croft (2004). However a major point of departure from Kubacki & Croft's study is that whilst they sampled musicians who performed either jazz or classical music, we sampled a cross section of the musician community. Therefore our sample includes musicians who play pop, jazz, rock, classical, avant-garde, traditional, heavy metal, electronic and also composers, theatre pit musicians and sidemen. This is with reference to the reflection of Kubacki & Croft (2004) that their sample eliminated many important opinions and attitudes which might have been delivered by respondents playing different styles and coming from more diverse environments (p584). Also our sampling is supported by Cottrell (2004) who demonstrates that most professional musicians play a diverse range of music, making them difficult to classify according to genre.

By asking musicians to propose other musicians for interview, our sampling followed a social network. This process can be referred to as 'networked interviewing', and is recommended as a useful means of gaining access to otherwise difficult-to-access research groups such as musicians (Rubin and Rubin 1995). Due to the difficulties associated with access, the interviews were conducted wherever was convenient for the musicians and typically lasted forty-five minutes. For the purpose of this paper data which was most directly resonant with the theme of *No Space* was selected and systematically collapsed into the research themes. The research themes, stemming from comments made by seven musicians, are insidious commercial intrusion, musician rebellions and fluid interflow between musicians and branding. All of the musicians are broadly experienced international professionals and details of each is provided in the below table. Many of the musicians within the sample have experienced headlining festivals and promotional events of a type similar to those described by Klein. They also others have experience of different aspects of the music industry, ranging from participating in the 1960s US protest folk movement, to being a session man for Muzak. Our study stands alongside other research into the lived experiences of musicians working in commercial environments (Becker 1991; Cottrell 2004; Robinson et al. 1991).

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|-------------------|---|
| Musician A | Bass guitar player with a popular UK hard rock band. |
| Musician B | Jazz guitar player from Ireland who regularly records in the vibrant New York scene. |
| Musician C | English pop star and singer-songwriter who enjoyed considerable fame during the 1980s before setting up his own |

- independent label to record his new albums.
- Musician D** Irish-based alpine horn, bandooria, bazouki, bodhran, bones, bongos, clarinet, congas, darabuka, didgeridoo, djembe, guitar, low whistle, mandolin, tin whistle player and vocalist who performs with a popular folk-rock ensemble and composes for films and television.
- Musician E** Californian folk influential singer songwriter who came to prominence during the 1960s and has subsequently composed for famous singers, as well as releasing solo albums.
- Musician F** US musician with a vast world-wide experience in the music industry; ranging from making coffee as a studio apprentice, a jazz bass guitar session musician, Muzak recording artist, sideman for French pop stars, avant-garde producer, composing for film and latterly running his own career as a popular electronic musician.
- Musician G** Violin and keyboard player with a highly popular rock band from Dublin and regular collaborator with popular musicians.

Data Analysis

Insidious Commercial Intrusion

The principle contention of Klein's *No Space* is that cultural quarters become colonised and appropriated by brands until eventually the brand becomes the star. One of the most direct ways in which this process is played out relates to the branding of space. In some cases, this results in the advertisers seeking to place branded messages around the stage. For example the quote below relates to a case where a beer company wished to sponsor a tour and extensively brand the event:

They wanted to hang a banner on stage and obviously if we play at a festival there are sponsors so there might be like corporate banners which is cool because it's not my festival, I'm just there as guest to play. On our tour there's no banners, there's no Miller sign flashing behind the band or stuff like that, it all has to be covered over.

(Musician A)

In this case the musicians were able to decline sponsorship and it is noteworthy that they insist on covering up advertisements during their regular concerts, similar to how advertising is banned at the Burning Man Festival (Kozinets 2002). However the musician did note that at festivals, they accept the presence of branding during their performances;

distinguishing between what is 'their' event, and performances where they are invited guests. Yet, as other musicians illustrate, sometimes the festival marketers go to great lengths to insidiously incorporate the musicians into their branding. The following are examples of musicians who have encountered advertisers trying to brand the festival process as meticulously as possible:

(The sponsors) often come up and they give you t-shirts and stuff like that and I'd never wear the t-shirts, I give it away. I don't like stuff with labels anyway, ha ha, y'know, advertising other people's goods. I mean I'm there to play music. I remember in the earlier days I'd be doing smaller gigs and they'd give straw hats and waistcoats and stuff like that, really, with Guinness all over them. I gave them away too.

