Antiglobal Challenges to Marketing in Developing Countries: Exploring the Ideological Divide

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Antiglobalization critics have accused marketing in developing countries of undermining local cultures, placing intellectual property rights ahead of human rights, contributing to unhealthy dietary patterns and unsafe food technologies, and promoting unsustainable consumption. Following a brief review of the history of development theory and practice, the author describes these four challenges and presents rebuttals, drawing from the philosophy of marketing. Subsequent sections explore some areas of similarity between antiglobal and marketing thought, as well as some further ideological differences.

In recent years, a burgeoning political movement has developed a wide-ranging critique of the theory, institutions, and practices of economic globalization. This ideology, prominently represented by the International Forum on Globalization (IFG) (Cavanagh and Mander 2002), objects to privatization of public services and commodification of the global (atmosphere and oceans) and community (local water and biota) commons.[1] It fears the effects of "hypergrowth" on the environment, rampant consumerism on the social fabric, and cultural homogenization on diversity everywhere. It finds regional trade agreements, such as the North American Free Trade Agreement, and world trade and development bodies, such as the World Trade Organization (WTO), the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund, undemocratic and slanted toward business interests. The Forum and other critics harbor strong reservations about international corporations as legal entities and voice great skepticism about free trade and the uncontrolled movement of investment capital into smaller, poorer countries. Above all, antiglobalism despairs over the continuing level of poverty and growing inequality in the world and roundly condemns the hypocrisy of rich countries that preach open markets while protecting their own workers and farmers and subsidizing their own corporations. The antiglobal political agenda has been forcefully stated through street protests, press coverage, seminars and conferences, books and journals, and Internet Web sites.

[1]Founded in 1994, the IFG represents 60 organizations in 25 countries. According to Henwood (2003, p. 160), the IFC "has appointed itself the intellectual leader of what is unsatisfactorily called the antiglobalization movement." Thus, the IFG report, *Alternatives to Economic Globalization: A Better World Is Possible* (Cavanagh and Mander 2002), which a 19-person drafting committee prepared, is a major source, though not the only source, used to represent the antiglobalization position.

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Antiglobalization philosophy deems marketing strategies and systems—brands and advertising, franchised distribution, and mass media—to be especially problematic (Jameson 2000; Johansson 2004; Klein 1999) and alleges that marketing has had negative influences on developing countries' quality of life (Ger 1992; Ger and Belk 1996; Kilbourne, McDonagh, and Prothero 1997).[2] In this view, marketing does not always serve the needs of poor people, poor countries, and indigenous cultures. For example, ill-conceived campaigns, such as the now infamous promotion of Nestlé's infant formula in the 1970s to mothers who were too impoverished and inadequately informed to use it properly, can harm consumers directly. Advertising and other elements of the marketing mix can have more indirect but equally serious consequences by encouraging standards of consumption to rise more quickly than incomes. Dissatisfaction and dysfunctional behavior often result (Ger 1997; United Nations Development Programme 1998).

Such appraisals should not be surprising, because the theoretical assumptions and political implications of antiglobalism contrast with those of marketing thought.[3] Whereas much antiglobal commentary draws from Marxist ideas (*The Economist* 2002b), marketing has deep intellectual roots in neoclassical economics (Shaw and Jones 2005; Wilkie and Moore 2003) with its emphasis on limited government regulation, the rule of law, and the free international movement of goods, services, and capital. Marketing has flourished under capitalism, and its teachings are naturally sympathetic to the creation of markets for allocating

[2]*The United Nations Human Development Index* (United Nations Development Programme 2004) ranks 177 countries as follows: countries 1–55 have "high human development," countries 56–141 have "medium human development," and countries 142–177 have "low human development." Among the top group are countries such as Argentina (No. 34), Poland (No. 35), Cuba (No. 52), and Mexico (No. 53), though most observers would consider these countries still developing. Therefore, this article defines developing countries as those that rank from 31 to 177 on the index.

[3]Throughout the past century, there have been many different schools of marketing thought—functions, commodities, institutions, managerial, and macromarketing to name a few (Shaw and Jones 2005; Wilkie and Moore 2003)—and individual educators, scholars, and practitioners have held diverse personal views. Nevertheless, core assumptions and principles of the managerial perspective predominate. They are embedded within contemporary marketing texts, which naturally follow mainstream thought, and constitute a reasonably coherent political philosophy.

resources and organizing society. Whereas antiglobal policy recommendations typically lean toward collectivist solutions to social problems, including economic development, marketing theory adheres to the philosophies of individualism and utilitarianism. Marketing asserts consumer sovereignty as its most fundamental principle, and its texts tout consumer satisfaction as the primary goal. The less affluent countries have hundreds of millions of consumers, many with substantial discretionary income (*The Economist* 2003a; Prahalad and Hammond 2002). In the marketing worldview, state-of-the-art strategy and tactics can help satisfy the needs of emerging mass markets at a profit, and their continuing economic growth offers the prospect of even larger returns in the future. Marketing theory is compatible with development through private initiative and with government policies that foster economic freedom (Heritage Foundation 2004).

Antiglobal opinions about marketing in developing countries deserve close scrutiny. First, in general, the antiglobal program, which is championed by an international cadre of labor, environmental, religious, and left-of-center interests, has lofty purposes.[4] It emphasizes the needs of the weak and poverty stricken and finds inequality within and across countries to be shameful and in need of remedy. These ideals are not necessarily inconsistent with those of most marketing academics and managers. Indeed, advancing the economic development of poor countries is a major world policy objective and a profound intellectual challenge. Second, antiglobal criticism may stimulate new thinking that improves the relationships among corporate marketing, macromarketing systems, and economic and social development. The marketing literature has a long history of incorporating ideas from other disciplines. Third, whether and to what extent marketing practice may actually be deleterious to the interests of the poor, millions of people throughout the world believe this to be so. It would be foolish to ignore this opinion and fail to understand its underlying dynamics and political implications.

Among the many charges commonly made by antiglobalization writers, four are central to an assessment of marketing in developing countries:

- Marketing undermines local cultures.
- Marketing places intellectual property (IP) rights ahead of human rights.
- Marketing contributes to unhealthy dietary patterns and unsafe food technologies.
- Marketing promotes unsustainable consumption.

I have selected these particular challenges from the broader critique because they are closely linked to the effects of marketing activities, have been widely discussed, and are of current interest. Marketing managers have less control over other important issues. Some allegations, such as increases in local pollution caused by outsourcing production to countries with less stringent environmental regulations or the exploitation of poor country laborers, particularly women, children, and migrants who are working in sweatshop conditions, are more properly questions of manufacturing, human resources management, and corporate social responsibility. The downsides of massive capital outflows and ruinous debt loads, often resulting from corrupt and irresponsible governments' excessive borrowing, are largely financial, political, and moral matters. Finally, trade agreement constraints on the exercise of national sovereignty and the sense and scope of democratic control (Bhagwati 2004) are more legal and legislative problems than marketing problems.

In this article, I adapt Singer's (2002) analytical approach. For each of the four challenges, I present a summary of the antiglobalization position, followed by counterarguments that draw from the core political philosophy that is embedded in mainstream marketing thought. Next, I explore some areas of theoretical compatibility—consumer agency, social marketing, and customer orientation—and then analyze how the explosive combination of U.S. global marketing and rising anti-Americanism may be exacerbating the ideological divide. However, before I examine the four challenges and the other issues, some background in the recent political and intellectual history of economic development is necessary.

Three Eras in the History of Development Thought

Changing political environments and ideological trends have greatly influenced marketing in developing countries. Development history over the past sixty years can be divided into three eras: 1945–1979, 1979–1999, and 1999–today. The end of World War II is a good place to begin because it meant the resumption of more open trade and investment relations, the beginning of the end of Western colonization, the creation of many new but poor countries, and the founding of important global development organizations, including the United Nations, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund. The other two chronological divisions, 1979 and 1999, are also based on important political events and shifting ideological tides, namely, China's rejection of Maoism and the advent of mass antiglobalization protests. Admittedly, this periodization scheme may be a little presumptuous because the history it organizes is rather recent and the time spans are relatively short (Hollander et al. 2005). That said, the current approach should serve at least as a useful narrative framework.