(Musician B)

What I do find a little bit uncomfortable, in fact quite a bit uncomfortable is that as an artist, you often get dragged into those things, y'know, it's like 'come down and get your photograph taken for Witnness, all the Irish bands who are playing Witnness'. So as an artist I arrived down to a photo-shoot to have my photo taken with bands who are playing Witnness and that's what the end result is. But essentially it became an ad for Guinness... But what can you do? You just have to, I suppose you have to have your guard up and watch yourself, but you don't know until you actually see it in the paper.

(Musician C)

All these people going into fucking Witnness, y'know, and they get branded, they get this, eh, wristband with Guinness written on it, people getting Guinness written on their head, y'know, all this fucken bullshit, you go in there and get turned into an advertisement for Guinness... Every space is advertising space. If there are one hundred people looking at a wall because they think that Mother Mary might appear on it, you write Guinness on it and y'know, there will be your advertising space, it's kind of sick.

(Musician D)

From this data we can see that musicians do experience not just the colonisation of their space but sometimes the attempted colonisation of their body too by branding practices. We can see that this attempted colonisation ranges from placing adverts around the stage, from giving branded material to musicians to wear on stage or to inviting musicians to photo-shoots then loading the image with brands. These are insidious – possibly exploitative – practices and are distinct from musicians and sponsors explicitly agreeing promotion contracts. Rather the musicians are paid to perform music yet find themselves in branding contexts. For the musicians interviewed here,

vigilance is required.

Just as Naomi Klein stated, some of the musicians concluded that the branding hijacks entire music festivals, until the intended meaning transfer resulted in the music becoming part of the background imagery to prop up the brand. These quotes from musicians provide some examples:

I've mixed views on the Cork Jazz Festival on whether it's good for the music here or not, because the emphasis is on drinking Guinness and all that. I mean the acts they bring in are world class, it's great and it's been a wonderful opportunity for local guys like myself to play with some great international players; for years I've been able to play, every year, with some really good international players and, eh, it's a great learning thing for me and all that. But also there's a very small percentage, I don't know how many people go to the festival, maybe 40,000 will go to the weekend, or something like that, but there's a very small percentage of those who'll actually go to the real musical gigs then the actual fringe thing which is huge, y'know, it's not really jazz music, it's drinking and people will see that as being jazz music and it's not at all.

(Musician B)

What are they experiencing? They are experiencing being away from their parents, they are experiencing loads of bands that they wouldn't get to see in one day. What else are they experiencing? They're experiencing massive attention from companies that are constantly on TV, you know U2 were doing it and whoever else were doing it, they're been made to feel special for the day. But, y'know, what their getting for that is bombarded by a massive advertisement for O2.

(Musician D)

We can see from this data that the process of No Space, as described by Naomi Klein, is indeed a lived reality for the interviewed musicians who experience the attempts of sponsors to colonise musical performances. For some musicians this is problematic because it takes the attention away from the music itself, as the brand becomes the star of the show. Further, some of the musicians object to the meaning transfer because they have an inherent dislike of branding.

Rebellion

Some musicians, beyond objecting to colonising musical experiences, actually rebel. The following examples begin with a musician performing at the Guinness sponsored Witness festival wearing a Murphys baseball cap – Murphys are a competing producer of stout – and end with a company jingle being translated into Russian during the Cold War:

Well when I played there I wore a Murphys cap, much to the horror of TV3 who were filming that day. They were asking me to take off the cap and said that they weren't going to play our music and a friend of mine was working for TV3 so they filmed our show but they weren't going to show us in the film because I had a Murphys cap on and it was going against the money they were getting... They just took it far too seriously, they wanted every band to be part of Guinness, but whatever.

(Musician D)

(I was) asked to write a jingle for a company that was doing fast frozen pies They wanted me to use Molly Malone as their tune. But I couldn't do it in a sense; I couldn't go along with it. I think I sorta blew my commercial career by actually changing the Molly Malone rhythm which was a waltz rhythm, a 3/4 rhythm to a 4/4 rhythm. But it went (sings to the melody of Molly Malone); 'they've got more berries, 35% more cherries, baked in a pie that is crusty and...' and they had me and Cathy singing this and I sort of playing folky guitar, it was really awful but they liked it. So they invited us down to this convention, we were living in Los Angeles at the time but they flew us down to this convention that Johnson's Pies were having and by this time I decided that it actually worked better in a minor key then it did in a major key and not only that but I could write, because at that time I was a student of Russian, that I could write Russian lyrics to this minor key thing and it would be great. God knows what possessed me to think that I could get away with it but they flew us down for this kind of momentary entertainment at this banquet they were having in San Diego and we got out there and, uh, we sang this song in Russian.

(Musician E)

In all three cases there is yet again the presence of irony as we wonder why, if the musicians were so uncomfortable with these events, did they voluntarily participate in them? The answer must surely lie in their lack of alternative - as professional musicians it is their job to perform at such events no matter how distasteful they may be. The need to conduct rebellions can be understood as the musicians trying to lash out against the very processes that push their music into the branding process and therefore is an outcome of alienation. These rebellions can be seen as attempts to subvert the meaning transfer and instead, use the branding context as a means of registering their own bohemian agenda. However, as Naomi Klein mentions in *No Logo*, the fact that they are receiving the money from the advertiser undermines this attempted subversion and renders them as 'sad little ways to rebel' (Klein 2000:p49). In any case the star of the show are the brands themselves 'and it didn't really matter how those petulant rent-a-bands behaved' (p49).

Fluid Interflow

Whilst musicians do often rebel against the commercial appropriation of their space, other musicians demonstrate their eagerness to participate in the process and reap the rewards. In this sense Klein reflected that there is often a fluid interflow between branding and musicians. One common space where this process is played out relates to musicians allowing their music to be used in advertisements. Rather than seeing this process as a sell-out, Klein (2000) argues that musicians see allowing their music to be used in advertisements as 'just another medium they can exploit in order to promote their own brands, alongside radio, video and magazines' (p46). Indeed this way of thinking was particularly evident in our study amongst those musicians at the margins of the music industry, operating independently of the traditional record label market. For these musicians, licensing music for ads was one of the few ways they could succeed in getting their music heard by a wider audience:

If I was the Doors, I would be upset that my music was only being used for commercials but I'm me, I'm 30 years younger than those guys and there's no outlet for my music to get heard by people so this is the main outlet, licensing for TV and commercials and film.

(Musician F)

In our position, our music being in commercials means that it's a chance for people to hear it, who wouldn't otherwise hear it, so rather than us being big enough so that people would know our music anyway. So I mean it's very much having to do with having a chance to have your music played on television or playing on the radio or whatever it would be.

(Musician G)

However whilst it is easy to arrive at the conclusion that these musicians are now fully reconciled with their destiny as brand promoters who are only in it for the cash, instead a separate dialogue emerges. Not only will having music in advertisements allow musicians to gain wider exposure, but it also provides an alternative source of income for subsidising independence from the mainstream industry. Therefore any mechanism which allows them access to cash, also allows them to subsidise their own creative control. This is another instance of irony whereby musicians gain distance from the world of hyper-business by exactly embracing that world:

The thing that actually buys us our independence is the fact that we are financially independent. That's the bottom line and that's what makes us different from other people who are basically financed by record companies and it means

that we can make our own decisions. So to be able to finance tours in America or Australia, we've been able to gain enough money and balance numbers in such a way that we've been able to break into new markets and widen the net that way. So I think the ad thing was a pretty straight forward arrangement where we said 'lets see what they're offering us', they were offering us ten grand or whatever it was to, for ten seconds or twenty of our music and that will pay for our flights to America and Australia. So it's kinda, you see things on those terms, y'know.

(Musician G)

When you're at the level of selling records that I'm at, its, I don't want to say that you'll sell your soul but you're open to a lot of things with the thought of, If I let my music be used these ways a couple of times, that empowers me to..', my thing is all about the right kind of licensing and film usage, pays me to keep making music and put a little money aside to take care of my expenses. So basically each time you do a license or you do something, it raises your profile, it raises the profile of your publishing... the more money I make the more power and freedom I have as to who can use what and in what circumstances.

(Musician F)

For musicians who are seeking independence, allowing music to be used in ads allows two principle benefits: it allows them an excellent source of air-play within the mass media and it can provide a significant source of income for subsidising career independence. Rather than a sell-out, using licensing to take control of their careers is a powerful mechanism facilitating a greater control over their destinies as professional musicians.

In other cases the musicians saw creative opportunities in allowing their music to be used in advertising:

I guess the term we use is like it's a tastemaker kind of thing: it keeps me hip because I help them be sorta cool, it's a weird sort of co-existence. Its like, y'know, you're basically shelling for a major corporation but you look cool doing it so I don't mind, yeah, particularly when you're privy to how they want to use the stuff and creative, the creative people are working with you, you know, that's

amazing because then you're actually making something together so I don't mind that. I like that a lot actually.