1945–1979: Era of State-Directed Development

From 1945 until 1979, the preponderance of development thought and policy favored industrialization through government intervention. Influenced by the success of the Soviet Union in becoming a superpower, most third-world countries adopted local variations on the theme of state-directed development. Governments would control the major industries and infrastructure, the "commanding heights" of the economy (Lindsey 2002; Yergin and Stanis-

[4] Globalization has stirred up animosity among right-wing nativists who oppose the influx of immigrants from and the outsourcing of factory and service jobs to developing countries and worry about national identity and sovereignty (Buchanan 2002). Globalization also upsets religious conservatives. The destruction of the World Trade Center on September 11 by Muslim fanatics was, among other things, an attack on a prominent symbol of global capital. Such people do not share the humanistic social ideology that characterizes the heart of the antiglobalization movement.

law 2002). The largest developing country, China, confiscated private property and instituted Stalinist-inspired central planning to achieve its economic transformation. India adopted a democratic form of government, but it too pursued policies of socialism and centralization to the point at which eventually a "permit raj" enwrapped private initiative and business within an enormous, stifling bureaucracy. Many countries nationalized the property of Western foreign investors. Leaders, such as Burma's U Nu, Chile's Salvador Allende, Indonesia's Sukarno, and Uganda's Milton Obote, nationalized British, American, and Dutch enterprises (Chua 2004). Thus, different manifestations of state-dominated economic development became the norm throughout Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America.

However, not all countries took this path. Hong Kong thrived under laissez-faire capitalism (known locally as "positive nonintervention" by the government) that emphasized light manufacturing for export and strong financial and business service sectors (Hung 1984). In the 1960s, after a decade of failed import-substituting industrialization, Taiwan and South Korea also adopted export-led growth strategies, albeit with more trade protection than Hong Kong (Cohn 2003). However, such cases were few, and development theories of industrialization through economic protectionism and government ownership prevailed.

Dependency theories, or the historical structuralist perspective, identified the source of third-world problems in North–South linkages, wherein the terms of trade favored the finished goods made by advanced industrial states of the "core" over the raw materials and agricultural products of the "periphery" (Cohn 2003). To break exploitative linkages and foster autonomy, "import substitution" programs imposed punitive tariffs and other trade and investment barriers on foreign firms to protect domestic infant industries. Public enterprises in a variety of forms would serve as the engines of modernization, champions of national sovereignty, and providers of social welfare services (Lindsey 2002; Yergin and Stanislaw 2002). These policies made eminent sense within the larger political context, because many developing countries had just shaken off their colonial masters and wanted to control their own destinies. Better yet, these approaches appeared to work. Latin America, India, and a few African countries, such as Ghana, registered healthy rates of growth during the 1950s and 1960s (Cohn 2003).

Marketing activity was considered mostly irrelevant to such inward-oriented supply creation: "The general view of theorists and practitioners was that the marketing system, by definition, must follow the development of the industrial and agricultural sectors. Marketing also will automatically distribute this production if and when it becomes available" (Klein and Nason 2001, p. 265). Government officials and international aid specialists failed to consider marketing as a catalyst in development (Duhaime, McTavish, and Ross 1985). Moreover, marketing was sometimes considered potentially detrimental because of parasitic, predatory intermediaries who often came from ethnic minorities (Dholakia and Dholakia 1984; Kaynak 1986). Chua (2004) contends that nominally socialist policies have long been used as a cover for seizing the property of market-dominant minorities, such as the Chinese in Southeast Asia, who control an outsized proportion of developing country business and wealth.

1979–1999: Era of Development Through Neoliberalism and Globalization

The early successes of state intervention and protectionist barriers had begun to stall in the 1970s. Neglect of agriculture led to food crises in 1972–1973, and the energy crisis instigated by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries added further external stresses. Moreover, attempts at industrialization foundered because of a lack of capital and advanced technology (Cohn 2003). The reforms that Deng Xiaoping presented to China in 1978 and 1979 marked a turning point for development thought and practice. Mao's experiments with utopian socialism had simply not done much to help the Chinese people improve their standard of living. Beginning with agriculture, "pragmatism" and "results" would be the new watchwords. As the payoff for China became so spectacular in terms of unprecedented economic growth, vast inflows of foreign direct investment, and, arguably, renewed cultural vitality, policymakers in many countries experimented with economic liberalization. Inspired by Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher, neoliberalism flourished in the 1980s and then found even more adherents after the fall of Communism in Central and Eastern Europe. In India, Southeast Asia, and Latin America, the policies that dependency theorists advocated were being abandoned in favor of privatization, markets, and free trade (Cohn 2003; Lindsey 2002; Yergin and Stanislaw 2002).

Between 1979 and 1999, the ascendancy of neoliberal thought and policy was reinforced by the apparent successes and future promise of "globalization," the myriad processes of economic, political, and cultural integration that were gaining momentum in much of the world. Trade figures soared, stock markets rose, and the *United Nations Human Development Index* showed improvements for the large majority of all people, including a majority of the people of developing countries (United Nations Development Programme 2004). On the marketing side, global products and brands, retail chains and store formats, and advertising and other mass communication became increasingly prominent and served new markets with rising spending power. Business writers bubbled with enthusiasm. Caslione and Thomas (2000) used the freighted term "global manifest destiny" to describe the inevitable economic integration of all humankind. Thomas Friedman (1999) wrote about shared consumer cultures unifying the world and preventing war.

In academia, the study of global business became more fashionable, a trend encouraged by the accrediting body now known as the Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of Business. In marketing, sales of international texts boomed, and several new journals were founded, including *International Marketing Review* (1984), *Journal of International Consumer Marketing* (1988), and *Journal of International Marketing* (1993). The marketing professoriate became increasingly confident about the potential contributions of their field to world development (see, e.g., Cundiff 1982; Duhaime, McTavish, and Ross 1985; Kotler 1988; Savitt 1988; Wood and Vitell 1986), and by the late

1990s, some even believed that applying strategic market management could become a key factor in building national wealth (Kotler, Jatusripitak, and Maesincee 1997). This work was largely based on different versions of modernization theory, all of which assume that third-world development depends on the adoption of the institutions and values of Western society (Joy and Wallendorf 1996). Levitt's (1983) seminal article, "The Globalization of Markets," proclaimed that technology was driving consumers toward the same goals, making the world into a single marketplace. This view provided a rationale for more globally standardized products that would reap the benefits of scale and scope economies (Johansson 2004).

Since 1999: Era of Antiglobal Backlash

However, not everyone benefited from neoliberal globalization policies. Many of the poorest countries were simply left out of the virtuous cycle of economic, social, and political development. All of the post-Communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe found the creation of free market economies and better living standards to be more difficult than expected. As happened in Southeast Asia in 1997, investment capital proved skittish, and the rapid withdrawal of large amounts could cause serious social hardship and disruption. Within countries such as Mexico, which had eagerly signed on to trade agreements, the forces of global competition inevitably created losses within some groups, such as small farmers, who could not compete with their state-subsidized, agribusiness competitors to the north. In other cases, autocratic governments suppressed democracy in favor of "crony capitalism," which successfully attracted development loans and foreign investments and produced nominally good macro results. However, although kleptocrats, such as Indonesia's General Suharto and his family—along with much of the Chinese minority—prospered greatly, the bulk of the indigenous (or *pribumi*, "of the soil") population had relatively little to show, at least by comparison (Chua 2004).

Criticism of corporate-driven globalization had been in the air for years (Bhagwati 2004), fed in part by the influential, postcolonial writings of the late Edward Said (1979, 1984) and other "poco" theorists. The term "antiglobalization" became well known worldwide following the heated demonstrations at the November 1999 WTO meeting—the "battle in Seattle"—and many such subsequent confabs. The general slowdown of the world economy in 2001 and 2002 may have further inflamed protectionist sentiments that challenged the rosy neoliberal worldview. Once again, there had been an ideological reversal of fortune, and as of this writing, neoliberalism seems increasingly to be on the defensive. Antiglobal, nongovernmental organizations have been adept at using the Internet to spread their message and mobilize protesters. Furthermore, at the September 2003 WTO ministerial meeting in Cancun, developing countries accused rich countries of supporting free trade for their own exports, while hypocritically protecting their own agricultural and textile industries.