(Musician F)

This latter example problematises the assumptions inherent in McCracken's (1986) meaning transfer model in that Musician F does not feel that the meaning of his music becomes divested through branding. Rather the music gains extra meaning through being associated with a brand with positive customer based brand equity. Provided the advertisement is produced in a

creative manner then it emerges as a legitimate field of culture in itself.

Discussion

This research supports many of the claims made by Naomi Klein regarding the colonisation of cultural space by marketers. Indeed this colonisation can be insidious with musicians not realising they are becoming integrated into a branding process, until they see the photographs in print. Some of the musicians interviewed actively rebelled against the process by wearing paraphernalia of rival companies or by deliberately garbling the brand message.

Correspondingly, the question of fluid interflow of art and commerce as suggested by Klein ought to be critically engaged with. For example in Kubacki & Croft's (2004) study of musicians, they found that for many musicians there was no fluid interflow between art and commerce at all; either the musicians resisted the commercial intrusion into their work and regarded the process as a moral issue, or they embraced commerce. Similarly in Kelly et al's (2005) study of the creative process in advertising, advertisers are presented as appropriators of culture - not to be confused with artists because advertising is taken to be a 'form of sponsored creativity which is primarily motivated by the commercial agendas and strategic marketing objectives of corporate clients' (p521).

Yet *No Logo* shows that many musicians are not only also sponsored by the same corporations but are often just as motivated by commercial agendas and strategic marketing objectives as the marketers - a phenomenon revealed by Brown, in his study of Harry Potter author, JK Rowling (Brown 2005a) and Schroeder (2005) in his study of artists Andy Warhol, Cindy Sherman and Barbara Kruger. If this pattern is observed, then the traditional dichotomy of art versus commerce with marketers in the middle, acting as ideological intermediaries, becomes anachronistic as all that remains in Klein's world is aggressive branding where artists are complicit, if not proactive. True, Klein notes that some artists attempt to rebel within this framework, but she concludes that these acts of rebellion are rendered pathetic by the money the musicians are receiving to be there, and because the brands are now the stars of the show anyway. Ironically, such attempts at rebellion can only fuel the band's attraction for the advertiser, because as Holt (2002) reminds us, the reason why advertisers seek obscure pieces of music is because they are seeking to tap into culture that retains the perception of authenticity and aura unstained by corporate sponsorship. Further irony attends Klein's comment that the rebel leaders of culture are now just as likely to be found in the CEO positions of large corporations, such as Diesel Jeans founder Renzo Rosso who rides to work on his Ducati

Monster motorcycle. Just as Franks (1997:p115) maintains, the argument of appropriation misses the point that the adman is often the 'coolest guy on the commuter train'.

Clearly the moral issue is not so clear cut. In a context of difficulty carving out space to play their preferred music in commercial environments, the interest of advertisers in their music allowed an opportunity to access mass media and to raise the cash to subsidise careers in the margins of the music industry. This problematises the clear cut definition of art v commerce as presented by Kubacki & Croft (2004) because our musicians were ironically using branding to reduce their reliance on the mechanisms of the music industry itself. This suggests that the interflow between art and commerce is much more complex than as presented in previous *Journal of Marketing Management* research which imagine art and commerce to occupy separate homologies (Kelly et al. 2005; Kubacki and Croft 2004). Evidence was also found that placing music in branding strategies can have positive effects for not just the brand but also the music itself, as the meaning transfer can be a two way process, rather than strictly one of divestment.

This interpretation adds a twist to the Klein *No Space* thesis. In her argument there is no space left for the production of autonomous culture, only branding strategies pursued by artists and marketers alike. However, our research demonstrates that the fluidity can be more complex and ironic because the artists can maintain cultural credibility within a branding process, and then use the earned money to subsidise their own space for the production of music. This raises an important question which forms the basis of a critique of Klein's research - namely, what space? Musical production takes place in many spaces: the recording studio, the concert, the global music event, the festival, the worldwide web, the record shop floor, the promotional space. The commercial intrusion is arguably excluded from some of these locales. To suggest that because one, or several, of these spaces become colonised by branding processes, that the music itself is also colonised is perhaps misleading. As this study demonstrates, the colonisation of one commercial space by marketers can subsidise the maintenance of another site for musical production for the musicians on their own terms. For example, by allowing their music to be used in an ad, the musicians can subsidise their independence from record labels who might otherwise dictate what music the musicians are allowed to play.