Antiglobal thinking has sometimes been criticized for being too "anti" and for not having worked out an alternative to the present economic order (*The Economist* 2002b, c). Borrowing an analytical habit from the Marxist tradition, the antiglobalization movement takes a critical but sometimes impractical approach to social problems. Antiglobalism often verges toward the utopian. Ger's (1997) essay on human development and humane consumption advocates a selfless "love culture" as an alternative to self-interested "enterprise culture" and hopes for the emergence of "caring and aesthetic firms." Jameson's (2000, p. 68) dreams for perfection are even more unabashed:

> For the moment, we can use the word "utopian" to designate whatever programmes and representations express, in however distorted or unconscious a fashion, the demands of a collective life to come, and identify social collectivity as the crucial centre of any truly progressive and innovative political response to globalization.

Antiglobal proponents envision a world of social justice, living wages, fair (not free) trade, and environmental sustainability, but neoliberals argue that they do not present a comprehensive plan for getting there. The International Forum on Globalization disputes this contention—"The claim that the protesters offer no alternatives is as false as the other claims" (Cavanagh and Mander 2002, p. 3)—and makes dozens of policy proposals that range from the narrow (e.g., rewriting corporate charters) to socially transformative (e.g., alternative energy and transportation systems). The Forum and other critics dislike labels such as "antiglobal" and "antiglobalization," because such negative language detracts from what they consider their positive program for improving the human condition.

Some marketing academics have raised questions about the applicability of the modernization theories to marketing and development (Dholakia 1984; Dholakia and Dholakia 1982), whereas others have explored how the spread of consumerism through marketing activities has affected the less affluent world (Ger 1992, 1997; Ger and Belk 1996; Hirschman 1986). The group of scholars who would become the International Society for Marketing and Development held their first conference in 1986 and incorporated formally in 1993. In 2000, the membership voted to change the name to the International Society of Marketing and Development, a more neutral title that avoids giving the impression that the organization necessarily endorses marketing in developing countries (International Society of Marketing and Development 2004). The three presentations in the final plenary session of the 8th International Conference on Marketing and Development, held in Bangkok, Thailand, January 3–7, 2003, all contained reasoned but unflattering accounts of globalization. As then International Society of Marketing and Development President Russell Belk (2003, p. 661) stated, "Global markets undermine national sovereignty and create turmoil."

Four Challenges to Marketing

Table 1 summarizes the four primary challenges, antiglobal assertions, and responses that are implicit in marketing ideology. I have attempted to interpret and convey the majority or consensus opinion rather than the minority or more extreme arguments in each camp.

Table 1. Four Challenges to Marketing in Developing Countries: A Summary of Antiglobal Assertions and Marketing Responses

Challenge	Antiglobal Assertions	Marketing Responses
1. Marketing undermines local cultures.	•Imported products displace local cultural goods. •Cultural diversity is preferable to cultural homogenization. •Cultural trade barriers and subsidies for domestic cultural producers are useful remedies.	•Consumers should be able to choose their own cultural goods. •Cultural and other goods are adapted to local markets. •Standardized products provide operational efficiencies and consumer benefits. •Cultural change is inevitable, even desirable.
2. Marketing places IP rights ahead of human rights.	•Corporations should not have the same rights as people. •Global IP regimes do not benefit poor countries. •Pharmaceutical pricing should reflect ability to pay. •Large corporations are pirating indigenous knowledge.	•Private IP ownership is desirable because it stimulates innovation. •Local governments must enforce IP rights. •Counterfeiting and piracy damage business and societies everywhere.
3. Marketing contributes to unhealthy dietary patterns and unsafe food technologies.	•Marketing is a factor in the worldwide obesity epidemic. •Fast-food marketing targets vulnerable populations. •Genetically modified (GM) foods are potentially dangerous and are not authentic. •If GM foods are sold, they should be clearly identified.	•Food consumption choices are an individual responsibility. •Marketing of fast foods is a legitimate activity. •GM foods provide benefits for producers and consumers everywhere. •Food distribution is the real problem in poor countries.
4. Marketing promotes unsustainable consumption.	•Foreign corporations exploit weak laws and despoil local environments. •Long-distance transportation is polluting. •Renewable resources are the key to productivity. •Global warming is the paramount environmental problem.	•Managerial marketing asserts the right to consume and assumes that more is better. •Green marketing seeks to attach ecological riders to the marketing concept. •Economic growth creates resources that can protect the environment. •Privatization leads to better conservation of resources.

Marketing Undermines Local Cultures[5]

Antiglobal Assertions

The antiglobalization critique maintains that an influx of ideas, values, products, and lifestyles from the rich countries, above all, the increasingly hegemonic United States, unduly influences and ultimately debases developing countries' cultures (Barber 1995; Jameson 2000; Tunstall 1977). Traditional societies are in grave danger of displacement and homogenization. Their ethos—their unique perspectives on the world—is being weakened or destroyed by external commercial influences (Cowen 2002). When they are not being eradicated altogether, native languages are being tainted by English, the lingua franca of globalization. In addition, just as competition from large foreign manufacturers challenges smaller local firms, the forces of globalization cause economic loss to domestic cultural industries, especially film (Baughn and Buchanan 2001). Some critics describe these processes as "cultural imperialism," a new form of exploitation resulting from the export of popular culture to the developing world (Watson 1997). Theories of cultural imperialism first emerged in the 1970s (Tunstall 1977) and have been propounded under a variety of phrases (e.g., "structural imperialism," "cultural dependency," "electronic colonialism") by scholars from several disciplines (White 2001). Although it is problematic everywhere, foreign penetration particularly threatens the cultures of the smaller developing countries and groups of indigenous peoples. In contrast, large societies, such as Mexico or India, can maintain distinct identities better in the face of cross-cultural contact because they are regionally diverse and historically synthetic cultures (Cowen 2002).

Marketing management provides the strategies and tactics for spreading the dominant world culture. As Johansson (2004, p. 10) observes, global marketers are "the flag-bearers of free trade and globalization. To use a metaphor, they are vassals in the service of capitalism, the first troops to attack when formerly closed markets open." Brand names in the form of embedded logos on clothing and other consumer goods or conveyed through carefully targeted advertising campaigns manipulate personal tastes (Klein 1999).

[5]Somewhat ill defined in the antiglobalization literature, the term "local culture" is used chiefly to mean culture outside the developed world. Watson (1997, p. 9) offers a more general definition of local culture as "the experience of everyday life as lived by ordinary people in specific localities." In accordance with Watson's definition, Greenwich Village and Hollywood would also qualify as local cultures, but because these places, especially the latter, are considered cultural exporters, Watson's sense is somewhat inconsistent with the antiglobal challenge to marketing.

Branding as a macro process shifts the balance away from the local, unique, and creative to the global, standardized, and bland. In the words of the International Forum on Globalization, the world's consumers

> are to be served by the same few global corporations, the same fast-food restaurants, hotel chains, and clothing chains; wear the same jeans and shoes; drive similar cars; receive the same films, music, and television shows; live in the same kind of urban landscape; and engage in the same kind of agricultural and industrial development schemes, while carrying the same personal, cultural, and spiritual values—*a global monoculture*. (Cavanaugh and Mander 2002, p. 23, emphasis in original)

This is more than just a question of cultural preeminence; it is one of real political power. One McDonald's or Starbucks may enhance diversity, but 100 or 1000 permeate markets and stifle competition (Barber 1995, 2003). Belk (1995) observes that the forces of global marketing, from Ronald McDonald to buying the world a Coke, are difficult to resist because they so often seem innocuous and benign. In the eyes of the most radical critics, marketing enables international corporations to wrest control of the distribution and consumption of goods and services from impoverished countries.

Thus, the antiglobal position favors measures that protect local cultures. Remedies for stemming the onslaught of global popular culture can take many forms. Government-imposed trade barriers include (1) censorship, such as Iran's ban on satellite television dishes or China's blocking of Web sites; (2) quotas, such as China's restrictions on the number of U.S. films that can be imported legally each year; and (3) high tariffs and other forms of discriminatory taxation, such as France's surcharge on non–European Union films. An alternative strategy is to subsidize domestic cultural productions. For example, the Mexican government funds a state-run school for cinema, finances films through the Instituto Mexicano de Cinematografía, and owns the Churubusco Azteca studio (Kraul and Muñoz 2003; Sheridan 1998).

Consumers in developing countries, often egged on by intellectuals, preachers, or opportunistic politicians, sometimes initiate boycotts of imported culture. The socialist Janata Dal Party chased Coca-Cola out of India in 1977 because it would not reveal its formula to local cola brands (Chua 2004; Yergin and Stanislaw 2002). When Coke returned in 1994 through a strategic alliance with an Indian soft drinks manufacturer, Janata Dal leaders threatened boycotts and picketing of bottling plants and delivery trucks (Dahlburg 1995). More recently, extreme right-wingers in India's Bharatiya Janata Party have called for more self-reliance (Bhagwati 2004), and consumers in Arab countries have shunned U.S. brands and fast-food restaurants to protest U.S. policies in the Middle East (Mroue 2002).

Does cultural protectionism work? Trade barriers, especially when vigorously implemented by autocratic regimes, can limit the influx of foreign goods and popular culture. Evidence suggests that local products can sometimes benefit as a result. The Korean film industry has profited financially from such regulations as the "106 day" rule, which mandates that local theaters screen Korean-language cinema the equivalent of 106 days a year. Korean blockbusters now dominate the local market (Lee 2004; Russell 2004), and Korean-language movies have begun to attract favorable reviews from international critics (*The Economist* 2003b). However, consumers often find ways to circumvent cultural trade barriers, such as by purchasing smuggled hard goods (printed materials, CDs, and DVDs) or downloading digital files from the Internet (Duda and Witkowski 2003). Moreover, local production to fill domestic quotas may turn out to be poor quality "quota quickies" (Baughn and Buchanan 2001).

Marketing Responses

The marketing response to these accusations begins with the principle of consumer sovereignty; that is, consumers should be allowed to make their own choices among products, including cultural products, regardless of origin. Free trade in cultural goods broadens the range of choices available to individual consumers within societies (Cowen 2002). In contrast, cultural protectionism serves special interests, not society at large. The interests of domestic publishers and film producers may not necessarily be tantamount to those of their audiences. Enforcing a homogenized status quo is itself inimical to diversity (Henwood 2003).

In general, the marketing literature respects cultural differences as an important environmental variable. Textbooks take great pains to explain that local adaptation of the marketing mix is the sine qua non of international marketing:

> Adaptation is a key concept in international marketing, and willingness to adapt is a crucial attitude. Adaptation, or at least accommodation, is required on small matters as well as large ones. In fact, the small, seemingly insignificant situations are often the most crucial. More than tolerance of an alien culture is required. There is a need for affirmative acceptance, that is, open tolerance of the concept "different but equal." Through such affirmative acceptance, adaptation becomes easier because empathy for another's point of view naturally leads to ideas for meeting cultural differences. (Cateora and Graham 2005, pp. 124–25)

Similarly, Czinkota and Ronkainen (2004, p. 248), whose text devotes an entire chapter to the topic, justify adaptation "because meeting and satisfying customer needs and expectations is the key to successful marketing." This is not just all "cheap talk"; evidence of marketer-driven adaptation is plentiful. Multinational firms, such as Nestlé, Procter & Gamble, and Unilever, manage large portfolios of brands that are sold in just one or two countries (Boze and Patton 1995). Companies modify their so-called global products to suit the tastes of consumers in different markets. A visit to the McDonald's Web site (www.mcdonalds.com) shows how menus vary from country to country. For example, McDonald's India promotes "McVeggies," "McAloo Tikkis," and "Maharaja Macs"; McDonald's Uruguay sells "Dulce de Leche" pancakes. Packaging, pricing, distribution, and advertising are all tailored for different cultures. KFC in China has switched from white meat to dark for its chicken burgers and is replacing coleslaw and mashed potatoes, both side dishes that work in the West, with seasonal vegetables, shredded carrot salads, fungus and bamboo shoots, and rice porridge (*congee*) (Adler 2003).

It can also be argued that standardization provides both operational and consumer benefits. Foreign fast-food chains can offer competitive value propositions to the world's less affluent consumers because of economical acquisition of inputs (e.g., raw and processed foods, food preparation and serving equipment), standardized production and management processes, and the ability to test new offerings. They provide sales training to service workers and frequently introduce higher marketing standards from the first world. Moreover, consumers may prefer these global products. Chinese people who dine at KFC or McDonald's in Beijing can taste a bit of Americana within clean and cheerful surroundings (Yan 2000), and they will most likely have a similar experience at any other such restaurant in their city. Watching a Hollywood film enables audiences in developing countries to sample a wider world, however distorted its depiction, than they would if they were restricted to domestic productions only. Global brands may confer some additional status on the user and his or her family in some cultures and may help enhance social ties and maintain traditional role relationships (Eckhardt and Houston 1998, 2001).

Embedded within the managerial literature are the assumptions that cultural change is inevitable and that innovation is desirable. For example, consider the following paragraph:

> Although cultures meet most newness with some resistance or rejection, that resistance can be overcome. Cultures are dynamic, and change occurs when resistance slowly yields to acceptance as the basis for resistance becomes unimportant or forgotten. Gradually there comes an awareness of the need for change, or ideas once too complex become less so because of cultural gains in understanding, or an idea is restructured in a less-complex way, and so on. After a need is recognized, it may be impossible to prevent the acceptance of a new idea. For some ideas, solutions to problems, or new products, resistance can be overcome in months; for others, approval may come only after decades or centuries. (Cateora and Graham 2005, p. 117)

The tone of this message is one of inexorability. The authors also explain that companies can choose between the strategies of "unplanned change" and the more proactive "planned change." They acknowledge that some change can be socially dysfunctional and that marketers have a responsibility for negative consequences of marketing efforts. However, the recommendation is not to refrain from cultural interference but "to design programs not only to gain acceptance for a product but also to eliminate any negative cultural effects" (Cateora and Graham 2005, p. 119).

Marketing Places IP Rights Ahead of Human Rights

Antiglobal Assertions

Antiglobal thought increasingly questions the legitimacy of privately owned IP rights and their imposition on poor countries through mechanisms such as the WTO Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (Mayer 1998). In part, this theoretical stance feeds on an antipathy toward the large, multinational corporations that typically control patents, copyrights, and trademarks. Legal rights to IP almost always belong to companies that are headquartered in Europe, North America, and Japan. Some of the more strident critics contend that these powerful firms are monopolists that exploit poor consumers, and therefore any losses due to piracy or counterfeiting can be dismissed as inconsequential. More commonly voiced—for example, by Consumers International, an umbrella organization for the world's consumer groups—is the argument that the exercise of IP rights reduces poor countries' access to knowledge in genetics, health, agriculture, education, and information technology (Drahos and Mayne 2002; Mayer 1998). Many governments and their citizens simply cannot afford the imposition of first-world pricing. Thus, IP regulatory regimes that work in rich countries may not be applicable worldwide. Even the staunchly neoliberal *Economist* (2002a, p. 13), in reporting the findings of the U.K. Commission on Intellectual Property Rights, admits, "There is little evidence to show that truly downtrodden places which introduce robust intellectual-property protection reap any of the much-touted benefits."

A crucial problem is the pricing and distribution of pharmaceutical products, such as treatments for HIV/AIDS. This malady has reached epidemic proportions in eastern and southern Africa and has become a problem in several other countries, especially Thailand. The drug companies fear that lowering prices in poor countries will result in shipments being diverted for reexport to rich countries, where they can be sold below the set retail price. Thus, the less affluent do not receive their medication, and the companies lose revenues. Antiglobalists argue that basic human rights far outweigh this eventuality and that prices should reflect ability to pay. Besides, drug companies spend far more on marketing than on basic research (some of which is funded by public money), and reducing patent protection provides smaller, local suppliers a chance to compete (Cavanagh and Mander 2002).

Paradoxically, some patented, high-priced, Western pharmaceuticals may actually incorporate the "traditional knowledge" of developing countries, such as herbal remedies that have been used for centuries (*The Economist* 2003c; Shiva 2000). To the antiglobalists, this is an example of corporations raiding the commons, which can be defined as those "aspects of life that had been accepted since time immemorial as collective property, or the common heritage of all peoples and communities, existing for everyone to share as they have for millennia" (Cavanagh and Mander 2002, p. 81). In this view, the commons embrace air, water, and much of the land, as well as plant, animal, and human genetic material. In addition, many types of IP—product and process technologies, numerous literary and musical creations, and even some brand names—have entered the public domain over time.