Another critique of *No Space* is provided by brand culture theory. As Schroeder and Salzer-Morling (2006) argue, brand managers do not completely control branding processes as cultural codes can constrain how brands work to produce meaning. Rather than a top-down organising of consumer response, as seems to be implicit within *No Logo*, brand culture can be more ambiguous and co-created with consumers (O'Reilly 2005) who are

often highly 'au fait' with marketing strategy and can subvert or ignore the intended brand meanings (Brown 2006). Therefore simple exposure to brand messages does not necessarily generate the desired effect. It may result in overexposure to brands, leading to consumer complacency and confusion. In turn consumers may take their own meaning from the interactions with brands and music and musicians play their part in this. Moreover, musicians have to consider how associating with certain brands, or products, affects their own image as artists. Therefore we suggest that the branding process and its relationship to the world of cultural production is also more complex than as described by *No Logo*.

In this study we have demonstrated that whilst *No Logo* draws attention to the important phenomenon of brand intrusion into the sphere of cultural production, Klein's argument does contain limitations. Namely she underestimates the level of co-creation and agency within brand culture and secondly, she offers a reductionist perspective regarding the different spaces in which culture is produced and is amenable to brand intrusion. However, *No Logo* does draw attention to the level of interflow between artists and marketing, problematising previous research which considers the art and marketing worlds as distinct entities. Similarly, Hogg and Banister (2000) reveal the existence of multiple channels for meaning transfer from pop stars to individual consumers via consumption rituals that include performance events as only one avenue. *No Logo* also draws attention to the insidious mechanisms employed within brand culture. Our article also draws attention to the integration of journalistic texts into marketing scholarship, which we now reflect on further. Finally we might add that whilst this study exclusively responds to Klein's observations regarding how branding affects musical production, there is scope for future research to investigate other claims by Klein, such as the intrusion of branding into civic spaces, local communities and the impact of brand culture upon developing countries.

New Blood, New Spirit

This special issue of *Journal of Marketing Management* is aimed at new lecturers, so to give voice to a new generation of researchers who may be expected to have a different perspective from those with a longer career history in the discipline. In that regard the decision to ground this article within the pages of a journalistic framework dismissed by the *Economist* (2001) as 'adolescent' is worthy of reflection. As Brown (2005b) states not only is Naomi Klein the foremost marketing commentator of the twenty-first century, but she also a harbinger of two changes which are currently imposing themselves upon the dissemination of marketing: firstly like other marketing scholars growing in stature, Naomi Klein is female and secondly

she is a journalist. In an age where some of the most influential discourse regarding the role of marketing in society comes from the field of journalism, it is rewarding to take this opportunity to critically engage with a text such as *No Logo* and to subject it to the same academic scrutiny that would be put to other academic contributions.

A further reason why reviewing Klein's work may be a harbinger of change as brought about by a new generation, is that Klein speaks on behalf of the anti-globalisation movement. At a time when anti-globalisation discourse is gaining force through such writers as Naomi Klein and Eric Schlosser as well as through film-makers like Michael Moore and Morgan Spurlock, marketing scholarship seems unsure as to where it should stand. Do these texts represent the 'self-righteous disgust of the alienated adolescent' as the *Economist* (2001) would have us believe, or do they have something more important to say that the marketing academy should listen to carefully? Whilst writers such as Firat et al (1987) and Holbrook (1992) have already reflected on the uncomfortable relationship between marketing scholarship and marketing practice, what about the relationship between marketing scholarship and the anti-globalisation movement? Would considering that relationship be a step too far from the traditional marketing paradigm? One might further argue that whilst investigating *No Logo* is perhaps symptomatic of that which the New Blood of marketing lectureship will increasingly analyse, such acts are indicative of the evolution of marketing discourse as opposed to the revolutionary.

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About the Authors

Alan Bradshaw is in the first years of his lectureship at University of Exeter having completed his doctoral studies in Ireland where he had the very good fortune of being supervised by Pierre and Dave. He has published in *Consumption, Markets and Culture* and the *Journal of Macromarketing*.

Pierre McDonagh is Associate Dean for Research at Dublin City University Business School and his research interests include Critical Management & Marketing Studies - sustainable communication; oppositional communicative acts; the problematisation of sustainable consumption; and the representation of market logic.

David Marshall is a Senior Lecturer at the University of Edinburgh and his research interests include consumer behaviour and marketing with special interest in food choice, health issues and change, children's consumption and consumption in an institutional context.

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