Economists distinguish between rivalrous and nonrivalrous resources (Lessig 2002). If a logging company harvests trees from national forests, that activity may interfere with the access and enjoyment of hikers. In contrast, a nonrivalrous resource, such as academic research, is inexhaustible; after it is created it cannot be undone, and a person acquiring the knowledge does not stop another from doing the same. From an antiglobal perspective, much more IP should be considered a nonrivalrous resource. The claim that technology or content is private property is problematic and becomes more so the longer the claim remains in force. As I discuss in the section on unsustainable consumption, antiglobalists view air, water, and other natural endowments as rivalrous resources.

Marketing Responses

Marketing thought assumes that IP belongs to its creators, not to the commons. Those who develop IP should have the right to control and profit from it for a reasonable length of time. Ownership rights of some types of IP, such as the trade names and trademarks that are major components of brand equity, should extend indefinitely. Society benefits from the privatization of ideas because hope for financial gain drives innovation. Moreover, companies believe that their rights have been too often ignored. An example is the Indian Patent Act of 1970 (amended in 1999), which does not allow patents on the content of pharmaceuticals (it does permit patents on the methods of manufacture) and thereby encourages reverse engineering of drugs for purposes of local production (Embassy of India 2004; Mayer 1998).

Counterfeiting of tangibles and piracy of digital goods are especially serious problems. These acts take sales away from legitimate companies, reduce their brands' values, and force them to bear the costs of countermeasures. Jobs are lost, and because counterfeiters rarely pay taxes, governments are deprived of revenues (*The Economist* 2003c). Some counterfeit goods (bogus pharmaceuticals, shoddy airplane parts) may endanger the health and safety of consumers. Endemic piracy may not only drive away potential foreign investors but also perpetuate a climate of law breaking that is inimical to development. The process of economic development depends greatly on a society's observance of the rule of law, which includes respect for different types of property rights. When countries have fair and transparent legal systems, capitalism succeeds and economic growth is more likely (De Soto 2000).

The theft of IP, whether in the form of counterfeit branded clothing, toys, sports equipment, and pharmaceuticals or through pirated copyrighted materials, is a growing threat to international business (Nil and Shultz 1996). The International Intellectual Property Alliance (2004), a trade association that represents the music, motion picture, software, and book-publishing industries, believes that its U.S.-member firms alone lose \$20–\$22 billion annually, not including Internet piracy. In its May 2003 "Special 301" review, the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative pegged U.S. losses for all industries as high as \$200–\$250 billion, and the International Chamber of Commerce estimates that from 7% to 9% of all world trade is in counterfeits (*The Economist* 2003c). In many developing countries, local vendors quite openly sell brand knockoffs of all kinds, as well as hard copies of software, music, and movies (Duda and Witkowski 2003). China has become the world capital of counterfeiting and piracy (Buckley 2003; *The Economist* 2003c; Iritani 2003), but many additional hotbeds can be found throughout the world.

Counterfeiting and piracy can damage local IP industries in developing countries. In Hong Kong, cheap video compact disc players were introduced in the early 1990s. By the end of the decade, a third of all households owned these players, and pirated media to play in them became much in demand. Box-office revenues declined 15%–20% a year throughout the 1990s, and the local film industry was reduced to a third of its 1990 size, when Hong Kong exported the second-largest number of films (after the United States) to the world market. Hong Kong cinemas closed for a day on March 17, 1999, to protest video piracy (*The Economist* 1999). India, which has both vigorous motion picture and growing software industries, may also be quite vulnerable.

Marketing Contributes to Unhealthy Dietary Patterns and Unsafe Food Technologies

Antiglobal Assertions

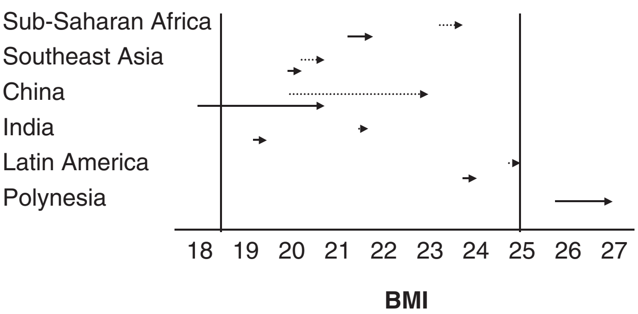
Rising levels of obesity have alarmed public health officials worldwide (World Health Organization 2003). The problem is especially acute in the United States and Britain, but it is expanding in many other countries. The causes of this epidemic, which range from a human genetic predisposition, to overeating, to increasingly sedentary lifestyles, to individual moral failings, are many, and their full examination is beyond the scope of this article. However, critics point out a major marketing dimension to the problem. Marketers have become quite adept at developing an endless variety of convenient, tasty foods that are widely available, reasonably priced, and sold through aggressive advertising that is often targeted at vulnerable populations, especially children and teenagers (Schlosser 2001). Results of a recent national survey (Bowman et al. 2004) indicate that fast-food consumption among U.S. children apparently has an adverse effect on dietary quality that plausibly could increase risk for obesity. A reason the French activist José Bové and his accomplices vandalized the construction site of a new McDonald's in Millau was their belief that it symbolized the proliferation of *le malbouf*, or junk food (Woodruff 2001).

Ironically, given the malnutrition and starvation that still plague many poor countries, obesity rates are increasing in Latin America, Central and Eastern Europe, and the Middle East and North Africa (Caballero 2001; Martorell 2001; World Health Organization 2003). According to a recent study by the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development, 64% of women and 60% of men in Mexico are now overweight, and 24% of the population is considered obese (Boudreaux 2004). Good longitudinal data are limited, but estimates of Body Mass Index (BMI)—BMI measures weight relative to height—are suggestive. As I show in Figure 1, BMI trends in the developing world have been rising, perhaps dangerously so for some populations. Again, determinants are many.

Undernutrition in early life may trigger hormonal and metabolic changes that put a person at risk of excess fat accumulation. Some native peoples, such as American Indians and Pacific Islanders, may have a "thrift gene" that makes them extra susceptible to obesity. Urbanization leads to lower levels of physical activity and loss of traditional diets. Finally, contact with imported fast-food culture is increasing. As one headline reads, "West Exports Obesity to Developing World" (*BBC News* 2000).

Fast-food chains are among the first Western companies to arrive when a country opens its market. Grand openings can be huge events. Thousands queued for hours when the first McDonald's opened in Beijing in 1992 (Yan 2000), and two years later, a line of cars waiting at the drive-through

Figure 1. Trends in BMI in the Developing World, 1960–1990



Notes: Solid horizontal lines indicate changes in BMI for lower quartiles, and dotted lines indicate changes in BMI for upper quartiles. Vertical lines depict normal BMI range.
Source: Caballero (2001).

window of a new McDonald's in Kuwait stretched for seven miles (Schlosser 2001). Advertising strategies and executions that have worked in the West have been equally successful in developing countries. Children have been favorite targets (Schlosser 2001; Watson 1997; Yan 2000). In 2000, ACNielsen Media International conducted a survey in 30 Chinese cities, and on the basis of 16,677 questionnaires, it showed that KFC was the most famous international brand in China (*People's Daily Online* 2000).

Antiglobalization rhetoric has been even more disparaging of new biotechnologies, specifically the development and sale of genetically modified (GM) plants and animals. The long-term effects of ingesting these substances is unknown, and it is not yet possible to predict their ultimate environmental consequences. Antiglobal thought subscribes to a "precautionary principle":

> When a practice or product raises potentially significant threats of harm to human health or the environment, precautionary action should be taken to restrict or ban it, even if there is scientific uncertainty about whether or how it is actually causing that harm. Because it can take years for scientific proof of harm to be established—during which time undesirable or irreversible effects may continue to be inflicted—the proponents of a practice or product should bear the burden of proving that it is safe. (Cavanagh and Mander 2002, p. 76)

Furthermore, antiglobalists argue that GM foods lack the authenticity of more traditional agriculture. Compared with regional and organically grown foods, GM products are disparaged as impersonal and corporate. Finally, food companies have not been entirely forthcoming in regard to transparent labeling of GM contents. Dozens of advocacy organizations have been pressing for new legislation that requires such labeling.

Negative opinions about GM foods are especially prevalent in rich European countries (see, e.g., Scholderer et al. 1999), but they have also been voiced by many developing countries, ranging from Ethiopia, to Brazil, to India (*BBC News* 2003; Zane 2003). In December 1992 and again in July 1994, mobs ransacked the Bangalore office of Cargill, a Minneapolis-based company that sells hybrid sunflower and corn seed (Dahlburg 1995). Sensitivity to the introduction of new GM foods in developing countries should not be unexpected. Watson (1997) argues that dietary patterns, attitudes toward food, and notions of what constitutes a proper meal are central to maintaining local culture.

Marketing Responses

The principle of consumer sovereignty once again provides the first line of defense against antiglobal allegations about marketing programs being partly responsible for rising world obesity rates. As rational decision makers, consumers have the right to ingest whatever (legal substance) they choose, and if they overeat, that is their own personal responsibility. Consumers should be given sufficient information to make informed choices, but then they are on their own. In turn, food marketers have the right—and even a duty to shareholders—to compete for customers globally whether through new snacks, larger portion sizes, or lower prices. In countries where national regulations allow the practice, aiming advertising and promotions toward young consumers constitutes a legitimate strategy.

Marketing theory offers a second line of justification. According to the concept of market segmentation, if enough consumers are truly diet conscious and this group can be identified, targeted, and profitably served, marketers will respond with the appropriate marketing mix. Unmistakably, this has occurred. Diet foods and a plethora of slimming products and services have become a multibillion dollar industry in the rich world. Moreover, prominent packaged goods and fast-food companies, such as Kraft, Frito-Lay, and McDonald's, have introduced new, "healthier" menu choices around the world. The threat of product liability lawsuits, at least in the United States, may be motivating their switch in marketing tactics, but these firms are also responding to trends in consumer demand.

In many of the world's poorest countries, the more pressing problem is insufficient food security—that is, physical and economic access to food—not food abundance and obesity (Bone and France 2003). The marketing problem here is inefficient distribution caused, in large part, by breakdowns in law and order. Developing countries agree with some of this analysis. In early 2004, the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization along with the World Health Organization proposed a new strategy to combat global obesity by encouraging governments to discourage the intake of sugar and fat and instead to promote increased consumption of fruits and vegetables. Representatives from the Group of Seventy-Seven at the United Nations faulted the report for shoddy science and urged better nutrition education, not limits on foods (Ross 2004).

In general, the marketing literature supports the development and introduction of new products. Thus, from a marketing perspective, as well as that of research scientists and the agribusiness industry, GM foods should be considered a remarkable technological achievement. Crops can be designed to resist infestations and grow better in less favorable soil conditions, thus requiring fewer chemical pesticides and fertilizers. Costs can be reduced and the environment will benefit (Hart 1997; Magretta 1997; Scholderer et al. 1999). This and other new biotechnologies should be especially beneficial to countries that experience difficulty feeding their swelling populations. Genetically modified food products can also be exported, creating jobs and foreign exchange reserves. Proponents of GM foods have not found any credible evidence to suggest that these foods are unsafe, and several developing countries, including China, Brazil, and Argentina, have adopted the technology. The overzealous application of the precautionary principle can result in real harm to the least affluent consumers who, according to GM food enthusiasts, stand to benefit most from this technology.

Marketing Promotes Unsustainable Consumption

Antiglobal Assertions

The term "sustainable consumption" and the closely related notion of "sustainable development" refer to the use of goods and services in ways that improve the quality of life yet do not irreparably harm the environment or society and thus jeopardize the needs of future generations (United Nations Development Programme 1998). Even "skeptical environmentalists," such as Bjorn Lomborg (2000), cannot completely dismiss the idea that development imperils the world's ecosystems. Threats include various forms of local pollution; depletion of renewable resources, such as forests and fish stocks; and, above all, global warming caused by the production of greenhouse gases beyond the earth's absorption capacity. Antiglobal and marketing thought disagree over the nature of these problems and how best to achieve sustainable consumption.

According to antiglobal doctrine, unregulated economic growth and increasing levels of consumption inevitably stress the environment. Fossil-fuel emissions in third-world cities are especially problematic. Beijing, Delhi, and Mexico City already have high levels of air pollution, which may only become worse as their inhabitants use more power tools and appliances and drive more motorcycles and automobiles. At the same time, companies continue to relocate manufacturing facilities from richer to poorer countries. They do so not only to exploit cheaper labor but also to take advantage of laxer environmental regulation and law enforcement than in their home markets. Furthermore, the long-distance transportation systems that serve the global economy also contribute to environmental problems (Cavanagh and Mander 2002). Ocean shipping, which is fueled by low quality "Bunker C" oil, and seaports are notable polluters, as are cargo aircraft and diesel trucks. Thus, the emulation of Western consumerism in the less affluent world (Ger 1997; Ger and Belk 1996) and the movement of manufacturing to developing countries combine to diminish air quality, foul waterways, savage rainforests, and perhaps make global warming inevitable. In short, development will not be sustainable, either locally or globally.

Environmental issues can also accompany development in the supposedly more benign services sector. For example, Belk (1993) describes how trekking in Nepal has degraded local forests. Recently, Fonatur, the Mexican agency for tourism development, announced plans to develop a string of marinas along the Pacific and Gulf shores of Baja. Rich tourists will arrive by yacht, spread their money around, and create as many as 250,000 jobs within the next ten years. Environmentalists find these claims about economic benefits to be exaggerated, and they strenuously object to the project because of potential damage to the breeding grounds of whales, sea turtles, and other wildlife (Kraul and Weiss 2003).

Cavanagh and Mander (2002, pp. 62–63) present alternative principles for sustainable consumption:

> (a) [R]ates of renewable resource use do not exceed their rates of regeneration; (b) rates of consumption or irretrievable disposal of nonrenewable resources do not exceed the rates at which renewable substitutes are phased into use; (c) rates of pollution emission into the environment do not exceed the rate of their harmless assimilation.

Rich countries have addressed the first condition through new regulations that seek to preserve their forests and fisheries. Such niceties are widely ignored in poor countries, in which deforestation and other harvesting have been rampant (Harvey 1995). Condition b requires government mandates or tax incentives to either reduce consumption or favor alternative energy sources, such as windmills. Condition c, which is essentially about global warming, implies setting limits for emissions and finding ways to meet these limits, such as through the Kyoto protocols, carbon taxes, and new technologies. It is easy to imagine how, if rigorously implemented, these conditions could have tremendous impacts on all the elements of the marketing mix in countries everywhere.

Marketing Responses

Although few marketing studies support the antiglobal position for each of the first three challenges, marketing thought is more evenly divided on the topic of sustainable consumption. The managerial side of the discipline focuses on satisfying the needs of individual consumers. If buyers demand large houses, energy-inefficient appliances, and gas-guzzling vehicles, then so be it. In general, marketing doctrine does not make moral judgments about consumer preferences, and therefore companies are fully justified in catering to, if not encouraging, this demand. Furthermore, in general, the field accepts sales growth as a primary marketing objective. Little, if any, attention has been paid to setting upper limits to marketing metrics, such as number of units sold, market share, and profitability. In practice, the marketing of savings (e.g., college funds and retirement accounts) rather than spending and the "de-marketing" of certain categories of objectionable consumption (e.g., cigarette smoking and other drug use) are important but relatively minor endeavors compared with the overwhelming encouragement to buy and consume more goods and services. Marketing management is deeply wedded to the "dominant social paradigm" of free markets, individual choice, and continuous economic growth (Kilbourne, McDonagh, and Prothero 1997). Even the concept of sustainable consumption is perhaps overly embedded within the dominant paradigm (Dolan 2002).

In contrast, a respectable number of marketing academics have closely examined the environmental consequences of marketing practices under rubrics such as "green marketing," "environmental marketing," "ecological marketing," "ecomarketing," and "sustainable marketing" (Fuller 1999). This now sizable literature comprises numerous articles and a small cottage industry of specialized texts (see Crane 2000). These writings have challenged micromanagerial assumptions (Kilbourne, McDonagh, and Prothero 1997), while attempting to add riders to the marketing concept. For example, Fuller (1999, p. 4) defines sustainable marketing as "the process of planning, implementing, and controlling the development, pricing, promotion, and distribution of products in a manner that satisfies the following three criteria: (1) customer needs are met, (2) organizational goals are attained, and (3) the process is compatible with ecosystems." The devil is in the details of the third stipulation. Critics would argue that green marketing has focused more on the symptoms of consumerism rather than on its root causes, a centuries-old "productivist" discourse (Smith 1998).

With respect to developing countries, mainstream marketing thought is compatible with the neoliberal argument that economic growth is the best way for these countries to protect their environments in the longer run (Irwin 2002). Rich countries take better care of their air, water, and soils than do poor countries, and short-term trade-offs—some environmental losses in exchange for economic growth—eventually result in more money dedicated to protecting and restoring ecosystems. Furthermore, this position insists that private ownership of resources—the privatization of water services is currently a hotly debated topic (*The Economist* 2003c)—often fosters better conservation than public ownership. It is not in the economic self-interest of individual owners to squander revenue-producing resources. In contrast, no one has an incentive to husband common property, which results in overuse and destruction, also known as the "tragedy of the commons" (Shultz and Holbrook 1999). A nasty discovery that followed the overthrow of European Communism was just how badly the environment had been ruined by state-run, coal-burning, capital-intensive industries. International trade has no direct relationship to environmental problems: "Environmental damage results from poor environmental policies, not poor trade policies" (Irwin 2002, p. 48). In some cases, government subsidies and protectionism that subvert free trade have promoted overfishing, accelerated deforestation, and intensified use of pesticides and fertilizers (Irwin).

Ideological Common Ground

Antiglobal and marketing advocates mostly agree on what marketing does in developing countries: Marketing sells global cultural products, it values IP rights, it promotes fast foods and GM technology, and it engenders the spread of rich countries' consumerism. Differences stem from how the two sides evaluate the consequences of marketing actions for developing countries. Yet because even these plainly divergent philosophies share some common ground, this section explores areas of ideological compatibility.

Undertheorized Consumer Agency

Issues of localization cut across all four challenges to marketing in developing countries. Antiglobal thinking champions the concept of "subsidiarity" or "favoring the local whenever the choice exists" (Cavanagh and Mander 2002, p. 107). International marketing texts also stress the need for localization through careful adaptation of the marketing mix. However, not unlike the muckraking critics of advertising in the postwar United States who portrayed buyers as relatively defenseless against the wiles of Madison Avenue (Packard 1957), antiglobalization theory tends to overspecify business-to-buyer influences and underestimate consumer resistance. Similarly, international marketing thought overemphasizes marketer-driven adaptation of the marketing mix—recall Cateora and Graham's (2005) and Czinkota and Ronkainen's (2004) discussion of adaptation and cultural change—and gives short shrift to consumer-driven initiatives. Both sides undertheorize consumer agency.

In *Golden Arches East: McDonald's in East Asia*, Watson (1997) and his colleagues use ethnographic methods to investigate McDonald's in five East Asian cities (date of the first restaurant is in parentheses): Tokyo (1971), Hong Kong (1975), Taipei (1984), Seoul (1988), and Beijing (1992). In each of these cities, McDonald's entry coincided with rising affluence, a focus on married couples, lower birthrates, and children as consumers. Cultural changes brought about by this new product/service form included a greater stress on kitchen and dining-area cleanliness, an acceptance of queuing, more equality between female servers and male customers, individual ordering, self-provisioning, and the use of hands to eat. McDonald's introduced American values, but would many antiglobalists object to sanitation or gender equality?

As anthropologists, these researchers did not set out to be apologists for marketing. Yet they found plenty of evidence of both intended localization and spontaneous consumer agency. When franchises, as opposed to company-owned stores, were introduced, host-country nationals became owners. They also adapted menus to cater to local tastes, such as featuring "Teriyaki McBurgers" in Japan. Furthermore, consumers themselves actively participated in localizing this global brand. In Tokyo, McDonald's became a place for teenagers to snack and hang out after school, and in Seoul these fast-food restaurants developed a reputation as a place that was friendly to women in part because they did not serve alcohol beverages and thus attract rowdy Korean men (Watson 1997). A comparative study of young KFC customers in China and the United States also found both company- and consumer-driven fast-food localization (Witkowski, Ma, and Zheng 2003).

Researchers have found plenty of additional empirical evidence of developing countries' consumers adapting all types of products to their own special needs. Turks have used household appliances in innovative ways—ringer washers for making butter, ovens for drying clothes, and dishwashers for cleaning muddy spinach (Ger and Belk 1996). Indians have imparted different uses and cultural meanings to motor scooters (e.g., as a kind of family "station wagon") than have owners in Italy and Britain (De Pyssler 1992). In popular music, Jamaicans created the reggae genre by combining elements of African music with American jazz. The steel bands of Trinidad originated when resourceful musicians recycled metal barrels discarded by oil companies (Cowen 2002). As Ger (1997, p. 111) aptly states, "Consumption can be liberating and empowering by creatively affirming identity and/or by expressing resistance through recontextualization of the meaning of goods." Through the process of "transnationalism," popular culture becomes deterritorialized. People, products, and ideas cross national borders and are no longer identified with a single place of origin. To children in Beijing, "Uncle McDonald" (i.e., Ronald) is as Chinese as the mythical characters of their folklore (Watson 1997).

By refocusing attention on the consumer as an active producer of meaning, ideological differences between antiglobal and marketing become less pronounced. Both ideologies must more fully recognize that individual consumers can resist and reinterpret marketing activities and choose to remake products and service interactions for their own ends. Consumer groups and their worldwide federation, Consumers International, provide forums for wielding political influence and perhaps finding legal remedies for grievances (Mayer 1998). At the extreme, consumers can organize boycotts of stores and brands and engage in guerilla tactics, such as defacing billboards and "culture jamming" (Klein 1999).

Social Marketing and Collective Welfare

Observers have taunted the antiglobalization movement because in many ways, such as raising funds, organizing protests, and spreading the message, activists have proved quite adept at the art of political marketing. "It's ironic that people should rack up the frequent-flier miles while touting the virtues of localism—writing books and running institutes while telling the masses that they should stay home and tend to their lentils" (Henwood 2003, p. 169). Perhaps this remark is a cheap shot, but it underscores an openness to marketing when it can be harnessed for advancing an antiglobal agenda for poor countries' development. Stated differently, social and nonprofit marketing or, literally, marketing for developing countries constitutes a second site of common ground between antiglobal and marketing thought.

Marketing ideas have been applied to family planning, recycling, and microcredit programs with some success, albeit with nagging issues of appropriate target selection and incentive design (Dholakia 1984; Dholakia and Dholakia 2001). Marketing approaches have also infused fundraising, the promoting of appropriate technologies, and the exporting of tangible goods and tourism. Highly esteemed aid organizations, such as Oxfam International (www.oxfam.org) and Medecins Sans Frontieres (www.doctorswithoutborders.org), use their Web sites and supporting media to solicit donations, volunteer time, and support advocacy campaigns. Oxfam's planners conceive of their organization as a brand and stress coordination across the 12 different units in both meaning creation through visual images and the use of media (Oxfam International 2004). This is sophisticated marketing strategy and management reminiscent of the field of marketing aesthetics (Schmitt and Simonson 1997).

Marketing can also facilitate development through the deliberate export of local culture. Bosu (1995) presents a conceptual framework that shows how different combinations of consumption desires, craft attributes, intermediaries, and producing organizations constitute three key marketing flows. Marketing can support these flows through export assistance, packaging and promotion expertise, and management training. Ten Thousand Villages, a nonprofit company that the Mennonite Central Committee runs, has more than 180 retail outlets in North America that sell arts and crafts from developing countries. Other organizations, such as the Fair Trade Foundation based in London or the Fair Trade Federation based in Washington, D.C., link low-income producers with distributors and educate buyers about the importance of purchasing fairly traded products, which support living wages and safe and healthy working conditions.

Tourism is another form of exporting local culture, though, as with many other services, it must be consumed at the site of production. A sizable segment of visitors to developing countries is motivated by a real desire to experience these cultures, both historical and contemporary. To satisfy these tourists, it is necessary to maintain those cultural differences that impart a sense of authenticity and simultaneously build a modern infrastructure that is capable of meeting travelers' needs. Belk and Costa (1995) list several benefits to the host country, including increased employment, incentives for education, hard currency, and a stimulus to entrepreneurial activity, conservation, and preservation of local culture. Yet whether marketing arts and crafts for export or marketing a destination to inbound visitors, some things will change. By virtue of their connections to outside forces, sources of authenticity are eroded away (Barber 2003). Worse, cross-cultural contacts may degenerate into one-sided relationships in which rich world collectors and visitors inadvertently impose forms of cultural imperialism through their purchasing power (Belk 1993; Belk and Costa 1995). To the most zealous antiglobal advocates, market-driven culture may inexorably favor the masses, the mediocre, and the superficial.

In general, however, social marketing fits nicely into the antiglobal worldview. A paramount concern of antiglobal thought is the moral imperative of improving poor countries' human development, which, as defined in the *United Nations Human Development Index* (United Nations Development Programme 2004), includes health and education factors, typically a concern of governments, in addition to gross domestic product per capita. Social marketing involves collective welfare and welfare exchanges, not merely the satisfaction of personal wants through market exchange (Brenkert 2002). Welfare is a matter of social definition as obtained through processes of social argumentation and justification. It is not simply an individual or subjective matter. Thus, society determines social marketing goals—that is, a theory of human nature held by those who sponsor social marketing programs (Brenkert).

Social marketing should also appeal to the antiglobal left because programs are so often funded by government agencies and nonprofit organizations rather than by transnational corporations. However, Brenkert (2002) notes some ethical dilemmas that face social marketing, including paternalism and asymmetric moral relationships with targets, both of which actually may be more pronounced than in commercial marketing. Moreover, the sponsors of social marketing may not be above reproach and may even be using its techniques to perpetuate unjust systems. Finally, social marketing projects might affect (and possibly undermine) local cultures as much as does international marketing. For example, empowering women through education, family planning, and microcredit loans may be a desirable outcome, but it is also culturally disruptive (Dholakia and Dholakia 2001).

The Primacy of a Customer Orientation

As I stated in the introduction, a reason for seriously investigating the antiglobalization critique is because it may contain lessons for commercial marketing in developing countries. Ironically, antiglobal ideology insists that marketing practice adhere to marketing principles. If a customer orientation is indeed marketing's most cherished tenet, then this should be the bullet-proof standard for operating in developing countries. The following recommendations for serving consumer needs are drawn from the antiglobal positions on the four challenges to marketing:

1. Marketing cultural products in developing countries requires both awareness and acceptance of the cultural identities of local consumers. Large companies from rich countries have a depth of resources that give them outsized power compared with local cultural producers. Thus, marketing must not only adapt to different conditions but also find ways to minimize its cultural footprint in developing countries.
2. Corporations must acknowledge communal rights to traditional knowledge and avoid expropriating and then monopolizing them. Their capital stock of information and technology should be shared with poor countries (Cavanagh and Mander 2002).
3. Companies must offer affordable pricing for pharmaceutical customers and develop controls over distribution to prevent gray markets from diverting drugs away from those who depend on them. Serving poor communities on their own terms can still be profitable (Prahalad and Hammond 2002).
4. Companies should encourage consumer demand for legitimate products rather than counterfeits or pirated copies through strategic marketing, such as expanding and improving theatrical facilities in developing countries (Eller 2002). Heavy-handed and largely ineffective legal actions should be avoided. Instead, firms, industry associations, and governments should finance promotional campaigns that engender ethical consumer decision making by taking into account the levels of moral reasoning among audiences (Nil and Shultz 1996).
5. Although marketing thought recognizes that purchasing decisions are influenced by all sorts of impulses, the greatest ideal remains that of a rational consumer. Thus, buyers should be educated so that they make informed choices. Marketers should not wait for government mandates but instead voluntarily provide information about products. The selling of fast and GM foods requires visible and understandable nutritional and content labeling. Best marketing practices should be applied everywhere.
6. Firms that operate in emerging markets must carefully analyze and mitigate the environmental consequences of their marketing activities. Hart (1997) describes a policy of "product stewardship," whereby companies design products mindful of the possible impacts throughout the entire life cycle of the product, especially at the disposal and recycling stage. This idea should be extended to other facets of the marketing mix—for example, in the form of "distribution stewardship" and "promotional stewardship" in which local environmental considerations enter into decision making.

Further Ideological Divisions

Antiglobalization activists may never find much sympathy for commercial marketing in developing countries. Not only is there a wide gap between deeply held political views, but mutual animosities have also had too long of a history to be easily ameliorated. Those who support import substitution and other protectionist approaches to development were on the defensive for much of the 1980s and 1990s. It undoubtedly hurt to observe cherished policies rejected in favor of an openness to trade and an onrush of international marketing. Now that the antiglobal backlash is once again receiving media coverage and finding political traction, intellectual self-confidence seems to be returning. Similarly, as the once ascendant ideas of international marketing are taken to task, the natural tendency may be for thinking to become defensive and rigid.

In the light of its antiglobal critics, the field of marketing may suffer from guilt by association. Although the early development of marketing thought had German influences (Jones and Monieson 1990), throughout much of the twentieth century academic marketing was an overwhelmingly American enterprise. Only since approximately 1980 has the discipline attracted a truly worldwide following (Wilkie and Moore 2003). Similarly, in the realm of day-to-day marketing practice, the United States has been on the forefront of everything from chain stores and shopping centers; to radio and television advertising; to credit cards, telemarketing, and Internet sales. As a field, marketing carries an unmistakable stamp of American culture.

American brands have inordinate power worldwide and, perhaps not surprisingly, receive the greatest amount of criticism. Interbrand Corporation and *BusinessWeek*'s (2004) annual survey of the world's 100 most valuable brands—defined as the net present value of the future stream of profits the brand will deliver—finds that 8 of the top 10 and 58 of the top 100 are based in the United States. Johansson (2004) believes that youth-oriented brands that are sold on the basis of convenience, low price, and brand image—such as Coca-Cola and McDonald's—are the most likely to be attacked by antiglobalists, many of whom are themselves quite young. Japanese and European brands are disparaged far less frequently, and those that are, such as Absolut Vodka, Adidas, Benetton, and the Body Shop (see Klein 1999), resemble the kinds of American brands under assault. All of these brands have a prominent visual presence that may be partly responsible for the critical backlash.

Because of its economic, military, and cultural power—not to mention specific foreign policies, such as unwavering support of Israel and the occupation of Iraq—the United States today provokes intense resentment (Chua 2004; Friedman 1999). Recent surveys show that mistrust and other negative feelings toward the United States are widespread and growing stronger (Pew Research Center 2004). Antiglobalization activists are often the most critical of all: "In an uncanny repetition of the way that Continental reactionaries regarded liberal, globalist, 'Jewish' Great Britain a century ago, nearly all antiglobalists focus on 'the Great Satan'" (Micklethwait and Wooldridge 2000, p. 275). McDonald's restaurants have been vandalized and boycotted not only because of what the company does—few multinationals take as many pains to localize their marketing mix (*The Economist* 2001, *Foreign Policy* 2001)—but also because of where it originates. Thus, America's increasingly poor image around the world would seem to increase antiglobal aversion to marketing (Johansson 2004).

Conclusion

With an intellectual history that can be traced back to the end of World War II, the antiglobalization critique of marketing in developing countries has gained momentum in recent years. I have shown how the antiglobal and marketing worldviews lead to different positions on the issues of local culture, IP, food safety, and the environment. Yet the divide need not widen further. Antiglobal thought must acknowledge that its cherished principle of subsidiarity—favoring the local—not only is consistent with the marketing emphasis on adaptation but also can be realized by consumers themselves. Moreover, as the examples from Oxfam International and other aid organizations suggest, marketing theory and management can make vital contributions to the economic development of poor countries. Concepts such as segmentation, target marketing, and the deft use of the promotional mix can help alleviate poverty, improve the environment, and perhaps create more democratic and just societies.

Business marketers have a moral obligation to adhere to the principle of a customer orientation. Ethical marketing means designing products that are specifically suited to the needs of low-income consumers. It means better alignment of prices with the ability of impoverished consumers to pay. It means the introduction of more efficient channels of distribution and, through well-conceived information campaigns, the creation of more sophisticated and informed consumers. Marketers must be keenly aware that their conduct in developing markets has social, economic, and environmental consequences for local consumers. The principle of "do no harm" must be taken seriously. Finally, it is prudent to remember that poor countries can become breeding grounds for resentments that may turn violently against people everywhere. Alleviating these conditions is a global interest.

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